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CONTROLS

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SERIAL: PM2001160189

BODY

/***** THIS IS A COMBINED MESSAGE *****/

PASS: COPY TO [REDACTED]

COUNTRY: USSR

SUBJ: TAKE 1 OF 5 -- PRAVDA PROFILE OF RONALD REAGAN

SOURCE: MOSCOW PRAVDA IN RUSSIAN 20 JAN 89 SECOND EDITION P 6

TEXT:

//((GENNADIY VASILYEV "POLITICAL PORTRAIT": "REAGAN'S BEST
ROLE"))

((TEXT)) THE 40TH U.S. PRESIDENT LEAVES THE WHITE HOUSE
TODAY. AFTER 8 YEARS ON THE "CAPTAIN'S BRIDGE" OF AMERICA,
77-YEAR-OLD RONALD REAGAN, THE OLDEST PRESIDENT IN THE COUNTRY'S
HISTORY, IS LEAVING WASHINGTON AND HEADING BACK FOR "SKY RANCH"
NEAR THE CITY OF SANTA BARBARA IN CALIFORNIA.

I THINK THAT HE IS LEAVING WASHINGTON WITH A SENSE OF
SATISFACTION. TO ALL OUTWARD INDICATIONS HE IS RETIRING AS AN
EXTREMELY SUCCESSFUL POLITICIAN. DOESN'T HIS 1984 REELECTION FOR A
SECOND TERM INDICATE THIS? (APART FROM HIM, THIS CENTURY ONLY
WOODROW WILSON, FRANKLIN DELANO ROOSEVELT, AND DWIGHT
EISENHOWER HAVE SUCCEEDED IN DOING THIS.) DOESN'T THE TRANSFER OF
THE "RELAY BATON" TO ANOTHER REPUBLICAN, HIS OWN VICE PRESIDENT

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G. BUSH, ATTEST TO THIS? CERTAINLY RECENT PUBLIC OPINION POLLS SHOW THAT RONALD REAGAN IS STILL POPULAR.

YET A COUPLE OF YEARS AGO IT SEEMED THAT HIS PRESIDENCY WOULD END BADLY. REAGAN'S POPULARITY WAS THEN AT ITS LOWEST EBB AND HE WAS DESCRIBED AS A PRESIDENT WHO HAD LET THE REINS OF GOVERNMENT SLIP FROM HIS HANDS AND AS A FORGETFUL OLD MAN WHO WAS UNABLE TO COPE WITH HIS DUTIES. THIS WAS AT THE HEIGHT OF THE "IRAN-CONTRAS" SCANDAL, WHEN THE WAVE OF REVELATIONS COULD HAVE DONE IRREPARABLE DAMAGE TO THE PRESIDENT AND THE REPUBLICAN PARTY. BUT REAGAN SHOWED ONCE AGAIN A QUALITY THAT HIS RIVALS SO OFTEN UNDERESTIMATED: AN ABILITY TO MOBILIZE HIMSELF, RESTRUCTURE HIMSELF, AND DISSOCIATE HIMSELF FROM SCANDAL. IT WAS NOT FOR NOTHING THAT HE WAS DUBBED THE "TEFLON PRESIDENT" (TEFLON IS A SUBSTANCE USED TO COAT SKILLETS TO ENSURE THAT NOTHING STICKS TO THEM.)

IT HAS TO BE ADMITTED THAT WE ALL NOT ONLY UNDERESTIMATED REAGAN FAIRLY FREQUENTLY BUT ALSO GREATLY OVERSIMPLIFIED HIM. HIS OUTWARD SIMPLICITY WAS TAKEN FOR SIMPLE-MINDEDNESS, HIS RHETORIC FOR SUBSTANCE, AND HIS OSTENTATIOUS TOUGHNESS FOR AN INABILITY TO BE FLEXIBLE. WHICH IS THE REAL 40TH U.S. PRESIDENT? THE REAGAN OF THE YEARS 1980-1981, WHO PROMISED TO "LEAVE COMMUNISM ON THE ASH HEAP OF HISTORY"? OR THE REAGAN OF 1987-1988, WHOSE SIGNATURE IS ON THE SOVIET-U.S. TREATY ON INTERMEDIATE-RANGE AND SHORTER-RANGE MISSILES, THE FIRST AGREEMENT IN HISTORY ON THE PHYSICAL ELIMINATION OF TWO CLASSES OF NUCLEAR WEAPONS?

