

Ronald Reagan Presidential Library Digital Library Collections

This is a PDF of a folder from our textual collections.

Collection: Matlock, Jack F.: Files
Folder Title: Matlock Chron February 1986 (6)
Box: 15

To see more digitized collections visit:

<https://reaganlibrary.gov/archives/digital-library>

To see all Ronald Reagan Presidential Library inventories visit:

<https://reaganlibrary.gov/document-collection>

Contact a reference archivist at: reagan.library@nara.gov

Citation Guidelines: <https://reaganlibrary.gov/citing>

National Archives Catalogue: <https://catalog.archives.gov/>

WITHDRAWAL SHEET

Ronald Reagan Library

Collection Name MATLOCK, JACK: FILES

Withdrawer

JET 4/14/2005

File Folder MATLOCK CHRON FEBRUARY 1986 (6/6)

FOIA

F06-114/4

Box Number 15

YARHI-MILO

1501

ID	Doc Type	Document Description	No of Pages	Doc Date	Restrictions
8103	MEMO	MATLOCK TO MCDANIEL RE DRAFT VICE PRESIDENTIAL REMARKS WESTMINSTER COLLEGE <i>R 3/9/2011 F2006-114/4</i>	1	2/27/1986	B1
8104	MEMO	MCDANIEL TO CLARK JUDGE RE DRAFT VICE PRESIDENTIAL - WESTMINSTER COLLEGE <i>R 3/9/2011 F2006-114/4</i>	1	ND	B1
8105	MEMO	MATLOCK TO CLARK JUDGE RE DRAFT VICE PRESIDENT'S WESTMINSTER COLLEGE SPEECH <i>R 3/9/2011 F2006-114/4</i>	1	2/27/1986	B1
8106	MEMO	MCDANIEL TO PLATT RE POSSIBLE BILATERAL INITIATIVES FOR THE 1986 SUMMIT <i>R 3/9/2011 F2006-114/4</i>	1	2/28/1986	B1
8107	MEMO	MATLOCK TO POINDEXTER RE POSSIBLE BILATERAL INITIATIVES FOR THE 1986 SUMMIT <i>R 3/20/2013 F2006-114/4</i>	1	2/13/1986	B1
8108	MEMO	MCDANIEL TO CLARK JUDGE RE DRAFT VICE PRESIDENTIAL - WESTMINSTER COLLEGE <i>R 3/9/2011 F2006-114/4</i>	1	2/28/1986	B1

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

B-1 National security classified information [(b)(1) of the FOIA]

B-2 Release would disclose internal personnel rules and practices of an agency [(b)(2) of the FOIA]

B-3 Release would violate a Federal statute [(b)(3) of the FOIA]

B-4 Release would disclose trade secrets or confidential or financial information [(b)(4) of the FOIA]

B-6 Release would constitute a clearly unwarranted invasion of personal privacy [(b)(6) of the FOIA]

B-7 Release would disclose information compiled for law enforcement purposes [(b)(7) of the FOIA]

B-8 Release would disclose information concerning the regulation of financial institutions [(b)(8) of the FOIA]

B-9 Release would disclose geological or geophysical information concerning wells [(b)(9) of the FOIA]

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

WITHDRAWAL SHEET

Ronald Reagan Library

Collection Name MATLOCK, JACK: FILES

Withdrawer

JET 4/14/2005

File Folder MATLOCK CHRON FEBRUARY 1986 (6/6)

FOIA

F06-114/4

Box Number 15

YARHI-MILO

1501

ID	Doc Type	Document Description	No of Pages	Doc Date	Restrictions
8109	MEMO	SAME TEXT AS DOC #8105 R 3/9/2011 F2006-114/4	1	2/27/1986	B1
8110	MEMO	SAME TEXT AS DOC #8103 R 3/9/2011 F2006-114/4	1	2/27/1986	B1

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

B-1 National security classified information [(b)(1) of the FOIA]

B-2 Release would disclose internal personnel rules and practices of an agency [(b)(2) of the FOIA]

B-3 Release would violate a Federal statute [(b)(3) of the FOIA]

B-4 Release would disclose trade secrets or confidential or financial information [(b)(4) of the FOIA]

B-6 Release would constitute a clearly unwarranted invasion of personal privacy [(b)(6) of the FOIA]

B-7 Release would disclose information compiled for law enforcement purposes [(b)(7) of the FOIA]

B-8 Release would disclose information concerning the regulation of financial institutions [(b)(8) of the FOIA]

B-9 Release would disclose geological or geophysical information concerning wells [(b)(9) of the FOIA]

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

NATIONAL SECURITY COUNCIL
WASHINGTON, D.C. 20506

February 26, 1986

ACTION

MEMORANDUM FOR RODNEY B. MCDANIEL

FROM: JACK F. MATLOCK *JFM*

SUBJECT: Presidential Photograph for Shevchenko

I see no problem with providing an autographed Presidential photograph, as requested in the memo at Tab A, to mark the occasion of Arkady Shevchenko becoming an American citizen.

Save Major for Ken deGraffenreid and *R.S.* Ron Sable concur.

RECOMMENDATION

That NSC facilitate Shevchenko's receiving a hand signed photograph from the President.

Approve _____

Disapprove _____

Attachment:

Tab A Memorandum from Carol McCain

2

A

(RKS) 3

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

February 24, 1986

MEMORANDUM

To: / Ron Sable
David Majors

From: Carol McCain *CN*
White House Visitors Office

Subject: Photo

(sp?)
Arkady Schevenko, the highest ranking Russian ever to defect to the United States, will become an American citizen on February 28.

Jim Lake contacted me (we had both worked with Arkady at the law firm of Nelson & Harding) to see if we could obtain a hand signed photo to Arkady from the President for this special day.

In checking with Dottie Dellinger in the President's office, she said the request needed to be made by John Poindexter. Can you help me?

Arkady has briefed the President on several occasions and he and Elaine have attended social events here at the White House.

..
Please do not hesitate to give me a call if you have any questions.

J4-C
4NATIONAL SECURITY COUNCIL
WASHINGTON, D.C. 20506

February 26, 1986

ACTION

MEMORANDUM FOR RODNEY B. MCDANIEL

FROM: JACK F. MATLOCK *JFM*SUBJECT: Request to Travel to Attend Arden House Conference
in New York from March 21-23, 1986

I have been invited to participate in the 10th Arden House Conference on American-Soviet Relations (TAB A) to be held in New York on March 21-23, 1986. This conference is jointly sponsored by the Russian Research Center at Harvard University and the E. Averell Harriman Institute for Advanced Study of the Soviet Union at Columbia University.

All transportation and accomodation expenses will be covered by the sponsors.

RECOMMENDATION

That you approve my travel.

Approve _____

Disapprove _____

Attachment:

TAB A Letter of Invitation

cc: Administrative Office



HARVARD-COLUMBIA
ARDEN HOUSE CONFERENCE
ON
AMERICAN-SOVIET RELATIONS



Russian Research Center
1737 Cambridge Street
Cambridge, Mass. 02138
(617) 495-4037

W. Averell Harriman Institute
420 West 118th Street
New York, N.Y. 10027
(212) 280-4623

October 7, 1985

Jack Matlock
National Security Council
Washington, D.C.

Dear Jack:

For ten years now, the Russian Research Center at Harvard University and the W. Averell Harriman Institute for Advanced Study of the Soviet Union (formerly the Russian Institute) at Columbia University have jointly sponsored a series of conferences on American-Soviet relations. They are held at Arden House in Harriman, New York which is approximately one hour and twenty minutes from LaGuardia International Airport by car. This year, the theme of our conference will be "Mikhail Gorbachev: One Year After" and it will be held March 21-23, 1986. Each year, our audience consists of businessmen, government officials, and academic specialists on the Soviet Union who come from all over the world.

Arden House is a particularly attractive setting for such a conference. Formerly one of the estates of the Harriman family, it is a beautiful rural setting yet is equipped with all modern facilities. Rooms and meals are provided at the estate for attendees.

I would like to [REDACTED] coming [REDACTED] On [REDACTED] panel discussion entitled, "The Geneva Summit - What Happened And What Lies Ahead?" which we would like you to speak at for approximately fifteen to twenty minutes. No formal paper is required. Also, we will be happy to cover your travel expenses to and from Arden House as well as expenses for your room and meals while there.

I hope you can join us to help us celebrate our tenth such conference. It promises to be an unusually interesting series of sessions.

My assistant, Gary Eynatian will telephone you in about ten days to answer any questions which you may have about the conference.

