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WITHDRAWAL SHEET

Ronald Reagan Library

DOCUMENT NO. AND TYPE	SUBJECT/TITLE	DATE	RESTRICTION
letter case (323844)			WD 1/21/01
1. memo	from Robert Kimmitt to C. William LaSalle, re interview for Israeli daily with the President	5/24/85	B5
2. memo	from Jock Covey to Robert Kimmitt, re interview for Israeli daily with the President	5/21/85	B5
3. letter	from Robert McFarlane to Charles Wick, re presidential interview by Noah Mozes of <u>Yediot Aharanot</u>	8/9/85	B5
4. routing slip	from NSC with attached post-it note (2 pp)	n.d.	B5
5. routing slip	from NSC	n.d.	B5
6. memo	from Jock Covey to Robert McFarlane, re request for interview with the President: Noah Mozes (2 pp)	7/30/85	B5
7. letter	from Charles Wick to Robert McFarlane, re interview with President by Noah Mozes	5/31/85	B5
8. profile	NSC; re Wick suggestion for Mozes of <u>Yediot Aharanot</u> interview with McFarlane	5/31/85	B5
COLLECTION: WHORM: Subject File			smf
FILE LOCATION: PR 016 Public Relations: Publicity (323001-333000)			5/1/92

RESTRICTION CODES

A. National security classified information.

B. Presidential Records Act

B1. Release would violate a Federal statute.

B2. Release would disclose trade secrets or confidential commercial or financial information.

B3. Release would constitute a clearly unwarranted invasion of personal privacy.

B4. Relating to appointment to Federal office.

B5. Release would disclose confidential advice between the President and his advisors, or between such advisors.

B6. Release could disclose internal personnel rules and practices of an agency.

B7. Release would disclose information compiled for law enforcement purposes.

B8. Release would disclose information concerning the regulation of financial institutions.

B9. Release would disclose geological or geophysical information concerning wells.

C. Closed in accordance with restrictions contained in donor's deed of gift.

WITHDRAWAL SHEET

Ronald Reagan Library

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C. Closed in accordance with restrictions contained in donor's deed of gift.

323023

YI 4620
3500

PRO16

PR007

F0005-03

CO124

PU

BE00304

JV

June 7, 1985

Dear Senor Igartua:

Thank you so much for your recent request for an interview with President Reagan. - As you can imagine, we receive hundreds of such requests every week. Before going further, it would be helpful to know more about "OIGA". What is your circulation? Have you interviewed other world leaders? May we see several recent copies of "OIGA"?

Sincerely,

Patrick J. Buchanan
Assistant to the President

X
Senor Francisco Igartua
Director
OIGA 78
Empresa Editora Eusko-Andina S.A.
Chinchon 935, San Isidro
Lima 27, Peru

PJB/vml (6PJBA)

DEAR SENOR IGARTUA,

THANK YOU SO MUCH FOR
YOUR RECENT REQUEST FOR AN
INTERVIEW WITH PRESIDENT
REAGAN. AS YOU CAN IMAGINE, WE
RECEIVE HUNDREDS OF SUCH REQUESTS
EVERY WEEK. BEFORE GOING FURTHER,
IT WOULD BE HELPFUL TO
KNOW MORE ABOUT "OIGA."
WHAT IS YOUR CIRCULATION? HAVE
YOU INTERVIEWED OTHER WORLD
LEADERS? MAY WE SEE SEVERAL
recent
COPIES OF "OIGA"?

Sincerely

PJB

Lima, May 10 1984.

Mr. Ronald Reagan
President of the
United States of America
Washington DC

Dear Mr. President :

As director of the Peruvian magazine "OIGA", it is with great honor that I address this letter to you, requesting that you grant an interview to a team of journalists from our magazine which - would travel to Washington expressly for that purpose.

"OIGA" is a weekly publication, edited in Peru for --- twenty-two years (except during periods when it has been banned by -- military dictatorships) and dedicated to the analysis of national and international political events. Therefore, declarations by the President of de United States published in "OIGA" would find a significant audience in our country.

Should you agree to the interview, we should be notified with sufficient time to enable "OIGA"'s special team of two writers and a photographer to make their travel arrangements for this assignment. Your decision could be made known to us through the United States Embassy in Lima or by whatever channel you deem most appropriate.

We greatly hope you will honor us by accepting the ----- proposed interview, as it is our belief that your statements to "OIGA" will contribute to the dispelling of misunderstandings that have arisen in Peru in the light of your government's most recent political decisions affecting Latin America and Peru in particular, where the principle of the people's right to free determination is held in high regard.

Very truly yours,



.....
Francisco Igartua
Director

JV

June 10, 1985

Dear George:

Have talked over your request with Larry;
and I think we can probably manage some-
thing -- as we have had in other newspaper
"groups" as well, for visits with the
President. Larry's shop will be back to
you, when something opens up; though it
may take a little time. Say hello for
Herb and Jerry if you see them.

Best,

Sincerely,

Patrick J. Buchanan
Assistant to the President

Mr. George E. Condon, Jr.
Bureau Chief
Copley News Service
1100 National Press Building
Washington, DC 20045

PJB/ddb (6PJBB)

323226

VI 4620

PRO16

PRO07

PRO01

PU

BE00304

Dear George:

Have talked over your request with Larry; and I think we can probably manage something---as we have had in other newspaper "groups" as well, for visits with the President. Larry's shop will be ~~back~~ back to you, when something opens up; though it may take a little time. Say hell for Herb and Jerry if you see them.

Best,

Pat Buchanan

CC/Larry Speakes

COPLEY

NEWS SERVICE

May 21, 1985

Patrick J. Buchanan
Director of Communications
The White House
Washington, D.C. 20500

True

Dear Mr. Buchanan:

In his more than four years in the White House, President Reagan has granted interviews to the editors and bureau chiefs of several major news organizations. Please consider this letter our request that Copley News Service and the major Copley newspapers be granted a similar White House interview with the President.

Herb Klein, editor in chief of the Copley papers, is very enthusiastic about this request and suggested that you would be the best person to whom to direct our inquiry.

We propose that six interviewers from Copley attend the session -- Herb Klein, as our top editor; Jerry Warren, editor of the San Diego Union; Neil Morgan, editor of the San Diego Tribune; Ed Armstrong, editor of the Springfield State Journal-Register, our largest Illinois paper; myself, as Washington bureau chief; and Stephen Green, as managing editor of the bureau and syndicated columnist.

We are, obviously, amenable to any date or time that is convenient for the White House.

I would add only a few pertinent facts that I believe support our request. As you know, Copley has 11 daily newspapers in California and Illinois, with a total daily circulation approaching 900,000. That circulation goes over one million when Copley's 28 weeklies are taken into account. Additionally, Copley News Service reaches papers read by millions more.

I would appreciate any assistance you can give us on this and would be glad to answer any other questions you might have.

Sincerely,

George E. Condon Jr.

George E. Condon Jr.
Bureau Chief

GEC/pk-g

323724

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

June 10, 1985

MEMORANDUM TO THE CHIEF OF STAFF

FROM:

PAT BUCHANAN *PJB*

The two questions you mentioned this morning (Reader's Digest interview) -- on the President's greatest frustration with Congress, and greatest frustration with allies -- have been dropped. Will not be asked.

Two others will be:

Sir: I'd like to discuss with you your most memorable moments in crisis. What was your first reaction when you heard of the bombing of the Marine Barracks in Lebanon? When you made your decision to go into Grenada, and you heard of the shooting down of KAL 007?

Sir: When you entered the Presidency you were viewed by European elites as an actor/cowboy with a simplistic approach to world affairs. What was your reaction to that at the time? Do you think the European perception has changed?

1110
PR016
PR007-01
PU
BE003-04
FE001

LD

MEMORANDUM TO THE CHIEF OF STAFF

From Pat Buchanan

The ~~two~~ questions you mentioned this morning (Reader's Digest interview)---on the President's greatest frustration with Congress, and greatest frustration with allies---have been dropped. Will not be asked.

Two others will be:

Sir: I'd like to discuss with you ⁹ your most memorable moments in crisis. What was your first reaction when you heard of the bombing of the Marine Barracks in Lebanon? When you made your decision to go into Grenada⁷, and ~~you~~ heard of the shooting down of ~~the~~ KAL 007?

^P
L Sir: When you entered the Presidency you were viewed by European elites ^{n/} as an actor-cowboy with a simplistic approach to world affairs. What was your reaction to that at the time? ^P ~~And~~ do you think the European perception has changed?

To STH
get me 2 hours
Pat

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

June 10, 1985

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FROM:

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Sir: When you entered the Presidency you were viewed by European elites as an actor/cowboy with a simplistic approach to world affairs. What was your reaction to that at the time? Do you think the European perception has changed?

NATIONAL SECURITY COUNCIL
WASHINGTON, D.C. 20506

3580

YZ

323844

May 24, 1985

MEMORANDUM FOR MR. C. WILLIAM LASALLE
Chief of the Executive Secretariat
U.S. Information Agency

SUBJECT: Interview for Israeli Daily with the President

USIA Director Wick wrote Bud McFarlane to propose that the publisher of Yediot Aharanot be granted an interview with the President. Such an interview poses interesting possibilities. Although we see no immediate opportunity for such an interview, we would like to hold that possibility open.

For your information only: Should the pace of the peace process pick up in the wake of King Hussein's visit to Washington at the end of this month, an interview for Yediot might fit into a broader strategy of senior USG interviews with selected media targets throughout the Middle East and Europe.

Robert Pearson
Robert M. Kimmitt
Executive Secretary

Roan Mozer
NSC 8503580

1140
PR016
PR007
PG298
C0074
BE003-04
FO005-03
FB006-12

NATIONAL SECURITY COUNCIL

May 21, 1985

ACTION

SIGNED

MEMORANDUM FOR ROBERT C. KIMMITT

FROM: JOCK COVEY *JC*

SUBJECT: Interview for Israeli Daily with the President

Charles Wick wrote Bud to propose that the publisher of the Israeli daily Yediot Aharonot be granted an interview with the President. If the President were to give an interview to any Israeli daily, this would probably be the way to do it. Mozes is respected and responsible; Yediot has an enormous circulation with strong appeal at the grass-root level; and Mozes would bring with him Wolf Blitzer -- by far the best of the Washington-based Israeli correspondents.

The problem is timing: we simply don't have much for the President to say to the Israeli people just at this point. If the Hussein visit comes off well, then this could be a nice chit to pick up, however. In fact, an interview with a key Israeli outlet like Yediot could be an important part of a larger strategy aimed at key media targets throughout the Middle East and Europe.

The attached memo to C. William LaSalle notes that the Mozes interview poses interesting possibilities which we would like to hold for consideration a little further down the line.

Bob Bob Sims and Steve *pk* Steiner concur.RECOMMENDATION

That you sign the memo at Tab I.

Approve *WRP*

Disapprove _____

Attachments:

Tab I Memo to USIA
Tab A Incoming correspondence

Em

RECEIVED

National Security Council
The White House

MAY 24 4:06

System #

I

Package #

3580

1783

	SEQUENCE TO	HAS SEEN	DISPOSITION
Bob Pearson	1	✓	A
Bob Kimmitt	✓		
John Poindexter			
Paul Thompson			
Wilma Hall			
Bud McFarlane			
Bob Kimmitt			
NSC Secretariat	2		✓
Situation Room			

I = Information

A = Action

R = Retain

D = Dispatch

N = No further Action

cc: VP Meese Baker Deaver Other _____

COMMENTS

Should be seen by: _____

(Date/Time)

82 MAY 24 4:06

**United States
Information
Agency**

Washington, D.C. 20547

Office of the Director



USIA

3580

April 29, 1985

Dear Bud:

While I was in Israel in October, 1983 I met with Mr. Noah Mozes the distinguished publisher of that nation's largest circulation daily Yediot Aharonot. He would like to meet with the President and interview him for his newspaper. I know how crowded the President's schedule is for the next several months, but if an interview can be scheduled, Mr. Mozes is prepared to travel to the United States on short notice.

I do hope you could fit him into the schedule, perhaps in late May or June. He is a feisty 73-year-old, highly esteemed in Israeli journalism, deeply conservative, and a solid friend of the United States. The Embassy in Tel Aviv strongly supports this request, as of course do I.

Sincerely,

Charles Z. Wick
Director

The Honorable
Robert C. McFarlane
Assistant to the President
for National Security
The White House

N/6

LIMITED OFFICIAL USE

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DE RUEHTV #5311 095 **
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FM AMEMBASSY TEL AVIV
TO USIA WASHDC IMMEDIATE 7197
BT

CLASS: LIMITED OFFICIAL
CHRG: USIS 04/05/85
APPRV: PAO:HALANE
DRFTD: IO:ASBERGER:CH
CLEAR: MB:SWLEWIS
DISTR: USIS3 AMB DCM

LIMITED OFFICIAL USE TEL AVIV 05311

USIA

FOR PL; NEA

E.O. 12356: N/A

SUBJECT: REQUEST FOR INTERVIEW OF PRESIDENT REAGAN

REF: USIA 21987



1. POST STRONGLY RECOMMENDS NOAH MOZES' REQUEST FOR INTERVIEW WITH PRESIDENT REAGAN, RELAYED THROUGH MANAGING DIRECTOR OF AP. MOZES IS PUBLISHER OF YEDIOT AHARONOT, LARGEST CIRCULATION DAILY NEWSPAPER IN ISRAEL (CIRCULATION: APPROXIMATELY 300,000 WEEKDAYS AND 400,000 PLUS ON FRIDAYS). HE HOSTED DIRECTOR WICK AT NEWSPAPER'S EDITORIAL OFFICES AND GAVE EXTENSIVE TOUR OF PRINTING PLANT DURING DIRECTOR'S OCTOBER, 1983 VISIT TO ISRAEL. MOZES IS VERY CLOSE CONTACT OF POST AND EMBASSY OFFICERS.

2. PLEASE ADVISE IF INTERVIEW POSSIBILITY MATERIALIZES. YEDIOT'S WASHINGTON CORRESPONDENT, WOLF BLITZER, WOULD ACCOMPANY MOZES, IF INTERVIEW WITH PRESIDENT GRANTED. FYI: MOZES' REQUEST IS NOT CONNECTED WITH LONG-STANDING MIRA AVRECH REQUEST FOR INTERVIEWS WITH PRESIDENT AND MRS. REAGAN.

LANE

BT

#5311

NNNN

N/6

LIMITED OFFICIAL USE

TEL AVIV 05311

NSC/S PROFILE

UNCLASSIFIED

ID 8503580

RECEIVED 02 MAY 85 09

TO MCFARLANE FROM WICK, C

DOCDATE 29 APR 85

KEYWORDS: ISRAEL

USIA

MOZES, NOAH

MEDIA

AP

SUBJECT: APPT REQUEST FOR MOZES W/ PRES DURING LATE MAY OR JUN

ACTION: PREPARE MEMO FOR KIMMITT DUE: 08 MAY 85 STATUS S FILES WH

FOR ACTION

FOR CONCURRENCE

FOR INFO

COVEY

RAYMOND

LENCZOWSKI

STARK

SMALL

MARTIN

STEINER

TEICHER

KIMMITT

PEARSON

COMMENTS

RLF#

LOG

NSCIFID

(HW *DR*)

ACTION OFFICER (S)	ASSIGNED	ACTION REQUIRED	DUE	COPIES TO
<i>C</i>	<i>5/24</i>	<i>Pearson sqd memo</i>		<i>BP, JC, SS, BS</i>
DISPATCH	<i>Dgs 5/24</i>		W/ATTCH	FILE <i>WH</i> (C) <i>DR</i>

323844

JV

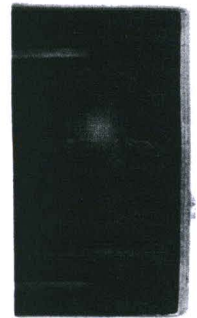
PROIC



THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

August 9, 1985



Dear Charlie:

Thank you for your letter of May 31 recommending Noah Mozes of Yediot Aharanot for an interview with the President.

