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THE WHITE HOUSE CORRESPONDENCE TRACKING WORKSHEET

PU

INCOMING

DATE RECEIVED: JUNE 11, 1984

NAME OF CORRESPONDENT: MR. BENJAMIN MEED

SUBJECT: ENCLOSES COPY OF AD WHICH APPEARED IN THE

NEW YORK TIMES REGARDING THE D-DAY

COMMEMORATIVE

MANAGEMENT.

		ACTION		DISPOSITION		
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LETTER AT ALL TIMES AND SEND COMPLETED RECORD TO RECORDS

THE WHITE HOUSE WASHINGTON June 14, 1984

Dear Mr. Meed:

I am responsing to your thoughtful letter of June 7 to President Reagan.

The President deeply appreciates the strong support the American Gathering of Jewish Holocaust Survivors demonstrated for his participation in the 40th Anniversary D-Day ceremonies. The New York Times piece was an effective tribute of your organization's solidarity with all Americans commemoration of this historic occasion.

I look forward to speaking with you soon.

Very truly yours,

Marshall Breger Special Assistant to the President for Public Liaison

Mr. Benjamin Meed, President American Gathering of Jewish Holocaust Survivors 122 West 30th Street, Suite 205 New York, New York 10001 m. Bre Br



American Gathering

of Jewish Holocaust Survivors אמעריקאנער צוזאמענקום פון דער שארית הפליטה

BENJAMIN MEED
President

June 7, 1984

The Honorable Ronald W. Reagan President of the United States The White House Washington, D.C. 20500

Dear Mr. President:

Last year, when we came to Washington, 20,000 strong, to express our gratitude to the United States and to mark the 40th anniversary of the Warsaw Ghetto Uprising, you, Mr. President, were with us.

Yesterday, when you were on the Beaches of Normandy with other Allied Leaders, we were with you in spirit and in heart.

The enclosed copy of an ad which we placed in the New York Times expresses our feelings on this date -- forty years ago as well as today.

We survivors of the Holocaust are dedicated to the commitment to remember and not to allow others to forget.

Respectfully yours,

Benjamin Meed

BM: md Enc.

AMERICAN GATHERING OF JEWISH HOLOCAUST SURVÍVORS אמעריקאנער צוזאמענקום פון דער שארית הפליטה

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Henry Zinns

Palo Alto, CA

Palo Alto, CA

Chaim Zlotogorski

Dina Zlotogorski

Bayside, NY

JUNE 6, 1944-JUNE 6, 1984

We Remember!

Forty years ago, the allied armies stormed the beaches of Normandy. Word spread throughout every city and town, in the forests, and even within the inner chamber of hell itself—Auschwitz—that Hitler's "Fortress Europa" was breached. A ray of hope was kindled for the entire world.

In the eleven months between D-Day and the liberation of Europe, thousands of American and other allied soldiers died in the struggle for freedom and democracy. With reverence, we recall the soldiers of all races, colors and creeds, young men and women, who sacrificed their lives to defeat Nazism. We will never forget how those brave soldiers who came ashore on June 6, 1944 became our liberators.

For millions of Jews, however, the landing at Normandy was the beginning of a desperate race against time. Round-ups and deportations increased, transports roared towards the death camps, gas chambers and crematoria worked around the clock.

Sadly, the allied armies arrived too late to save most of our families—millions of innocent men, women and over a million children who perished. Yet word of the invasion gave us courage to live another day. A few of us survived.

Forty years have not diminished our memory. Today, when President Reagan, President Mitterand, Queen Elizabeth II, Prime Minister Trudeau and other European leaders commemorate that fateful day on the beaches of Normandy, we survivors of the Holocaust join the heart, spirit and gratitude in rememberance of the sacrifices of the allied armies forty years ago.

We Remember!

AMERICAN GATHERING OF JEWISH HOLOCAUST SURVIVORS

Benjamin Meed, President 122 West 30th Street, New York, N.Y. 10001

THE WHITE HOUSE CORRESPONDENCE TRACKING WORKSHEET

ID# 217410

INCOMING		PH
DATE RECEIVED: JUNE 15, 1984	- make and the second of the s	
NAME OF CORRESPONDENT: DR. VERA VON W. SUBJECT FORWARDS PAMPHLET "UNESCO & U CAMPAIGN FOR DEMOCRACY" FOR D ATTENTION	USA: A GLOBAL PRESIDENT'S	SPOSITION
ROUTE TO: OFFICE/AGENCY (STAFF NAME)	ACT DATE TYPE CODE YY/MM/DD RESP	C COMPLETED D YY/MM/DD
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REFERRAL NOTE:		/_/_

NSC ID 8405212

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON August 7, 1984

Dear Vera:

President Reagan has asked me to thank you for your letter of June 11, with which you enclosed a copy of your pamphlet, UNESCO & USA: A Global Campaign for Democracy. We have read your remarks with interest. I have contacted the Department of State and the National Security Council on this matter and have been advised of the following.

The United States is interested in reforms at UNESCO and has expressed to the Director General and the Executive Board its hopes that basic changes be made so that UNESCO can regain the confidence and support of all segments of its membership.

I was sorry to hear that you have been making unsuccessful efforts to contact the U.S. National Commission for UNESCO. As part of our drive for economy in government, functions of its Secretariat have been relocated into the State Department's Office of UNESCO Affairs.

I have been fully reassured that the staff of the U.S. Mission to UNESCO includes highly educated, competent and experienced persons who have the President's full confidence.

Sincerely,

Lihas Kojelis

Associate Director Office of Public Liaison

Dr. Vera Von Wiren-Garczynski 3 Northfield Road Glen Cove, NY 11542

NATIONAL SECURITY COUNCIL

July 14, 1984

MEMORANDUM FOR SALLY KELLEY

FROM:

ROBERT M. KIMMITT Bok

SUBJECT:

Letter to Professor Vera Wiren-Garczynski

The NSC recommends the following be added to the end of paragraph 1 of the draft letter (Tab A) to Professor Vera Wiren-Garczysnki.

will be closely watching developments in Paris to determine whether sufficient progress has been made to reconsider our basic decision to withdraw. Our mind is not closed.

Attachments

Tab A

Suggested reply

Tab B

Letter from Professor Vera Wiren-Garczysnki

with enclosures

SUGGESTED REPLY

Dear Dr. Von Wiren-Garczynski:

President Reagan has asked me to thank you for your letter of June 11, 1984, with which you enclosed a copy of your pamphlet, UNESCO & USA: A Global Campaign for Democracy. We have read your remarks with interest. We, too, are interested in reforms at UNESCO and have expressed to the Director General and the Executive Board our hopes that basic changes be made so that UNESCO can regain the confidence and support of all segments of its membership. (B. and sentence as per concern the are sorry to hear that you have been making unsuccessful efforts to contact the U.S. National Commission for UNESCO. As part of our drive for economy in government, we have relocated functions of its Secretariat into the State Department's Office of UNESCO Affairs.

I would like to reassure you that the staff of the U.S.

Mission to UNESCO includes highly educated, competent and
experienced persons who have the President's full confidence.

Sincerely,

111

Dr. Vera Von Wiren-Garczynski
Professor of Slavic & Russian Area Studies,
The City College of The City University
of New York,
New York, New York.