Sincerely,

Marshall I. Goldman
Marshall I. Goldman

NSC STAFF TRAVEL AUTHORIZATION

DATE: 2/26/87

1. TRAVELER'S NAME: JACK F. MATLOCK
2. PURPOSE(S), EVENT(S), DATE(S): TO ATTEND ARDEN HOUSE CONFERENCE IN NEW YORK
ON MARCH 21-23, 1987

3. ITINERARY (Please Attach Copy of Proposed Itinerary):
WASHINGTON/NEW YORK/WASHINGTON

DEPARTURE DATE 3/21

RETURN DATE 3/23/86

TIME _____

TIME _____

4. MODE OF TRANSPORTATION:

GOV AIR _____ COMMERCIAL AIR XX POV _____ RAIL _____ OTHER _____

5. ESTIMATED EXPENSES:

TRANSPORTATION _____ PER DIEM _____ OTHER _____ TOTAL TRIP COST _____

6. WHO PAYS EXPENSES: NSC _____ OTHER XX

7. IF NOT NSC, DESCRIBE SOURCE AND ARRANGEMENTS:

HARVARD-COLUMBIA (ARDEN HOUSE)

8. WILL FAMILY MEMBER ACCOMPANY YOU: YES _____ NO XX

9. IF SO, WHO PAYS FOR FAMILY MEMBER (If Travel Not Paid by Traveler, Describe Source and Arrangements): _____

10. TRAVEL ADVANCE REQUESTED: \$ _____

11. REMARKS (Use This Space to Indicate Any Additional Items You Would Like to Appear on Your Travel Orders): _____

12. TRAVELER'S SIGNATURE: JF Matlock

13. APPROVALS:

JH-C
1NATIONAL SECURITY COUNCIL
WASHINGTON, D.C. 20506~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

February 27, 1986

ACTION

MEMORANDUM FOR RODNEY B. MCDANIEL

FROM: JACK F. MATLOCK *JFM*

SUBJECT: Draft Vice Presidential Remarks - Westminster College

Attached at Tab I is a memorandum to Clark Judge forwarding comments on a draft speech (Tab A) for delivery by the Vice President at Westminster College.

In addition to specific comments indicated in the text, we note that there is no mention of Afghanistan in the draft. A February 26 senior inter-agency group meeting on Afghanistan suggested that a major reiteration of U.S. policy would be valuable at this time. If the Vice President would like to include such a statement, we will be glad to provide appropriate points. Also attached at TAB B is a copy of a memorandum already forwarded to Clark Judge with my comments.

Judy Mandel, Ray Burghardt, and Steve Sestanovich concur.

RECOMMENDATION

That you sign the memo at Tab I to Clark Judge.

Approve _____

Disapprove _____

Attachments:

Tab I Memorandum to Clark Judge
Tab A Draft Vice Presidential speech
Tab B Copy of Memo from Jack Matlock to Clark Judge

DECLASSIFIED

NLRR F06-114/4 #8103

BY RW NARA DATE 3/9/11

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

Declassify on: OADR

DECLASSIFIED

White House Guidelines, August 28, 1997
By *CWS* NARA, Date 7/2/12

NATIONAL SECURITY COUNCIL
WASHINGTON, D.C. 20506~~CONFIDENTIAL~~MEMORANDUM FOR CLARK JUDGE
Director, Speechwriters
Office of the Vice PresidentSUBJECT: Draft Vice Presidential Remarks - Westminster
College

The NSC has reviewed the draft remarks for the Vice President's use at Westminster College. Specific comments are indicated in the text at Tab A.

We also note that there is no mention of Afghanistan in the draft. A February 26 senior inter-agency group meeting on Afghanistan suggested that a major reiteration of U.S. policy would be valuable at this time. If the Vice President would like to include such a statement, the NSC will be glad to provide an appropriate insert.

Rodney B. McDaniel
Executive Secretary

Attachment:

Tab A Draft Westminster College Speech
Tab B Copy of Memo from Jack Matlock to Clark Judge~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

Declassify on: OADR

DECLASSIFIED
White House Guidelines, August 28, 1997
By ICVJ NARA, Date 7/2/02

DECLASSIFIED

NLRR F06-114/4 #8104
BY RW NARA DATE 3/9/11

TIME STAMP

NATIONAL SECURITY COUNCIL
EXECUTIVE SECRETARY REFERRAL

SYSTEM I LOG NUMBER:

1522

☒ (FIRST DRAFT OF REMARKS)

ACTION OFFICER:

- ☐ Prepare Memo McDaniel to Chew
☐ Prepare Memo McDaniel to Elliott
☐ Prepare Memo McDaniel to Speakes
☒ Prepare Memo McDaniel

*** PUT RESPECTIVE STAFF OFFICER'S NAME IN MARGIN BESIDE CHANGES.

NOON, 2/26

URGENT

to Clark Judge w/info to

Callamar

CONCURRENCES/COMMENTS*

DUE: 0900, 2/26

*PHONE to action officer at ext.

5112

- | | | |
|---|-------------------------------------|--|
| <input checked="" type="checkbox"/> Burghardt | <input type="checkbox"/> Levine | <input type="checkbox"/> [REDACTED] |
| <input type="checkbox"/> Cannistraro | <input type="checkbox"/> Linhard | <input checked="" type="checkbox"/> [REDACTED] |
| <input type="checkbox"/> Childress | <input type="checkbox"/> Mahley | <input type="checkbox"/> Sigur |
| <input type="checkbox"/> Cobb | <input type="checkbox"/> Major | <input type="checkbox"/> [REDACTED] |
| <input type="checkbox"/> Covey | <input type="checkbox"/> Mandel | <input type="checkbox"/> Summer |
| <input type="checkbox"/> Danzansky | <input type="checkbox"/> Matlock | <input type="checkbox"/> Soos |
| <input type="checkbox"/> deGraffenreid | <input type="checkbox"/> May | <input type="checkbox"/> Stark |
| <input type="checkbox"/> Dobriansky | <input type="checkbox"/> Menges | <input type="checkbox"/> Steiner |
| <input type="checkbox"/> Donley | <input type="checkbox"/> Miller | <input type="checkbox"/> Tahir-Kheli |
| <input type="checkbox"/> Douglass | <input type="checkbox"/> North | <input type="checkbox"/> Teicher |
| <input type="checkbox"/> Grimes | <input type="checkbox"/> Platt | <input type="checkbox"/> Thompson |
| <input type="checkbox"/> Hughes | <input type="checkbox"/> Pugliaresi | <input type="checkbox"/> Tillman |
| <input type="checkbox"/> Kraemer | <input type="checkbox"/> Raymond | <input type="checkbox"/> Wigg |
| <input type="checkbox"/> Laum | <input type="checkbox"/> Reger | <input type="checkbox"/> Wright |
| <input type="checkbox"/> Lehman | <input type="checkbox"/> Ringdahl | <input type="checkbox"/> _____ |
| <input type="checkbox"/> Lenczowski | <input type="checkbox"/> Sable | <input type="checkbox"/> _____ |

INFORMATION

☐ McDaniel

☒ Pearson

☒ Secretariat

☐ Rodman

☐ Lehman

☒ Exec. Sec. Desk

☐ Poindexter (advance)

☐ Fortier (advance)

OFFICE OF THE VICE PRESIDENT STAFFING MEMORANDUM

DATE: 2/25/86

ACTION/CONCURRENCE/COMMENT DUE BY: 2:00 p.m., 2/26

SUBJECT: VICE PRESIDENTIAL REMARKS: Westminster College, 3/5.

	ACTION	FYI
FULLER	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
KHEDOURI	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
FITZGERALD	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
GRAY	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
GREGG	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
FITZWATER	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
McENTEE	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
COLLAMORE	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>
PORTER ROSE	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
RYDER	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
HUTTON	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
<u>ADMIRAL POINDEXTER</u>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
<u>DAVID CHEW</u>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>
<u>JUDGE</u>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>
PINKERTON	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	

REMARKS: Please submit any comments on the attached directly to Clark Judge, with an information copy to my office, by 2:00 p.m., Wednesday, February 26. Thank you.

RESPONSE:

- ☐ Prepare Briefing Paper for the Vice President
- ☐ Prepare Response for the Vice President's Signature

Return to: Thomas J. Collamore
Staff Secretary
Room 276
456-7045

EXCERPTS FROM REMARKS BY
VICE PRESIDENT GEORGE BUSH
JOHN FINDLEY GREEN FOUNDATION LECTURE
40TH ANNIVERSARY OF WINSTON CHURCHILL'S "IRON CURTAIN" LECTURE
WESTMINSTER COLLEGE
FULTON, MISSOURI
WEDNESDAY, MARCH 5, 1986

Mr. President, Distinguished Faculty, Students, Ladies and
Gentlemen:

It is with considerable humility that I come here today to
deliver this, the lecture that marks the 40th anniversary of
Winston Churchill's "Iron Curtain" address here at Westminster.

To be the speaker in a series that began with undisputably
the greatest orator of this century, perhaps the greatest English
language orator of all time... a series that began with the single
most important address of the last 40 years... a series that has
since included speakers such as C.P. Snow, Edward Heath and Claire
Booth Luce... well, to say the least, it's all a little daunting.

((It makes me think of the story of the boy who decided to
take his dog of uncertain parentage to the dog show at Madison
Square Garden in New York.... "No, but think of what good company
he'll be in."))

Today, on this 40th anniversary, I would like to look again
at what Churchill said in 1946, at why he said it, at how the

world has changed (in part because of Churchill's words that day), and to look at the challenges America faces today in light of the challenges of the last four decades.

