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## WHITE HOUSE STAFFING MEMORANDUM

DATE: 11/23/87

ACTION/CONCURRENCE/COMMENT DUE BY: 3:00 p.m. Tuesday 11/24

SUBJECT: PRESIDENTIAL REMARKS: HERITAGE FOUNDATION LUNCHEON  
(11/23 8:00 p.m. draft)

| ACTION FYI   |                                     |                                     | ACTION FYI |                                     |                                     |
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| VICE PRESIDENT   | <input type="checkbox"/>            | <input checked="" type="checkbox"/> | FITZWATER  | <input type="checkbox"/>            | <input checked="" type="checkbox"/> |
| BAKER  | <input type="checkbox"/>            | <input checked="" type="checkbox"/> | GRISCOM    | <input checked="" type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/>            |
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| MILLER - OMB   | <input checked="" type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/>            | HOOLEY     | <input type="checkbox"/>            | <input checked="" type="checkbox"/> |
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## REMARKS:

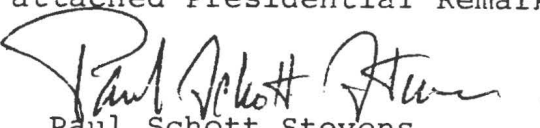
Please provide any comments/recommendations to Tony Dolan by 3:00 p.m. on Tuesday, November 24th, with an info copy to my office. Thank you.

## RESPONSE:

November 24, 1987

TO: TONY DOLAN

NSC staff concurs in the attached Presidential Remarks with changes.

  
Paul Schott Stevens  
Executive Secretary

Rhett Dawson  
Ext. 2702

cc: Rhett Dawson

(Gilder/ARD)  
November 23, 1987  
8:00 p.m.

PRESIDENTIAL REMARKS: HERITAGE FOUNDATION LUNCHEON  
MONDAY, NOVEMBER 30, 1987

Thank you. Thank you all very much. It's always a great pleasure to come here to the Heritage Foundation -- I've always considered Heritage, in a sense, my shadow cabinet.

In fact, Ed Feulner did come into the Administration for a short while at the beginning of the year -- and his help and advice were invaluable -- but he wanted to get back to Heritage. He knew where the real power center in Washington is.

Isn't this a bit of a downer?

In the last 10 years, with Ed at the helm, and with the constant support and vision of Joe Coors, Heritage has transformed itself from a struggling and valiant coterie of conservatives to, well, a struggling and valiant coterie of conservatives, though today the influence and importance of Heritage is widely recognized in this town and, indeed, by policy makers around the world.

Thinking back to those days when, as we used to say, all the conservatives in this town could fit in a single phone booth, I remembered the story Lincoln told one day when he found his entire Cabinet, with the exception of one man, against him. During a revival meeting in his home town in Illinois, one of the audience, who'd indulged too much in the refreshments before hand, passed out and stayed asleep when the preacher challenged the assembly: "Who here that is on the Lord's side, stand up!" And the whole audience, of course, except for the drunk, stood up. When the preacher then asked, "And who is on the side of the

Devil?" he suddenly awoke, rose, and standing there all alone, said, "I don't exactly understand the question, but I'll stand by you parson, to the last."

Well, we've stood by each other -- all of you today, who have been so generous, have stood by the cause, and demonstrated the kind of dedication that has made conservatism the dominant intellectual and political force in American politics today.

When we think of those people who have helped shape American politics, one special name comes to mind -- a voice of patriotism, reason, and conservative values. That voice is now silent, but the memory of our great and good friend, Clare Boothe Luce, will continue to speak loudly -- not just to a new generation of conservatives, but to all Americans, to all people who cherish freedom, who know it's worth the struggle.

Clare once remarked that no matter how great or exalted a man might be, history will have time to give him no more than a single sentence: George Washington founded the country; Abraham Lincoln freed the slaves; Winston Churchill saved Europe. But I can't help but think that Clare will prove the exception to her own rule. History will have to make time to chronicle all her great achievements. Or if there is a single line, it will be: Clare Booth Luce, she did everything, superbly.