United States Department of State



Washington, D.C. 20520

July 5, 1984

MEMORANDUM FOR MR. ROBERT C. MCFARLANE THE WHITE HOUSE

SUBJECT:

Letter from Professor Vera Wiren-Garczynski, The City College of the City University of New York

Professor Von Wiren-Garczynski has written to the President to transmit a copy of her pamphlet UNESCO & USA: A Global Campaign for Democracy, which considers our projected withdrawal from UNESCO and concludes that withdrawal would contradict our avowed democratic mission. She recommends that we try to secure a substantial return of our annual contribution to UNESCO in the form of UNESCO funding and support for the activities of American and other democratic organizations. Soviet and Bulgarian members of UNESCO's staff and members of various national commissions have given assistance to Professor Von Wiren-Garczynski's European organization. On the other hand, members of the staff of US/UNESCO and of the US National Commission have failed to do so. Professor Von Wiren-Garczynski feels that US representatives to UNESCO are insufficiently qualified and fail to convey the image of American democracy.

The suggested response thanks her for her pamphlet, advises her that the request for assistance she made to the US Mission to UNESCO might be addressed to USAID and/or USIA, and reassures her of the competence of the staff of the US Mission to UNESCO.

Charles Hill Executive Secretary

Attachments:

A. Suggested Reply.

B. Letter from Professor Vera Wiren-Garczynski with enclosures.



An International Association for Cross-Cultural Communications NGO Member of UNESCO

SECRETARIAT: UNIVERSITY OF GHENT, FACULTY OF BLANDIJNBERG 2, B-GENT (Belgium)

PHILOSOPHY. AND LETTERS TEL.:25.76.11 ext. 4589 25.75.71

PROF. VERA VON WIREN-GARCZYNSKI, Ph.D. UNITED STATES DELEGATE & VICE PRESIDENT

THE CITY COLLEGE OF
THE CITY UNIVERSITY OF NEW YORK
5/223 NORTH ACADEMIC CENTER
NEW YORK, N.Y. 10031

3 Northfield Rd. Glen Cove, N.Y. 11542 (516) 671-3032

ightish

June 11,1984

8417826

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

Dear President Reagan:

Enclosed herewith poease find a copy of my pamphlet UNESCO & USA: A Global Campagin for Democracy. As you will notice, I begin my article with your statement made in London, on June 8,1982. I assure you, Mr. President, that the welfare of my country, my President (you) and the Republican Party (I am it's Life Member) has motivated me to wrtie this article. I would appreciate your looking into it.

I would like to add, that it was a pleasure hearing you the other day (Sunday May 20th) at the White House, and I would also like to thank you for the letter in which you thank me for the Sobieski Medal I gave you. Material pertaining to those ethnic activities I will mail you under separate cover.

Wishing you continuous success and looking forward to our REAGAN BUSH VICTORY IN 1984, I remain,

Sincerely

Vera Von Wiren-Garczynski, Ph.D.

Prof.of Slavic & Russian Area Studies
.US Delagate & Vice President AIMAV/UNESCO

VVWFG: af Encl.



Polish National Home 10 Hendrick Street Glen Cove, N.Y. 11542 (516) 676-9575

Slavic American Cultural Center 24 School Street Glen Cove, N.Y. 11542 (516) 671-3032

June 4,1984

Dear Friends:

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It gives me a great pleasure to inform you that the "Committee to Honor Lech Walesa in Glen Cove," was successful in achieving its goal. On August 12, 1984, the Mayor of Glen Cove, Vincent A.Suozzi, in a ribbon cutting ceremony will dedicate a prominent location in Glen Cove to the Solidarity leader and Nobel Laureate Lech Walesa, and proclaim the week of August 12-19, 1984 as "Lech Walesa Week." Similar proclamations will be issued by the Governor of the New York State, Mario Cuomo and by the President of the United States, Ronald Reagan. The ceremony will be followed by a visit to the Slavic American Cultural Center where an exhibit "Lech Walesa in the Art of Photography and Painting." will be on display. The day will be concluded by a banquet at the Swan Club in Sea Cliff. Many dignitaries from out of town have expressed their desire to attend the August 12th festivities in Glen Cove; among them, Hon. Edward Derwinski, Counselor to the Secretary Department of State. Among the petitioners to name a location after Lech Walesa in Glen Cove, was the Polish born Nobel Laureate Czeslaw Milosz. Presently the petition lists over 10,000 signatures adding every day more names to its list.

On Sunday, May 20th, 1984, at a reception at the White House I was priviledged to hear President Reagan

make the following remarks:

Our position on Eastern Europe can be summed up very simply: we believe that people everywhere on Earth have the God-given right to live in freedom; and we look forward to the day when, from Poland, to the Ukraine, to the Baltic, the Iron Curtain will give way to the bright light of human liberty.... In Europe, we and our NATO allies went through months of Soviet bluff and bluster, and came out of it more firmly united than ever. In Eastern Europe, when the Soviet -backed Jaruzelski regime imposed martial law in Poland, we gave strong support to the Solidarity trade union and imposed economic sanctions. We've lifted some of those sanctions as the situation in Poland has improved, but our support for Lech Walesa, and the brave members of Solidarity remains as strong as

We, the "Committee to Honor Lech Walesa in Glen Cove," are pleased that President Reagan supports our position and Lech Walesa. If you are interested in our celbrations please get in touch with us.

Prof. Vera Von Wiren-Garczynski Liaison with Washington DC Public Relations

INTERNATIONAL CONCERN

To the Editor:

The committee to name a location after Poland's Solidarity leader and the Nobel Lauereate Lech Walesa in Glen Cove, is not restricted to a local interest of a small number of Americans of Polish descent, but reflects an international concern of present day Poland as a nation in the world arena.

President Reagan's concern of the existing problems in Poland was evident from the remarks he made while addressing the members of the nationalities Groups Heritage Council during a reception at the White House last Sunday. Discussing the economic situation in Poland, the President stated that lifting some of the sanctions against Poland was for the benefit of the Polish people and not in support of the Communist regime.

The conference, "Contemporary Poland in Historical Prospective," held last weekend at Yale University, is another testimony of national concern in Polish underground activities and economy. The conference at Yale drew over 200 participants and experts on Poland from the United States and Europe. The panels dealt with such topics as: "Postwar Confrontations: from Poznan to Gdansk"; "Polish United Workers Party"; "Poland and the United States since World War II: An Historical Survey"; and so forth.

Poland's traditional pattern of behavior of underground activities were presented by Dr. Zbigniew Brzezinski in "United States and Poland: Present Options," and in Nobel laureate Czeslaw Milosz's "Literature and Political Engagement." In Dr. Brzezinski's words: Poland has its own national personality and has for more than two hundred years been striving to express that character, and today, that historical and spiritual personality again exists and expresses itself through the massive underground society.

Dr. Brzezinski also pointed out that the United States can not liberate Poland, but it can help to emancipate itself. The poet, Czeslaw Milosz, in typical tradition of Polish romantic messianism of the Polish poet Mickiewicz— (who regarded Polish national sacrifices and partition as political

crucifiction comparable to Christ's martyrdom for the redemption of men) stated that, "Writers in Poland are looked upon as spritual leaders."

The discussions by leading experts on Poland at the Yale conference confirmed that the underground society in Poland is still vital and that the "flying universities" reflect the nation's search for truth and embodiment of national character. It also confirmed, as Dr. Brzezinski pointed out, that by continuing to give moral support to the Solidarity and its activities, which in his words, "are a tactical retreat and strategic victory of the movement because of its international impact," we are helping Poland "to emancipate itself.'