Let me begin by recalling what the "Iron Curtain" speech was... and what it was not.

Today we're inclined to forget just how soon after the end of the war Churchill spoke here at Fulton. So think of what a short time has passed since President Reagan stood on the edge of the cliff overlooking Omaha Beach and helped commemorate the 40th anniversary of the D'Day invasion. And think of what a brief time it has been since we remembered the surrender of Germany... and what an even briefer time since we marked the fall of Japan.

The war was barely over when Churchill came here... and yet the world had changed in ways entirely at odds with the hopes of the allies during the fighting. Many had yet to comprehend how different was reality from hope. Churchill chose this platform to clarify that distinction.

The Iron Curtain speech was not a discourse on a commonly accepted view of the world as it emerged from the war. It was a plea for realism... a plea for a clear strategy in approaching a new and unexpected world... a plea for strength of purpose and the courage to face unwanted but unavoidable challenges.

I was a young man during the War. I remember that there was an almost unspoken assumption, at least here in America, that the peace that would follow victory would be much like that which had followed for example (although we never put it precisely this way), followed the Napoleonic Wars... that is, that there would emerge the global equivalent of the 19th century Concert of Europe... a world of hard-headed harmony among fundamentally compatible powers... in this case democratic powers rather than monarchic ones.

This was clearly Roosevelt's hope. We know now that Churchill had cautioned him about Soviet intentions. But Roosevelt dismissed Churchill's warnings saying ((here are Roosevelt's words)), "I think that if I give [Stalin] everything he possibly can and ask nothing in return, noblesse oblige, he won't annex anything and will work with me for a world of democracy and peace."

Roosevelt died before he could fully see the futility of these hopes. But in one place after another in the months immediately following Hitler's fall, Stalin reneged on the spirit if not the letter of his wartime agreement. The Yalta agreement in particular, had called for democratic elections in the liberated Europe. Instead, in the areas under Russian control Stalin imposed Soviet-style regimes on unwilling publics.

Churchill came here to Fulton to insist that the democracies must face squarely the full implications of Soviet actions. He gave those implications a name. "From Stettin in the Baltic, " he said, "to Trieste in the Adriatic, an iron curtain has descended across the continent."

And he suggested a strategy for keeping the Soviets from expanding the territory behind the iron curtain while keeping the peace.

"[Peace] can only be achieved," he said, "by reaching... a good understanding with Russia... under the United Nations Organization... supported by the whole strength of the English-speaking world and all its connections...." In other words, he was saying peace required a strong U.N. and a strong political, military, and, perhaps, economic association of the ^{democratic} English-speaking countries... an extension of the relationship that been primarily responsible for winning the war, at least on the western front.

It was a great strategic vision -- this one that Churchill described here 40 years ago. Let me now ask, was he right?

Part of the answer is, obviously, "Yes, of course, he was right."

First and foremost, he was right about the nature of the Soviet threat and Soviet oppression. The Iron Curtain was and is not just a metaphor. It is a real, physical, as well as spiritual, presence.

Three years ago I travelled to Germany. You know, I have had so many foreign missions that they've started to refer in Washington to my "infrequent visits" to the United States. But in the course of that trip three years ago I visited a small German village called "Moedelreuth."

I'll never forget that town. Down the main street ran a high concrete wall topped with densely packed barbed wire. On one side, the villagers were peacefully going about the ordinary business of their daily lives. On the communist side, machinegun toting soldiers patrolled and attack dogs ran on chains along the wall.

We talk of the Iron Curtain as dividing East and West. Historically, of course, that isn't true. The wall I saw is not a natural border, but a wound that cuts through the heart of Europe. The region through which it runs has for centuries been not an outpost of western civilization, but part of the homeland of European culture. Can a wall, can guard dogs, can machine guns and border patrols deny hundreds of years of European culture and history?

And can any of us doubt today what it means to live behind that wall? In the 30s and 40s there were many in the West who looked to the Soviet Union with admiration. "To travel from the capitalist world into Soviet territory," said British writer John Strachey in those years, "is to pass from death to birth." This was a not uncommon view, particularly among intellectuals, even though Stalin was at the time murdering 20 million ((CHECK NUMBERS)) of his own people.

Such views may have got a hearing then. But today we know better. We have the testimony of Solzhenitsyn, Shcharansky, Sakharov and so many others. Everyone today, even intellectuals, knows what it means to live behind the Iron Curtain.

Churchill warned us not only of what the Soviets were doing but of what they intended for the distant future. "I do not believe," he said, "that Soviet Russia desires war. What they desire is the fruits of war and the indefinite expansion of their power and doctrine."

And so it has been. No less an observer than ^{Nobel Peace Prize winner} Andrei Sakharov has written that, "Since 1945 there has been a relentless expansion of the Soviet sphere of influence -- objectively, this is nothing less than Soviet expansionism on a world scale." This from Andrei Sakharov.

So Churchill was right about what the Soviets were doing and about what they intended to do.

His words almost immediately changed the way the Western world thought, particularly the way American's thought. Oh, yes, there were those who disliked the speech. Clement Atlee gave it a cold shoulder. Eleanor Roosevelt denounced it. Claude Pepper denounced it. But by May 1946, polls showed more than 80 percent of the American people in favor of a permanent Anglo-American military alliance.

In the end, of course, the alliance that emerged was broader than the one that Churchill envisioned. Today NATO includes, as members or close associates, most of the democracies of Europe and North America, not just the English-speaking ones.

But fundamentally Churchill was right... right about the character of the threat... right in his strategic vision about the need for an alliance of democracies to meet the threat.

And yet, in another sense, Churchill's strategic vision has proven both faulty and too narrow.

It was faulty in the sense that the United Nations has failed to ~~emerge as an important force for peace and democracy in~~ *fulfill the hope that it would become the*

the world... a role that Churchill described as of fundamental importance if we were to maintain the peace.

I'll confess that I am extremely ~~disillusioned~~ ^{disappointed by the} with the U.N. and have been since I served as U.S. ambassador there in the mid-70s. Very simply put, the U.N. has failed ^{in several of its missions} as a peacekeeper, and ^{a defender of democratic values and human rights}.

why 3 years
Some of these things go back further

In the past ~~three~~ ^{few} years alone, the U.N. has proven unable to ~~resolve~~ ^{address} such major threats, ~~to world~~ ^{and breaches of} peace as the continuing Soviet invasion of Afghanistan, the Vietnamese military presence in Cambodia and threats of Vietnamese aggression against Thailand, the Cuban ~~offensive~~ ^{military presence} in Angola, the imposition of Soviet-inspired martial law and human rights violations in Poland, and the Soviet attack on an unarmed Korean civilian airliner.

check w/ Conn

In one of the principal arenas of international conflict -- the Middle East -- the only substantial agreement of the last decade (the Camp David Accords) was reached outside of the U.N. framework. Then, too, the ill-fated U.S.-French-British-Italian peacekeeping force in Lebanon would not have been needed had the U.N. done its job.

There is an additional cause for disappointment

But ~~the U.N. is sometimes worse than ineffective~~. The General Assembly has become a forum for heaping abuse on the United States, ^{and other countries whose policies are repudiated}. In 1982, 14 separate resolutions were passed condemning the U.S. In 1983, the number rose to 16. ((GET CURRENT

by name for various foreign policy decisions

NUMBERS)) Israel is another favorite target. The General Assembly has little reluctance to condemn these democratic nations, but is ^{less willing to address} ~~silent about~~ threats to peace and human rights abuses by the Soviet Union and its allies.

We continue to support the values and goals of the UN's Charter, but the organization itself
~~The U.N.~~ ^{is no longer the house of democratic values. One}
 can no longer get even close to a majority on the floor of the General Assembly with the votes of democratic nations alone. The U.N. has become a forum for ^{those who practice terror} ~~every two-bit tyrant who has the money and violence, while avoiding positive action~~ ^{for a round trip ticket to New York. I consider it an enormous} ~~on real threats to peace. It has also proved~~ ^{disappointment} ~~wasteful and inefficient, and thus failing to fulfill the hopes for economic and social development of many of its member states~~

So, as I said, time has proven Churchill too optimistic about the U.N. I also said that time has proven him too narrow.

Churchill's strategic view was almost exclusively Europe centered. Yes, he referred to the British Empire, but as an extension of Britain itself, not as separate territories with independent strategic identities.

"While there is life in my body," he said at the Yalta Conference, "no transfer of British sovereignty [over the colonies] will be permitted."

20

Yet, by the time he did die, nearly all the Empire was gone... independent nations stood in its place... and the place of all the empires of Europe.

Decolonization has not meant that Europe has become unimportant. Europe remains today ^{a key factor in} ~~the focus of~~ security and strategy for the United States... for Europe remains today, as Churchill saw so clearly, the free world's king on the global chess board -- it may not be the most powerful piece on the board, but if the other side can strip it of its defenses and trap it, the game is as good as over.