I REMEMBER THE CLEAR SUNNY NOON OF 29 MAY 1988. THE GEORGIYEVSKIY HALL IN THE KREMLIN. THE FIRST DAY OF THE SOVIET-U.S. SUMMIT. AFTER THE OFFICIAL EXCHANGE OF GREETINGS, M.S. GORBACHEV AND R. REAGAN WENT INTO THE YEKATERINSKIY HALL AND SAT ON A COUCH. THERE WERE THE BRIGHT LIGHTS OF SPOTLIGHTS AND CAMERA SHUTTERS CLICKED. A WESTERN CORRESPONDENT ASKED: "MR PRESIDENT, HOW DO YOU FEEL TO BE HERE AT THE CENTER OF THE 'EVIL EMPIRE'?" THERE WAS LAUGHTER. THE JOURNALIST WAS CLEARLY SPEAKING IRONICALLY, RECALLING ONE OF THE U.S. PRESIDENT'S EARLY SPEECHES. REAGAN ANSWERED THAT HE FELT JUST FINE.

A MIRACULOUS METAMORPHOSIS? THE ENLIGHTENMENT OF A CONSERVATIVE? I THINK THAT THIS EXPLANATION WOULD BE ANOTHER OVERSIMPLIFICATION AND MAYBE EVEN SELF-DECEPTION. BOTH THE OLD STANCE AND THE NEW ARE GESTURES TO SPECIFIC POLITICAL CIRCUMSTANCES. THEY ARE PROOF OF A POLITICIAN'S ABILITY TO REVISE HIS POSITIONS AND CHANGE.

...THE FIRST AND MOST ESSENTIAL "RESTRUCTURING" IN RONALD REAGAN'S LIFE TOOK PLACE IN THE FIFTIES. THE LIBERAL DEMOCRAT AND ROOSEVELT SUPPORTER BECAME A CONSERVATIVE REPUBLICAN. THIS WAS THE TIME OF MCCARTHYISM AND THE HUNT FOR "REDS" IN HOLLYWOOD, A TIME WHEN AMERICA EXPERIENCED A POWERFUL SWING TO THE RIGHT. REAGAN, WHO THEN HELD THE POST OF PRESIDENT OF THE SCREEN ACTORS GUILD, BEGAN TO HELP "ERADICATE SEDITION."

/***** BEGINNING OF TAKE 002 *****/

REF: PM2001160189 MOSCOW PRAVDA RUSSIAN 20 JAN///HELP

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"ERADICATE SEDITION."

TEXT:

((TEXT)) DURING THIS PERIOD, WHICH FELL MAINLY DURING THE EISENHOWER PRESIDENCY, REAGAN FURNISHED HIMSELF ONCE AND FOR ALL WITH THE SET OF OPINIONS THAT HE TOOK INTO POLITICS DECADES LATER: A BELIEF IN THE MIRACULOUS POTENTIAL OF FREE ENTERPRISE, THE CONVICTION THAT AMERICA IS GOD'S CHOSEN COUNTRY, AND A FIRM HOSTILITY TO ALL LEFTISTS. OVER THE YEARS REAGAN ABANDONED HIS ACTING ACTIVITY AND ADVERTISED "GENERAL ELECTRIC" PRODUCTS ON TELEVISION. THINGS WENT WELL; THE INCOME WAS GOOD AND REGULAR. WHILE HELPING MARKET COFFEE GRINDER, ICEBOXES, AND ELECTRIC COOKERS, HE AVIDLY PREPARED MATERIAL AND COLLECTED FUNNY STORIES -- AN ART THAT CAME IN USEFUL FOR HIM LATER IN THE POST OF PRESIDENT. IT WAS BACK THEN THAT HE WAS ADMITTED TO THE CIRCLE OF LOCAL CONSERVATIVE BUSINESSMEN, WHO PLAYED AN IMPORTANT ROLE IN HIS FUTURE POLITICAL CAREER.