The ceremony to name a

location after Lech Walesa in Glen Cove (already approved by the mayor of Glen Cove) which will take place on Aug. 12, is a step in the right direction to help Poland to emanicipate itself. Furthermore, it reflects an international concern. Vera Von Wiren-Garczynski Committee to Name Lech Walesa Location in Glen Cove

(The writer is the committee's liaison to Washington, D.C., and coordinator of public relations. According to Garczynski, Mayor Suozzi has recommended to the City Council that the Village Square area between Royal Holiday Travel and the Bayside Savings Bank be designated Lech Walesa Square or Plaza. No official action has been taken on the matter.)



LECH WALESA street naming committee displays progress report on community support of its effort. Members of the executive committee are (l. to r.) chairman Ray Adamczak, Washington liaison Vera Von Wiren-Girczynski, and co-chairman Karol Mayer.

UNESCO & USA



A Global Campaign

for Democracy

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A Slavic American Cultural Association Publication



New York, 1984.

For information address:
Slavic American 521 Fifth Avenue
New York, N.Y.10175

UNESCO & USA

A GLOBAL CAMPAIGN

FOR DEMOCRACY

The Thanksel with the

Vera Von Wiren-Garczynski, Ph.D.

Jue 11,84

Dr. Vera Von Wiren-Garczynski is professor of Slavic languages and literatures and Russian Area Studies and director of Cultural Affairs at the City College of the City University of New York, where she has taught since 1962. She was also a visiting Scholar at the Russian Institute at Columbia University and is presently a visiting scholar at the Institute on East Central Europe at Columbia's School of International Affairs. Professor Von Wiren-Garczynski fluent in several languages has organized and participated in international conferences including Africa, Asia, Europe, North and South America; she is presently involved in international student and faculty exchanges for the City College, CUNY. She is also the president of the Slavic American Cultural Association which jointly with the City College's Slavic Club has sponsored and initiated in 1977 the first Slavic Culture Week in New York and the nation. In 1975 Prof. Von Wiren-Garczynski was elected by the AIMAV International Association for Cross Cultural Communication, NGO Member of UNESCO in Belgium, as the United States Delegate and in 1980 became its Vice President. AIMAV counts sixty countries on its membership list and represents every continent. Professor Von Wiren-Garczynski is the only woman and the only American on the Board of Directors of AIMAV.

UNESCO & USA A GLOBAL CAMPAIGN FOR DEMOCRACY

Since wars begin in the minds of men, it is in the minds of men that the defences of peace must be constructed.

(UNESCO Constitution, London, November 16, 1945)

...how the United States can best contribute as a nation to the global campaign for democracy now gathering force... It is time that we commit ourselves as a nationin both the public and private sectorsto assisting democratic development.

(President Ronald Reagan, Address to Members of Parliment London, June 8, 1982)

Our decision to withdraw from UNESCO has understandably provoked strong international reaction as well as stirred domestic criticism. That withdrawal is arguably correct, however, it may be worthwhile to calculate possible benefit to be gained by reformulating our present involvment, before "burning our bridges." Therefore, I suggest that we begin by evaluating our commitments to parallel organizations and projects before determining a course most efficiently advantageous to our interests. I would like to preface that analysis by citing the views of the President and other bipartisan expressions concerning our national duty.

Proposing an American effort to assist democratic institutions aboard, President Reagan made a historic speech to the British Parliament in London on June 8, 1982. Reflecting bipartisan cooperation in his speech, the President proposed a more active U.S. effort to assist a "global campaign for democracy" which began with the following statement:

The objective I propose is quite simple to state: to foster the infrastructure of democracy, the system of free press, unions, political parties, universities, which allows people to choose their own way to develop their own culture, to reconcile their own differences through peaceful means....

Addressing the Republican and Democratic Party leaders the President called for a study to determine "how the United States can best contribute as a nation to the global campaign for democracy." The President concluded his speech by stating:

I look foreward to receiving their recommendations and to working with these institutions and the Congress in the common task of strengthening democracy throughout the world.

A similar observation is to be found in Frank Fahrenkopf's Jr. *recent article: "Challenge of Democracy: The Republican Response," which reads as follows:

It is an often stated fact of international life that the world and the United States' role in it have grown increasingly interdependent in the last 20 years. **

Mr. Fahrenkopf continues by stating that:

Academic and cultural exchanges have expanded markedly throughout the past 20 years as Americans have sought a greater understanding of and exposure of foreign history, culture, and languages.

Similarly, in his article: "The Democracy Program: A Strong Foundation," Bill Brock*** points out the importance of U.S. participation in international programs when he states:

Our reluctance to become involved in such international programs indicates a serious misunderstanding of the responsibility we have to the promotion of democracy. In other words, if we don't take the lead, those with different values will. Needless to say, the Soviets do not feel the constraints we do.****

Continuing the same line of thinking Charles T. Manatt* offers:

International political development will include projects undertaken overseas on a bilateral basis... They will include political parties, educational, youth and women's groups... We all Americans, Europeans, and other throughout the world want to get on with the task of fostering democratic processes.**

In its analysis of the situation the present report attempts to evaluate the United States' involvement with UNESCO, appraise the merits and shortcomings both of UNESCO and that of our own policy. This report includes a proposal for our future participation and our function within the organization. My estimate of the situation is based on an active involvement with UNESCO over ten years, first as the U.S. Delegate of an NGO Member of UNESCO, AIMAV***, a European organization, and for the past four years as its Vice President. Annualy, I average four to five trips to Europe and always stop in Brussels and Paris, where I have the opportunity to work with UNESCO on behalf of AIMAV. I would like to add, that I am the only woman and the first and the only American on the board of AIMAV. For the most part in my dealings with UNESCO and its employees, Iam not identified strictly as an American since I speak several languages fluently. This skill is most helpful in stimulating candor and an opportunity to perceive and make informal assessments of foreign attitudes and dispositions toward the United States.

During my stay in Paris this January (1984), I visited our U.S. MISSION AT UNESCO. Unfortunately Mrs. Jean Gerard was away from Paris, but I managed to see Mr. Raymond E. Wanner who graciously supplied me with some material dealing with funding, projects and analyses concerning UNESCO.

Having examined the information at hand and taking into consideration my past experience with UNESCO, I have come to some conclusions which I would like presently to share with my readers. However, before going into any further details I would like to give a brief overview of UNESCO's purpose, functions and relations with other International organizations and agencies. In the light of the above, we will have a better understanding of UNESCO's shortcomings vis a vis US and will clarify our own shortcomings vis a vis UNESCO.

^{*} Mr. Fahrenkopf is chairman of the Republican National Committee

^{**} COMMONSENSE, Vol. 6, No. I, pp. 96-102.

^{***}Mr. Brock is United States Trade Representative and served as chairman of the Democracy Program. He is former chairman of the Republican National Committee and a former senator from Tennessee.

^{****} Op.cit. COMMONSENSE, pp. 85-95.

^{*} Mr. Manatt is chairman of the Democratic National Committee.

^{**}Op.cit. COMMONSENSE, pp.103-106

^{***}Association International Pour La Recherche et la Diffusion Des Methodes Audio-Visulles et Structuro-Globales. Secretariat: University of Ghent. Belgium.

THE ORIGIN OF UNESCO

Shortly after the end of World War II, the atrocities committed during the war became a concern to many nations. Those who witnessed the horror and the inhumanity of men toward each other, believed that this was a result of prejudice, racism, ignorance and a denial of basic democratic principles of dignity to man. In their attempt to avoid such disaster the United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization was created in London on November 16, 1945. Adopting a constitution (later amended by the General conferences on twelve occasions), the governments of the States Parties to this Constitution on behalf of their peoples declared: "Since wars began in the minds of men, it is in the minds of men that the defences of peace must be constructed."