Nevertheless, the chess board and the game itself are larger and more complex than Churchill foresaw.

Churchill anticipated and sought to prevent a major, all-out war between the West and the Soviet Union. And the NATO alliance has ^{successfully pursued} ~~achieved~~ his goal. The United States, Europe and the Soviet Union have been at peace now for 41 years. For Europe, this is the longest peace in ^{more than a century} history ((CHECK)).

Major war has been prevented. But smaller conflicts have not. There have been more than 140 of these since Churchill spoke here. Together they have claimed up to 10 million lives. Almost all have been in regions that were once under European colonial rule -- either in Asia, Africa or the Americas.

Too Euro
focused
about
Japan,
China.

21
expansion of

Many of these conflicts have been vehicles for ~~expansionism~~ ^{influence} Soviet power and ^{power and}. This was particularly true in Korea and Vietnam.

((Now, of course, when most of us think of Korea and Vietnam, it's like the story of the man who who went to his doctor... bad news, worse news... 24 hours to live... "I was supposed to tell you yesterday.))

((But not everyone sees Korea and Vietnam that way.))

The Prime Minister of Singapore, Lee Kuan Yew, recently addressed a joint session of Congress. I was there because I am President of the Senate and because I know the Prime Minister and admire the keenness of his insight. In courage and perceptiveness, Prime Minister Lee is, in some respects, a modern Churchill.

To Congress that day he described East Asian societies as "on the move.... seething with restless energy... transform[ing] their ancient civilizations into modern industrial societies."

Prime Minister Lee has told me that he credits East Asia's success in part to American actions over the past four decades... actions that included the Korean and Vietnamese Wars.

By holding the Korean Communists north of the 38th parallel, the United States insured, not only that South Korea would remain non-communist, but that Japan would remain tied to the West and would continue to develop as a non-military, commercial democracy.

By taking a stand in Vietnam, the United States gave Thailand, Malaysia and Indonesia time put down their own communist insurgencies and -- together with Singapore -- to develop more stable political systems and vibrant economies.

Without the courage and commitment of America... courage and commitment that Churchill helped inspire when he spoke here... none of this would have been possible. Without us, all of East Asia might today be sunk in a communist swamp... a swamp as stagnant and oppressive as that in which so many millions of Vietnamese and Cambodians have perished since we left South East Asia more than a decade ago... a swamp from which so many millions of others have fled, by boat and over land, by any means they could, to find their way to the promised land, to find their way to America.

Today in Central America we see another region teetering on the brink between freedom and oppression.

Five years ago there was only one democratically elected government in Central America and that was in Costa Rica. Today

there are democratically elected governments not only there but in Honduras, El Salvador, Guatamala and newly-independent Belize, as well.

Only Nicaragua swims against the democratic tide. ~~Only~~ ^{like Cuba} Nicaragua ~~suspends~~ ^{suspends} ~~all~~ civil rights ^{such as} ~~including~~ freedom of speech and freedom of the press. ~~Only~~ Nicaragua suppresses all opposition political parties. ~~Only~~ Nicaragua refuses to enter into dialogue with its political opponents. ~~Only~~ Nicaragua orders the execution of political dissenters. ~~Only~~ Nicaragua has harrassed, not only the Catholic church (and humiliated the Pope when he visited Managua) but has persecuted Pent^ecostals, Mormons, Baptists and Jews... in fact, all independent religious groups. ~~Only~~ Nicaragua today persecutes Indian tribes within its borders. ~~Only~~ Nicaragua provides a safe haven for terrorists from all over the world. ~~Only~~ Nicaragua provides arms to communist terrorists in democracies like Colombia, El Salvador and Costa Rica. Nicaraguan leaders say it's "absolutely true" that they intend to export their revolution to El Salvador, then Guatamala, then Honduras, and then Mexico. ~~Only~~ they have such aggressive designs.

Last month, at the inauguration of the newly elected president of Guatamala, Nicaraguan Commandante Daniel Ortega and I were on the same platform and, during a pause in the proceedings, the press started asking questions, first of him, then of me.

Ortega, you know, usually loves press attention even more than he loves designer glasses. This time was no exception.

To the press he said that the since the American revolution had been violent, the U.S. should support his revolution. A strange and irrelevant line of thinking, but still....

I replied that, right after they came to power, the Sandinistas received more aid from the U.S. than from any other country. But that's when they were talking about democracy. Then they betrayed their own revolution. They turned their backs on democracy and freedom. With Soviet help they built up the largest army in Central America. That's when we turned against them.

When he spoke here 40 years ago Churchill said of the Second World War that "there never was a war in all history easier to prevent by timely action." Churchill believed that the judicious use of strength when threats were small was the best guarantee that threats will not become big.

Today, with a relatively small amount of aid to the freedom fighters, we can stop the threat to the region from Nicaragua and support those struggling for freedom and democracy there. Aid... not American troops... not direct American involvement... just aid. A democratic Nicaragua is indispensable to a democratic Central America. That's why aid to the ~~Contras~~ is like taking out

*Nicaraguan
resistance
fighters*

25

an insurance policy for freedom and democracy all over this hemisphere.

Some say the problem in Central America is not communism but poverty. We've heard that argument before, but shouldn't people who want to escape poverty fight against communism, not for it?

Look at the two sides of the Iron Curtain... Eastern Europe and Western Europe. Which is poor and which is not?

Look at South East Asia, at Vietnam, Cambodia and Laos on one hand and at Thailand, Malasia, Indonesia and Singapore on the other. Where do more people live in poverty? Where is there prosperity and opportunity?

Look at our own hemisphere. In Cuba, Castro turned a thriving economy into a basketcase. Nicaragua has slipped steadily downhill. Compare these to Brazil, Argentina, Colombia or Costa Rica.

Or look at the Soviet Union itself... a country where ordinary people must wait in line for ~~everything~~ ^{most good things}... although it's different if you're in the ruling class... a country that has found a way to make some of the most fertile land in the world disasterously unproductive. They blaim the weather. And maybe they're right, although countries like ~~Turkey~~ ^{Finland} that border on the

Soviet Union don't have the same problems as Soviet areas just a few miles away.

You know, I'm a fan of underground Russian jokes... like the one that goes, question: what are the four problems with Soviet agriculture. Answer: spring, summer, winter and fall.

Today in Africa and India and all over the world those who once flirted with the Soviet model are turning their eyes west. They have found, as people everywhere have found, that the answer to poverty is not communism, not slavery, not dictatorial socialism, but freedom.

It was Trotsky who said that, "The dictatorship of the Communist Party is maintained by every form of violence." And he was right. It must be. Because free men and women will fight to remain free. And those in chains will struggle to break their chains -- as we've seen these last 40 years in East Germany and Hungary, in Czechoslovakia and Poland.

Churchill's call 40 years ago was a call for courage in defending freedom... and not only the courage of the battlefield, but the courage of what John Kennedy called the "long, twilight struggle."

The challenge before us today is, yes, to help those who, in smaller conflicts, defend freedom and champion democracy.

The challenge before us today is to face with courage, unity and resolve all attacks on free societies and free institutions... to face, in particular, terrorism, which is a dagger at the back of all free societies. I headed the President's task force on terrorism. We just recently submitted our report. Let me say that I believe that Churchill's alliance of democracies is as important in the struggle against international terrorism as it is in the struggle against Soviet expansionism, in part because they are not entirely disconnected.

But the challenge before us is more than this.

On one hand it is to remain strong so that we can remain at peace... so that, if the world must have conflicts, they remain small conflicts... so that the Soviet Union continues to have a reason to negotiate with us for arms reduction... so that they have no reason to doubt our will.

And on the other hand the challenge is to nurture the roots of our strength... to nurture our economic freedoms. We are moving towards a truly global economy. The sooner it arrives -- with free and fair trade among all free nations, with stable currencies by which to trade -- the sooner this integrated world

economy arrives, the stronger we will all be and communism will be weaker.

We have come so far these last 40 years. There are formidable challenges ahead and some look with apprehension to the future. I don't. I remember Churchill's words during the darkest days of the Second World War.

"We have not," he said, "journeyed all this way across the centuries, across the oceans, across the mountains, across the prairies, because we are made of sugar candy."

And I remember his words at the end of his address here 40 years ago today. Speaking of Britain and America... and I would add today, speaking of all free peoples... he said that if our "moral and material forces and convictions are joined..., the high-roads of the future will be clear, not only for us but for all, not only for our time, but for a century to come."

Let us resolve to meet the next 40 years with the same courage, the same conviction, the same moral purpose that he gave us to meet the last 40... for surely, if we do, peace and freedom will be ours, as he said, for centuries to come.

###

~~SECRET~~

NATIONAL SECURITY COUNCIL
WASHINGTON, D.C. 20506

February 27, 1986

MEMORANDUM FOR CLARK JUDGE

FROM: JACK F. MATLOCK *JFM*
SUBJECT: Draft of Vice President's Westminster College
Speech

This is a very eloquent text. I have just two suggestions to make, one specific and one more general.