Until now, I have been skeptical of the value of such an interview, but the confusion in Israel regarding the results of the Hussein visit argue for getting our message across more directly to the Israeli people.

You could tell Mozes that we are prepared to consider the idea, and that he or his people should be in touch with Ed Djerejian.

Sincerely,

A handwritten signature in cursive script, appearing to read "Bud", written over the typed name.

Robert C. McFarlane

The Honorable
Charles Z. Wick
Director
United States Information Agency
Washington, D.C. 20547

National Security Council
The White House

RECEIVED

System #

Package #

I

4503

1911

85 JUN 2 All: 33

	SEQUENCE TO	HAS SEEN	DISPOSITION
Bob Pearson	1	✓	
William Martin	2	lm	
John Poindexter			
Paul Thompson	3	T	
Wilma Hall			
Bud McFarlane	4	m	A
William Martin	5	lm	
NSC Secretariat	6		
Situation Room			

I = Information

A = Action

R = Retain

D = Dispatch

N = No further Action

cc: VP Regan Buchanan Other

COMMENTS

Should be seen by:

(Date/Time)

First get answer to
RCM question from Covey.
If STATE has concerns,
pls. dispatch.

WFM

State concerns.
Have discussed
in detail with
Murphy + others.
Thanks.

National Security Council
The White House

239

85 JUL 9 P 5: 16

System #

Package #

4503

1870

	SEQUENCE TO	HAS SEEN	DISPOSITION
Bob Pearson	1	P	A
William Martin			
John Poindexter	2		
Paul Thompson	3		
Wilma Hall			
Bud McFarlane	X		X
William Martin		✓	
NSC Secretariat			
Situation Room			
COVEY	3		

but is well worth doing in September

I = Information A = Action R = Retain D = Dispatch N = No further Action

cc: VP Regan Buchanan Other

will be a 5 min photo op.

COMMENTS

Should be seen by: COB 7/11
(Date/Time)

Jock,
Is this important enough to try to get in the 1 hr. a day for business that the President has between now and 10 Aug.?

NATIONAL SECURITY COUNCIL

SIGNED

July 30, 1985

*I assume
State concurs?
m*

ACTION

MEMORANDUM FOR ROBERT C. McFARLANE

FROM: JOCK COVEY *JK*SUBJECT: Request for Interview with the
President: Noah Mozes

Charlie Wick wrote you to urge you schedule an interview with the President for Noah Mozes, publisher of the Israeli daily newspaper Yediot Aharanot. Wick showed interest in this proposal some time ago, before the Hussein visit. Then, it was hard to see the value of such an interview. Now, however, there is a message to get across: real momentum in the peace process; Jordan's risks for peace; the American commitment to Israeli security.

The elderly Mozes is the Dean of Israeli newspaper publishers. Yediot, while a tabloid-type daily that leans toward a hard-line on peace issues, enjoys the largest circulation in Israel. It would be a credible and widely read vehicle for a Presidential interview.

The format should be the usual: written questions and answers. The only impact on the President's schedule would be a five-minute photo op. The symmetry with the Nashishibi interview is convenient and useful. The best time to do it might be early September (after notification, should it be decided to propose a major Arab arms sale).

The reply to Wick at Tab I says you agree that such an interview could be useful, and that Mozes should get in touch with Ed Djerejian to pursue the request.

Steve Steiner and Ed Djerejian concur.

Steve

RECOMMENDATION

That you sign the letter to Wick at Tab I.

Approve _____ Disapprove _____

Attachments

Tab I Letter to Wick
Tab A Letter from Wick

4503



May 31, 1985

Dear Bud:

Late last month I wrote to you to request that you schedule an interview for the President with the publisher of the Israeli daily Yediot Aharonot, Noah Mozes. Bob Kimmitt informs us that there is no immediate opportunity for an interview but that the possibility remains open.

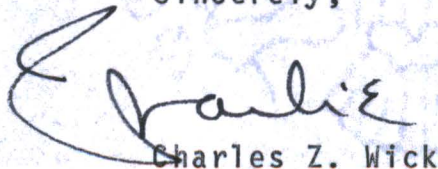
In view of the current consultations with King Hussein and recent meetings with the Israelis, an interview with such a reliable and balanced editor as Mozes could be very useful to the Administration. It will be vital in coming weeks to convey our viewpoints convincingly to the Israeli public. Through the interview we have a chance to reach a very broad and important segment of Israeli opinion.

Noah Mozes is an old and reliable friend of the U.S. One of Mozes' many American friends and admirers, the AP's Jack Koehler, originally transmitted to me in a letter (see attached copy) the request from Mozes, who heads Israel's largest-selling serious newspaper, reaching a readership of some 300,000 people. He is widely respected in the often fractious media environment of Israel and outside Israel's borders.

As events unfold and our dealings with the several parties in the Middle East evolve in coming weeks, it is very much in our interest to take advantage of Mozes' offer to fly to Washington on short notice for the interview. If you agree, I would be happy to convey informally to Mozes our interest in an interview -- without reference to a specific time.

With best wishes.

Sincerely,


Charles Z. Wick

The Honorable
Robert C. McFarlane
Assistant to the President
for National Security Affairs
The White House

NSC/S PROFILE

UNCLASSIFIED

ID 8504503

RECEIVED 04 JUN 85 14

TO

MCFARLANE

FROM WICK, C

DOCDATE 31 MAY 85

KEYWORDS: ISRAEL

MEDIA

AM

SUBJECT: WICK SUGGESTION FOR MOZES OF YEDIOT AHARANOT INTERVIEW W/ MCFARLANE

ACTION: PREPARE MEMO FOR MCFARLANE

DUE: 10 JUN 85 STATUS S FILES WH

FOR ACTION

FOR CONCURRENCE

FOR INFO

COVEY

SMALL

STARK

STEINER

TEICHER

THOMPSON

PEARSON

COMMENTS

HALL

REF#

LOG

NSCIFID

(CT)

See note on Routing
slip before dispatching

ACTION OFFICER (S)	ASSIGNED	ACTION REQUIRED	DUE	COPIES TO
MCFarlane	x 7/9	For Signature		
Covey	S 7/22	For Further Action	7/22	
MCFarlane	X 8/02	for signature	8/06	
	8/12/9	MCFarlane Sgd		
Covey	S 8/10	for further action	8/12	
	8/12	MCFarlane Sgd Ltr		

DISPATCH 8/12 IM

W/ATTCH FILE JC,SS (C)

324220
PRO16

Done
bh

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

June 11, 1985

MEMORANDUM FOR

DONALD T. REGAN
BUD McFARLANE
PAT BUCHANAN

FROM:

LARRY SPEAKES *LS*

Attached is a letter from CBS Evening News requesting an interview with the President concerning the 40th anniversary of the first atomic bomb. This is part of a series that CBS will do with Dan Rather anchoring the evening news from Japan the week of August 5-9. We have a similar request from Tom Brokaw of NBC.

I recommend that we not accept these requests. I would appreciate your views.

*Let's discuss
JGR*

324220

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

June 11, 1985

MEMORANDUM FOR

DONALD T. REGAN
BUD McFARLANE
PAT BUCHANAN

FROM:

LARRY SPEAKES

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*Lets discuss
GJR*

*11/10
PRO16*

PRO16-01

PR007

NDO18

AT

00078

NDO16

Done 9/11 BV

324220

PRO16

NBC News

A Division of
National Broadcasting Company, Inc.

Thirty Rockefeller Plaza
New York, N.Y. 10020 212-664-4214

Tom Brokaw

September 10, 1985

Dear 

*Pat } let's discuss
Larry } NYR*

As you recall, before the President's surgery we were discussing the possibility of an interview on the problems of nuclear proliferation 40 years after Hiroshima.

Now that the Hiroshima anniversary has passed I'd like to update my request. NBC News is preparing a series of special reports on all of its programs for a 10 day period preceding the summit in Geneva. Naturally I'd like very much for an interview with President Reagan to be the cornerstone of that series.

Rather than talk specifically about the nature of the arms control differences between the two countries I would like to concentrate on the President's overall impressions of the future of relations between the United States and the U. S. S. R. How do we lower the tensions between Moscow and Washington? What would the President say to the Russian people if he were granted Soviet television air time? With the spread of nuclear weapons to other countries does the President ever see the day when the U. S. and the Soviet Union will be threatened by other forces? That would be the general line of questioning.

I hope we can work something out.

All best wishes,



The Honorable Donald T. Regan
Chief of Staff to the
President
The White House
Washington, D. C. 20500

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

July 22, 1985

324220

JV

PRO16

MEMORANDUM FOR DONALD T. REGAN

FROM: Larry Speakes *S*

Tom Brokaw of NBC, has recently written you concerning an interview with the President as part of the 40th anniversary of Hiroshima on August 6. We have an identical request from CBS that has been pending for some time.

Obviously these events have been overtaken by the President's hospitalization. But nevertheless, I wanted to see if you had any objection to a prompt turn-down.



 APPROVE A TURN-DOWN

 DISAPPROVE A TURN-DOWN

NBC News

A Division of
National Broadcasting Company, Inc.

Thirty Rockefeller Plaza
New York, N.Y. 10020 212-664-4214

Tom Brokaw

July 18, 1985

Mr. Donald Regan
The White House
Washington, D.C. 20500

Dear *Don*

I know you have many more pressing matters to consider, but I would like to renew my request for an interview with the President on the problems of nuclear proliferation.

It may be a selfish point of view, but I cannot think of a more appropriate topic for him to address as he emerges from his post-operative period. It would reflect his concern on this vital issue while clearly demonstrating he's back on the job.

Sincerely,

Tom
Tom Brokaw

TB:gh

cc: Larry Speakes

*I don't think so - in view
of his reduced schedule -
What say?*

JGR

MEMORANDUM

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

4719

324220
PR016

June 24, 1985

MEMORANDUM FOR LARRY SPEAKES

FROM: ROBERT C. MCFARLANE *RCM*
SUBJECT: Your Memo of June 11 Re CBS Request
for Presidential Interview on the Occasion
of the 40th Anniversary of the First
Atomic Bomb

I concur with your recommendation that the President not accept
interview requests in connection with the above event.

cc: Donald T. Regan
Pat Buchanan

NATIONAL SECURITY COUNCIL

ACTION

June 18, 1985

MEMORANDUM FOR ROBERT C. McFARLANE

FROM:

KARNA SMALL **SIGNED**

SUBJECT:

Memo from Larry Speakes Re CBS Request
for Presidential Interview Concerning the
40th Anniversary of the First Atomic Bomb

Larry, in his memo of June 11 (Tab II) has asked for your views concerning requests for Presidential interviews from CBS and NBC on the occasion of the 40th anniversary of the first atomic bomb. He recommends, and we concur, that we not accept these requests. At Tab I is a memo to Speakes indicating your concurrence.

^{DF} ^{GS}
Fortier and Sigur concur; Linhard was not available.

RECOMMENDATION

That you sign the memo to Larry Speakes at Tab I.

Approve  Disapprove _____

Attachments

TAB I Memo to Larry Speakes
TAB II Incoming memo with attached letter from CBS

**National Security Council
The White House**

216

85 JUN 18 P 6: 23

System #

I

Package #

4719

1832

	SEQUENCE TO	HAS SEEN	DISPOSITION
Bob Pearson	<u>1</u>	<u>P</u>	
William Martin	<u>2</u>	<u>WFM</u>	
John Poindexter	<u>3</u>	<u>[Signature]</u>	
Paul Thompson	<u>4</u>	<u>[Signature]</u>	
Wilma Hall			
Bud McFarlane	<u>5</u>	<u>m</u>	<u>A</u>
William Martin			
NSC Secretariat	<u>6</u>	<u>BT</u>	<u>D</u>
Situation Room			

I = Information

A = Action

R = Retain

D = Dispatch

N = No further Action

cc: VP Regan Buchanan Other _____

COMMENTS

Should be seen by: _____

(Date/Time)

85 JUN 18 8:53
85 JUN 18 8:53

→ Stopping
4719

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

85 JUN 11 A10: 45

June 11, 1985

MEMORANDUM FOR

DONALD T. REGAN
BUD McFARLANE
PAT BUCHANAN

FROM:

LARRY SPEAKES *LS*

Attached is a letter from CBS Evening News requesting an interview with the President concerning the 40th anniversary of the first atomic bomb. This is part of a series that CBS will do with Dan Rather anchoring the evening news from Japan the week of August 5-9. We have a similar request from Tom Brokaw of NBC.

I recommend that we not accept these requests. I would appreciate your views.

CBS NEWS

A Division of CBS Inc.
2020 M Street, N.W.
Washington, D.C. 20036
(202) 457-4400

Jack Smith, Vice President
and Bureau Chief

Dear Larry:

June 10, 1985

The CBS Evening News with Dan Rather will broadcast five consecutive nights from Japan the week of August 5 through 9, 1985, in commemoration of the dropping of the first atomic bomb.

On the first night of our coverage, we will have the unique opportunity of being on the air at the exact moment when, 40 years ago, that bomb exploded and the face of mankind was changed forever.

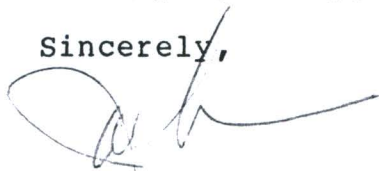
In that first broadcast, we will try to convey what it was like for those people who were caught on the ground and also the impact that event had on the peoples of the world. To that end, we are asking world leaders to tell our audience where they were at that moment, when the bomb fell, and the impact that event had on their lives. Accordingly, Larry, we request President Reagan to participate in this story. We have also extended requests to His Holiness, the Pope; the Emperor of Japan; the Prime Minister of Japan; and the General Secretary of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union.

The President's experiences that day--and the impact that event has had on his life carry particular weight in the context of today's world. We would like to record on videotape his experiences on that historic day in August, 1945, and the subsequent impact that event had on his life and the people of the United States. The President's impressions could be as short as 45 seconds or as long as three minutes.

We hope this broadcast will have a lasting impact on our audience by contributing to peace in the world. President Reagan's participation will help accomplish that goal.

Thank you, Larry, for considering this request.

Sincerely,



Mr. Larry Speakes
Principal Deputy Press Secretary
Office of the Press Secretary
The White House
Washington, D.C. 20500

NSC/S PROFILE

UNCLASSIFIED

ID 8504719

RECEIVED 11 JUN 85 15

TO

MCFARLANE

FROM SPEAKES, L

DOCDATE 11 JUN 85

KEYWORDS: NUCLEAR MATTERS

JAPAN

MEDIA

SUBJECT: CBS NEWS & 40TH ATOMIC BOMB ANNIVERSARY

ACTION: PREPARE MEMO FOR MCFARLANE

DUE: 15 JUN 85 STATUS S FILES WH

FOR ACTION

FOR CONCURRENCE

FOR INFO

FORTIER

LINHARD

SIGUR

WRIGHT

SMALL

CHILDRESS

LAUX

COMMENTS

REF#

LOG

NSCIFID

(CT)

ACTION OFFICER (S) ASSIGNED ACTION REQUIRED DUE COPIES TO

McFarlane X 6/18 For Signature 6/19
C 6/24 McFarlane spl KS-BP

DISPATCH

ed Bm

W/ATTCH FILE

51

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

June 7, 1985

324220

JV

PRO16

MEMORANDUM TO THE CHIEF OF STAFF

FROM:

PAT BUCHANAN *BB*

You have probably heard by now from Tom Brokaw, who called -- and wants to involve the President in 40th anniversary of nuclear power/weapons features being done by NBC. This is just a head's up; before proceeding, Larry, you and I should talk.

cc: Larry Speakes

50

MEMORANDUM TO THE CHIEF OF STAFF

From Pat Buchanan

You have probably heard by now from Tom Brokaw, who called---and wants to involve the President in 40th anniversary ~~XX~~ of nuclear power/weapons features being done by NBC. This is just a head's up; before proceeding, Larry, you and M should talk.