For this reason the States Parties of UNESCO believed in full and equal opportunities for education for all in the unrestricted pursuit of the objective truth, and in a free exchange of ideas and knowledge. International peace would be advanced through the educational, scientific and cultural relations of all the peoples of the world. Appreciation and understanding of each other's culture will secure universal peace. Article I, paragraph I, of the UNESCO Constitution states:

The purpose of the Organization is to contribute to peace and security by promoting collaboration among the nations through education, science and culture in order to further universal respect for justice, for the rule of law and for the human rights and fundamental freedoms which are affirmed for the peoples of the world, without distinction of race, sex, language or religion, by the Charter of the United Nations.

In the same spirit, the constituion consisting of fifteen articles, stress UNESCO's ultimate goal -- achieving peace through education, science and culture.

Almost fourty years have passed since the birth of UNESCO. Presently one asks the question: Have the lofty goals and ideals drafted in the constitution prevailed? Is the organization functioning as originally intended? Before discussing the situation in a greater detail I would like to give a brief evaluation of UNESCO's present shortcomings and merits:

UNESCO's SHORTCOMINGS & MERITS

- The organization achieves a great deal in all its fields: education, science and culture, however, it could achieve a great deal more if it were a better administered and more fiscally responsible organization.
- The politization of the policy making functions hinders UNESCO from achieving a greater success because
 the energy that should be directed solely toward the
 accomplishment of a particular goal, must be divided
 between the goal and a particular policy.
- 3. Education, science and culture must be evaluated on its intrinsic merits without being used as a means to a certain political end.
- 4. History reveals that the greatest periods of achievment and glory for education, science and culture have always been when they were unencumebred by political ties which bound them to a policy which made education, science and culture subservient to a political end.
- 5. UNESCO can grow and expand, but it can only do this successfully if I.) policies and projects are judged on their intrinsic merits alone (without political overtones), and 2.) the organization is administered in a competent organized and accountable manner.

UNESCO's BASIC FAILINGS

No sooner does a lofty goal or a noble purpose cease to be a concept, and the theory is put to practice it will inevitably be tarnished by some human weaknesses. The same holds true of UNESCO.

It is very possible that Mr. Amadou-Mahtar M 'Bow's ambitions to change his post from the Director General of UNESCO group in Paris to the Secretary General of the United Nations (which resulted in fiasco when Peru's Javier Perez de Cuellar was appointed to the post) have set Mr. M. Bow to transfer UNESCO into a political rival of the U.N.

Considering the spirit in which UNESCO was founded, one must make every possible attempt to draw a clear distinction between sciences, education, culture and the politics. By politicizing UNESCO Mr. M. Bow has failed to draw this distinction.

Perhaps one can partially defended Mr. M. Bow and his followers and supporters by considering their background and past experiences. An example from my own experiences where politics and art became a confusing issue might shed some light on the situation. The LITERARY GAZETTE, a Soviet newspaper has vehemently attacked one of my books (SEVEN RUSSIAN NOVEL MASTERPIECES). The Soviet critic claimed that I have failed to see one of the nineteenth century Russian writers as a socio-political critic of his time. My appraisal of this Russian author was on a purely literary basis. The Soviet critics are unable to distinguish between an artist as a social phenomenon of his time and an artist who merely reflects the society of his time without any attempt to either criticize his environment or "politicize it." The Soviet critic sees a political issue even there were there are none. Considering the present day Soviet literary theory, the so called "Socialist Realism," where "art for the sake of art" is considered superfluous, where literary works, and for that matter any form od art, must be socialist in content and realistic in form, this attitude is understandable.

It is very possible that many UNESCO officials from the Socialist Bloc country as well as from the Third World, inevitably as a result of their previous indoctrination, are unable to separate pure form of art, science and culture from political issues. They should be referred to the UNESCO constitution.

UNESCO's inflated \$240 million budget will be investigated by a regular audit of UNESCO's accounts made every three years by Britain's National Audit Office, whose report will be completed by next July. Until such time, I will reserve my judgement of UNESCO's financial failings.

U.S. VIS A VIS UNESCO

As I view the situation the following seem to be our major problems in dealing with UNESCO.

- We are outnumbered when important issues are voted upon in UNESCO, thus we have little chance to promote our own projects.
- We don't have people in key positions at the UNESCO, thus we have little to say when important decisions in policy making of UNESCO are being made.
- 3. We are financing 25% of the UNESCO's \$240 million budget, however, our input is not proportioned to "feed back."
- By giving money to UNESCO we are providing financial assistance for activities contrary to our basic constitutional democratic principles and beliefs.

U.S. SHORTCOMINGS VIS A VIS UNESCO STAFF

One of our major problems is selection of staff at UNESCO. Unfortunately our staff is not chosen as carefully as from the "Soviet Bloc". The reason I will concentrate on comparing us to them is due to my close dealings with such representatives as they are placed in a decision making positions which require my dealing with them. I specifically refer to Dr. V. Koptilov (USSR) and Dr. M. Zakhariev (Bulgaria) from "Division des structure, contenues methodes et techniques de l'education." Both Dr. Zakhariev and Dr. Koptilov have been instrumental in subsidizing the conferences AIMAV has initiated and presently Dr. Koptilov has been extremely accomadating by helping AIMAV subsidize and organize a conference I have initiated: "Teaching Russian Language and Literature in Europe," which will take place in October 1984 in Ghent, Belgium. While I am confident, that both Dr. Zachariev and Dr. Koptilov met their party obligations in their respective countries and undoubtedly are political appointments, nonetheless, they are properly and highly qualified people with an extensive experience in the field of humanities and are appropriate appointments on the staff of UNESCO. Unfortunately, I have not met their equals in our own US mission at UNESCO.

U.S. NATIONAL COMMISSION

The other, extremely serious shortcoming of our UNESCO function if The US NATIONAL COMMISSION, Conferences, meetings and other UNESCO related activities financed by the organization should receive support from a National Commission of the respective country (Article 7, paragraphs I,2,3). While other countries, particularly from the Soviet Bloc and the Third World, are thriving on support from UNESCO we passively stand by and receive little financial support for our activities. This unfortunately, I must blame on our National Commission to the UNESCO. I am making such a strong statement because I can support it with a personal experience in my dealings with UNESCO.

Ever since my involvement with AIMAV, I became aware of the important role the National Commission plays in supporting and financing a project. Whenever AIMAV has organized a conference we sought support from the Belgian National Commission and the National Commission of the Country we were planning the conference (two national supports are required). Thus when AIMAV had conferences in Czechoslovakia, Hungary, France, Netherlands, Tunisia, etc. we received backing and support from the respective countries.

When AIMAV decided to have a conference in the US "Teaching English as a Second and Foreign Language" (Columbia University Teachers College), I contacted our U.S. National Commission for UNESCO - Department of State; 1015 20th Str. N.W. Suite 410, Washington, D.C. 20036; Tel. (202)632-2762. At the time Mr. Bernard Engel was the Executive Director. My dealings with the US Commission while very friendly and cordial were absolutely fruitless in every respect. Any further attempts to deal with the US National Commission in Washington (1980-up to date) were just as ungratifying. One never receives a reply to a letter, it is impossible to get someone on the phone and on two occasions I came to see them during business hours at their office in Suite 410, I found the doors locked. I have no further comments at this point but to state: This is certainly no way to run a UNESCO office!