1. I am not sure it will be wise to quote Sakharov directly. Substantively it is useful and effective. But we face the dilemma that quoting him in this fashion could mitigate against efforts to alleviate his situation. We are working with the family and his wife in several channels.

Under these circumstances, if the Vice President uses the quotations, the effect on Soviet official mentality could be to harden the resolve to keep him in Gorky and subject to all the KGB pressures and humiliation.

My judgment is that the quotation is not so essential as to risk this outcome and therefore would advise dropping it.

2. While the speech makes a strong and necessary statement about the Soviet threat and the moral gulf that separates us, I believe it would be strengthened if it contained some more elements of what we seek from negotiations. With a Summit probably taking place later this year, we should use the opportunity of the speech to call attention to the forward-looking, constructive elements in the President's program.

I believe the theme of the Soviet danger could be covered effectively with pruning of the present text, which would leave room for a couple of pages reviewing where the President wishes to go from here.

cc: Don Gregg

~~SECRET~~

Declassify on: OADR

DECLASSIFIED

NLRR Feb 11/4 #8105

BY RW NARA DATE 3/9/11

~~SECRET~~

NATIONAL SECURITY COUNCIL
WASHINGTON, D.C. 20506

0784

SECRET

February 28, 1986

MEMORANDUM FOR MR. NICHOLAS PLATT
Executive Secretary
Department of State

SUBJECT: Possible Bilateral Initiatives for the 1986
Summit (S)

We concur in the initiatives listed in your memorandum to Admiral Poindexter of January 29, 1986, with the following exceptions:

(1) No proposal should be made regarding a Basic Sciences Agreement until the subject has been reviewed at the policy level. For this, we will need an interagency review of factors relevant to our overall policy regarding cooperation in the sciences with the USSR. Participants in this review should include the Office of Science and Technology Policy, the Department of Defense, the Central Intelligence Agency and those USG agencies responsible for important aspects of science policy. (S)

(2) In regard to cooperation in Space Exploration, we should at this time go no further than reminding the Soviets that our offer of August, 1985, to have representatives meet and discuss areas of possible space cooperation still stands. (S)


Rodney B. McDaniel
Executive Secretary

~~SECRET~~

Declassify on: OADR

~~SECRET~~

DECLASSIFIED

NLRR F06-114/4#8106

BY RW NARA DATE 3/9/4

NATIONAL SECURITY COUNCIL
WASHINGTON, D.C. 20506

~~SECRET~~

February 13, 1986

ACTION

MEMORANDUM TO JOHN M. POINDEXTER

FROM:

JACK F. MATLOCK *JFM*

SUBJECT:

Possible Bilateral Initiatives for the 1986 Summit

State is proposing a series of relatively small bilateral steps to propose to the Soviets. State would like to make these proposals before we notify the Soviets of the cuts in their UN Mission, so as to indicate that these cuts are not viewed as a barrier to improving bilateral cooperation in specific areas. The specific proposals are explained in the Platt-Poindexter Memo at TAB II.

I concur with the State recommendations with two exceptions:

(1) I believe it is premature to propose a Basic Sciences Agreement (Item 4, first tick, on the State list) until we have reviewed at the policy level our basic policy stance on science cooperation with the USSR. OSTP and other interested agencies should participate in this review.

(2) Regarding Space Exploration (Item 4, 2nd tick on the State list), I believe we should let our earlier proposal for consultations on space cooperation stand and not continue pressing the Soviets on this point.

I have drafted a Memorandum to State conveying the above.

SS
Sestonovich, Raymond, Levine, *SS* Linnard, Steiner, Mandel, Lenzowski, Sommer and May concur.

RECOMMENDATION

That you approve transmittal of the Memorandum at TAB I.

Approve Disapprove

Attachments:

TAB I McDaniel - Platt Memorandum

TAB II Platt-Poindexter Memo of January 29, 1986

~~SECRET~~

DECLASSIFIED

NLRR F06-114/4 #8107
BY RW NARA DATE 3/20/13

JH-C
32NATIONAL SECURITY COUNCIL
WASHINGTON, D.C. 20506

February 28, 1986

ACTION

MEMORANDUM FOR RODNEY B. MCDANIEL

FROM: JACK F. MATLOCK *JFM*SUBJECT: Request to Travel to Milan, Italy to Attend
East-West Security Studies Conference on April
18-21, 1986

I have been invited by the Institute for East-West Security Studies to attend a conference on "Improving East-West Relations" hosted by the Italian Ministry of Foreign Affairs in Milan, Italy, on April 18-21, 1986. Attached at Tab A is the letter of invitation.

Travel expenses will be covered by the Department of State and accomodation will be provided by the Italian Foreign Ministry.

RECOMMENDATION

That you approve my travel.

Approve _____

Disapprove _____

TAB A Letter of Invitation

cc: Administrative Office

Institute for East-West Security Studies

TELEX: 499-0809
CABLE: EWSECUR

360 Lexington Avenue
New York, N.Y. 10017
(212) 557-2570

January 14, 1986

The Hon. Jack F. Matlock
Special Assistant to the President
for European and Soviet Affairs
National Security Council
Old Executive Office Building, Room 368
Washington, D.C. 20506

Dear Jack,

You are invited to participate in the fifth international conference of the Institute for East-West Security Studies, to be held at the Palazzo delle Stelline in Milan, April 18-20, 1986. The conference on the theme "Improving East-West Relations", is jointly hosted with the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Italy, and will be chaired by His Excellency Mr. Giulio Andreotti, the Foreign Minister. We expect to bring together 120 specialists, officials and guests from the U.S., Canada, and Europe, including the Soviet Union. In addition to addresses by prominent specialists and officials from both East and West, including former Chancellor Helmut Schmidt, the conference will feature working groups on economic and political issues. A provisional program is enclosed for your information.


The Institute and the Italian Foreign Ministry will provide you with meals and lodging at the Palazzo delle Stelline - a restored, 16th century palace in the center of Milan - from Friday, April 18 until Monday, April 21. Arrangements are being made to make the time you spend in Milan enjoyable personally and beneficial professionally. In addition to the opportunities for formal and informal interaction at the conference, participants are invited to attend a performance at La Scala on Sunday evening, April 20.

The enclosed registration form must be completed and returned to the Institute by March 1, 1986 to assure you a place at the conference. A limited number of spaces will be available for spouses and will be allocated on a first come, first served basis. A return envelope is enclosed with the Registration Form for your convenience. More detailed information will be sent to you after receiving your registration form.

Specific questions should be addressed to the Institute's Vice President, Ambassador Harvey Feldman, the Conference Coordinator, at the Institute for East-West Security Studies, 360 Lexington Avenue, New York, New York 10017, or by telex to New York (499 0809), or by telephone (212) 557-2570.

We look forward to hearing from you.

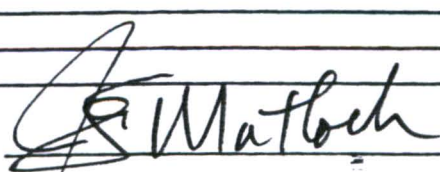
Sincerely yours,


John Edwin Mroz
President

Enclosures

NSC STAFF TRAVEL AUTHORIZATION

DATE: 2/28/86

1. TRAVELER'S NAME: JACK F. MATLOCK
2. PURPOSE(S), EVENT(S), DATE(S): TO ATTEND CONFERENCE IN MILAN, ITALY ON
APRIL 18-21, SPONSORED BY INST. OF EAST-WEST SECURITY STUDIES AND THE
ITALIAN MINISTRY OF FOREIGN AFFAIRS
3. ITINERARY (Please Attach Copy of Proposed Itinerary):
WASHINGTON/MILAN/WASHINGTON
- DEPARTURE DATE o/a 4/17/86 RETURN DATE o/a 4/21/86
TIME TIME
4. MODE OF TRANSPORTATION:
GOV AIR COMMERCIAL AIR ☒ POV RAIL OTHER
5. ESTIMATED EXPENSES:
TRANSPORTATION PER DIEM OTHER TOTAL TRIP COST
6. WHO PAYS EXPENSES: NSC OTHER DEPARTMENT OF STATE & ITALIAN
MINISTRY OF FOREIGN AFFAIRS
7. IF NOT NSC, DESCRIBE SOURCE AND ARRANGEMENTS:
DEPARTMENT OF STATE WILL COVER TRANSPORTATION.
ACCOMODATION ARE PROVIDED BY ITALIAN MINISTRY OF FOREIGN AFFAIRS
8. WILL FAMILY MEMBER ACCOMPANY YOU: YES NO ☒
9. IF SO, WHO PAYS FOR FAMILY MEMBER (If Travel Not Paid by Traveler,
Describe Source and Arrangements):
10. TRAVEL ADVANCE REQUESTED: \$
11. REMARKS (Use This Space to Indicate Any Additional Items You Would
Like to Appear on Your Travel Orders):
12. TRAVELER'S SIGNATURE: 
13. APPROVALS:

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

~~Matlock~~ 1522

35

NATIONAL SECURITY COUNCIL
WASHINGTON, D.C. 20506

~~FILE~~

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~ with
SECRET attachment

February 28, 1986

MEMORANDUM FOR CLARK JUDGE

Director, Speechwriters
Office of the Vice President

SUBJECT: Draft Vice Presidential Remarks - Westminster
College

The NSC has reviewed the draft remarks for the Vice President's use at Westminster College. Specific comments are indicated in the text at Tab A.