CHRONICLERS OF THE LIFE OF THE U.S. CAPITAL OFTEN POKED FUN AT THE 40TH U.S. PRESIDENT'S PAST AS AN ACTOR. JUST THINK, THEY SAID: AN ACTOR, SOMEONE WHO MERELY READS OUT WHAT OTHERS HAVE WRITTEN, IS IN THE COUNTRY'S SUPREME POST, A POST THAT REQUIRES INDEPENDENCE, DETERMINATION, AND FARSIGHTEDNESS. YET REAGAN'S ACTING SKILLS -- NOT ONLY PROFESSIONAL BUT ALSO NATURAL -- WERE AN IMPORTANT COMPONENT OF HIS POLITICAL SUCCESS. IT IS SAID THAT RICHARD NIXON LOST THE PRESIDENTIAL DUEL TO JOHN KENNEDY IN 1960 BECAUSE HE WAS POORLY MADE UP DURING THE FIRST TELEVISED DEBATE AND HIS FACE SEEMED PUFFY AND UNHEALTHY. BUT THIS WAS AT THE TIME OF BLACK-AND-WHITE TELEVISION AND THERE WERE FAR FEWER DOMESTIC TELEVISION SETS THEN. TODAY THE TELEVISION SET WITH ITS BRIGHT AND COLORFUL FLICKERING IMAGES IS THE MAIN INTERLOCUTOR, FRIEND, AND MENTOR OF EVERY AMERICAN FAMILY. OVER THE LAST FEW DECADES THE WORLD OF MOVIES AND TELEVISION HAS BECOME FOR MANY AMERICANS A KIND OF REAL WORLD IN WHICH IT IS DIFFICULT TO DISTINGUISH WHAT IS REALITY AND WHAT IS FANTASY.

THIS QUALITY IN THE AVERAGE AMERICAN IS CHARACTERISTIC OF REAGAN TOO. IN ONE OF HIS SPEECHES, WHEN TALKING ABOUT THE HEROES OF WORLD WAR II, THE PRESIDENT TALKED ABOUT THE COURAGE AND SELFLESSNESS OF THE PILOT WHO REFUSED TO PARACHUTE AND LEAVE A WOUNDED COMRADE ON BOARD AN AIRCRAFT FALLING OUT OF THE SKY. MOVIE BUFFS IMMEDIATELY RECALLED THAT THIS WAS NO EPISODE FROM THE WAR BUT A SCENE FROM THE FILM "A WING AND A PRAYER." THE PRESIDENT DID THIS ON SEVERAL OCCASIONS. THE WHITE HOUSE WAS ULTIMATELY FORCED TO GIVE THE FOLLOWING EXPLANATION: "HOLLYWOOD CINEMATOGRAPHY IS THE MAIN U.S. ART FORM AND AMERICA CONSIDERS THAT IT IS BETTER TO EMBELLISH REALITY THAN SHOW IT IN ALL ITS SQUALOR."

RONALD REAGAN WAS THE FIRST WHITE HOUSE INCUMBENT TO MAKE FULL 100-PERCENT USE OF TELEVISION -- THAT MIGHTY MEANS OF MOLDING PUBLIC OPINION. BY APPEARING IN AMERICANS' APARTMENTS -- A PROGRAM COULD BE BEAMED FROM THE OVAL OFFICE OR FROM THE THE FOOT OF THE STATUE OF LIBERTY BATHED IN THE GLOW OF FIREWORKS -- HE WAS A

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MEMBER OF THE FAMILY, AS IT WERE, AN ORDINARY, UNDERSTANDABLE MAN, SELF-CONFIDENT AND CONVINCED THAT EVERYTHING WAS GOING WELL AND THAT AMERICA WAS "BACK IN THE SADDLE."

FRIENDS FROM THE PRESIDENT'S YOUTH AS AN ACTOR RECALL THAT HE LARGELY PLAYED SECONDARY ROLES AND BIT PARTS IN MOVIES -- THE ROLE OF THE FAILURE, THE GUY-WHO IS REJECTED BY THE GIRL HE LOVES, AN INVALID. HE WASN'T GIVEN LEADING ROLES, AND THIS GRIEVED THE ACTOR. BUT EVENTS DECREED THAT HE OBTAINED THE LEADING POLITICAL ROLE IN THE COUNTRY. SUMMING UP THE RESULTS OF HIS 8-YEAR PRESIDENCY, I WOULD NOW LIKE TO ASK THE FOLLOWING QUESTION: WASN'T THIS RONALD REAGAN'S BEST ROLE?