CONCLUSION

It is my sincere belief that professionally qualified personnel at the U.S. Mission in UNESCO would have a good chance to be elected to the General Conference of UNESCO-- which in turn will benefit the U.S.

A well functioning and sensibly administered U.S. National Commission in Washington will enable us to secure funds for conferences and other U.S sponsored activities and broaden our relationship with foreign countries. UNESCO sponosred activities initiated by the U.S. are not restricted to the U.S. -- they can take place in any country within the UNESCO family.

Thus, in an attempt to have a voice in the policy and decision making appointments, to benefit financially from UNESCO constitution we must:

- have professionally qualified, trained and experienced personnel in the fields of languages, literature, science, culture and the arts -- comparable to the representatives of other nations from the UNESCO family.
- undertake a thorough revision of the functions and operations
 of the U.S. National Commission in Washington, D.C. with
 an appropriate qualfied staff which will assist U.S. NGO
 Organizations to secure funds from UNESCO for U.S
 projects benefiting promotion of our values and ideology.
- take advantage of the UNESCO's official publication which appears in twenty seven languages and promote through international exposure our culture, traditions and heritage fostering a better understanding of our democratic processes throughout the world.
- protect ourselves from politically oriented anti American views by referring the violators to Article I, paragraph I (a,b,c,) and paragraph 2 of the UNESCO Constitution.
- balance the USSR representation request by advocating the admission of the states of Hawaii and Alaska to UN/UNESCO membership.

In summary, I believe the proposed withdrawal from UNESCO is defensible; there is sufficient occasion to impute blame to others. However, does it really conform to our professed foreign policy objectives or more specifically, does it not contradict our traditional leadership role in the international arena? We can hardly "foster the infrastructure of democracy" in the President's words by declining to participate in debate and simply disengaging when majority sentiment is aligned against us.

We might be subsidizing 25% of an inflated 240 million UNESCO budget, but at least we can secure a return on our investment, especially if we strengthen and streamline the guideline for our participation; in contrast, there are no direct benefits to be derived from the more controversial and politically sensitive foreign aid programs.

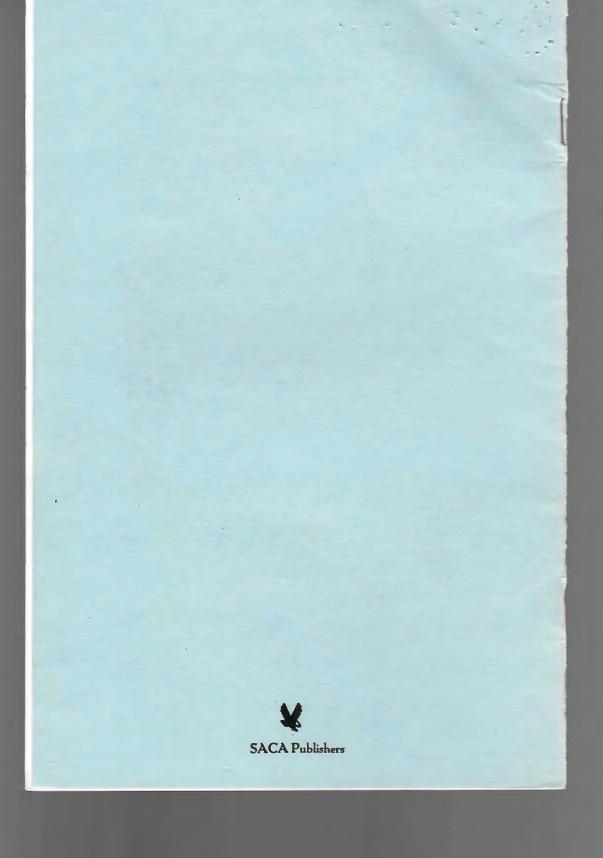
Donating and lending money can stimulate resentment, hense the phrase "the ugly American." But we must not act out of pique: I believe a careful examination of the nature of our participation should be undertaken, before we commit ourselves to withdrawal. Altruism is one component of the "ugly American"; he is also naive. If we are to be truthful, our UNESCO representatives have often been by education and background insufficiently qualified for selection to their office and therefore an erroneous image of American democracy has been conveyed.

I sincerely believe that we can have a very productive collaboration with UNESCO providing some changes are made on both sides. Finally, and most firmly our projected withdrawal from UNESCO contradicts our very clearly stated national intentions to get involved in international programs and our "global campaign for democracy."





Shown at UNESCO headquarters in Paris, Prof. Vera Garczynski expressed her views about US involvement in the world body.





Brush Lext Freat! (my phile)

Rounds Wills

Many 20, 1954 -



THE WHITE HOUSE WASHINGTON

6/21/84

NOTE TO: DICK DARMAN

FROM:

JIM BAKER

The President would like the speechwriters to have the attached four memos.

JAB, III

21760355

To Spechwiter

V. H. KRULAK

Recently I had an opportunity to read an unusual study prepared by the U.S. Treasury Department entitled "The Effect of Deficits on Prices of Financial Assets: Theory and Evidence." With a name like that the document could be expected to repel a reader such as me, who is not an expert in economics. However, I was surprised to find that once its conclusions are reduced to their essence they turn out to be logical, simple and persuasive. This is significant because the analysis challenges the basis of one of today's more popular economic concepts.

The study, a product of three years research, says that our large budget deficits are not the primary cause of inflation. It had been my understanding -- and, I believe that of many other laymen -- that this deficit/inflation relationship was beyond challenge. The study says this is not so, and then proceeds to make an alternate case with eloquence, conviction and an impressive array of facts.

It says, quite simply, that while deficits are bad, government spending is the major culprit in the creation of high interest rates and inflation. The deficit could be reduced by increased taxes, but nothing would be solved. The answer -- the only answer -- is to reduce Federal spending. This, in turn, will reduce the deficit, interest rates and inflation. Currently, however, the argument is not how to reduce Federal outlays, but how Congress should finance

its spending excesses. There are just two ways for government to pay its bills -- by borrowing or by increasing taxes.

Neither one does anything to meet the basic problem of government spending. Of the two, raising taxes is the less desirable because of the bad effect it has on popular confidence, on personal savings, on the level of private spending and the country's overall economic growth.

Contrary to those who believe that we can bring inflation and interest rates under control through increases in taxes,

President Reagan has marched to a different drummer. His theory

-- cut Federal spending to reduce the need for government borrowing, cut taxes to stimulate economic growth through increased confidence and consequent increased investment and private spending. But, first of all, cut Federal spending.

The President's concept has been under continuous

Congressional fire since it was announced three years ago.

That is so because a sincere effort to reduce government spending puts pressure on some politically sensitive areas -- transfer payments (Social Security, Medicare, Federal pensions) and social programs (welfare, food stamps, etc.) which together, agggregate about forty-five percent of the Federal budget outflow. It is a melancholy fact that support of these payments is a major factor in getting many members of the Congress elected and they are not likely to take a stand against them.

The more common proposal -- to trim the national defense budget, which is politically much less sensitive -- would not

result in sufficient spending reduction to have a major impact unless the cuts were irresponsibly large. This is not to say there is no fat in the Defense budget. There is -- but it is largely found in regional Defense projects that members of Congress will not touch because of political implications.

Senator John Tower, Chairman of the Senate Armed Services

Committee, proved this by challenging his economy-minded committee members to come up with Defense project cuts in their states. As might have been predicted, the result was a negligible figure. Even acknowledging the existence of fat our Defense outlay is only twenty-seven percent of the budget outflow (it was over fifty percent in the 1950's) and there is no practical prospect of reducing it greatly without risking our national survival.