We also note that there is no mention of Afghanistan in the draft. A February 26 senior inter-agency group meeting on Afghanistan suggested that a major reiteration of U.S. policy would be valuable at this time. If the Vice President would like to include such a statement, the NSC will be glad to provide an appropriate insert.

W. B. McDaniel

Rodney B. McDaniel
Executive Secretary

Attachment:

Tab A Draft Westminster College Speech
Tab B Copy of Memo from Jack Matlock to Clark Judge

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~ with ~~SECRET~~ attachment
Declassify on: OADR

DECLASSIFIED

NLRR 106-1144#8108

BY RW NARA DATE 3/9/11

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

DECLASSIFIED RW
White House Guidelines, August 20, 1997
By GVS NARA, Date 7/2/02

OFFICE OF THE VICE PRESIDENT STAFFING MEMORANDUM

DATE: 2/25/86

ACTION/CONCURRENCE/COMMENT DUE BY:

2:00 p.m., 2/26

SUBJECT: VICE PRESIDENTIAL REMARKS: Westminster College, 3/5.

	ACTION	FYI
FULLER	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
KHEDOURI	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
FITZGERALD	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
GRAY	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
GREGG	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
FITZWATER	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
McENTEE	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
COLLAMORE	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>
PORTER ROSE	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
RYDER	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
HUTTON	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
ADMIRAL POINDEXTER	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
DAVID CHEW	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>
JUDGE	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>
PINKERTON	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	

REMARKS: Please submit any comments on the attached directly to Clark Judge, with an information copy to my office, by 2:00 p.m., Wednesday, February 26. Thank you.

RESPONSE:

Return to: Thomas J. Collamore
Staff Secretary
Room 276
456-7045

- ☐ Prepare Briefing Paper for the Vice President
- ☐ Prepare Response for the Vice President's Signature

38

EXCERPTS FROM REMARKS BY
VICE PRESIDENT GEORGE BUSH
JOHN FINDLEY GREEN FOUNDATION LECTURE
40TH ANNIVERSARY OF WINSTON CHURCHILL'S "IRON CURTAIN" LECTURE
WESTMINSTER COLLEGE
FULTON, MISSOURI
WEDNESDAY, MARCH 5, 1986

Mr. President, Distinguished Faculty, Students, Ladies and
Gentlemen:

It is with considerable humility that I come here today to
deliver this, the lecture that marks the 40th anniversary of
Winston Churchill's "Iron Curtain" address here at Westminster.

To be the speaker in a series that began with undisputably
the greatest orator of this century, perhaps the greatest English
language orator of all time... a series that began with the single
most important address of the last 40 years... a series that has
since included speakers such as C.P. Snow, Edward Heath and Claire
Booth Luce... well, to say the least, it's all a little daunting.

((It makes me think of the story of the boy who decided to
take his dog of uncertain parentage to the dog show at Madison
Square Garden in New York.... "No, but think of what good company
he'll be in."))

Today, on this 40th anniversary, I would like to look again
at what Churchill said in 1946, at why he said it, at how the

world has changed (in part because of Churchill's words that day), and to look at the challenges America faces today in light of the challenges of the last four decades.

Let me begin by recalling what the "Iron Curtain" speech was... and what it was not.

Today we're inclined to forget just how soon after the end of the war Churchill spoke here at Fulton. So think of what a short time has passed since President Reagan stood on the edge of the cliff overlooking Omaha Beach and helped commemorate the 40th anniversary of the D'Day invasion. And think of what a brief time it has been since we remembered the surrender of Germany... and what an even briefer time since we marked the fall of Japan.

The war was barely over when Churchill came here... and yet the world had changed in ways entirely at odds with the hopes of the allies during the fighting. Many had yet to comprehend how different was reality from hope. Churchill chose this platform to clarify that distinction.

The Iron Curtain speech was not a discourse on a commonly accepted view of the world as it emerged from the war. It was a plea for realism... a plea for a clear strategy in approaching a new and unexpected world... a plea for strength of purpose and the courage to face unwanted but unavoidable challenges.

I was a young man during the War. I remember that there was an almost unspoken assumption, at least here in America, that the peace that would follow victory would be much like that which had followed the Napoleonic Wars... that is, that there would emerge the global equivalent of the 19th century Concert of Europe... a world of hard-headed harmony among fundamentally compatible powers... in this case democratic powers rather than monarchical ones.

This was clearly Roosevelt's hope. We know now that Churchill had cautioned him about Soviet intentions. But Roosevelt dismissed Churchill's warnings saying ((here are Roosevelt's words)), "I think that if I give [Stalin] everything he possibly can and ask nothing in return, noblesse oblige, he won't annex anything and will work with me for a world of democracy and peace."

Roosevelt died before he could fully see the futility of these hopes. But in one place after another in the months immediately following Hitler's fall, Stalin reneged on the spirit if not the letter of his wartime agreement. The Yalta agreement in particular, had called for democratic elections in the liberated Europe. Instead, in the areas under Russian control, Stalin imposed Soviet-style regimes on unwilling publics.

Churchill came here to Fulton to insist that the democracies must face squarely the full implications of Soviet actions. He gave those implications a name. "From Stettin in the Baltic, " he said, "to Trieste in the Adriatic, an iron curtain has descended across the continent."

And he suggested a strategy for keeping the Soviets from expanding the territory behind the iron curtain while keeping the peace.

"[Peace] can only be achieved," he said, "by reaching... a good understanding with Russia... under the United Nations Organization... supported by the whole strength of the English-speaking world and all its connections...." In other words, he was saying peace required a strong U.N. and a strong political, military, and, perhaps, economic association of the ^{democratic} English-speaking countries... an extension of the relationship that been primarily responsible for winning the war, at least on the western front.

It was a great strategic vision -- this one that Churchill described here 40 years ago. Let me now ask, was he right?

Part of the answer is, obviously, "Yes, of course, he was right."

First and foremost, he was right about the nature of the Soviet threat and Soviet oppression. The Iron Curtain was and is not just a metaphor. It is a real, physical, as well as spiritual, presence.

Three years ago I travelled to Germany. You know, I have had so many foreign missions that they've started to refer in Washington to my "infrequent visits" to the United States. But in the course of that trip three years ago I visited a small German village called "Moedelreuth."

I'll never forget that town. Down the main street ran a high concrete wall topped with densely packed barbed wire. On our side, the villagers were peacefully going about the ordinary business of their daily lives. On the communist side, machinegun toting soldiers patrolled and attack dogs ran on chains along the wall.

We talk of the Iron Curtain as dividing East and West. Historically, of course, that isn't true. The wall I saw is not a natural border, but a wound that cuts through the heart of Europe. The region through which it runs has for centuries been not an outpost of western civilization, but part of the homeland of European culture. Can a wall, can guard dogs, can machine guns and border patrols deny hundreds of years of European culture and history?

And can any of us doubt today what it means to live behind that wall? In the 30s and 40s there were many in the West who looked to the Soviet Union with admiration. "To travel from the capitalist world into Soviet territory," said British writer John Strachey in those years, "is to pass from death to birth." This was a not uncommon view, particularly among intellectuals, even though Stalin was at the time murdering 20 million ((CHECK NUMBERS)) of his own people.

Such views may have got a hearing then. But today we know better. We have the testimony of Solzhenitsyn, Shcharansky, Sakharov and so many others. Everyone today, even intellectuals, knows what it means to live behind the Iron Curtain.

Churchill warned us not only of what the Soviets were doing but of what they intended for the distant future. "I do not believe," he said, "that Soviet Russia desires war. What they desire is the fruits of war and the indefinite expansion of their power and doctrine."

And so it has been. No less an observer than ^{Nobel Peace Prize} Andrei Sakharov has written that, "Since 1945 there has been a relentless expansion of the Soviet sphere of influence -- objectively, this is nothing less than Soviet expansionism on a world scale." This from Andrei Sakharov.

So Churchill was right about what the Soviets were doing and about what they intended to do.

His words almost immediately changed the way the Western world thought, particularly the way American's thought. Oh, yes, there were those who disliked the speech. Clement Atlee gave it a cold shoulder. Eleanor Roosevelt denounced it. Claude Pepper denounced it. But by May 1946, polls showed more than 80 percent of the American people in favor of a permanent Anglo-American military alliance.

In the end, of course, the alliance that emerged was broader than the one that Churchill envisioned. Today NATO includes, as members or close associates, most of the democracies of Europe and North America, not just the English-speaking ones.

But fundamentally Churchill was right... right about the character of the threat... right in his strategic vision about the need for an alliance of democracies to meet the threat.

And yet, in another sense, Churchill's strategic vision has proven both faulty and too narrow.