Pat

cc/L. Speck

THE WHITE HOUSE

WVS

Dear Pat:

Have your request in hand. and
Larry and I will see what can be done.
Good luck back in the Trenches,

Best,
Pat

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

Pat Murphy
The Arizona Republic
120 East van Buren Street
Phoenix, AZ 85004

325892

4620

PRO14

FG006-01
14 June '85

WH009-01

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

MEMO FOR: PAT BUCHANAN
FROM: Larry Speakes

We will put Pat Murphy on our
list for future interviews.





THE ARIZONA REPUBLIC

120 EAST VAN BUREN STREET • PHOENIX, ARIZONA 85004 • (602) 271-8000

Pat Murphy
~~Editor~~

May 31, 1985

Dear Pat:

I've given up the responsibilities and title (and perks!) of Editor to get back into the trenches, and thus to be closer to that which I like best -- writing and trying to make some sense out of what's afoot.

If I'm on one of your Editor lists,
make the appropriate change to spare
yourself any embarrassment next time you
invite editor-types to breakfast.

I'm still very much interested in doing a Sunday profile-type piece for our Sunday Perspective on a day in the life of Air Force One.

Cheers,

6/11/85
Lang - any he
chance
could ride on
AF I - one day
Pat
Ch. Nathan



Pat Murphy

Political Columnist

Taking You Beyond The Handshaking And Baby Kissing

Politicians. They're a different breed of cat. Some are exactly what they profess to be. Others aren't.

Discover more about the people behind the politics, with Pat Murphy in *The Arizona Republic*. His column examines the dynamics of politics. At home and throughout the world.

There's much more to politicians than handshaking and baby kissing. For the inside story, turn to an expert. Pat Murphy on A-2 of *The Arizona Republic*.

THE ARIZONA REPUBLIC

We've got news for you.

To subscribe call **257-8300** today.

325893

-PR016

The Washington Times

K. E. GRUBBS, JR.
NATIONAL EDITION EDITOR

3600 NEW YORK AVENUE NORTHEAST
WASHINGTON, D.C. 20002 / 202-636-3000

June 19, 1985

Mr. Patrick J. Buchanan
Special Assistant to the President
The White House
Washington, D.C.



Dear Pat:

Many thanks for your kind note. Again, not to worry about the time elapsed since my letter; indeed, sensing what your schedule must be like, I hereby relieve you of the need to answer this.

I do get a feeling of **deja vu**. The allocation-of-slots explanation was precisely what I heard from Mike Baroody when, in 1981, Stu Spencer (!) and Ken Kachigian were pushing me for something in his shop. Since then, by the way, I think I've increased my experience and marketability tenfold. Good heavens, back then I even had references from Bill Buckley and Michael Novak. Still, I can live with the uncertainty. For a while.

I startled myself when I realized I was talking about the top press spot or being your deputy. But then, shoot high, I always thought. When you're ready to commence a revolutionary transformation of White House press relations, along the lines we discussed too briefly, lemme know.

Note (A special favor in the meantime, Pat? I wonder if I might be granted a permanent White House press pass, so that I could cover for the editorial page some briefings and presidential news conferences. Two bureaucracies -- your press office and our newsroom -- have combined to stall one for me. If it would be possible for you to expedite that, I would be grateful.

Glad you started giving interviews to the press; Fred Barnes's counsel was wise. Still, I notice the press corps has found new things to complain about...

Didja notice that Nabih Berri kinda looks like Mario Cuomo?

Yrs faithfully,

59

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

WS

325893

4640

PR016

PC006-01

K.E. Grubbs, Jr.
The Washington Times
3600 New York Avenue Northeast
Washington, D.C. 20002

THE WHITE HOUSE

14 June '85

Dear Ken:

Just a note to say I have not
forgotten our conversation. And I apologize
for not getting back sooner. Currently, all my
allocated "slots" are filled. Have put in
for more. But, as of today, nothing is open.
Will keep in touch.

Best, Pat

The Washington Times

K. E. GRUBBS, JR.
NATIONAL EDITION EDITOR

3600 NEW YORK AVENUE NORTHEAST
WASHINGTON, D.C. 20002 / 202-636-3000

May 8, 1985

Mr. Patrick J. Buchanan
Special Assistant to the President
The White House
Washington, D.C.

Dear Pat:

My ears aren't quite as red as Sam Donaldson's necktie, but I do feel a burn there. Rumors, Pat. Other than my wife, I have told only Bill Cheshire about our interview. (Bill, marvelous chap, doesn't want me to leave, but gives me his enthusiastic blessing nonetheless.) But I have been tortured these past few weeks by rumors and queries. All I can say to my inquisitors is that they know more than I do; then I change the subject.

That is not to accuse you of any sort of leak (Lord knows, you may have decided that Grubbs is too crazy for you to have around), but to express some astonishment, a year after coming to this town, how rumors seem to arise from spontaneous generation here. Perhaps my name has come up in your conversations with mutual friends -- of whom, I'm finding, we have many...

And then this: You may have noticed a few editorials of late rally-in **Times** readers to your defense. It occurred to me you might find those shameless bids for your favor. You should know that I wrote only one of them, the one last week about the two Lou Cannon stories. The others, e.g. today's "Son of Deep Throat," were written by my colleagues. Correction: I wrote one a while back on your position on the OSI (a concern I share, by the way).

Now that the opposition is gathering, and a few shells have been lobbed in your direction, I do feel moved to be at your side for the duration of the fight. It occurs to me the White House press quarters -- security, of course; let them make of the symbolism what they will -- could be removed over to the EOB. But maybe you don't want to pick that fight just yet.

Yrs faithfully,



326332

PR016

Dg

Mollie Dickenson

December 4th, 1985

Dear President and Mrs. Reagan,

I am writing belatedly to thank you both for allowing me to interview you for the book I am writing on Jim and Sarah Brady. We expect it to be out in about a year.

In both cases, it was a very helpful and pleasurable experience, and your insights and information will add greatly to the telling of the Brady story.

Jim and I wish you a very Merry Christmas, and we are looking forward to seeing you at a White House Christmas party next week.

Sincerely,

Mollie Dickenson

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

4/22/85

326332

MEMORANDUM

TO: LARRY SPEAKES

FROM: FREDERICK J. RYAN, JR. *for*

SUBJECT: APPROVED PRESIDENTIAL ACTIVITY

MEETING: Interview with Mollie Dickenson
for book she is doing on Jim Brady

DATE: May 23, 1985

TIME: 5:00 pm

DURATION: 10 minutes

LOCATION: Oval Office

REMARKS REQUIRED: No

MEDIA COVERAGE: No

FIRST LADY
PARTICIPATION: No

NOTE: PROJECT OFFICER, SEE ATTACHED CHECKLIST

cc: K. Barun J. Kuhn
P. Buchanan C. McCain
D. Chew B. Oglesby
T. Dawson E. Rollins
B. Elliott J. Rosebush
M. Friedersdorf R. Scouten
C. Fuller R. Shaddick
W. Henkel B. Shaddix
E. Hickey L. Speakes
J. Hirshberg WHCA Audio/Visual
G. Hodges WHCA Operations
A. Kingon Nell Yates

11/18
PRO16
PRO0701
PU
FG00601
JL00301

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

TO: *Red Regan*

FROM: MICHAEL K. DEEVER
Assistant to the President
Deputy Chief of Staff

☐ Information

☒ Action

*Deaver indicates for you to
Set up.*

APPROVED FOR

Date *5/23/85*

Time *5:00*

Length *10 min*

Date *4/20/85*

FIR

Proj officer = Speake

Healer

FR
pls do

Mollie Dickenson

Wednesday, April 3, 1985

Dear Mike,

I have been trying to reach
you for the purpose of asking
your help in setting up an
interview with President Reagan
on my Jim Brady book, before
you leave the White House.

Could you do that, pretty please?

Best regards,

Mollie - 942-4121

5/21/85

5:15 pm

May 23

Fred:

Connie Romero called re
the Mollie Dickenson interview
on Thursday.

She said Mike Deaver said it
should be 20 minutes instead
of 10 minutes.

Ok to change?

HCD

*Who did she talk to?
Mike? or Mollie?*

As per Connie, Deaver called Larry
and said it had to be double the
time we gave her, which would be
20 minutes

OK

326735

ID #

JV

WHITE HOUSE CORRESPONDENCE TRACKING WORKSHEET

PR016

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

85107108

Name of Correspondent:

W. Henson Moore

☐ MI Mail Report

User Codes:

(A)

(B)

(C)

Subject:

Requests assistance in obtaining a television interview
with an Administration official for Edward Korry, executive
producer of "Which Governs Best," a documentary on the
role of government today.

ROUTE TO:

ACTION

DISPOSITION

Office/Agency	(Staff Name)	Action Code	Tracking Date YY/MM/DD	Type of Response	Code	Completion Date YY/MM/DD
LAOSLS		ORIGINATOR	85107109		C	85107112 AB
		Referral Note:				
			/ /			/ /
		Referral Note:				
			/ /			/ /
		Referral Note:				
			/ /			/ /
		Referral Note:				
			/ /			/ /
		Referral Note:				

ACTION CODES:

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

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

DISPOSITION CODES:

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

FOR OUTGOING CORRESPONDENCE:

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

Comments:

Media Relations has copy and is scheduling this for
July 18 or 19.

Keep this worksheet attached to the original incoming letter.

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

Always return completed correspondence record to Central Files.

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

RECORDS MANAGEMENT ONLY

CLASSIFICATION SECTION

No. of Additional Correspondents: _____ Media: L Individual Codes: 1246

Prime Subject Code: PR016 Secondary Subject Codes: FG006.01 BE003.04
PR016.01 _____
FG _____

PRESIDENTIAL REPLY

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

SIGNATURE CODES:

CPn - Presidential Correspondence

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

CLn - First Lady's Correspondence

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

CBn - Presidential & First Lady's Correspondence

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

MEDIA CODES:

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

W. HENSON MOORE

6TH DISTRICT, LOUISIANA

COMMITTEE ON WAYS AND MEANS

SUBCOMMITTEES:

HEALTH—RANKING MEMBER

SELECT REVENUE MEASURES

PUBLIC ASSISTANCE AND
UNEMPLOYMENT COMPENSATION



Congress of the United States
House of Representatives
Washington, D.C. 20515

326735

WASHINGTON OFFICE:
2183 RAYBURN HOUSE OFFICE BUILDING
WASHINGTON, D.C. 20515
(202) 225-3901

DISTRICT OFFICES:

236 FEDERAL BUILDING
750 FLORIDA STREET
BATON ROUGE, LOUISIANA 70801
(504) 344-7679

MOBILE OFFICE

HAMMOND TELEPHONE
(504) 345-4929

July 5, 1985

326720

B. Oglesby
Assistant to Vice-President
for Legislative Affairs
The White House
Washington, D.C. 20500

Dear B.:

I am seeking your help to set up a television interview for Edward Kurtz, executive producer of "Which Governs Best," a documentary which will be aired in New Orleans and on Louisiana's statewide public television network.

Enclosed is a summary of the documentary to give you an idea of its intent.

The program will focus on the role of government today and features local, state and national issues. It will mainly concentrate on a study of municipal government, its relationship on state and federal levels and how all are intertwined with the Republican initiative.

Mr. Kurtz and his television crew will be in Washington the week of July 15-19 and would like to interview a White House official to discuss Administration policy.

I hope you will be able to accommodate Mr. Kurtz and we can confirm his request before his July 14 departure from Louisiana.

With kindest personal regards, I remain

Sincerely yours,

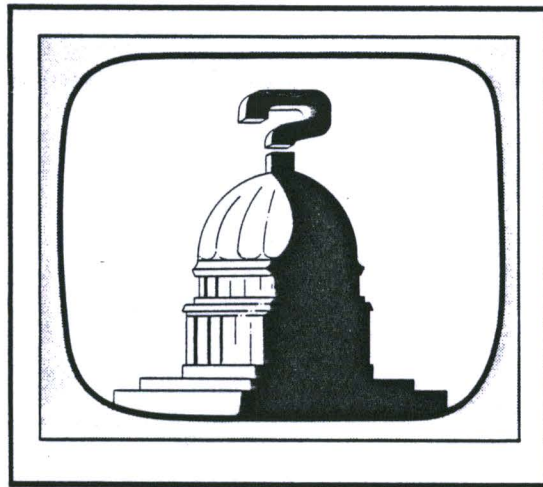
W. Henson Moore
Member of Congress

WHM:rc
Enclosures

cc: Edward Kurtz

Kurtz (504) 486-7411
Schedule - Kathy Martenson
865-8435

*7/9 copy sent to Sally for
action i.e. speak w/ media
Relations and support
More in some way
- close out at
in discussion*



"WHICH GOVERNS BEST"

A Television Program About
The Role of Government in Our Lives

"THAT GOVERNMENT IS BEST WHICH GOVERNS LEAST"

-HENRY DAVID THOREAU

ESSAY ON CIVIL DISOBEDIENCE, 1849

"WHICH GOVERNS BEST"

A TELEVISION PROGRAM ABOUT

THE ROLE OF GOVERNMENT IN OUR LIVES

A Sponsored Project of

THE INSTITUTE OF HUMAN RELATIONS, LOYOLA UNIVERSITY

XAVIER UNIVERSITY

and

THE NEW ORLEANS EDUCATIONAL TELECOMMUNICATIONS CONSORTIUM

PROJECT SUMMARY

Accompanying the political and economic changes in the United States in the last several years has been a re-thinking of the role of government in our lives: of what is and is not government's business; of government's accountability; of which particular government (federal, state, and/or local) should be responsible for providing and/or administering expected services and benefits; and of what options the private sector can or should assume as a supplier of services and benefits previously assumed within government's province.

In New Orleans, how has such re-thinking affected both opinions on the nature of government, and the behavior of individual citizens, businesses, community groups, and political bodies? What does that re-thinking and its effect mean for the economic, social and political future of New Orleans? Is government, as Ronald Reagan stated during his 1980 presidential campaign, not the solution, but the problem? Is, as Henry David Thoreau thought, that government best which governs least?

"Which Governs Best", a lively and informative 90 minute documentary for television, will look at these questions on the role of government in the lives of New Orleanians and of the New Orleans community. It will present business, political, and community leaders, sociologists, political scientists, urbanologists, legal scholars, historians, and men-and-women-on-the-street talking about what government does do, could do, and most importantly, should be doing. It will look briefly at theories and histories of government, and it will consider the development of our American models of government in relation to the system of values our laws and mores reflect.

It will study the ideological shifts of this century as the American people alternately sanction and reject an "activist" role of government. It will study the delicate balance in American political ideology between concerns of both self and community and attempt to redefine the classical notion of government's role as the promoter of the "common good" in the life of present political trends.

It will then narrow its focus to an in-depth portrait of three families from the New Orleans area: a low, middle, and high income family. Each family will present their respective viewpoints on many of the issues already presented.

The major portion of the program will then deal with an examination of the general and economic well being of these families and examine how government's changing role may have affected their lives. Three main areas of governmental and citizen interaction will be studied: health and education; taxation; government investment and subsidy.