REAGAN HAS BEEN RATHER DEAF IN HIS RIGHT EAR SINCE HIS YOUTH. THIS IS ALSO A RELIC OF HIS ACTING CAREER. IN THE THIRTIES DURING THE SHOOTING OF A MOVIE ANOTHER ACTOR FIRED A PISTOL CONTAINING A BLANK ALMOST DIRECTLY BY HIS TEMPLE. WHAT IS DESCRIBED AS ACOUSTIC TRAUMA ENSUED. THIS DEFECT COULD BE CORRECTED WITH THE HELP OF A SPECIAL ELECTRICAL DEVICE. BUT WHEN IT COMES TO REAGAN'S POLITICAL EAR, THAT WAS ALWAYS EXCELLENT. AS GOVERNOR OF CALIFORNIA AND CONTENDER FOR THE COUNTRY'S SUPREME ELECTED POST AND LATER AS PRESIDENT, HE WAS ALWAYS NOTED FOR HIS ABILITY TO HEED THE MOODS OF THE COUNTRY, GRASP WHAT COULD BRING SUCCESS TODAY, AND ACT ACCORDINGLY. THIS GUARANTEED HIS SUCCESS IN 1980.

REAGAN ARRIVED AT THE WHITE HOUSE ON THE CREST OF THE RIGHTIST WAVE OF THE LATE SEVENTIES AND EARLY EIGHTIES, WHEN GREAT DISSATISFACTION OVER THE STATE OF AFFAIRS IN THE COUNTRY AND THE ATTITUDE TOWARD THE UNITED STATES ABROAD HAD ACCUMULATED IN AMERICA, PARTICULARLY AMONG THE SO-CALLED "MIDDLE CLASS." THIS WAS A BITTER COCKTAIL MINGLING THE REAL AND THE APPARENT, MINGLING AWARENESS OF REAL FAILURES AND IMAGINED REASONS FOR DISSATISFACTION. DISSATISFACTION WITH HIGH TAXES, INFLATION IN DOUBLE FIGURES, THE INEFFECTIVENESS OF THE SOCIAL SECURITY SYSTEM, AND, ABOVE ALL, THE FOREIGN POLICY PROBLEMS FOR WASHINGTON, WHICH WAS PARTICULARLY HUMILIATED DURING THE ATTEMPT TO FREE THE U.S. HOSTAGES IN TEHRAN -- ALL THIS CREATED A DESIRE FOR CHANGE. AMERICA, WHICH HAD NOT RECOVERED FROM THE PSYCHOLOGICAL TRAUMAS OF ITS DEFEAT IN VIETNAM AND "WATERGATE," ENGAGED IN SOME SOUL-SEARCHING AND SOUGHT THE ANSWERS TO EXCRUCIATING QUESTIONS.

/***** BEGINNING OF TAKE 003 *****/

REF: PM2001160189 MOSCOW PRAVDA RUSSIAN 20 JAN///TO
EXCRUCIATING QUESTIONS.

TEXT:

((TEXT)) "THE COUNTRY IS IN THE GRIP OF A NATIONAL SICKNESS," "PEANUT FARMER" JIMMY CARTER SAID.

"NO," RONALD REAGAN SAID DURING HIS STRUGGLE FOR THE PRESIDENCY. "AMERICA IS WALKING TALL ONCE AGAIN AND LOOKING TO THE EIGHTIES WITH COURAGE, CONFIDENCE, AND HOPE."

IT TURNED OUT THAT IT WAS MUCH MORE PLEASANT TO LISTEN TO OPTIMISTIC SPEECHES THAN TO SEEK THE REASONS FOR A TRUTH THAT WAS OF SMALL COMFORT. REAGAN CAME TO THE WHITE HOUSE WITH A PROGRAM

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OF RADICAL REFORMS THAT BUSINESS WEEK DESCRIBED AS THE "ANTITHESIS OF ROOSEVELT'S NEW DEAL." THE "REAGAN REVOLUTION" ENVISAGED A SET OF IDEAS THAT DID NOT ALWAYS GEL WITH ONE ANOTHER: REAGAN WANTED TO FREE THE CAPITALIST ECONOMY FROM THE SHACKLES OF STATE REGULATION, MAKE LARGE TAX CUTS, SHARPLY INCREASE MILITARY APPROPRIATIONS, RESTORE AMERICA'S INDISPUTABLE MILITARY SUPERIORITY, REBUFF COMMUNISM ON A WORLDWIDE SCALE, AND REVIVE "TRADITIONAL AMERICAN VALUES" IN THE COUNTRY -- PATRIOTISM, PIETY, --, \$ 5#3 :7)5 9! 5#3 !-.8)6.