Two score Congressmen and Senators, led by Representative Terry Craig of Indiana, acknowledging the fact that
management of government fiscal affairs is a responsibility of
the Congress, have recently banded together in an organization
called "Congressional Leaders United for a Balanced Budget,"
short title CLUBB. Their aim is to achieve passage of the
proposed "Balanced Budget Amendment." Since budgets may be
balanced at any level, high or low, it is plain that a balanced
budget, of itself, may have no beneficial effect on Federal
spending. CLUBB members, however, declare that the balanced
budget is a first step toward fiscal sobriety. And to keep
it simple, fiscal, sobriety today has no relation to higher

taxes, greater government borrowing or larger deficits. It is synonymous with one thing only -- frugality in government spending.

To Specihioritin

V. H. KRULAK

Soviet Propaganda is Working

The continued Russian refusal to join in discussions aimed at limiting nuclear arms is a frustrating reality. Even so, and in the face of their stubborness, we still find an unbelieveable array of impractical proposals in newspaper columns and in the rhetoric of the recent Democratic primary. -- "Cut back on the defense budget"; "go all out for a nuclear freeze"; "sit down with the Russians and reason with them". -- These and other proposals that have little identification with the real world are heard daily.

Assuming one makes even a modest study of world affairs, he must know that any president of the United States, whether it be Mr. Reagan or one of the Democratic hopefuls, today faces a grave problem with an intransigeant Kremlin whose aims are openly articulated -- aims which are most ominous where we are concerned. Moreover, it is plain for all to see that they have armed themselves in a manner designed to make those aims attainable.

As far back as 1962 the Soviet leadership developed a grassroots document entitled "Military Strategy" which has been updated four times since it was originally issued. Officially approved by the Party it is, without a question, an official expression of Soviet policy. And it is available, in English, in American bookstores, so there is no excuse for any citizen -- columnist or candidate -- not being intimately familiar with its contents.

The basic policy contemplates an offensive nuclear strategy. It is based on their building up to a qualitative and quantitative military superiority and then achieving their purposes by striking first and winning a nuclear war. It is that stark and that simple. They describe a conflict with us as "a war without compromise, for at the basis of the political aims of both sides lies the main contradiction of the modern age, the resolution of which excludes any possibility of political agreement." Joseph D. Douglass, Jr., a respected scholar of nuclear conflict, portrays the Soviet philosophy in plain words: "Their objective is to win the war in the first blow. Gradualism is not a Soviet concept....There is nothing in the Soviet military doctrine and strategy literature that suggests any interest in the U.S. concepts of limited or restrained nuclear war."

Of course, to make these belligerent preparations meaningful, the Russians would have to amass the requisite hardware. They have it — in abundance, a fact which is also readily accessible to the American public. An authoritative book, Soviet Military Power, unclassified and available in the bookstores, tells the story of the growth in the Soviet arsenal in specific terms. Their intercontinental nuclear missile force greatly exceeds our own — in numbers (1,400 to 1,000), in warheads (5,750 to 2,150) in annual production (150 per year to none on our part) and in sophistication (eight new weapons introduced in the past ten years versus one of ours). Their intercontinental missile firing submarine force has far outstripped our own (62 submarines to 35). Their intercontinental nuclear bombers are

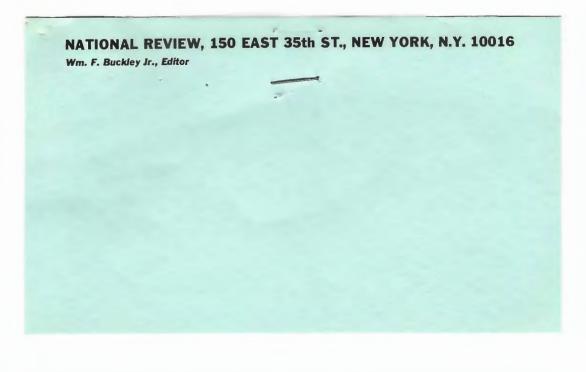
newer, faster, more formidable and more numerous than ours (398 to 325). In short, they have the offensive nuclear hardware to go with their offensive strategy.

But their preparations do not stop there. Since the early 1960's the Soviets have been hard at work developing their industrial areas and preparing hardened shelters for their people. Mr. Douglass estimates that 45 million Soviet citizens in urban areas are now provided with hardened shelters. It is the Russian view that if they have a powerful civil defense already in place and we do not, it further widens the gap between their capability and ours.

The final Soviet preparatory effort with which we are confronted is deception. If they can mislead us as to the nature of their preparations or their intentions we may prepare incorrectly, inadequately, or both. They reason that their strength grows, relatively, any time ours is decreased. And that is the motivation behind their claim that they have no desire to achieve military superiority over us or, despite the obvious facts to the contrary, that a first strike is nowhere in their policy.

All of this evidence of Soviet intentions and preparations should persuade us that a program of vigilant preparedness on our part is the only answer, the only safe course to follow. Unfortunately there is much evidence that this simple conclusion, that our salvation is in strength and not weakness, is lost on many. It seems that the Soviet program of disinformation has found acceptance in the minds of many of our people, a large

fraction of the press and, if the recent primary campaign rhetoric is to be believed, by some of the candidates as well. And that is more than sad, because the sobering facts are visible to all who are willing to see.



On the Right - Wm F Buckley, JR

Tracking the Slurs

Some months ago, the Washington Post's Lou Cannon complained that the press was being "too fair" to Ronald Reagan. He will probably be embarrassed for the rest of his life by that amusing complaint, it being generally understood that there is no such thing as being "too fair" any more than one balks in striving for perfection in any of the virtues ("too kind"? "too compassionate"? "too wise"?). The boys put it down to a Freudian slip. Lou Cannon does not like it that, after three years, the media have not succeeded in portraying Ronald Reagan to the American people as an unpleasant man, for the same reason that they would not attempt to represent a square circle. I am not suggesting the press conspires to do this to Reagan. I am suggesting there are those who

Some while ago a demonstrably civilized gentleman from Abilene, Texas wrote to say that a columnist had written, "Ronald Reagan utters lies by the dozen, and prospers the more for it. Lou Cannon of the washington Post [collects these lies.] His latest lie was typical. It came from nowhere, to please his immediate audience.

Last month, Reagan told Simon Wiesenthal and Rabbi
Marvin Hier that he was a member of the Army Signal
Corps filming the [concentration camps]. ...this was,
of course, a lie. Reagan never served as a Signal
Corps photographer. He did not go to the death camps
when they were open...He made it up on the spot."

The correspondent in question, inured to the ideological stridency of the columnist in question, reveals he is not inclined to believe him. Still, "something grabs me in the gut when I read columns [which] seems to be presenting facts."

So, what happened?

At the meeting in question, there were several people present. They included Secretary of State Sthultz, White House adviser Marshall Breger, and Rabbi dean Marvin Hier, who is the Les Angeles representative of the Simon Wiesenthal Center Los Angeles.

The next day, Joanne Omang of the Washington Post telephoned Marshall Breger and asked was it true that fresident Reagan had represented himself as a Signal Corps photographer who had taken pictures of the concentration camps? No, Breger said: The President had said he had seen such films, taken by the unit to which he was attached, and that the films had made a lasting impression on him. Secretary Schultz confirmed that this was what he had heard. Mr. Marty Mendelssohn, counsel for the Simon Wiesenthal Society, contacted

Rabbi Hier in Los Angles who confirmed that this was what he had heard. The confusion was attributed to the insecure English of Mr. Wiesenthal. Miss Omang published the correct story in the Washington Post. And a few weeks later Lou Cannon published his own version, which conflicted with the news story in his own paper.