Overall, "Which Governs Best" will stimulate thought and discussion on the role of government in our lives and on our role in the life of the government of which we, as citizens of a democracy, are part. "Which Governs Best" will not give answers nor make policy recommendations. Rather, it will let viewers see and hear their government at work on local, state, and national issues, present them with new ways of looking at government, and prompt them to consider the factors weighing on a government's ability to meet the expectations of its public.

"Which Governs Best" is scheduled for viewing in the fall of 1985 on local cable channels, WLAE-TV, and Louisiana Public Broadcasting. Immediately following that broadcast there will be a live, one hour state-wide call-in which will originate from the studios of Cox Cable and WLAE-TV in New Orleans, and from LPB in Baton Rouge. Viewers will be able to register their opinions on a number of questions raised in the documentary. Representatives of government, business, academia, and the community at large will participate at the various studios. Following its initial broadcast, "Which Governs Best" will be shown for a full year on New Orleans cable stations, and a study guide will be developed for use by secondary school social studies teachers in metropolitan New Orleans wishing to use the documentary in classroom instruction.

"Which Governs Best" is a project sponsored by the Loyola University Institute of Human Relations, The New Orleans Educational Telecommunications Consortium, Xavier University, and WLAE-TV. It includes participation by professors, student interns/researchers, and production personnel from Loyola, Xavier, and Tulane Universities, and the University of New Orleans. The key personnel are: Edward C. Kurtz, Jr., Executive Producer; Burwell Ware, Associate Producer; Newton Renfro, Associate Producer; Kathi Martensen, Associate Producer; and Fr. George F. Lundy, S.J., Principal Advisor and Consultant.

It has already included coverage of both political conventions for 1984, and a growing list of interviews of many local, state, and national government officials.

59
July 17, 1985

332044
4800
PRO16
YD018
09

Dear Dr. Szalay:

Thank you for your letters of June 14 and July 2 and for the material you enclosed.

I agree with you that the media's designation of Star Wars has had an unfortunate effect on the public's understanding and acceptance of the SDI. I welcome any thoughts you may have that would alleviate this problem. I might add that I have noted the print media seems to be using SDI more and more.

Sincerely,

Patrick J. Buchanan
Assistant to the President

Dr. Lorand B. Szalay
Director
Institute of Comparative
Social and Cultural Studies Inc.
Suite 900
4330 East-West Highway
Washington, D.C. 20814

PJB/mah

Dear Dr Szalay

of June 14 and

Thank you for your letter ^{of} July 18

2 and for the material you

enclosed

I agree with you that the
media's designation of Star Wars
has had an unfortunate effect
on the ~~SDI~~ public's understanding
and acceptance of the SDI

I welcome any thoughts you
may have that would alleviate
this problem. I might add
that I have noted the print
media seems to be using SDI
more and more. Sinc DFR

Dear Dr Szalay

of June 14 and

Thank you for your letter ^{of June 14} 18 July

2 and for the material you

enclosed

I agree with you that the
media's designation of Star Wars
has had an unfortunate effect
on the ~~SDI~~ public's understanding
and acceptance of the SDI

I welcome any thoughts you
may have that would alleviate
this problem. I might add
that I have noted the point
media seems to be using SDI
more and more. Since SDI

ICS
INSTITUTE OF COMPARATIVE
SOCIAL & CULTURAL
STUDIES INC.

4330 EAST-WEST HIGHWAY, SUITE 900, WASHINGTON, D. C. 20814 TEL. (301) 656-7996

July 2, 1985

Mr. Patrick Buchanan
Assistant to the President
Old Executive Office Building
Washington, D.C. 20506

Dear Mr. Buchanan:

With reference to my letter of June 14th, I am enclosing a summary of our findings on public perceptions relating to the Strategic Defense Initiative, together with some brief recommendations on how this information might be used to support the Administration's efforts to gain public acceptance of the SDI.

As you will note, we attribute much of the public confusion and misperceptions on the SDI concept to the highly consistent and harmful tendency to substitute "Star Wars" for "SDI." However, we believe that the basic idea of strategic defense, once clarified and cast in terms that enjoy wider acceptance, will be viewed in a positive way, both at home and abroad.

The recommendations suggest some near-term measures that the Administration might employ to clarify the advantages of the SDI while lessening public misperceptions of its intent. As the President's Advisory Commission on Public Diplomacy affirmed, "semantic infiltration" has real dangers, whether it stems from inimical ideologies or casual media usage.

For your information, we have initiated discussions of this problem with officials of the Departments of State and Defense and the U.S. Information Agency. I would be pleased to discuss these findings and recommendations with you and your staff and outline our proposed research on public perception of national security policies and programs.

Again, thank you for your interest and consideration, and for your thoughtful response to my inquiry of June 7th.

Respectfully,

L B Szalay

Lorand B. Szalay, Ph.D.
Director

1 Encl a/s
cc: Dr. Keyworth
Mr. Steiner
Ms. Chavez

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PUBLIC PERCEPTION OF THE STRATEGIC DEFENSE INITIATIVE

Our Institute is conducting research on public perception of programs and policies related to emergency preparedness and national security. Included in this research are public perceptions of the Strategic Defense Initiative and related issues.

The findings show how critical the choice of labels is in the formation of public views and receptivity. The following results and recommendations are based on empirical research using an innovative technique of perceptual/semantic assessment. Information on the data, the samples, and the method and its applications is included in the appendix.

PRELIMINARY FINDINGS

1) In the highly emotion-laden domain of disarmament and East-West relations, public perceptions greatly depend on semantic factors. These factors play a particularly critical role in the public's perception of national security issues. Thus, we found that it makes a great deal of difference whether the President's strategic defense program is identified as "Strategic Defense Initiative" or as "Star Wars Program." (See Appendix, Table 1)

a) The results show that the Strategic Defense Initiative is generally viewed as a positive concept; however, it has several limitations. For instance, the public perceives SDI as just another weapons program without conveying that it is a truly revolutionary idea. The results also indicate that the term "Strategic Defense Initiative" does not have the potential to counter use of the term "Star Wars."

b) Our findings indicate that the "Star Wars" label (which evokes widely shared images from science fiction, popular in its own right) when used in lieu of SDI conveys that President Reagan is pursuing a defense strategy built on fictional elements. These perspectives account for the predominantly negative evaluations of the concept (e.g., stupid, dangerous, wasteful).

2) From the substitute terms tested, "High-Tech Anti-Nuclear Defense" emerged as a particularly attractive alternative. The strength of this term comes from its focus on U.S. high-tech and computer capabilities which have great fascination, attraction, and reality for the public at large. Added to the public's awareness of the gap between Soviet and American technological capabilities, we believe that this attraction lends credence and confidence to high tech defense measures; "Star Wars" erodes that confidence by trivializing a serious, feasible concept (see Appendix, Table 2).

(2)

3) Comparison of public perceptions of "High-Tech Anti-Nuclear Defense" with "Laser Beam Missile Defense" illustrates that the "High-Tech" label more effectively conveys the ideas of defense and protection, and at the same time carries fewer connotations of death, danger, and destruction. (See Appendix, Table 2)

4) Comparing "High-Tech Anti-Nuclear Defense" with "Mutually Assured Destruction" shows the potential that the "High-Tech" label offers to present the President's Strategic Defense Initiative as a realistic alternative to the "MAD" doctrine which, as the data indicate, is indeed unpopular with the public. (See Appendix, Table 3)

RECOMMENDATIONS

The Institute's findings on the dominant trends of public perceptions suggest the need for a tailored public information program, built around three main points:

1) Offering SDI as an Opportunity to Break the MAD Cycle. As the findings show the American public has a strong desire for security and would welcome a solution which could stop of our continued and increasing dependence on Mutually Assured Destruction. A defense-based substitute for MAD could offer a solid foundation for popular support of the President's Strategic Defense Initiative.

2) Building on U.S. Advantages in High Technology. In view of the criticism that the President's plans are futuristic in an unrealistic sense, it is important to underscore the opportunity that U.S. advantages in high technology realistically offer for the development of new defensive capabilities. As our data suggest, popular interest in high technology provides a basis for soliciting public support for the application of high technology to a strategic defense strategy.

3) Increasing Awareness of the Dangers of Misinformation. Public confusion over the Strategic Defense Initiative is fed not only by Soviet accusations, such as the placing of nuclear weapons in space, but also by persistent mass media use of the "Star Wars" label in lieu of the official name. (Other programs are affected in this way as well) The public's concern with security and its respect for high technology, offer much needed opportunities to overcome the confusion and misperception.

This suggests that the implementation of such a public information program would require a great deal of "fine tuning." As our findings show, public perceptions vary rather intensively depending on age, sex, and education. Political attitudes and frames of reference are an even more important source of difference. The findings pinpoint several important dimensions of these perceptual variations, and offer new opportunities and new information on how to address various subpopulations, how to select potent themes which address public concerns and interests, and how to communicate new and dynamic ideas based on the perceptual and semantic dispositions of particular segments of the population.

Some relevant applications which could bear on the implementation of these recommendations are listed next in the Appendix.

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APPENDIX

THE INVESTIGATIONS - Research Providing the Data

The following data came from an ongoing research task sponsored by the Federal Emergency Management Agency (FEMA) to assess public perceptions which influence the behavior of various segments of the population in the context of particular measures and programs of emergency preparedness.

The data collection is based on the use of three main regional samples in the U.S. (East Coast, Midwest, and West Coast). In view of the in-depth nature of the analysis, the assessment relies on the use of small to medium size samples (between 150 to 171 subjects per region). The data presented in the following tables rely on the use of 321 respondents. The approach uses stratified random quota samples.

THE METHOD

This research uses the Associative Group Analysis (AGA) Method, an innovative analytic technique frequently characterized as a methodological breakthrough in the field of perceptual/semantic assessment. Rather than asking direct questions, the AGA method elicits hundreds of spontaneous free responses to key issues, ideas, and programs. The analysis uses specially developed computer programs to identify dominant trends of perceptions and evaluations, subjective meanings, and to chart the organization and content of belief systems.

The strength of the AGA method is in assessing perceptual and motivational dispositions of which people themselves are frequently unaware and which may not be revealed in the context of direct survey questions. The attached publication "Charting the Hidden Cultural Dimension" illustrates a few insights and applications.

RELEVANT APPLICATIONS

In this field of perceptual and semantic dispositions, where biased speculations are more readily available than solid timely information, the AGA data can be used to:

- select meaningful labels which effectively convey a desired message to the American public;
- present information and ideas to particular domestic and foreign populations in ways which are adapted to their frame of reference;
- increase government awareness of the importance of these factors in practically all areas of public information and communication;
- protect our vocabulary from adverse semantic manipulations, including their as yet little recognized intellectual, moral, social, and political consequences.

Table 1

STRATEGIC DEFENSE INITIATIVE

AND

STAR WARS PROGRAM

A COMPARISON OF PUBLIC PERCEPTIONS

Main Components	Percentage of Total Score	
	Strategic Defense Initiative	Star Wars Program
MILITARY, ARMY, WEAPONS	5	31
REAGAN, GOVERNMENT, RUSSIA	19	14
DEFENSE, PROTECT, DETERRENT	9	8
GOOD, NECESSARY	8	11
LASER, SATELLITE, NUCLEAR	13	4
SPACE, FUTURE	12	2
BAD, STUPID, DANGEROUS	9	3
MONEY, EXPENSIVE, WASTEFUL	11	4
WAR, FIGHTING, DESTRUCTION	5	10
STAR WARS, MOVIE, T.V.	9	5
PLAN, STRATEGY	0	6
MISCELLANEOUS	0	2
Total Scores	2553	2259

Main Components and Responses	Strategic Defense Initiative	Star Wars Program
MILITARY, ARMY, WEAPONS	132	689
military	14	66
Army	-	68
Navy	-	58
Airforce	-	38
missile,s	52	109
weapons	15	32
bomb,s	28	72
arms	-	35
guns	-	22
airplane	-	12
plane,s	-	50
B-1 Bomber	-	10
bombers	-	11
ships	7	10
submarines, subs	-	21
tank,s	-	24
rockets	16	-
soldier,s	-	29
Pentagon	-	22
SPACE, FUTURE	305	56
space	186	25
outer space	12	-
future	57	7
futuristic	10	-
planets	10	-
moon	10	-
stars	20	-
air	-	24
BAD, STUPID, DANGEROUS	228	57
bad	38	6
unnecessary	19	-
unneeded	12	-
useless	-	22
no	14	-
scary	14	-
dangerous	19	6
foolish	13	-
crazy	16	-
stupid	26	18
dumb	26	5
propaganda	10	-
weird	11	-
yuk	10	-
MONEY, EXPENSIVE, WASTEFUL	270	94
money	74	35
taxes, tax dollars	17	7
expense	13	-
expensive	48	12
waste,ful	50	12
waste of money	14	-
costly	26	-
cost	10	15
budget	7	13
spending	11	-

* Comparison based on West Coast sample (N=171)

Table 2

LASER BEAM MISSILE DEFENSE AND HIGH TECHNOLOGY ANTI-NUCLEAR DEFENSE

A COMPARISON OF PUBLIC PERCEPTIONS

Main Components	Percentage of Total Score			
	Laser Beam Missile Defense		High Tech. Anti- Nuclear Defense	
	E	W	E	W
COMPUTERS, TECHNOLOGY	18	12	26	19
FUTURE, STAR WARS, SPACE	17	16	7	11
DEFENSE, PROTECTION, SAFETY	4	6	10	7
WEAPONS, MISSILES, MILITARY	7	7	12	13
WAR, DESTRUCTION, DEATH	15	15	6	11
LASER BEAM, LIGHT, RAY	12	12	8	4
GOOD, NECESSARY	5	7	11	8
MONEY, EXPENSIVE	3	4	6	8
POWERFUL, ACCURATE	8	6	1	1
WASTEFUL, UNNECESSARY	2	4	6	6
U.S., U.S.S.R., GOVERNMENT	5	8	7	10
MISCELLANEOUS	3	3	1	2
Total Scores	1988	2258	1792	2054

Main Components and Responses

	E	W	E	W
DEFENSE, PROTECTION, SAFETY	82	137	185	141
defense, ive	32	71	57	30
protect, ion	28	30	56	43
safe, ty	22	24	33	39
prevention	-	-	11	-
guard	-	4	10	-
security	-	8	12	15
prepare, d	-	-	6	14

WEAPONS, MISSILES, MILITARY	143	159	217	275
weapon, s	30	41	13	21
missile, s	18	24	72	57
rockets	7	5	-	24
bombs	9	7	12	57
arms race	14	-	-	9
race	-	-	10	-
nuclear obsolescence	12	-	-	-
submarines	-	-	-	15
gun, s	23	38	-	-
planes	-	-	12	7
MX missile	-	-	14	9
anti-ballistic missile	-	-	14	-
anti-missile	-	-	10	-
warheads	-	-	-	13
military	21	27	26	30
Army	-	9	13	13
Airforce	-	-	-	12
Pentagon	9	8	21	8

WAR, DESTRUCTION, DEATH	306	329	99	216
war, fare	105	119	80	116
destroy, tion, tive	60	62	10	18
death	42	41	-	32
deadly	8	28	-	-
kill, ing	10	14	-	9
radiation	27	-	9	17
fight, ing	17	15	-	-
danger, ous	37	50	-	24

GOOD, NECESSARY	102	152	198	168
good	28	52	38	42
good idea	-	-	15	-
great	20	18	-	-
necessary	6	14	30	42
need, ed	-	13	22	19
yes	-	-	-	12
help, ful	-	18	12	18
important	-	19	-	30
desirable	10	-	-	-
hope, ful	9	-	40	-
better	7	-	11	-
possible	14	18	20	-
peace	8	-	10	5

* Comparison based on samples from the East Coast (N=150) and from the West Coast (N=171)