THIS WAS A TOTALLY IDEOLOGIZED PROGRAM THAT PROMISED VIRTUALLY TO TURN EVERYTHING UPSIDE DOWN. BUT TIME PASSED AND THE CONTRADICTIONS BETWEEN SOME ITEMS IN THIS PLATFORM AND OTHERS AND THE CONTRADICTIONS BETWEEN MANY OF THEM AND OBJECTIVE REALITY BECAME INCREASINGLY CLEAR. IT BECAME INCREASINGLY CLEAR THAT REAGAN WAS MUCH MORE OF A REALIST THAN HIS SPEECHES INDICATED, ESPECIALLY DURING THE FIRST YEARS OF HIS PRESIDENCY.

THERE IS AN UNWRITTEN LAW IN U.S. POLITICS -- ALL PRESIDENTS MOVE TOWARD THE POLITICAL CENTER DURING THEIR RULE WHETHER THEY BEGAN ON THE RIGHT OR AS A "LIBERAL." THE 40TH U.S. PRESIDENT, WHO CAME TO THE HOUSE ON PENNSYLVANIA AVENUE AS THE SPOKESMAN FOR RIGHT-WING CONSERVATIVE IDEOLOGY, DID NOT ESCAPE THIS TRANSFORMATION EITHER. THE RIGHT-WING WAVE IN THE UNITED STATES BEGAN TO RECEDE AND PUBLIC SENTIMENTS BEGAN TO CHANGE; THIS WAS SHOWN BY THE 1984 ELECTIONS, WHEN REAGAN HIMSELF WAS REELECTED TO A SECOND TERM BUT THE REPUBLICAN PARTY LOST ITS SENATE MAJORITY. THIS TREND BECAME EVEN MORE OBVIOUS THEREAFTER. AMENDMENTS HAD TO BE MADE TO BOTH DOMESTIC AND FOREIGN POLICY.

THIS PROCESS WAS ALSO REFLECTED IN THE CHANGES IN THE COMPOSITION OF THE REPUBLICAN ADMINISTRATION. THE "IDEOLOGUES" -- HAIG, CLARK, CASEY, MEESE, WEINBERGER, AND PERLE -- WERE GRADUALLY "WASHED OUT" OF IT. THE INFLUENCE OF PRAGMATISTS, PRIMARILY GEORGE SHULTZ, STRENGTHENED. OF ALL THE ORIGINAL TEAM ONLY JAMES BAKER, PERHAPS, WAS LEFT BY THE END OF THE PRESIDENCY. I THINK THAT IT IS NO COINCIDENCE THAT GEORGE BUSH HAS OFFERED HIM THE PORTFOLIO OF SECRETARY OF STATE.

REAGAN'S PRESIDENCY CONTAINS MANY MYSTERIES, AND ONE OF THEM IS THE MAN'S STYLE OF LEADERSHIP. HOW COULD A POLITICIAN WHO, ACCORDING TO GENERAL OPINION, WAS NOTABLE FOR NEITHER ROOSEVELT'S STRENGTH OF INTELLECT, KENNEDY'S EDUCATION, NOR EVEN CARTER'S CAPACITY FOR WORK SUCCEED IN SUCH A LOFTY POST. FORMER SPEAKER THOMAS O'NEILL IS PROBABLY NOT QUITE CORRECT IN SAYING: "I DON'T BELIEVE THAT HE'S WORKED MORE THAN 3 AND 1/2 HOURS A DAY." EVERY AMERICAN IS AWARE THAT REAGAN DID NOT IMMERSE HIMSELF IN THE REPORTS FROM THE VARIOUS MINISTRIES AND DEPARTMENTS, AS DID CARTER, VIRTUALLY NEVER WORKED LATE ON PENNSYLVANIA AVENUE, AND FLEW TO HIS RANCH IN CALIFORNIA AT WEEKENDS. I THINK THAT THIS METHOD OF LEADERSHIP IS ONLY POSSIBLE UNDER CERTAIN CONDITIONS. FIRST, THE "SELF-REGULATING" MECHANISM OF A MARKET ECONOMY. SECOND, THE PRESENCE OF LOYAL AND HARD-WORKING ASSISTANTS.

SO HERE WE ARE JANUARY 1989. THE ALMOST 3,000 DAYS OF RONALD REAGAN'S PRESIDENCY ARE BEHIND US. WHICH OF HIS PLANS OF 8 YEARS

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AGO WERE FULFILLED AND WHAT BECAME OF THE POLITICAL SLOGANS THAT WORKED THEN?

