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FILE LOCATION

Raoul-Duval Papers, Election Campaign Files
 Republican Party Platform--Global Pluralism

plc 11/8/83

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July 27, 1976

MEMORANDUM FOR: DICK ALLEN
FROM: MIKE DUVAL
SUBJECT: GLOBAL PLURALISM

An extremely qualified individual has given us an excellent critique of Zbigniew Brzezinski's article in the summer issue of Foreign Policy called "America in a Hostile World". I think this analysis might be very useful as you write the Platform.

My friend points out that Bzezinski strongly (but subtly) criticizes American policy designed to ideologically rally the industrialized democracies. Bzezinski argued that since the American ideal -- pursuit of individual liberty -- has been advanced in a society in which political pluralism flourishes, we should be more tolerant of global pluralism, in this case meaning a world composed of nations of various ideologies. Of course, he's using two entirely different concepts of pluralism and mixing them together. National pluralism (as we have come to use the term) means a tolerance of different political ideas in an environment in which they can freely compete without risking the safety of proponents. Global pluralism, as Bzezinski uses the term, implies equal tolerance of various national and international ideologies, including those such as Communism or Fascism which avowedly reject concepts of individual liberty or national pluralism.

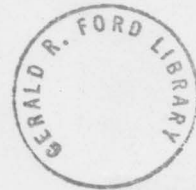
The logic of Bzezinski's argument suggests that individual liberty would be threatened if the world were composed entirely of democracies. His purpose is to set the stage for his argument against "reciprocating with doctrinal hostility" attacks against American democracy mounted by states theoretically committed to egalitarianism through state-ism (read dictatorship).

Our friend believes that Bzezinski's argument is nonsense. Our dealings with the Third World -- let alone Communism -- will not be tactically enhanced by reducing efforts to generate political unity on the part of the industrialized



democracies. Although we should seek to conciliate legitimate Third World demands, we should never do so by muting the defense of our own ideals. Bzezinski is morally, strategically and tactically wrong, and his argument is wide open to political attack.

Since the Bzezinski article is essentially an attack on Moynihan, we should be able to benefit in terms of appealing to the Moynihan constituency by rejecting the Bzezinski position.



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FM AMBASSADOR SILBERMAN, BELGRADE 389
FOR THE WHITE HOUSE FOR THE PRESIDENT
JOHN D. MARSH, COUNSELOR TO THE PRESIDENT
RICHARD CHENEY, ASSISTANT TO THE PRESIDENT

25X

1. I AM SENDING THIS CABLE [REDACTED] BECAUSE IT HAS A POLITICAL THRUST.
2. I HAVE JUST READ IN THE SUMMER ISSUE OF "FOREIGN POLICY" A PIECE BY ZBIGNIEW BRZEZINSKI ENTITLED "AMERICA IN A HOSTILE WORLD". GIVEN BRZEZINSKI'S CLOSE IDENTIFICATION WITH CARTER, I BELIEVE IT PROVIDES OPPORTUNITIES FOR A POLITICAL ATTACK.
3. BRZEZINSKI STRONGLY IF SUBTLY CRITICIZES AMERICAN POLICY DESIGNED TO IDEOLOGICALLY RALLY THE INDUSTRIAL DEMOCRACIES. THUS ON PAGES 94 AND 95 HE ADVANCES A CUTE BIT OF LOGICAL LEGER-DEMAIN WHICH GOES TO THE HEART OF HIS ARTICLE. SINCE THE AMERICAN IDEAL--PURSUIT OF INDIVIDUAL LIBERTY--HAS BEEN ADVANCED IN A SOCIETY IN WHICH POLITICAL PLURALISM FLOURISHED, BRZEZINSKI ARGUES THAT WE SHOULD BE MORE TOLERANT OF GLOBAL PLURALISM, IN THIS CASE MEANING A WORLD COMPOSED OF NATIONS OF VARIOUS IDEOLOGIES. OF COURSE, HE IS USING TWO ENTIRELY DIFFERENT CONCEPTS OF PLURALISM AND MIXING THEM TOGETHER. NATIONAL PLURALISM (AS WE HAVE COME TO USE THE TERM) MEANS A TOLERANCE OF DIFFERENT POLITICAL IDEAS IN AN ENVIRONMENT IN WHICH THEY CAN FREELY COMPETE WITHOUT RISKING THE SAFETY OF PROPONENTS. GLOBAL PLURALISM AS BRZEZINSKI USES THE TERM IMPLIES EQUAL TOLERANCE OF VARIOUS NATIONAL AND INTERNATIONAL IDEOLOGIES INCLUDING THOSE SUCH AS COMMUNISM OR FASCISM WHICH AVOWEDLY REJECT CONCEPTS OF INDIVIDUAL LIBERTY OR NATIONAL PLURALISM. THE LOGIC OF HIS ARGUMENT SUGGESTS THAT INDIVIDUAL LIBERTY WOULD BE THREATENED IF THE WORLD WERE COMPOSED ENTIRELY OF DEMOCRACIES. HIS PURPOSE IS TO SET THE STAGE FOR HIS ARGUMENT AGAINST "RECIPROCATING WITH DOCTRINAL HOSTILITY" (READ MOYNIHAN) ATTACKS AGAINST AMERICAN DEMOCRACY MOUNTED BY STATES THEORETICALLY COMMITTED TO EGALITARIANISM THROUGH STATE-ISM (READ DICTATORSHIP).
4. MY OWN VIEW IS THAT BRZEZINSKI'S ARGUMENT IS SO MUCH ALONEY. OUR DEALINGS WITH THE THIRD WORLD--LET ALONE COMMUNISTS--

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BY mh NARA DATE 8/10/09

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WILL NOT BE TACTICALLY ENHANCED BY REDUCING EFFORTS TO GENERATE POLITICAL UNITY ON THE PART OF THE INDUSTRIAL DEMOCRACIES. ALTHOUGH WE SHOULD SEEK TO CONCILIATE LEGITIMATE THIRD WORLD DEMANDS WE SHOULD NEVER DO SO BY MUTING THE DEFENSE OF OUR OWN IDEALS. THE SECRETARY'S RECENT LONDON SPEECH MADE THAT POINT WELL. THEREFORE, IN MY JUDGMENT BRZEZINSKI IS MORALLY, STRATEGICALLY AND TACTICALLY WRONG AND LEAVES HIS CLIENT OPEN TO POLITICAL ATTACK. CARTER'S RECENT SPEECH DOES NOT REFLECT HIS BRZEZINSKI VIEW AND THUS WAS EITHER WRITTEN BY GEORGE BALL OR BY BRZEZINSKI WITH A POLITICAL RINSE.

5. FURTHERMORE SINCE THE ARTICLE IS PRIMARILY AN ATTACK ON MOYNIHAN, IT PROVIDES US WITH THE POLITICAL OPENING TO DIVIDE MOYNIHAN AND HIS ENORMOUS CONSTITUENCY (NOTABLY THE AFL/CIO) FROM CARTER WITH ALL OF THE POLITICAL BENEFITS WHICH WOULD FLOW FROM THAT.



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