Table 3

HIGH TECHNOLOGY ANTI-NUCLEAR DEFENSE AND

MUTUALLY ASSURED DESTRUCTION

A COMPARISON OF PUBLIC PERCEPTIONS

Main Components	Percentage of Total Score	
	High Tech. Anti- Nuclear Defense	Mutually Assured Destruction
COMPUTERS, TECHNOLOGY	26	0
FUTURE, STAR WARS, SPACE	6	0
DEFENSE, PROTECTION, SAFETY	11	3
MISSILES, NUCLEAR, MILITARY	13	12
WAR, DEATH, DESTRUCTION	6	35
LASER BEAM, RAY	9	0
GOOD, NECESSARY, PEACE	10	2
MONEY, EXPENSIVE	7	1
CRAZY, INSANE, BAD	4	26
U.S., U.S.S.R., GOVERNMENT	6	10
INEVITABLE, ASSURED, MUTUAL	1	6
MISCELLANEOUS	2	4
Total Scores	1742	1626

Main Components and Responses

Main Components and Responses	High Technology Anti- Nuclear Defense Mutually Assured Destruction	
	High Tech. Anti- Nuclear Defense	Mutually Assured Destruction
COMPUTERS, TECHNOLOGY	451	0
computer,s	119	-
radar,s	55	-
satellite,s	48	-
electronics	22	-
technology	13	-
science	22	-
scientific	34	-
scientists	31	-
advanced	27	-
advancement	11	-
design	11	-
research	27	-
complex	18	-
complicate	13	-
DEFENSE, PROTECTION, SAFETY	191	56
defense,ive	57	9
protect,ion	56	-
safety	20	-
safer	13	-
security	12	-
prevention	11	7
guard	10	-
help	12	-
deterrent,ence	-	40
WAR, DEATH, DESTRUCTION	97	573
war	80	75
nuclear attack	-	18
destroy	-	17
destruction	10	21
disaster	-	44
nuclear war,fare	7	89
death	-	172
end	-	46
all die	-	27
holocaust	-	16
kill	-	14
armageddon	-	12
overkill	-	12
murder	-	10
CRAZY, INSANE, BAD	75	421
crazy	-	73
stupid,ity	-	64
mad,ness	-	50
insane,ity	-	44
bad	-	29
ridiculous	-	28
bullshit	15	8
no winner	-	16
foolish,ness	-	16
why?	-	15
angry	-	14
sick	-	13
hate	-	12
scary	8	18
nothing	-	10
no nukes	17	-
useless	13	11
unnecessary	12	-
stop	10	-

* Comparison based on East Coast sample (N=150)

*Agno-Handle-
Don't Have
Time Pat*

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June 14

PJB
He must have
been at the
briefing for
Hungarian -
Americans.

Mr. Patrick Buchanan
National Security Council
Old Executive Office Building
Washington D.C., 20506

Dear Mr. Buchanan:

During your Friday 7 June orientation briefing, I inquired regarding your views on the fostering of a conservative newspaper to equal the New York Times or the Washington Post.

In your response you referred to the financial dimensions of the problem. I am familiar with some of your related writings, and I support the contention that the most critical dimension may not be the financial one. What really matters, I think, is recognition of the importance of having mass media alternatives to the present situation.

While conservatives have an instinctively sound approach to life, their pragmatism leads to a reduced interest in the competition of ideas, and in the decisive role of mass media as a source of influence and power, both economic and political. Mass media today has the unique potential to carry ideas to people and to shape their way of thinking at a historically unprecedented scale.

I believe that you have the unique combination of experience, insight and influence necessary to redress the balance by helping conservatives recognize the importance of ideas in the mass media. ~~Based on my own~~ experience, I believe that a great deal depends on the clarity and weight of the evidence by which we are able to show the sad state of affairs in this sphere of thought and intellectual influence, and to suggest practical ways which could lead out from the present confusion.

The interest and insights I have developed in this field derive to a large extent from those in-depth studies conducted on public perceptions, both American and foreign. Intrigued and alarmed by Soviet capabilities to manipulate ideas and use them as instruments of control, I pursued this subject area as a psychologist, after leaving Hungary in 1956. Since charting influences on public perceptions and values requires improved capabilities in empirical measurement, I spent several years on the development of a research instrument which is now recognized by many as a breakthrough. Using this technique, we have conducted in-depth studies of scores of domestic and overseas population samples under sponsorship ranging from the U.S. Navy and the Federal Emergency Management Agency to the National Institute of Mental Health and the Department of Education.

Since this information offers deeper insights into people's views and frames of reference than traditional opinion surveys, the data have proven to be useful in tracing differences in values of various ethnic and cultural groups; in identifying the differential effects of educational programs; and in determining the level of public concern with issues of emergency preparedness and national security, just to mention a few.

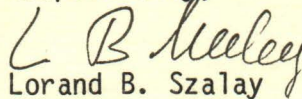
The data on foreign samples show, for instance, the directions and intensity of Marxist influence in reinforcing latent sentiments of anti-Americanism. They show the effectiveness of anti-American propaganda in influencing world perceptions of the United States as driven by greed and engaged in exploitation on a world wide scale. Similarly, these findings show the level of success achieved by Marxist cliches which present the USSR as a power built on egalitarian social principles while ignoring the Soviet Union's domestic oppression and expansionist policies.

This information offers new opportunities to recognize and understand the effects of ideas which are frequently dismissed as "intangibles" only because they are not directly observable. This information shows both the existence of and the trends toward misinterpretation and misperception of U.S. policies and programs among domestic and foreign audiences. This can be used not only to trace the critical areas of confusion and dangerous distortions in the sphere of public perceptions, but also to find ways to effectively reach people at home and abroad based on their subjective understanding of the situation.

For example, our latest data show how people's perceptions of national security issues (such as the Strategic Defense Initiative), are adversely affected by "manipulation" (e.g. the media's forceful use of "Star Wars" in lieu of SDI). This is a virtually classic case of how ideas of historic importance can be undermined through large scale media campaigns engaged in semantic manipulations. I believe this new information could be eye-opening for those who fail to recognize the importance of ideas, and the way they are expressed.

I would be pleased to discuss this subject area with you and your staff, and address any specific questions at your convenience. Thank you for your interest and consideration.

Respectfully,



Lorand B. Szalay
Director

P.S. I raised the question of the Strategic Defense Initiative with Steve Steiner and he reacted with interest. I am developing a brief summary on some findings and practical recommendations on this primarily domestic issue. I will send you material on this subject shortly.

CHARTING THE HIDDEN CULTURAL DIMENSION

Comparative Assessment of Peoples'
Perceptions, Meanings, Ways of Thinking . . .

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FEEDBACK ON RECENT APPLICATIONS

The Institute's numerous applications of the Associative Group Analysis (AGA) over the years have confirmed the utility and uniqueness of AGA-based information. The diversity and potential of these applications are illustrated in the examples below. Program managers who are familiar with these projects, and who can evaluate the results, are identified.

Foreign Language Education and Foreign Area Studies. Communication Lexicons were developed by our Institute on Various Far Eastern, Middle Eastern, and Latin American countries (sponsored by the Division of International Education). These lexicons are being widely used for language instruction and area studies by universities as well as the government. These products offer educators timely insights into contemporary images, meanings, and frames of reference of particular foreign populations (including specific cultures, subcultures, and social strata). Information on the nature and utility of this information may be obtained from Dr. Kenneth Whitehead, Director of International Education. Phone: (202) 245-9691. Comments on the relevance of this information for teacher education may be obtained from Dr. Sven Groenings, Director, Fund for the Improvement of Postsecondary Education. Phone: (202) 245-8106. Feedback on the value of this information in foreign area training may be obtained from Michael Guido, Director, AID Washington Training Center. Phone: (202) 235-9098.

Adapting Mental Health Services to Hispanic Clients. As part of a study of the underutilization of mental health services by Hispanic Americans, our Institute developed extensive information on Hispanic psychocultural dispositions relevant to the training of mental health service providers and to the delivery of these services to Hispanics. Comments on the nature and utility of this information are available from James Ralph, M.D., Director of Minority Mental Health Programs, National Institute of Mental Health. Phone: (301) 443-3724.

Psychocultural Dispositions Relevant to Personnel Management. For the Office of Naval Research, ICS has conducted extensive studies over the last ten years on Hispanic and other minority populations with special regard to improving recruitment of high quality minority service personnel, providing adequate training for these minorities, and raising their service motivation and satisfaction. Information on the novelty and value of this information is available from Dr. Wallace Sinaiko, Director, ONR Manpower Committee. Phone: (703) 357-1829.

Public Perceptions of Programs and Policies Related to Emergency Preparedness. This work is being conducted under the sponsorship of the Federal Emergency Management Agency. It illustrates the potential of AGA to chart important dimensions of public perception, beyond the reach of more traditional survey methods. Comments on this research can be obtained from Dr. Ralph Swisher, Project Manager. Phone: (202) 646-3561.

CHARTING THE HIDDEN CULTURAL DIMENSION

**Comparative Assessment of Peoples'
Perceptions, Meanings, Ways of Thinking . . .**

- How does people's background influence what they see?
- Minority status and self image
- Why do so few Hispanic Americans seek help from mental health centers?
- Important aspects of the "American image" missed by our surveys overseas
- Is the meaning of friendship universal?
- Why do some nations fail to adopt our approach to democracy?
- Charting cultural distance between people
- Can cultural distance be reduced or bridged?

Prepared by Margret Nisi Breña

**INSTITUTE OF COMPARATIVE SOCIAL & CULTURAL STUDIES INC.
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"... a most intriguing approach toward gaining clearer understanding of the deeper views that may be held by specific groups of people ... say, catchment area residents' attitudes toward services available from a CMHC" (community mental health center).

Chief, Mental Health Services Program
National Institute of Mental Health

"... a wealth of interesting intercultural information which is either entirely new or which, heretofore, was merely assumed or vaguely suspected."

Chief, International Research Programs
U.S. Office of Education

"... pioneering empirical work basic to cross-cultural understanding (which) has implications for teacher training and for the provision of public services and therefore also for a range of public policy considerations."

Staff Member, U.S. Senate Committee on
Labor and Human Resources

"Over the past few years we have been utilizing the Communications Lexicons on Korea and Arab and Hispanic areas with excellent response and reaction from the recipients."

Chief, Overseas Training
Agency for International Development
U.S. Department of State

"The cultural differences brought out by the AGA method strike me as a genuine contribution to cross-cultural understanding. ICS' multicultural lexicon approach seems to contribute a great deal to cross-cultural understanding through explication of language beyond basic dictionary translations."

Evaluation Specialist
Office of Evaluation
Peace Corps

Working Across Cultural Distances

Understanding people whose background and experiences are significantly different from our own poses a difficult and demanding task. Cultural background and patterns of upbringing often produce subtle but important contrasts in people's perceptions, motivations, and ways of thinking. The fewer such psychological predispositions are shared, the harder it is to achieve mutual understanding and to communicate effectively. In an ever more interdependent world, finding a way to cope with these barriers is both a national objective and a way to personal enrichment.

Our Institute is dedicated to this purpose as it conducts comparative analyses of patterns of psychological predispositions. We rely heavily on the Associative Group Analysis (AGA) approach to identify the perceptions and attitudes that characterize given groups of people. The method is based on spontaneous word associations to selected key words or pictures. It has proven to be an efficient and objective way to assess basic differences in priorities and concerns, in subjective meanings, images, and world views which lie at the heart of intercultural relations and communication.

Some Key Features of the Method

The potential of AGA to measure perceptions and motivations characteristically evasive to empirical assessment, depends on a combination of important features:

- No questions are asked.
- People are not forced to make judgments.
- Freely given reactions reveal patterns of views and motivations of which the people themselves are frequently unaware.
- Hundreds of thousands of reactions elicited systematically from selected groups provide a solid basis for reconstructing their characteristic way of thinking and reacting, their frames of reference.

Analysis and Validity

AGA uses a variety of analyses as elaborated in a recently published book, *Subjective Meaning and Culture: Assessment Through Word Associations* (Ref. #1). This volume presents also extensive results on reliability and validity of the method and its relationship to other well-known research techniques.

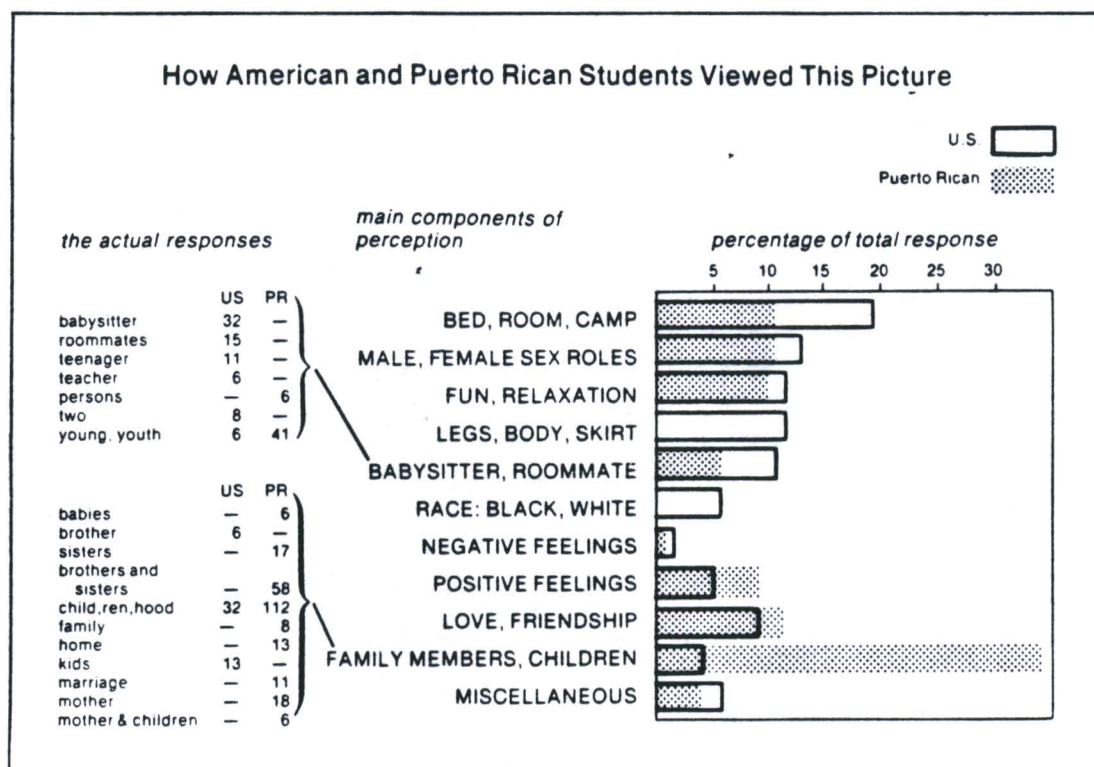
The following examples illustrate insights gained mainly through content analysis of spontaneous associations produced by various culture groups.

How Does People's Background Influence What They See?

In different cultures apparently similar experiences often have different meanings. It is natural to assume that the same picture would convey the same scene to everyone. Yet when the same picture is shown to people from different countries, each group focuses on different aspects of the picture and gives its own interpretation.



BABYSITTER OR SISTER?