It was faulty in the sense that the United Nations has failed to ~~emerge as an important force for peace and democracy in~~ *fulfill the hope that it would become the*

45

the world... a role that Churchill described as of fundamental importance if we were to maintain the peace.

I'll confess that I am extremely ~~disappointed~~ ^{by the evolution} disillusioned with the U.N. and have been since I served as U.S. ambassador there in the mid-70s. Very simply put, the U.N. has failed ^{in several of its missions} as a peacekeeper, and ^{a defender of democratic values and human rights}.

why 3 years?
Some of these things go back further

In the past ~~three~~ ^{few} years alone, the U.N. has proven unable to ~~resolve~~ ^{address} such major threats ^{and breaches of} to world peace as the continuing Soviet invasion of Afghanistan, the Vietnamese military presence in Cambodia and threats of Vietnamese aggression against Thailand, the Cuban ^{military presence} ~~offensive~~ in Angola, the imposition of Soviet-inspired martial law and human rights violations in Poland and the Soviet attack on an unarmed Korean civilian airliner.

check w/ unit

In one of the principal arenas of international conflict -- the Middle East -- the only substantial agreement of the last decade (the Camp David Accords) was reached outside of the U.N. framework. Then, too, the ill-fated U.S.-French-British-Italian peacekeeping force in Lebanon would not have been needed had the U.N. done its job.

There is an additional cause for disappointment
But ~~the U.N. is sometimes worse than ineffective.~~ The General Assembly has become a forum for heaping abuse on the United States, ^{and other countries whose policies are up to} In 1982, 14 separate resolutions were passed condemning the U.S. In 1983, the number rose to 16. ((GET CURRENT

by name for various foreign policy decisions

NUMBERS)) Israel is another favorite target. The General Assembly has little reluctance to condemn these democratic nations, but is ^{less willing to address} ~~silent about~~ threats to peace and human rights abuses by the Soviet Union and its allies.

We continue to support the values and goals of the UN's Charter, but the organization itself
~~The U.N.~~ ^{not the} is no longer the house of democratic values. ^{One point}
 can no longer get even close to a majority on the floor of the General Assembly with the votes of democratic nations alone. The U.N. has become a forum for ^{those who practice terror} ~~every two-bit tyrant who has the money and violence, while avoiding positive action~~ ^{for a round trip ticket to New York. I consider it an enormous} ~~on real threats to peace.~~ It has also proved ^{disappointment} ~~wasteful and inefficient, and thus failing to fulfill the hopes for economic and social development of many of its member states.~~

So, as I said, time has proven Churchill too optimistic about the U.N. I also said that time has proven him too narrow.

Churchill's strategic view was almost exclusively Europe centered. Yes, he referred to the British Empire, but as an extension of Britain itself, not as separate territories with independent strategic identities.

"While there is life in my body," he said at the Yalta Conference, "no transfer of British sovereignty [over the colonies] will be permitted."

47

Yet, by the time he did die, nearly all the Empire was gone... independent nations stood in its place... and the place of all the empires of Europe.

Decolonization has not meant that Europe has become unimportant. Europe remains today ^{a key factor in} ~~the focus of~~ security and strategy for the United States... for Europe remains today, as Churchill saw so clearly, the free world's king, on the global chess board -- it may not be the most powerful piece on the board, but if the other side can strip it of its defenses and trap it, the game is as good as over.

To see what Churchill saw

Nevertheless, the chess board and the game itself are larger and more complex than Churchill foresaw.

Churchill anticipated and sought to prevent a major, all-out war between the West and the Soviet Union. And the NATO alliance has ^{successfully pursued} ~~achieved~~ his goal. The United States, Europe and the Soviet Union have been at peace now for 41 years. For Europe, this is the longest peace in ^{more than a century} ~~history~~ ((CHECK)).

?

Major war has been prevented. But smaller conflicts have not. There have been more than 140 of these since Churchill spoke here. Together they have claimed up to 10 million lives. Almost all have been in regions that were once under European colonial rule -- either in Asia, Africa or the Americas.

48

Many of these conflicts have been vehicles for ^{expansion of} Soviet ^{power and} ~~influence~~ ^{expansionism}. This was particularly true in Korea and Vietnam.

((Now, of course, when most of us think of Korea and Vietnam, it's like the story of the man who who went to his doctor... bad news, worse news... 24 hours to live... "I was supposed to tell you yesterday.))

((But not everyone sees Korea and Vietnam that way.))

The Prime Minister of Singapore, Lee Kuan Yew, recently addressed a joint session of Congress. I was there because I am President of the Senate and because I know the Prime Minister and admire the keenness of his insight. In courage and perceptiveness, Prime Minister Lee is, in some respects, a modern Churchill.

To Congress that day he described East Asian societies as "on the move.... seething with restless energy... transform[ing] their ancient civilizations into modern industrial societies."

Prime Minister Lee has told me that he credits East Asia's success in part to American actions over the past four decades... actions that included the Korean and Vietnamese Wars.

By holding the Korean Communists north of the 38th parallel, the United States insured, not only that South Korea would remain non-communist, but that Japan would remain tied to the West and would continue to develop as a non-military, commercial democracy.

By taking a stand in Vietnam, the United States gave Thailand, Malaysia and Indonesia time put down their own communist insurgencies and -- together with Singapore -- to develop more stable political systems and vibrant economies.

Without the courage and commitment of America... courage and commitment that Churchill helped inspire when he spoke here... none of this would have been possible. Without us, all of East Asia might today be sunk in a communist swamp... a swamp as stagnant and oppressive as that in which so many millions of Vietnamese and Cambodians have perished since we left South East Asia more than a decade ago... a swamp from which so many millions of others have fled, by boat and over land, by any means they could, to find their way to the promised land, to find their way to America.

Today in Central America we see another region teetering on the brink between freedom and oppression.

Five years ago there was only one democratically elected government in Central America and that was in Costa Rica. Today

50

there are democratically elected governments not only there but in Honduras, El Salvador, Guatamala and newly-independent Belize, as well.

Only Nicaragua swims against the democratic tide. ~~Only~~ Nicaragua ^{like Cuba} suspends ~~all~~ civil rights ^{such as} ~~including~~ freedom of speech and freedom of the press. ~~Only~~ Nicaragua suppresses all opposition political parties. ~~Only~~ Nicaragua refuses to enter into dialogue with its political opponents. ~~Only~~ Nicaragua orders the execution of political dissenters. ~~Only~~ Nicaragua has harrassed, not only the Catholic church (and humiliated the Pope when he visited Managua) but has persecuted Pent^ecostals, Mormons, Baptists and Jews... in fact, all independent religious groups. ~~Only~~ Nicaragua today persecutes Indian tribes within its borders. ~~Only~~ Nicaragua provides a safe haven for terrorists from all over the world. ~~Only~~ Nicaragua provides arms to communist terrorists in democracies like Colombia, El Salvador and Costa Rica. Nicaraguan leaders say it's "abolute~~y~~ true" that they intend to export their revolution to El Salvador, then Guatamala, then Honduras, and then Mexico. ~~Only~~ they have such aggressive designs.

Last month, at the inauguration of the newly elected president of Guatamala, Nicaraguan Commandante Daniel Ortega and I were on the same platform and, during a pause in the proceedings, the press started asking questions, first of him, then of me.

51

Ortega, you know, usually loves press attention even more than he loves designer glasses. This time was no exception.

To the press he said that the since the American revolution had been violent, the U.S. should support his revolution. A strange and irrelevant line of thinking, but still....

I replied that, right after they came to power, the Sandinistas received more aid from the U.S. than from any other country. But that's when they were talking about democracy. Then they betrayed their own revolution. They turned their backs on democracy and freedom. With Soviet help they built up the largest army in Central America. That's when we turned against them.

When he spoke here 40 years ago Churchill said of the Second World War that "there never was a war in all history easier to prevent by timely action." Churchill believed that the judicious use of strength when threats were small was the best guarantee that threats will not become big.

Today, with a relatively small amount of aid to the freedom fighters, we can stop the threat to the region from Nicaragua and support those struggling for freedom and democracy there. Aid... not American troops... not direct American involvement... just aid. A democratic Nicaragua is indispensable to a democratic Central America. That's why aid to the ~~Contras~~ is like taking out

*Nicaraguan
resistance fighters*

52

an insurance policy for freedom and democracy all over this hemisphere.

Some say the problem in Central America is not communism but poverty. We've heard that argument before, but shouldn't people who want to escape poverty fight against communism, not for it?

Look at the two sides of the Iron Curtain... Eastern Europe and Western Europe. Which is poor and which is not?

Look at South East Asia, at Vietnam, Cambodia and Laos on one hand and at Thailand, Malaysia, Indonesia and Singapore on the other. Where do more people live in poverty? Where is there prosperity and opportunity?

Look at our own hemisphere. In Cuba, Castro turned a thriving economy into a basketcase. Nicaragua has slipped steadily downhill. Compare these to Brazil, Argentina, Colombia or Costa Rica.