THE ECONOMY. IT HAS PROVED POSSIBLE TO BEAT INFLATION, REDUCE UNEMPLOYMENT, CREATE MILLIONS OF JOBS, AND ENSURE (LARGELY THANKS TO FAVORABLE EXTERNAL CIRCUMSTANCES, SUCH AS THE FALL IN OIL PRICES) ONE OF THE MOST-PROTRACTED PERIODS OF ECONOMIC GROWTH. BUT "REAGANOMICS" -- I QUOTE THE BUSINESS CIRCLES' MAGAZINE BUSINESS WEEK -- "ALSO LEAVES EXTREMELY UNPLEASANT CONSEQUENCES: A VAST NEGATIVE TRADE BALANCE AND A GIGANTIC BUDGET DEFICIT WHICH WILL CONSIDERABLY LIMIT THE FUTURE PRESIDENT'S FREEDOM OF ACTION IN ECONOMIC LEADERSHIP."

TAXES WERE INDEED REDUCED AND THIS PLAYED ITS ROLE IN REVIVING ECONOMIC ACTIVITY. BUT THE PROMISES TO BALANCE THE FEDERAL BUDGET NOW SOUND LIKE A SICK JOKE. THE CARTER DEFICIT OF MORE THAN \$73 BILLION HAS MORE THAN DOUBLED. PROMISES TO RID AMERICANS OF THE BURDEN OF BIG GOVERNMENT ALSO REMAINED UNFULFILLED. THE BUREAUCRATIC APPARATUS HAS CONTINUED TO INCREASE, ALTHOUGH THE PROCESS HAS SLOWED SOMEWHAT. WHEREAS UNDER CARTER THE NUMBER OF FEDERAL EMPLOYEES -- EXCLUDING SERVICEMEN -- ROSE ON AVERAGE BY 33,000 PER YEAR, UNDER REAGAN IT ROSE BY 11,000. MILITARY EXPENDITURE WAS CONSIDERABLY INCREASED. THE PENTAGON HAS RECEIVED MORE THAN \$2 TRILLION IN 8 YEARS. THE PRODUCTION OF NEW ARMS SYSTEMS WAS LAUNCHED AND APPROPRIATIONS FOR RESEARCH AND DESIGN WORK IN THE MILITARY SPHERE HAVE INCREASED. BUT THE AIM -- OBTAINING DECISIVE MILITARY SUPERIORITY OVER THE USSR -- HAS NOT BEEN ACHIEVED. RELATIVE PARITY HAS BEEN PRESERVED. FURTHERMORE, SOVIET-U.S. EFFORTS AIMED AT REDUCING THE LEVEL OF MILITARY CONFRONTATION HAVE BEGUN AND HAVE MET WITH TREMENDOUS APPROVAL EVERYWHERE.

/***** BEGINNING OF TAKE 004 *****/

REF: PM2001160189 MOSCOW PRAVDA RUSSIAN 20 JAN///TREMENDOUS APPROVAL EVERYWHERE.

TEXT:

((TEXT)) THE TASK OF "REBUFFING" COMMUNISM AND REVERSING NATIONAL LIBERATION MOVEMENTS ALSO PROVED IMPRACTICABLE. OUR STORMY CONTRADICTIONARY WORLD IS MORE RESTIVE THAN THE UNBROKEN BRONCOS THAT COWBOYS TAME TO DEMONSTRATE THEIR VALOR AT COUNTRY FAIRS. IT DID NOT PROVE POSSIBLE TO SET SPURS TO COMMUNISM AND SUBJUGATE IT TO THE WILL OF THE U.S. RIDER. ONE MUST GIVE THE ADMINISTRATION ITS DUE: STRONG-ARM PHRASEOLOGY DID NOT PREVENT THE ADMINISTRATION FROM DISPLAYING MARKED CAUTION IN DANGEROUS SITUATIONS, ESPECIALLY WHEN THE THREAT OF U.S. LOSSES AROSE. REMEMBER THE EPISODE WHEN 242 MARINES PERISHED UNDER THE DEBRIS OF THE U.S. BARRACKS THAT WAS BLOWN UP IN BEIRUT IN 1983. IT SEEMED THAT AFTER ALL THEIR THREATENING STATEMENTS, THE U.S. ARMED FORCES SHOULD HAVE DASHED INTO LEBANON TO PUNISH THE "TERRORISTS." INSTEAD OF THIS, WASHINGTON ORDERED ALL U.S. SERVICEMEN LOADED ONTO U.S. SHIPS AND SOLDIERS AND OFFICERS REMOVED FROM THE DANGER ZONE.