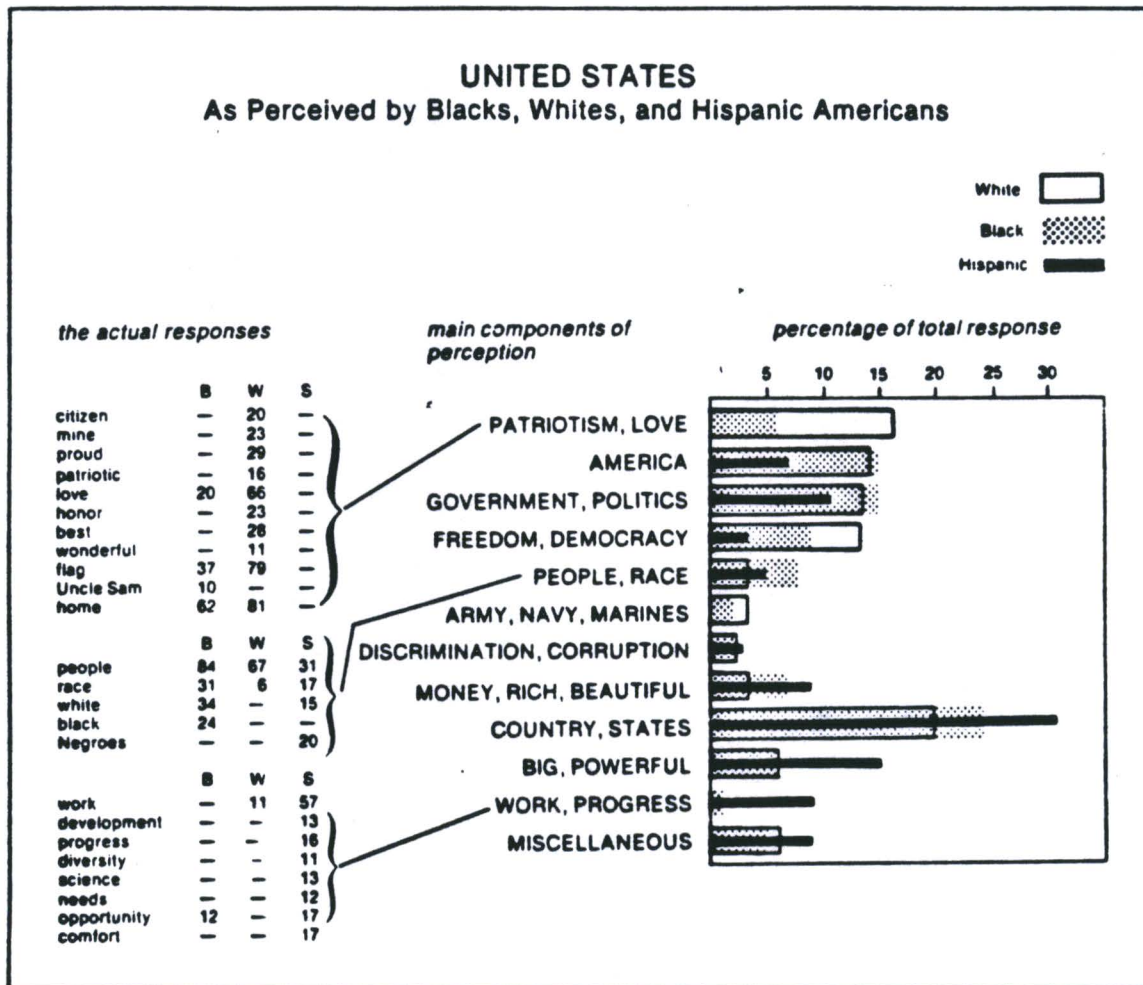


For Americans this scene depicted a casual relationship, that of a babysitter or roommate. They noted more of the visible details—legs, body—and observed a racial difference between the two girls.

For Puerto Ricans this scene depicted a family setting of siblings or parent and child. They projected more positive feelings, more love and affection, into the picture, while the Americans mentioned primarily friendship. The Puerto Ricans did not notice any racial differences. The above trends (e.g., the U.S. focus on race, the Puerto Rican focus on family relations) have emerged with consistency in the framework of an extensive comparative study, *Subjective Culture and Communication: A Puerto Rican-U.S. Comparison* (Ref. #2).

Our National Images Are Selectively Focused

Almost everyone would agree that the United States is composed of 50 states, of 220 million people, and has a GNP of x billion dollars, etc. Yet the subjective image of the U.S. varies greatly because various people capitalize on different aspects and characteristics depending on their different experiences and priorities, their different frame of reference. The image of the United States varies considerably even for domestic groups such as Blacks, Whites, and Hispanic Americans.



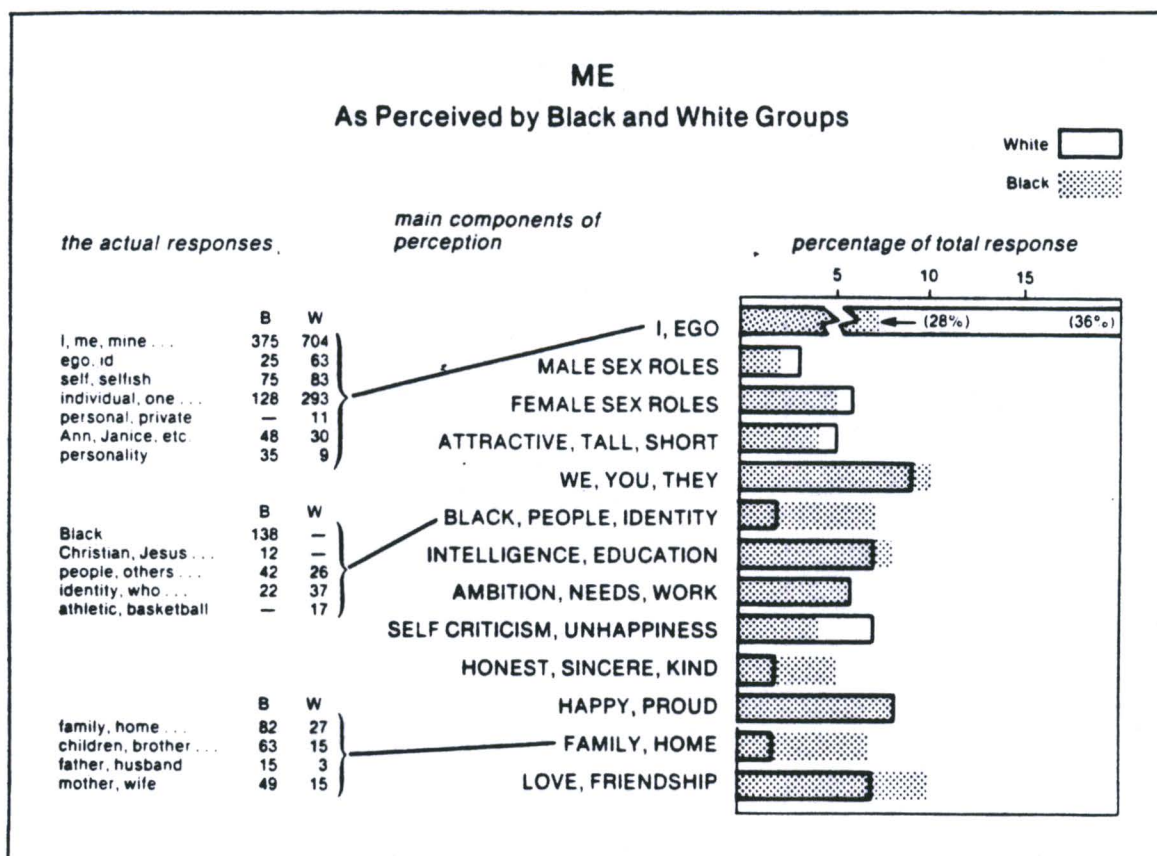
The United States elicits many patriotic feelings from the White group. For the Hispanic American group, formed mainly of immigrants, this is not a salient component. The Blacks express an explicit concern with people and race. The Whites place stronger emphasis on freedom and democracy, while the Hispanic group is particularly impressed by the size and strength of this country (big, powerful), its achievements (work, progress), and its wealth (money, rich).

The psychocultural similarities and differences between these domestic groups have been extensively studied in various domains of life discussed in *Priorities, Meanings, and Psychocultural Distance of Black, White, and Spanish-American Groups*.

Minority Status and Self Image

The self image may serve as a good illustration of how highly subjective our images and perceptions are. Self image is particularly critical since it influences our relationships to others. It is not easily assessed by conventional measures.

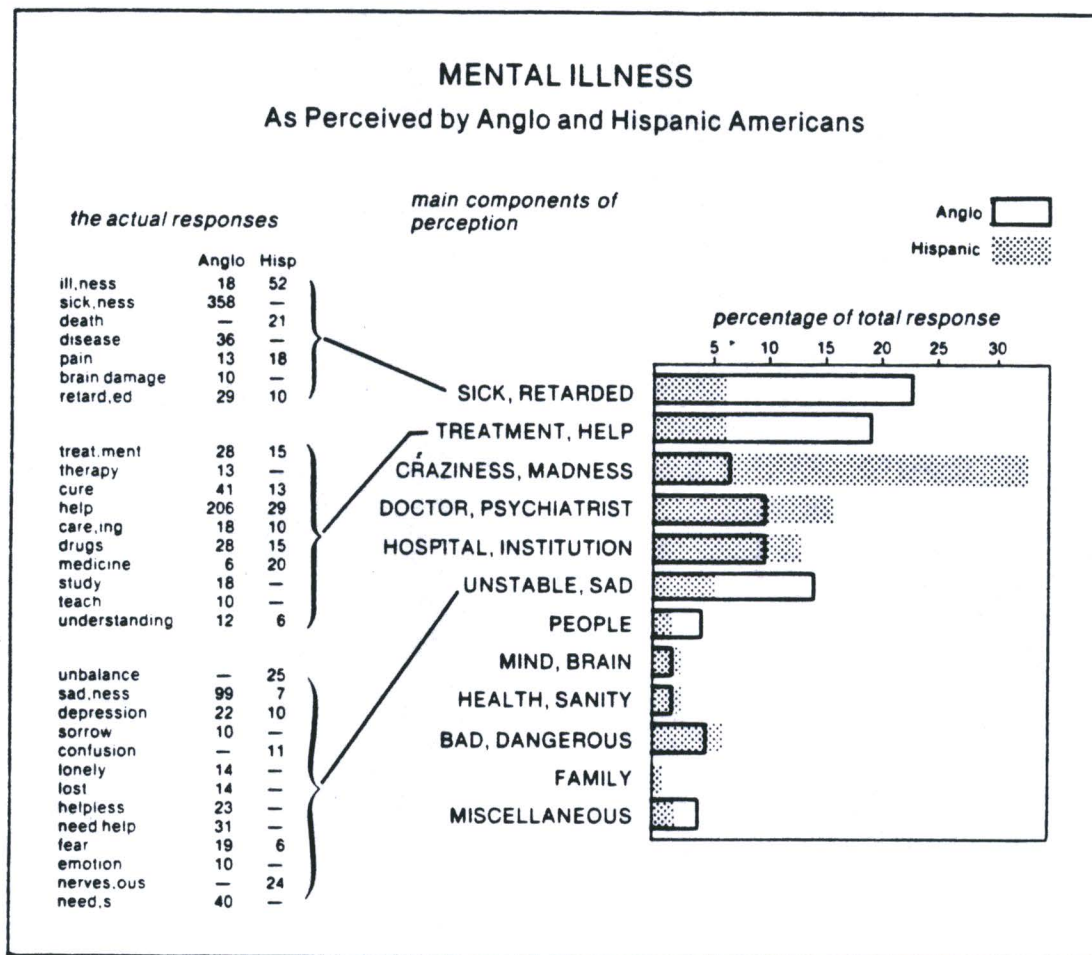
Does a person see himself mainly as a representative of his family, as Francis Hsu claims the Chinese do? Or does he think of himself as a lonely individualist, as Riesman describes Americans? Does he identify himself as an American? a Black? a teacher? a male? It would sound strange even to ask such questions directly. Eliciting spontaneous responses to the word "me" is a simple but effective way of assessing all aspects of self image and their relative salience.



Both Whites and Blacks emphasize the self as a salient component ("I, Ego"), but this individualistic focus is stronger by Whites than by Blacks. Although we might expect everyone to respond in this same way, this is not characteristic of people from more traditional cultures such as the Chinese or Korean (see Ref. #3). The self image of the Black students includes a relatively strong identification with their ethnic group and also with family. The Whites do not mention their race as an important part of their self identity.

Why Do So Few Hispanic Americans Seek Help from Mental Health Centers?

A person's decisions and behavior are largely determined by the way he perceives a particular issue or situation. Thus, probably the best way to understand and anticipate people's actions is to assess their relevant perceptions. It is broadly observed that Hispanic Americans, for example, are reluctant to seek the help of psychiatrists and psychologists.

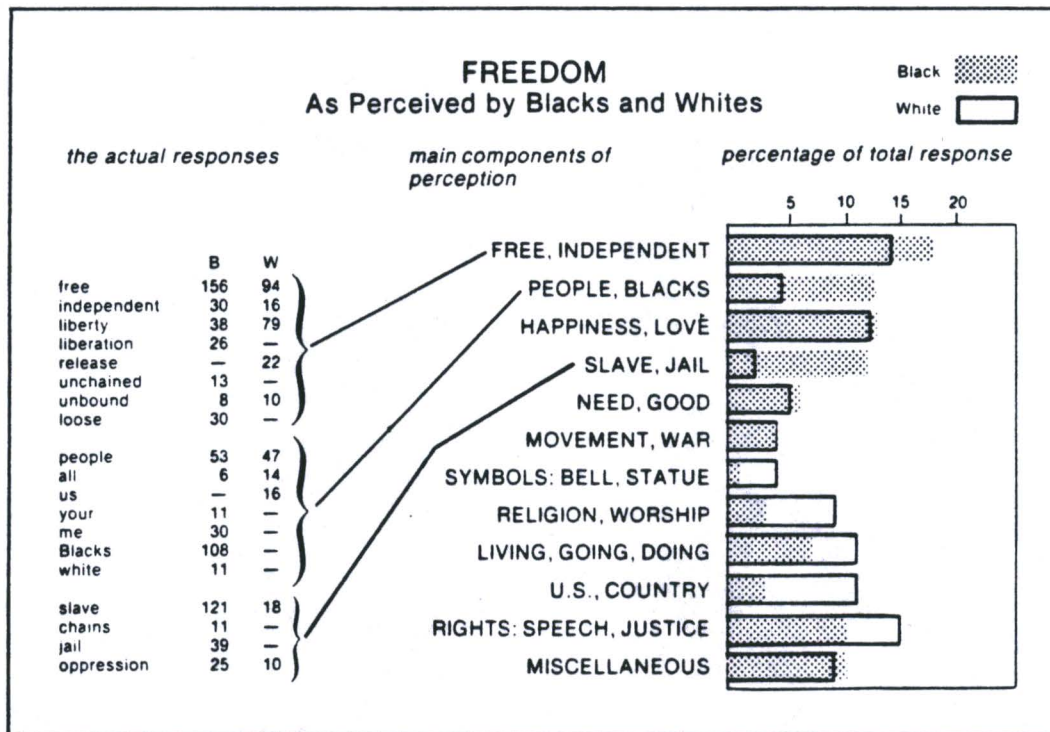


For the Anglo American group mental illness is predominantly a sickness which calls for treatment with chances for recovery. While for Anglo Americans the concept includes a broad variety of milder emotional and adjustment problems, for the Hispanic American group mental illness is largely synonymous with an extreme stage of madness, craziness. With the milder emotional adaptive problems ignored, certain opportunities for prevention and therapeutic intervention are missed.

The extensive findings presented in *The Hispanic American Cultural Frame of Reference* (Ref. #4) offer insights into Hispanic perceptions and cultural priorities, which help explain their reluctance to use such services. They also give clues on how to present these services so that they become more meaningful and useful to Hispanic Americans.

Freedom Is More Than an Abstract Ideal

A theme on which Black and White perceptions were found to differ the most is freedom. This surprised several experts who argued that freedom is a universal value, that its meaning is the same to all human beings. Yet the difference is readily explicable, once the main elements of the meaning of freedom are identified.