The columnist made it sound as though Reagan simply comes up with these improvisations, as useful theatrically. The White House released a video tape, no less, of an appearance by the President in the ast Room on April 30, 1981, at a Days of Remembrance Ceremony. Said the President:

"I remember April '45. I remember seeing the first film that came in when the war was still on, but our troops had come upon the first camps, and had entered those camps. And you saw unretouched, no way that it could ever have been rehearsed, what they saw. Well, I am horrified today when I know that, and hear that there are actually people now trying to say that the holocaust was inverted."

There is, of course, nothing there to suggest that the films Mr. Reagan viewed were taken by Mr. Reagan, who never left the United States during the war, and has never represented that he did.

But slurs of this kind have an effect on people of sensitive moral conscience. "Fersonally," my correspondent wrote, "I know nothing about the facts

behind (the columnist's) statements. Perhaps he is right...What bothers me, and this is where I am looking to you for guidance, is whether or not I should support a candidate because he is conservative at the expense of moral considerations such as lying. ...Can you tell me if he really does things like this regularly? If he does, do you approve? Is it 'just politics.'"

To which three questions: 1) No. 2) No, I would not approve. 3) The politics being played here is by the critics of Mr. Reagan, who are determined not to be too fair to him.

On the Right -- Wm. F. Buckley, Jr.

KILL REAGAN IF YOU CAN

In the current issue of the <u>New York Review of</u>

<u>Books</u>, Robert Kaiser of the <u>Washington Post</u> reviews no fewer than four books by or about Ronald Reagan, and I guess it's only fair to say that the tocsin has sounded for--despair!

Why?

All the usual things. Ronald Reagan is not-quitebright. He is lazy. He is shallow. He is a hypocrite (mind you, that may be good: See how nice he was to the Chinese Communists he used to oppose so vigorously?). He is, on such matters as abortion, a fundamentalist, though he doesn't go to church much (and maybe just as he thought the Chinese Communists were all bad, so he will grow up and realize that God isn't all that good?) He is above all an actor, a performer. But you've got to watch it, because he is--not exactly surrounded by: he is surrounded only by California millionaires--in ideological contact with Christian fundamentalists who talk as if Armageddon is other than merely a Biblical nursery tale, and who knows, Ronald Reagan might think it an excellent cap on his theatrical career if he blew the incremental bugle, and just like the Bible says, all the walls will come tumbling down!

Robert Kaiser is a very bright man who wrote a very good book about the Soviet Union, and for the two reasons it really is a pity that he should give so much time to this schadenfreude on Reagan.

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NOTE TO: DICK DARMAN

FROM:

JIM BAKER

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To Speechwiten

V. H. KRULAK

Recently I had an opportunity to read an unusual study prepared by the U.S. Treasury Department entitled "The Effect of Deficits on Prices of Financial Assets: Theory and Evidence." With a name like that the document could be expected to repel a reader such as me, who is not an expert in economics. However, I was surprised to find that once its conclusions are reduced to their essence they turn out to be logical, simple and persuasive. This is significant because the analysis challenges the basis of one of today's more popular economic concepts.

The study, a product of three years research, says that our large budget deficits are not the primary cause of inflation. It had been my understanding -- and, I believe that of many other laymen -- that this deficit/inflation relationship was beyond challenge. The study says this is not so, and then proceeds to make an alternate case with eloquence, conviction and an impressive array of facts.

It says, quite simply, that while deficits are bad, government spending is the major culprit in the creation of high interest rates and inflation. The deficit could be reduced by increased taxes, but nothing would be solved. The answer -- the only answer -- is to reduce Federal spending. This, in turn, will reduce the deficit, interest rates and inflation. Currently, however, the argument is not how to reduce Federal outlays, but how Congress should finance

its spending excesses. There are just two ways for government to pay its bills -- by borrowing or by increasing taxes.

Neither one does anything to meet the basic problem of government spending. Of the two, raising taxes is the less desirable because of the bad effect it has on popular confidence, on personal savings, on the level of private spending and the country's overall economic growth.

Contrary to those who believe that we can bring inflation and interest rates under control through increases in taxes,

President Reagan has marched to a different drummer. His theory

-- cut Federal spending to reduce the need for government borrowing, cut taxes to stimulate economic growth through increased confidence and consequent increased investment and private spending. But, first of all, cut Federal spending.

The President's concept has been under continuous

Congressional fire since it was announced three years ago.

That is so because a sincere effort to reduce government spending puts pressure on some politically sensitive areas -- transfer payments (Social Security, Medicare, Federal pensions) and social programs (welfare, food stamps, etc.) which together, agggregate about forty-five percent of the Federal budget outflow. It is a melancholy fact that support of these payments is a major factor in getting many members of the Congress elected and they are not likely to take a stand against them.

The more common proposal -- to trim the national defense budget, which is politically much less sensitive -- would not

result in sufficient spending reduction to have a major impact unless the cuts were irresponsibly large. This is not to say there is no fat in the Defense budget. There is — but it is largely found in regional Defense projects that members of Congress will not touch because of political implications. Senator John Tower, Chairman of the Senate Armed Services Committee, proved this by challenging his economy-minded committee members to come up with Defense project cuts in their states. As might have been predicted, the result was a negligible figure. Even acknowledging the existence of fat our Defense outlay is only twenty-seven percent of the budget outflow (it was over fifty percent in the 1950's) and there is no practical prospect of reducing it greatly without risking our national survival.

Two score Congressmen and Senators, led by Representative Terry Craig of Indiana, acknowledging the fact that management of government fiscal affairs is a responsibility of the Congress, have recently banded together in an organization called "Congressional Leaders United for a Balanced Budget," short title CLUBB. Their aim is to achieve passage of the proposed "Balanced Budget Amendment." Since budgets may be balanced at any level, high or low, it is plain that a balanced budget, of itself, may have no beneficial effect on Federal spending. CLUBB members, however, declare that the balanced budget is a first step toward fiscal sobriety. And to keep it simple, fiscal, sobriety today has no relation to higher

taxes, greater government borrowing or larger deficits. It is synonymous with one thing only -- frugality in government spending.

To Spechwiter

V. H. KRULAK

Soviet Propaganda is Working

The continued Russian refusal to join in discussions aimed at limiting nuclear arms is a frustrating reality. Even so, and in the face of their stubborness, we still find an unbelieveable array of impractical proposals in newspaper columns and in the rhetoric of the recent Democratic primary. -- "Cut back on the defense budget"; "go all out for a nuclear freeze"; "sit down with the Russians and reason with them". -- These and other proposals that have little identification with the real world are heard daily.

Assuming one makes even a modest study of world affairs, he must know that any president of the United States, whether it be Mr. Reagan or one of the Democratic hopefuls, today faces a grave problem with an intransigeant Kremlin whose aims are openly articulated -- aims which are most ominous where we are concerned. Moreover, it is plain for all to see that they have armed themselves in a manner designed to make those aims attainable.

As far back as 1962 the Soviet leadership developed a grassroots document entitled "Military Strategy" which has been updated four times since it was originally issued. Officially approved by the Party it is, without a question, an official expression of Soviet policy. And it is available, in English, in American bookstores, so there is no excuse for any citizen -- columnist or candidate -- not being intimately familiar with its contents.