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NO, THE PEOPLE WHO CLAIM THAT THE U.S. "ESTABLISHMENT" DID NOT LEARN ANY LESSONS FROM THE VIETNAM WAR ARE NOT CORRECT. IT LEARNED TACTICAL LESSONS, AT ANY RATE, IF NOT POLITICAL AND STRATEGIC LESSONS. THE MAIN CONCLUSION WAS TO PREVENT U.S. TROOPS FROM BECOMING BOGGED DOWN IN COMBAT OPERATIONS ON OTHER COUNTRIES' TERRITORY.

FORTUNE MAGAZINE RECKONS THAT IT IS HARD TO EVALUATE REAGAN'S PRESIDENCY BECAUSE IT ABOUNDS WITH PARADOXES. I BELIEVE THAT ONE OF THE MAIN PARADOXES IS THE FACT THAT WHEREAS THE ADMINISTRATION'S SUCCESSES IN FULFILLING ITS ELECTION PLATFORM ARE, ACCORDING TO AMERICANS, EXTREMELY "MIXED," ITS ACHIEVEMENTS IN THE AREA WHERE IT HAD NO PLANS AND WHERE NO ONE EXPECTED ANYTHING OF IT ARE STRIKING. I MEAN THE SPHERE OF SOVIET-U.S. RELATIONS.

ON THE DAY WHEN THE INSTRUMENTS OF RATIFICATION OF THE SOVIET-U.S. TREATY ON INTERMEDIATE-RANGE AND SHORTER-RANGE MISSILES WERE EXCHANGED IN MOSCOW, I MET AN OLD ACQUAINTANCE OF MINE, A WASHINGTON JOURNALIST, AT THE PRESS CONFERENCE: "I WOULD NOT HAVE BELIEVED IT, NOT ONLY 7 YEARS AGO, BUT EVEN 3 YEARS AGO, IF ANYONE HAD TOLD ME THAT THIS WOULD BE POSSIBLE," HE REMARKED. WHAT HAS HAPPENED? THE ANSWER IS SIMPLE: THE WORLD HAS CHANGED, PEOPLE'S SENTIMENTS HAVE CHANGED, IN THE UNITED STATES ITSELF, IN WESTERN EUROPE, AND EVERYWHERE. IF YOU LOOK MORE CLOSELY, THESE CHANGES TOOK PLACE ABOVE ALL BECAUSE WE HAVE CHANGED. OUR RESTRUCTURING HAS RIVETED PEOPLE'S ATTENTION THROUGHOUT THE WORLD AND HAS REVEALED THE SOVIET UNION'S NEW FACE TO THEM -- A HUMANE AND DEMOCRATIC FACE. MOSCOW'S FOREIGN POLICY DICTATED BY THE PRINCIPLES OF THE NEW POLITICAL THINKING HAS PROVOKED AN ANSWERING WAVE OF PUBLIC DESIRE FOR PEACE, DEMILITARIZATION, AND THE HUMANIZATION OF INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS.

BUT LET'S NOT ASCRIBE EVERYTHING TO OURSELVES, LET'S NOT DENY OUR OPPONENTS THE CAPACITY TO UNDERSTAND THE REALITIES OF OUR AGE. ULTIMATELY THE U.S. ADMINISTRATION COULD HAVE FAILED TO HEED THE VOICE OF THE PUBLIC AND HAVE ACTED IN THE OLD WAY. WE MUST GIVE PRESIDENT REAGAN AND REPRESENTATIVES OF HIS ADMINISTRATION LIKE SECRETARY OF STATE SHULTZ THEIR DUE IN THIS. THEY DISPLAYED REALISM AND AN ABILITY TO ABANDON THE USUAL STEREOTYPES IN ORDER TO SECURE ACCORDS.