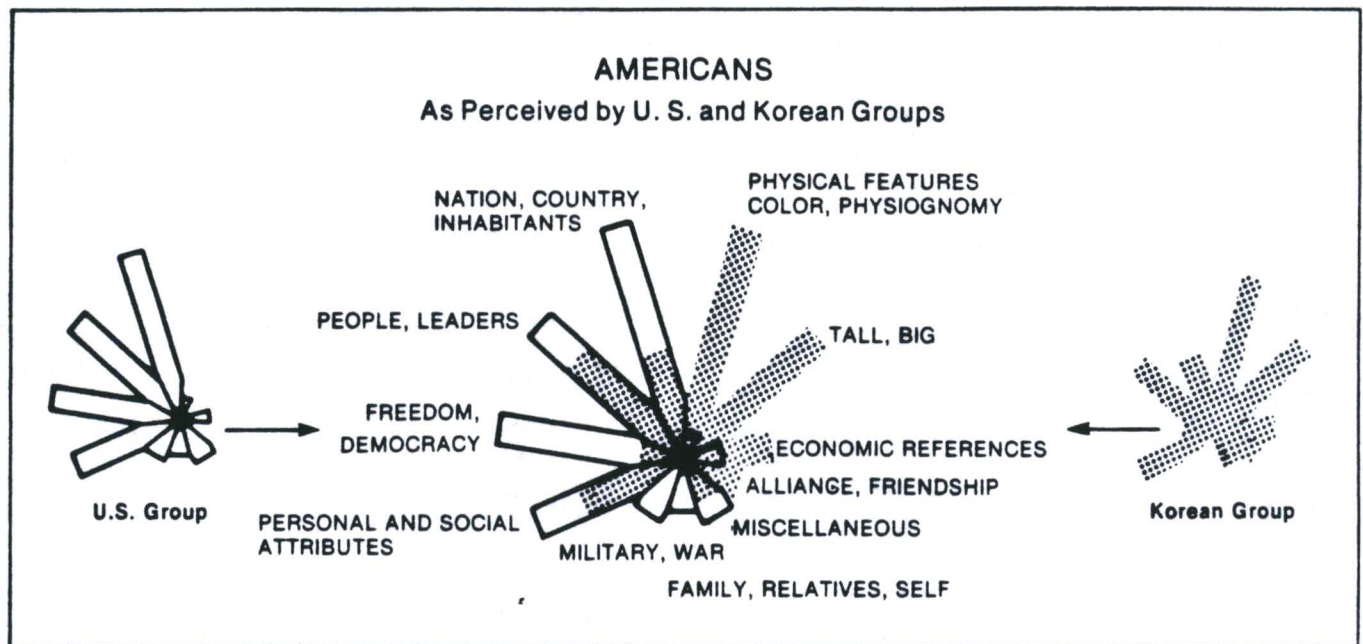
For the White group the United States is representative and symbolic of freedom. Human rights constitute major timely concerns, especially freedom of speech. This group emphasizes freedom of action (living, going, doing).

For Blacks the human, racial dimension of freedom receives a great deal of attention, and freedom is viewed as an issue particularly critical to Blacks. Freedom is inseparable in their minds from their historical experiences (e.g., slavery, jail, chains) which form an active component of their present-day views and feelings.

Several examples from an extensive comparative study of Black, White, and Hispanic groups (Ref. #8) show that certain legal issues (e.g., freedom, rights, law) have a deeper psychological meaning for minority groups. This is in agreement with the views of scholars concerned with intercultural relations, who call attention to a sort of psychological dependence built into the very existence of minorities: Survival and success require from them a continuous adaptation to the norms, style, and pace of life set by the majority. While the minorities are likely to feel and resent this dependence relationship, the dominant majority is generally unaware of it.

Important Aspects of the "American Image" Missed by Our Surveys Overseas

Important perceptions sometimes do not emerge from answers given to specific questions. How Americans are perceived overseas is an interesting case in point.



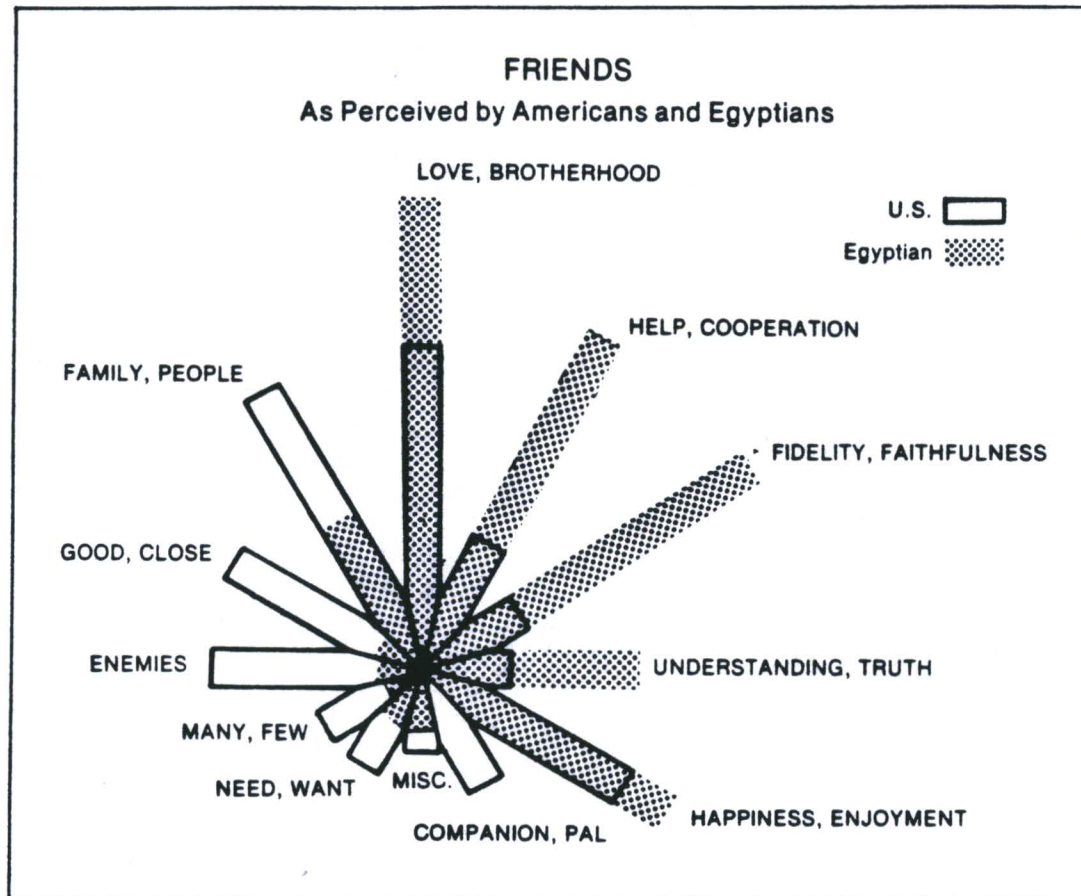
The semantograph illustrated here is a visual way of presenting the main components of perception. It shows the similarities and differences in the group's interpretations by the lengths of the bars and their overlap.

Americans think of themselves as representatives of the United States, of freedom, and democracy. They also describe themselves as good, happy, and proud. While Koreans share some of these perceptions, they pay considerable attention to the physical characteristics of Americans: white, blue eyes, big noses. The most salient feature of Americans, in the eyes of the Koreans, is that they are tall and big, in contrast to their own size. This suggests a high degree of racial self-awareness. That the Koreans note this difference is not in itself surprising since it is a statement of fact. Yet a high salience given to certain facts is rarely incidental or inconsequential. It can reveal motivations, complexes, anxieties—those invisible realities frequently overlooked in international relations. We probably will never know how tall we appeared in the eyes of our Vietnamese allies.

The intensity of attention given by Koreans to the size of Americans is underscored by several additional details (e.g., few Americans described Koreans as small) in the *Communication Lexicon on Three South Korean Audiences* (Ref. #5).

Is the Meaning of Friendship Universal?

Since friendship universally implies a positive rapport between people, it is tempting to assume that friendship also involves the same attitudes, same expectations, and same obligations around the globe. A closer look at American and Arab reactions reveals some interesting cultural differences.

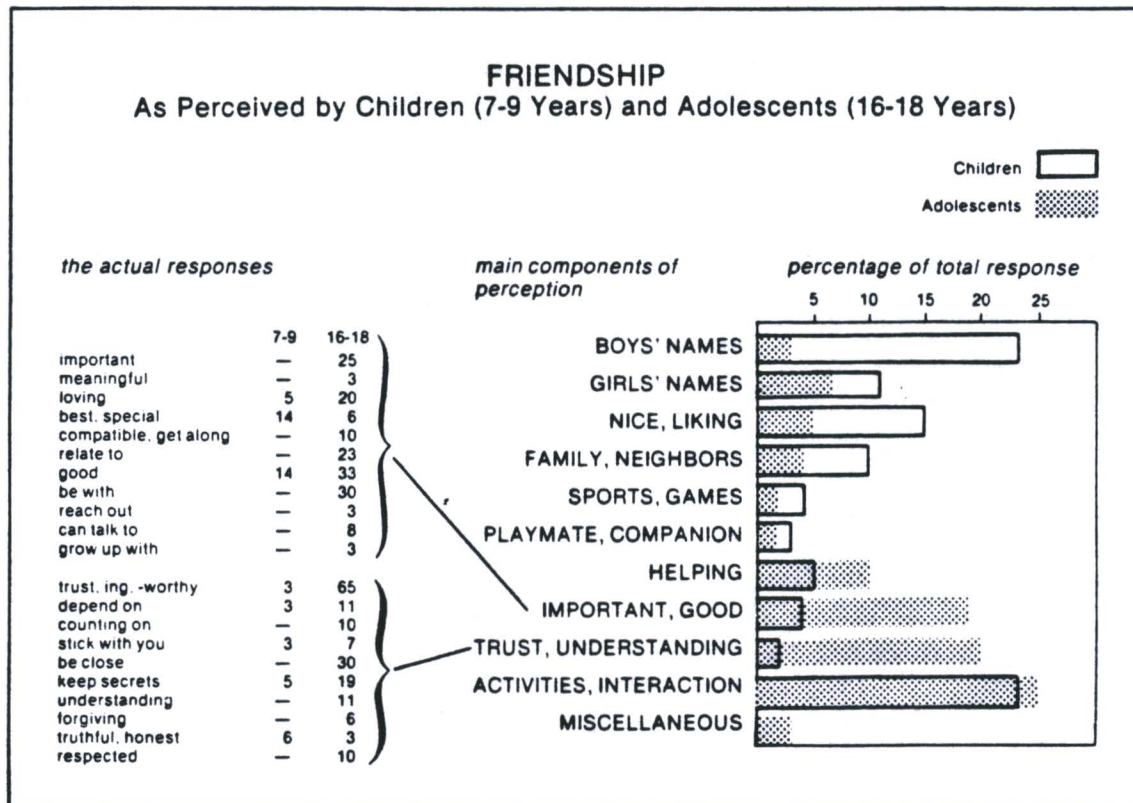


Americans show a greater concern with the number of friends and a strong social, emotional need for friends. They are also more concerned with the close, emotionally satisfying nature of this relationship than with its duration and permanence. For Americans the role of friends is relegated mainly to leisure time activities.

To the Egyptians friendship is more heavily laden with affects of love and brotherhood. They place importance on lasting ties by stressing such qualities as loyalty, fidelity, and faithfulness. For them friends seem to play a broader, more active role as a major source of existential support, cooperation, and help, including business, work, etc. On these and many other details shown in the *U.S.-Arabic Communication Lexicon* (Ref. #6), Egyptians are much like Jordanians. In turn, compared with other cultures, such as the Korean (Ref. #5) and Hispanic American (Ref. #4), the findings confirm and update anthropological observations which stress the important role of mutual obligations in traditional cultures.

The Changing Meaning of Friendship Depending on Age

The way we are brought up influences how we approach people and how we relate to friends. As we are growing up, we gradually learn and adopt the social values and norms of our environment. Some of the changes that are taking place in this process of "socialization" can be seen by comparing the perceptions of different age groups such as children and adolescents.



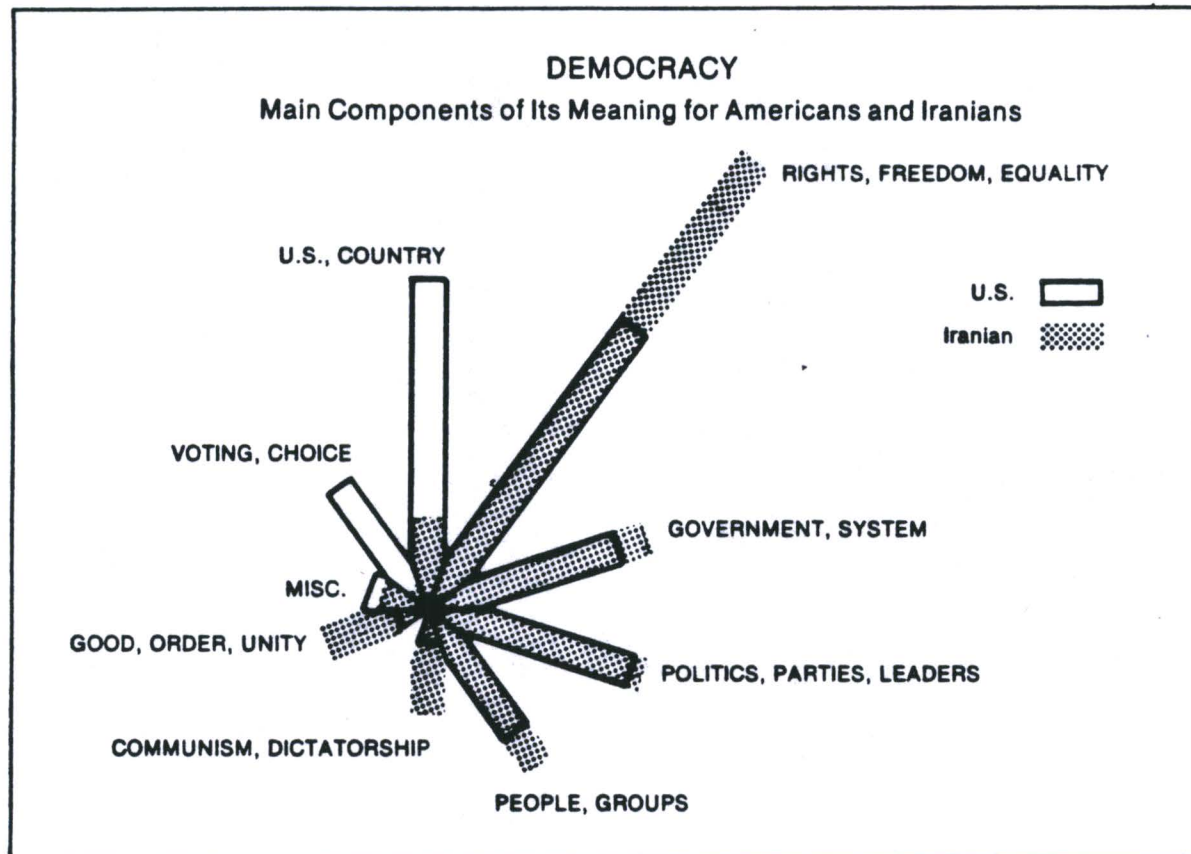
Differences became apparent here along several parameters. The elementary school children place heavy emphasis on specific friends. Beyond the general notion of friendship its actual meaning is determined by the specific individuals the child has in mind.