Or look at the Soviet Union itself... a country where ordinary people must wait in line for ~~everything~~ ^{most good things}... although it's different if you're in the ruling class... a country that has found a way to make some of the most fertile land in the world disasterously unproductive. They blaim the weather. And maybe they're right, although countries like ~~Turkey~~ ^{Finland} that border on the

Soviet Union don't have the same problems as Soviet areas just a few miles away.

You know, I'm a fan of underground Russian jokes... like the one that goes, question: what are the four problems with Soviet agriculture. Answer: spring, summer, winter and fall.

Today in Africa and India and all over the world those who once flirted with the Soviet model are turning their eyes west. They have found, as people everywhere have found, that the answer to poverty is not communism, not slavery, not dictatorial socialism, but freedom.

It was Trotsky who said that, "The dictatorship of the Communist Party is maintained by every form of violence." And he was right. It must be. Because free men and women will fight to remain free. And those in chains will struggle to break their chains -- as we've seen these last 40 years in East Germany and Hungary, in Czechoslovakia and Poland.

Churchill's call 40 years ago was a call for courage in defending freedom... and not only the courage of the battlefield, but the courage of what John Kennedy called the "long, twilight struggle."

The challenge before us today is, yes, to help those who, in smaller conflicts, defend freedom and champion democracy.

The challenge before us today is to face with courage, unity and resolve all attacks on free societies and free institutions... to face, in particular, terrorism, which is a dagger at the back of all free societies. I headed the President's task force on terrorism. We just recently submitted our report. Let me say that I believe that Churchill's alliance of democracies is as important in the struggle against international terrorism as it is in the struggle against Soviet expansionism, in part because they are not entirely disconnected.

But the challenge before us is more than this.

On one hand it is to remain strong so that we can remain at peace... so that, if the world must have conflicts, they remain small conflicts... so that the Soviet Union continues to have a reason to negotiate with us for arms reduction... so that they have no reason to doubt our will.

And on the other hand the challenge is to nurture the roots of our strength... to nurture our economic freedoms. We are moving towards a truly global economy. The sooner it arrives -- with free and fair trade among all free nations, with stable currencies by which to trade -- the sooner this integrated world

5

economy arrives, the stronger we will all be and communism will be weaker.

We have come so far these last 40 years. There are formidable challenges ahead and some look with apprehension to the future. I don't. I remember Churchill's words during the darkest days of the Second World War.

"We have not," he said, "journeyed all this way across the centuries, across the oceans, across the mountains, across the prairies, because we are made of sugar candy."

And I remember his words at the end of his address here 40 years ago today. Speaking of Britain and America... and I would add today, speaking of all free peoples... he said that if our "moral and material forces and convictions are joined..., the high-roads of the future will be clear, not only for us but for all, not only for our time, but for a century to come."

Let us resolve to meet the next 40 years with the same courage, the same conviction, the same moral purpose that he gave us to meet the last 40... for surely, if we do, peace and freedom will be ours, as he said, for centuries to come.

###

54

R

~~SECRET~~

NATIONAL SECURITY COUNCIL
WASHINGTON, D.C. 20506

February 27, 1986

MEMORANDUM FOR CLARK JUDGE

FROM: JACK F. MATLOCK *JFM*
SUBJECT: Draft of Vice President's Westminster College
Speech

This is a very eloquent text. I have just two suggestions to make, one specific and one more general.

1. I am not sure it will be wise to quote Sakharov directly. Substantively it is useful and effective. But we face the dilemma that quoting him in this fashion could mitigate against efforts to alleviate his situation. We are working with the family and his wife in several channels.

Under these circumstances, if the Vice President uses the quotations, the effect on Soviet official mentality could be to harden the resolve to keep him in Gorky and subject to all the KGB pressures and humiliation.

My judgment is that the quotation is not so essential as to risk this outcome and therefore would advise dropping it.

2. While the speech makes a strong and necessary statement about the Soviet threat and the moral gulf that separates us, I believe it would be strengthened if it contained some more elements of what we seek from negotiations. With a Summit probably taking place later this year, we should use the opportunity of the speech to call attention to the forward-looking, constructive elements in the President's program.

I believe the theme of the Soviet danger could be covered effectively with pruning of the present text, which would leave room for a couple of pages reviewing where the President wishes to go from here.

cc: Don Gregg

~~SECRET~~

Declassify on: OADR

DECLASSIFIED

NLRR FOLG-114/4#8109

BY RW NARA DATE 3/9/11

NATIONAL SECURITY COUNCIL
WASHINGTON, D.C. 20506~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

February 27, 1986

ACTION

MEMORANDUM FOR RODNEY B. MCDANIEL

FROM: JACK F. MATLOCK *JFM*

SUBJECT: Draft Vice Presidential Remarks - Westminster College

Attached at Tab I is a memorandum to Clark Judge forwarding comments on a draft speech (Tab A) for delivery by the Vice President at Westminster College.

In addition to specific comments indicated in the text, we note that there is no mention of Afghanistan in the draft. A February 26 senior inter-agency group meeting on Afghanistan suggested that a major reiteration of U.S. policy would be valuable at this time. If the Vice President would like to include such a statement, we will be glad to provide appropriate points. Also attached at TAB B is a copy of a memorandum already forwarded to Clark Judge with my comments.

Judyt Mandel, Ray Burghardt, and Steve Sestanovich concur.

RECOMMENDATION

That you sign the memo at Tab I to Clark Judge.

Approve *WJF*

Disapprove _____

Attachments:

Tab I Memorandum to Clark Judge
Tab A Draft Vice Presidential speech
Tab B Copy of Memo from Jack Matlock to Clark Judge

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~
Declassify on: OADR

DECLASSIFIED
NLRR F06-114/4 #8110
BY RW NARA DATE 3/9/11
DECLASSIFIED
White House Guidelines, August 28, 1997
By *CW* NARA, Date 7/2/02

9

NATIONAL SECURITY COUNCIL
EXECUTIVE SECRETARY REFERRAL

TIME STAMP

SYSTEM I LOG NUMBER: 1522

☒ (FIRST DRAFT OF REMARKS)

ACTION OFFICER:

~~MATLOCK~~

I think the section on UN goes beyond positive public posture to too unbalanced and crucial.
JH

NOON, 2/26

- ☐ Prepare Memo McDaniel to Chew
- ☐ Prepare Memo McDaniel to Elliott
- ☐ Prepare Memo McDaniel to Speakes
- ☒ Prepare Memo McDaniel

URGENT

to Clark Judge w/info to Cellamore

*** PUT RESPECTIVE STAFF OFFICER'S NAME IN MARGIN BESIDE CHANGES.

CONCURRENCES/COMMENTS*

DUE: 0900, 2/26 *Thomas J.*

*PHONE to action officer at ext. 5112

- | | | |
|---|-------------------------------------|---|
| <input checked="" type="checkbox"/> Burghardt | <input type="checkbox"/> Levine | <input type="checkbox"/> Sachs |
| <input type="checkbox"/> Cannistraro | <input type="checkbox"/> Linhard | <input checked="" type="checkbox"/> Sestanovich |
| <input type="checkbox"/> Childress | <input type="checkbox"/> Mahley | <input type="checkbox"/> Sigur |
| <input type="checkbox"/> Cobb | <input type="checkbox"/> Major | <input type="checkbox"/> Small |
| <input type="checkbox"/> Covey | <input type="checkbox"/> Mandel | <input type="checkbox"/> Sommer |
| <input type="checkbox"/> Danzansky | <input type="checkbox"/> Matlock | <input type="checkbox"/> Soos |
| <input type="checkbox"/> deGraffenreid | <input type="checkbox"/> May | <input type="checkbox"/> Stark |
| <input type="checkbox"/> Dobriansky | <input type="checkbox"/> Menges | <input type="checkbox"/> Steiner |
| <input type="checkbox"/> Donley | <input type="checkbox"/> Miller | <input type="checkbox"/> Tahir-Kheli |
| <input type="checkbox"/> Douglass | <input type="checkbox"/> North | <input type="checkbox"/> Teicher |
| <input type="checkbox"/> Grimes | <input type="checkbox"/> Platt | <input type="checkbox"/> Thompson |
| <input type="checkbox"/> Hughes | <input type="checkbox"/> Pugliaresi | <input type="checkbox"/> Tillman |
| <input type="checkbox"/> Kraemer | <input type="checkbox"/> Raymond | <input type="checkbox"/> Wigg |
| <input type="checkbox"/> Laux | <input type="checkbox"/> Reger | <input type="checkbox"/> Wright |
| <input type="checkbox"/> Lehman | <input type="checkbox"/> Ringdahl | <input type="checkbox"/> _____ |
| <input type="checkbox"/> Lenczowski | <input type="checkbox"/> Sable | <input type="checkbox"/> _____ |

INFORMATION

- ☐ McDaniel
- ☐ Rodman

- ☒ Pearson
- ☐ Lehman

- ☒ Secretariat
- ☒ Exec. Sec. Desk

☐ Poindexter (advance)

☐ Fortier (advance)