The basic policy contemplates an offensive nuclear strategy. It is based on their building up to a qualitative and quantitative military superiority and then achieving their purposes by striking first and winning a nuclear war. It is that stark and that simple. They describe a conflict with us as "a war without compromise, for at the basis of the political aims of both sides lies the main contradiction of the modern age, the resolution of which excludes any possibility of political agreement." Joseph D. Douglass, Jr., a respected scholar of nuclear conflict, portrays the Soviet philosophy in plain words: "Their objective is to win the war in the first blow. Gradualism is not a Soviet concept...There is nothing in the Soviet military doctrine and strategy literature that suggests any interest in the U.S. concepts of limited or restrained nuclear war."

Of course, to make these belligerent preparations meaningful, the Russians would have to amass the requisite hardware. They have it -- in abundance, a fact which is also readily accessible to the American public. An authoritative book, Soviet Military Power, unclassified and available in the bookstores, tells the story of the growth in the Soviet arsenal in specific terms. Their intercontinental nuclear missile force greatly exceeds our own -- in numbers (1,400 to 1,000), in warheads (5,750 to 2,150) in annual production (150 per year to none on our part) and in sophistication (eight new weapons introduced in the past ten years versus one of ours). Their intercontinental missile firing submarine force has far outstripped our own (62 submarines to 35). Their intercontinental nuclear bombers are

newer, faster, more formidable and more numerous than ours (398 to 325). In short, they have the offensive nuclear hardware to go with their offensive strategy.

But their preparations do not stop there. Since the early 1960's the Soviets have been hard at work developing their industrial areas and preparing hardened shelters for their people. Mr. Douglass estimates that 45 million Soviet citizens in urban areas are now provided with hardened shelters. It is the Russian view that if they have a powerful civil defense already in place and we do not, it further widens the gap between their capability and ours.

The final Soviet preparatory effort with which we are confronted is deception. If they can mislead us as to the nature of their preparations or their intentions we may prepare incorrectly, inadequately, or both. They reason that their strength grows, relatively, any time ours is decreased. And that is the motivation behind their claim that they have no desire to achieve military superiority over us or, despite the obvious facts to the contrary, that a first strike is nowhere in their policy.

All of this evidence of Soviet intentions and preparations should persuade us that a program of vigilant preparedness on our part is the only answer, the only safe course to follow. Unfortunately there is much evidence that this simple conclusion, that our salvation is in strength and not weakness, is lost on many. It seems that the Soviet program of disinformation has found acceptance in the minds of many of our people, a large

fraction of the press and, if the recent primary campaign rhetoric is to be believed, by some of the candidates as well. And that is more than sad, because the sobering facts are visible to all who are willing to see.

On the Right - Wm F. BULLLEY, SR

Tracking the Slurs

Some months ago, the Washington Post's Lou Cannon complained that the press was being "too fair" to Ronald Reagan. He will probably be embarrassed for the rest of his life by that amusing complaint, it being generally understood that there is no such thing as being "too fair" any more than one balks in striving for perfection in any of the virtues ("too kind"? "too compassionate"? "too wise"?). The boys put it down to a Freudian slip. Lou Cannon does not like it that, after three years, the media have not succeeded in portraying Ronald Reagan to the American people as an unpleasant man, for the same reason that they would not attempt to represent a square circle. I am not suggesting the press conspires to do this to Reagan. I am suggesting there are those with would like to see it done.

Some while ago a demonstrably civilized gentleman from Abilene, Texas wrote to say that a columnist had written, "Ronald Reagan utters lies by the dozen, and prospers the more for it. Lou Cannon of the washington Post [collects these lies.] His latest lie was typical. It came from nowhere, to please his immediate audience.

Last month, Reagan told Simon Wiesenthal and Rabbi
Marvin Hier that he was a member of the Army Signal
Corps filming the [concentration camps]. ...this was,
of course, a lie. Reagan never served as a Signal
Corps photographer. He did not go to the death camps
when they were open...He made it up on the spot."

The correspondent in question, inured to the ideological stridency of the columnist in question, reveals he is not inclined to believe him. Still, "something grabs me in the gut when I read columns [which] seems to be presenting facts."

So, what happened?

At the meeting in question, there were several people present. They included Secretary of State Sthultz, White House adviser Marshall Breger, and Rabbi dean Marvin Hier, who is the Los Angeles representative of the Simon Wiesenthal Center in Los Angeles.

The next day, Joanne Omang of the Washington Post telephoned Marshall Breger and asked was it true that Fresident Reagan had represented himself as a Signal Corps photographer who had taken pictures of the concentration camps? No, Breger said: The President had said he had seen such films, taken by the unit to which he was attached, and that the films had made a lasting impression on him. Secretary Schultz confirmed that this was what he had heard. Mr. Marty Mendelssohn, counsel for the Simon Wiesenthal Society, contacted

Rabbi Hier in Los Angles who confirmed that this was what he had heard. The confusion was attributed to the insecure English of Mr. Wiesenthal. Miss Omang published the correct story in the Washington Post. And a few weeks later Lou Cannon published his own version, which conflicted with the news story in his own paper.

The columnist made it sound as though Reagan simply comes up with these improvisations, as useful theatrically. The White House released a video tape, no less, of an appearance by the President in the ast Room on April 30, 1981, at a Days of Remembrance Ceremony.

"I remember April '45. I remember seeing the first film that came in when the war was still on, but our troops had come upon the first camps, and had entered those camps. And you saw unretouched, no way that it could ever have been rehearsed, what they saw. Well, I am horrified today when I know that, and hear that there are actually people now trying to say that the holocaust was invented."

There is, of course, nothing there to suggest that the films Mr. Reagan viewed were taken by Mr. Reagan, who never left the United States during the war, and has never represented that he did.

But slurs of this kind have an effect on people of sensitive moral conscience. "Personally," my correspondent wrote, "I know nothing about the facts

behind (the columnist's) statements. Perhaps he is right...What bothers me, and this is where I am looking to you for guidance, is whether or not I should support a candidate because he is conservative at the expense of moral considerations such as lying. ...Can you tell me if he really does things like this regularly? If he does, do you approve? Is it 'just politics.'"

To which three questions: 1) No. 2) No, I would not approve. 3) The politics being played here is by the critics of Mr. Reagan, who are determined not to be too fair to him.

On the Right -- Wm. F. Buckley, Jr.

KILL REAGAN IF YOU CAN

In the current issue of the <u>New York Review of Books</u>, Robert Kaiser of the <u>Washington Post</u> reviews no fewer than four books by or about Ronald Reagan, and I guess it's only fair to say that the tocsin has sounded for-despair!

Why?

All the usual things. Ronald Reagan is not-quitebright. He is lazy. He is shallow. He is a hypocrite (mind you, that may be good: See how nice he was to the Chinese Communists he used to oppose so vigorously?). He is, on such matters as abortion, a fundamentalist, though he doesn't go to church much (and maybe just as he thought the Chinese Communists were all bad, so he will grow up and realize that God isn't all that good?) He is above all an actor, a performer. But you've got to watch it, because he is -- not exactly surrounded by: he is surrounded only by California millionaires--in ideological contact with Christian fundamentalists who talk as if Armageddon is other than merely a Biblical nursery tale, and who knows, Ronald Reagan might think it an excellent cap on his theatrical career if he blew the incremental bugle, and just like the Bible says, all the walls will come tumbling down!

Robert Kaiser is a very bright man who wrote a very good book about the Soviet Union, and for the two reasons it really is a pity that he should give so much time to this schadenfreude on Reagan.

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