The adolescents show a stronger general need for friends (i.e., important, good), with special emphasis on the importance of trust and understanding as the foundation of friendship. The adolescents also stress the interaction, support, and help provided by friends. This reflects a deeper meaning of friendship involving personal and social needs.

While some of these trends in social learning could be anticipated, the rate of the change and the varying salience of its elements are less identifiable. Social learning is so slow and imperceptible that people are rarely aware of how they learn particular roles, how they develop their sexual, racial, and national identities. About some of these identifications it would sound strange even to ask questions.

Why Do Some Nations Fail to Adopt Our Approach to Democracy?

While dictatorships can be imposed, democracy depends heavily on people, their egalitarian values, their self discipline, their readiness for participation. Although almost everyone views democracy in a positive light, it means different things to different people. Its meaning is inseparable from people's dominant values and past experiences, and in turn these will determine the political system they actually develop. In other words, what type of democracy people will have depends greatly on what they think a democracy is.



For Americans democracy is a political system of government exemplified by the United States. Americans stress the importance of the democratic process: participation, representation, elections, voting, choice. They emphasize the role of political parties, political institutions and leaders, and the government itself.

Iranians pay little attention to the concrete, procedural aspects of democracy. Both groups, but particularly the Iranians, associate democracy with high human and social ideals: freedom, equality, justice, fairness, and freedom of speech. In general, democracy is viewed as a functioning political system by the Americans, while for the Iranians, it is more an attractive idea or ideal.

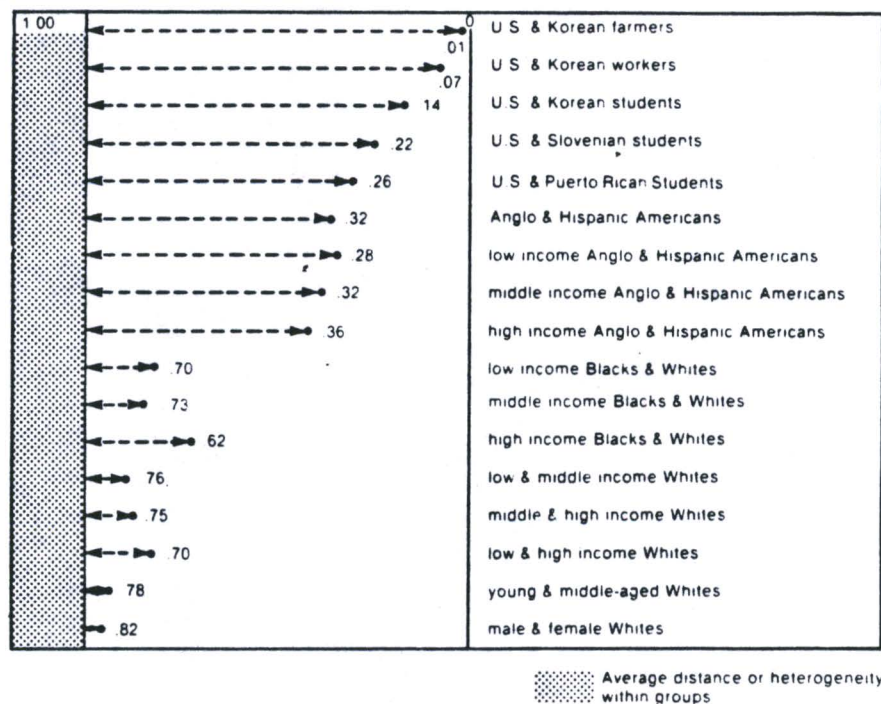
These findings are consistent with others produced by an extensive study described in *Iranian and American Perceptions and Cultural Frames of Reference* (Ref. #7). They convey a sense of the psychological difficulties which democracy is likely to encounter in the foreseeable future in Iran.

Charting Cultural Distance Between People

Since perceptions and thought patterns are highly subjective and personal, to compare people for their similarities and to measure the "psychocultural" distance between them may appear to be a hopelessly ambitious task. Yet research has shown word associations to offer sensitive indicators. The more people differ in their word associations, the greater is the dissimilarity in their perception of that theme or issue.

After selecting a large number of themes from various domains of life, thousands of spontaneous reactions are elicited from each selected culture group (Blacks, Whites, Hispanic Americans, etc.). The several hundred thousand responses obtained from each culture group offer a solid data base for calculating their distance with the use of computers.

Psychocultural Distances Measured Between Groups, Domestic and Foreign



The psychocultural distances between culture groups—U.S. and Korean or U.S. and Puerto Rican—are of a much higher order of magnitude than the distances between U.S. groups representing different races, socioeconomic strata, ages or sexes.

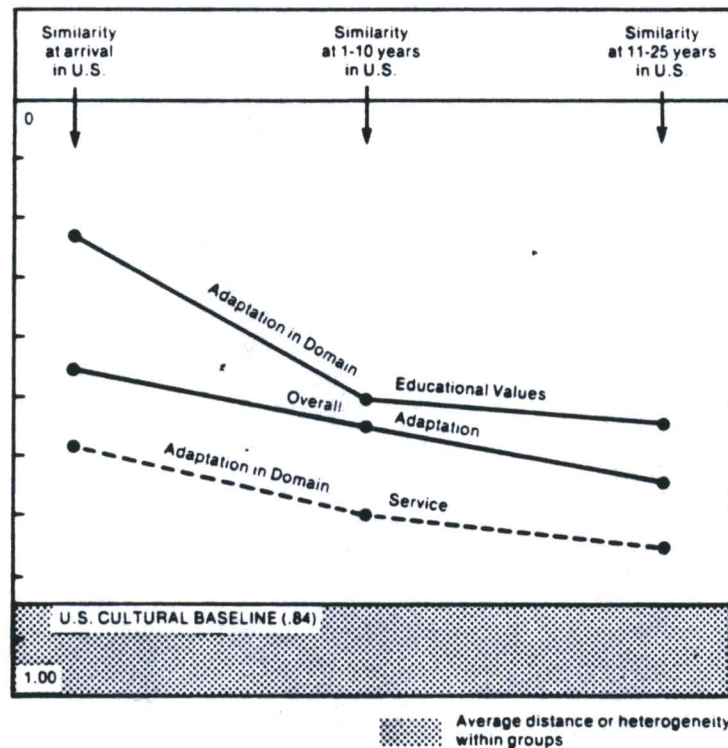
While global distance between groups may be of more theoretical interest, assessing the distance between groups in selected domains of life and on particular issues or concepts is a very practical application. It can be used to identify critical areas of differences which deserve attention in educational planning, in approaches to a wide variety of social intervention programs, and in all communications and interactions.

The theoretical rationale and procedure for the "measurement of psychocultural distance" (Ref. #8) have been applied to various domestic groups (Blacks, Whites, and Hispanic Americans, Ref. #9) in examining the effects of race, socioeconomic status, sex, and age on distance.

Can Cultural Distance Be Reduced or Bridged?

Most acculturation studies interested in the influence of a new cultural environment focus on easily observable changes such as in diet, manner of dress, and use of the native and the new or host language. The "psychocultural distance" measured between the immigrants' original culture and the host culture at various periods shows the rate of change in perceptions and values.

Filipinos' Adaptation to the U. S. Social Environment



The psychocultural distance between Filipinos and Americans changed over time. The chart shows the distance between Filipino groups and matching groups of Americans in the U.S. Navy: recruits, men with 10 years' service and men with up to 25 years' service. Although the Filipinos are gradually becoming closer to Americans in all domains, they showed a greater original distance on educational concepts and made less progress in this domain than in the domain of Naval service. The findings reported in *Filipinos in the Navy: Service, Interpersonal Relations, and Cultural Adaptation* (Ref. #10) indicate a much slower rate of adaptation than shown in prior studies which focused on more observable changes.

Repeated measurements of distance can be used to evaluate the effects of educational programs, to chart the convergence or divergence between social strata or cultures, and to assess trends in culture development and change.

Utility and Applications

Culture is a powerful but invisible force which shapes our social realities, what we see and what meaning we attach to our environment. These perceptions strongly predispose us to behave in certain ways. A leading anthropologist, E. T. Hall, speaks in this sense of the "hidden dimension." In our pluralistic society and increasingly interdependent world, cultural diversity can be a valuable asset. If ignored, cultural differences become a source of dangerous misunderstandings, tensions, and conflicts.

The intangible nature of cultural dispositions makes them evasive to typical empirical assessment. The examples presented here illustrate an approach that provides a new type of psychocultural information which can be used in promoting cultural understanding in various practical contexts, both domestic and international.

The psychocultural information on domestic groups (Blacks, Whites, Hispanic Americans) is being used in bilingual and multicultural education, teacher training, and in sensitizing health service delivery to minorities.

The AGA-based Communication Lexica—U.S.-Korean, U.S.-Arabic, U.S.-Iranian—are being used for culture-oriented language instruction and for supplementing foreign area studies with information on the psychocultural characteristics of the native population.

Psychocultural information on domestic and foreign populations has proven useful in several ways:

- It demonstrates the much ignored fact that people of different backgrounds tend to perceive the same idea or event differently.
- It informs on perceptions and motivations of specific groups, including our own, revealing characteristics of which we are frequently unaware.
- It helps to identify important differences and can be used in educational programs for reducing and bridging such differences.
- It helps to overcome longstanding misconceptions and cultural blindness and makes the characteristically evasive cultural dispositions identifiable, communicable, and teachable.
- It shows that cultural differences are based on consistent trends and patterns, which have their own rationale. Once these cultural patterns are identified and understood, they can offer broadly applicable insights, making learning interesting, simpler, and economical.

As shown by the preceding examples, empirical assessment amplifies some of the insights of leading scholars. But more importantly, it helps to apply their principles to the concrete settings and situations of a rapidly changing world. By charting esoteric and evasive dispositions, culture is made real and tangible. Interestingly, every new insight into other people's way of thinking not only helps us to understand them better but it also deepens our self-awareness and widens our perspectives.

Readers interested in further information, please contact ICS,
Dr. Lorand B. Szalay, Director: (301) 656-7996.

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JV
THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

June 27, 1985

MEMORANDUM FOR DONALD T. REGAN
JAMES A. BAKER, III
LARRY SPEAKESFROM: EDWARD J. ROLLINS ✓
SUBJECT: June 24th Governors' meeting

Attached is a sampling of press coverage following this week's meeting with Governors. In addition to extensive wire service coverage, front-page stories appeared in the major dailies of the 8 states represented, and home-state television coverage was extensive.

The key message for which we had hoped was communicated in this coverage. The Governors were treated as a representative group, and were reported as generally favorable to the President's plan. Governor Cuomo was isolated in his position that deductibility is a matter of fundamental principle. Most of the Governors supported repeal outright, and even Governor Babbitt, who stated reservations about other aspects of the overall proposal acknowledged a willingness to end deductibility if the final bill meets his view of equity.

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THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

June 26, 1985

MEMORANDUM FOR MITCH DANIELS

FROM: ANDY CARD *Andy Card*
SUBJECT: Media reactions to Governors' Meeting
with the President on June 24

The President's meeting with eight governors regarding Tax Reform Proposal and specifically the elimination of state and local tax deductibility on June 24 generated favorable media response both from the national wire services and regional newspapers. A brief summary follows:

NEW YORK TIMES, 06/25/85

Headline: "Some Governors Back Tax-Deduction Repeal"

"It's odd that the only spokesman for the high-bracket taxpayer in a high-tax state is the Governor of New York...The rest of us are concerned about reducing taxes for everyone and in providing a tax break for all taxpayers, not just that one-third."
Governor Dick Thornburgh (R-Pennsylvania)

"We are willing to talk compromise on deductibility if we see a tax plan that we can tell our constituencies is manifestly fair, progressive and in the national interest." Governor Bruce Babbitt (D-Arizona)

UPI, 06/25/85

Lead: "Several Governors...sided with President Reagan's controversial tax reform campaign proposal to scrap the federal deduction for state and local taxes."

"I said to the President that I fully support his tax reform proposals...I think he's on the right track and I think most Tennesseans agree with me...I said to him also that if we want lower rates for everybody, we have to get rid of our tax loopholes now, which primarily benefit upper income taxpayers"
Governor Lamar Alexander (R-Tennessee)

UPI, 06/25/85 - Continued

Governor Lamar Alexander called the current system "a reverse Robin Hood...In every state, half to three-quarters of the taxpayers don't benefit from that...It means that we're simply taking money from poorer taxpayers and giving it to richer taxpayers, and from poorer states and giving it to richer states."

Governor Alexander also challenged Governor Cuomo (D-New York) to "come to town and propose that we give a \$40 billion grant, paid for by the poorest people in the country...to the richest people" as a substitute for the tax deduction.

UPI NATIONAL RADIO, TV, CABLE WIRES, 06/25/85

"The Chief Executives emerged from the session largely supporting the proposal...including the sensitive provision that would repeal the state and local tax deduction."

INDIANA - INDIANAPOLIS STAR, 06/25/85

Headline: "Orr backs an end to deducting state taxes."

Governor Orr (R-Indiana), in support of the President's proposal to repeal state and local tax deductions said, "Most Indiana citizens are tired of paying taxes for the citizens of California and New York and other high-tax states....This is an example of people at the lower end of the income level, in many respects, paying some of the taxes of richer people."

MAINE - BANGOR DAILY NEWS, 06/25/85

Headline: "Brennan talks taxes with Reagan at White House--Governor says Maine people would benefit under President's tax reform plan."

"A majority of Maine taxpayers frankly would do better (under President Reagan's tax reform proposal)." Governor Joseph Brennan (D-Maine)

NEW HAMPSHIRE - THE UNION LEADER, 06/25/85

Headline: "Sununu Says Reagan Will Fight for Tax Plan"

Governor Sununu (R-New Hampshire) on the Tax Reform Plan, "It's an excellent plan. It has a lot of features that are an advantage to the country as a whole but specifically to New

NEW HAMPSHIRE - THE UNION LEADER, 06/25/85 - Continued

Hampshire. The revoking of the deduction for state and local taxes is a benefit to New Hampshire residents....In addition to that, it helps the almost two-thirds of citizens across the country who do not itemize. It prevents them from in effect subsidizing those who do (itemize)."

NORTH CAROLINA - N & O, 06/25/85

Headline: "Martin backs most of Reagan tax plan"

"Basically the package is a good one and I'm supporting it....You are talking about maybe five-sixths of our individual taxpayers who are going to come out better." Governor James Martin (R-North Carolina)

NORTH CAROLINA - CHARLOTTE OBSERVER, 06/25/85

...said Martin (R-North Carolina), "most North Carolina taxpayers are going to benefit from the range of improvements from the bill that he (Reagan) proposed."

NORTH CAROLINA - CHARLOTTE OBSERVER, 06/25/85

Unlike Cuomo, who is fiercely resisting the proposed elimination of state and local tax deductibility, the Democrats emphasized they would be willing to compromise on that issue.

PENNSYLVANIA - PHILADELPHIA DAILY NEWS, 06/25/85

Headline: "Governor Supports Tax Plan"

"Nobody wants to give up a deduction...But what you have here is a tax plan that is fairer and simpler." Governor Dick Thornburgh (R-Pennsylvania)

"Our gain from lower tax rates...would make an individual taxpayer a winner rather than a loser." Governor Dick Thornburgh

VIRGINIA - VIRGINIA PILOT, 06/25/85

"Speaking for this governor and many Democrats, we're willing to talk compromise on deductibility (of state and local taxes) if we see a tax plan that we can tell our constituents is fair, progressive, and is in the national interest," said Governor Bruce Babbitt (D-Arizona).

VIRGINIA - RICHMOND NEWS LEADER, 06/25/85

The governor (Governor Charles Robb, D-Virginia) also said he would be willing to consider elimination of the federal tax deduction allowed for state and local taxes.

"Its a card you only get to play once," Robb said.