THE SOVIET-U.S. SUMMIT DIALOGUE, WHICH WAS MARKED BY SUCH SIGNIFICANT LANDMARKS AS GENEVA, REYKJAVIK, WASHINGTON, AND MOSCOW, WAS AN IMPORTANT RESULT OF THE POSITIVE CHANGES. IN THE COURSE OF INTENSIVE CONTACTS BETWEEN THE LEADERS OF THE TWO COUNTRIES AND THEIR CLOSEST ASSISTANTS, NOT ONLY WERE CONCRETE SOLUTIONS ACHIEVED ON DISARMAMENT BUT GREATER MUTUAL UNDERSTANDING ALSO AROSE AND MUTUAL TRUST WAS BORN. IT BECAME INCREASINGLY CLEAR THAT WE MUST AND CAN LIVE IN THE SINGLE, INTERDEPENDENT WORLD NOT BY "SUPERIOR STRENGTH" BUT ON THE BASIS OF A REASONABLE BALANCE OF INTERESTS.

IT IS THE CUSTOM FOR POLITICIANS' LIVES TO BE PUBLIC PROPERTY IN AMERICA. THE HEALTH OF THE PRESIDENT OR A SENATOR, HIS WIFE, HIS RELATIONS WITH HIS CHILDREN, HIS FINANCIAL POSITION, AND HIS FAVORITE PASTIMES ARE ALL CONSTANT TOPICS OF DISCUSSION IN

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NEWSPAPERS AND ON TELEVISION PROGRAMS. REAGAN DID NOT SHUN THIS EXHAUSTING ATTENTION TO HIS PERSON. A GREAT DEAL HAS BEEN WRITTEN AND SAID IN PARTICULAR ABOUT HIS WIFE, THE FORMER MOVIE ACTRESS NANCY DAVIS. ABOUT HER "RADIANT LOOK" AS SHE STANDS NEXT TO THE PRESIDENT, HER FIRM SUPPORT DURING TIMES OF DIFFICULTIES AND FAILURES, AND THE FACT THAT RONALD REAGAN SOMETIMES RESOLVED MANY IMPORTANT QUESTIONS, INCLUDING CADRE QUESTIONS, AT HER PROMPTING. WHEN THE PROSPECTS OF AN IMPROVEMENT IN SVIET-U.S. RELATIONS BEGAN TO EMERGE, THE PRESS AND "GOSSIP" COLUMNS BEGAN TO PUBLISH REPORTS THAT NANCY WAS CONVINCING HER SPOUSE TO TAKE STEPS IN HIS REMAINING YEARS TO GO DOWN IN HISTORY AS A PEACEMAKER. WAS THIS IN FACT THE CASE? IT IS HARD TO SAY. BUT IF THAT IS THE CASE, IT CAN BE NOTED THAT RONALD REAGAN'S POLITICAL EAR IS A FAMILY ATTRIBUTE.

/***** BEGINNING OF TAKE 005 *****/

REF: PM2001160189 MOSCOW PRAVDA RUSSIAN 20 JAN///A FAMILY ATTRIBUTE.

TEXT:

((TEXT)) "THE REAGAN PRESIDENCY" -- THAT WOULD BE THE TITLE OF THIS MOVIE SERIES IF IT WERE TO REACH THE SCREEN. THE LONGEST MOVIE INVOLVING REAGAN, LASTING MORE THAN 1,000 HOURS -- A VISUAL CHRONICLE OF HIS PRESIDENCY. A SPECIAL U.S. NAVY FILM CREW ASSIGNED TO THE WHITE HOUSE HAS FILMED THE 8 YEARS SINCE HIS INAUGURATION IN JANUARY 1981. THE LAST FRAMES WILL BE SHOT TODAY. THEN THE BOXES OF FILM WILL BE SENT TO COLD STORES IN PRESIDENT RONALD REAGAN LIBRARY THAT IT IS PLANNED TO CONSTRUCT IN SOUTHERN CALIFORNIA. SO THAT IN YEARS TO COME, FROM THE VANTAGE POINT OF THE FUTURE, BY WATCHING THE VIDEO CHRONICLE HISTORIANS, SOCIOLOGISTS, AND WRITERS CAN LOOK AT THESE YEARS AND THE ACTIVITY OF A MAN WHO HELD THE HIGHEST ELECTED OFFICE IN ONE OF THE MOST POWERFUL COUNTRIES OF THE WORLD.

A LONG FILM, VARIED, CONTRADICTORY. ONLY HISTORY ITSELF WILL MAKE THE FINAL ASSESSMENT OF IT.

ADMIN

(ENDALL) 20 JAN [REDACTED] 20/1659Z JAN

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