Before I get to the main body of my speech, there are two subjects I'd like to discuss -- really I want to ask for your support. The first, our nomination of Anthony Kennedy to the Supreme Court. He's tough on crime. He believes, as we do, that judges should interpret the law, not make it. He knows that



there are victims to crime as well as criminals, and he doesn't confuse the two. He's served for 12 years as a judge on the 9th Circuit Court of Appeals where he's won the respect of the entire legal community. He's been on my short list from the very start. In fact, the only thing wrong with Anthony Kennedy is he's not 41-years-old. But you know those Californians, they're all health nuts, and they have a way of sticking around for a long time.

The second thing I'm going to be needing your support on is the budget deal we hammered out with Congress. Now, I know many people are unhappy with that deal. I don't expect people to be jumping up and down in ecstasy. But let me tell you about two important steps forward we've taken that should be reassuring to conservatives: Marginal income taxes -- the heart of incentive economies -- have not been touched. The second round of rate cuts will go into effect, just as scheduled, on January 1st. That's vital for a strong, growth year in 1988. And there are no new across the board taxes, there are user fees, loophole closings and the like -- I had \$11 billion of them in my own budget this year -- we've kept our pledge to the American people on taxes.

The second step forward was on defense. Now, some people said we would have been better off with sequestration. Well, sequestration would have cost us \$11.5 billion in defense. With this deal, we gained \$6.5 billion back and ended with \$3 billion more in defense spending than last year. *Yes, this compromise is better for defense. Nevertheless, you know that I am still disappointed with the lack of Congressional support for our national security programs, and I need your continued help in holding their feet to the fire.*

*Disingenuous--  
we have  
accepted a  
compromise  
that is not  
really adequate  
in defense*

~~the magnificent job he did rebuilding our defenses is nowhere near complete -- and we're not slacking one iota from that commitment~~

Well, as you all know, a week from today I will be receiving an important visitor. There's been, as you also know, a lot of ~~intensive~~ ~~back and forth in~~ preparation for this summit. ~~mostly it's been~~ ~~George Shultz going back and forth~~ For now, we seem to have ironed out the difficulties, and I'm confident that they will stay ironed.

Sounds  
a bit  
rushed +  
infused

4-25  
OS  
look  
confused.

With all of the things going on, however, one might be forgiven if one felt a little like Harold Macmillan in his famous exchange with Nikita Khrushchev. It was Macmillan, of course, who was delivering an address at the United Nations, when Khrushchev pulled off his shoe and started banging it on the table. Unflappable as ever, Macmillan simply remarked, "I'd like a translation, if I may."

Well, today I want to give you a translation. I want to talk to you about relations between the United States and the Soviet Union -- relations that focus upon four critical areas. First -- and in many ways primary -- human rights; second, ~~Soviet behavior in~~ ~~negotiated settlements to~~ regional conflicts; third, expanded exchanges between our peoples; and fourth, arms reduction. Let me begin with the last, because in this area, particularly, our realism, patience, and commitment are close to producing historic results.

I remember when I visited Bonn, back in 1982, when we ~~began~~ <sup>were planning</sup> ~~ment of~~ <sup>to counter the new Soviet SS-20s already in place.</sup> deploying our Pershings in Europe. Thousands of demonstrators

?  
Deployments  
began  
1983

chanted and marched. And I couldn't help thinking what irony. For it was to secure the peace they sought and the freedom they were exercising that we were deploying the missiles they protested.

Despite intense political pressure, NATO held firm. The two-track policy of arms reduction negotiations and deployment stayed -- well, it stayed on track. And yes, it was when we showed our determination ~~(our willingness, if need be)~~ to meet ~~this new and unprovoked Soviet threat head-on~~ <sup>force with force</sup> that the Soviets -- after first walking out of the negotiations -- eventually returned and began to talk seriously about the possibility of withdrawing their own I.N.F. missiles.

I'm pleased to say that the agreement we're nearing is based upon the proposal that the United States, in consultation with our allies, first put forward in 1981 -- the zero-option. The zero-option calls very simply for the elimination of this entire class of U.S. and Soviet I.N.F. missiles.

Accuracy:   
Our   
deployments   
are   
continuing

According to this agreement, the Soviets will be required to remove <sup>more than three</sup> ~~four~~ times as many nuclear warheads as will the United States. Moreover, the Soviets will be required to destroy not only their entire force of SS-20's and SS-4's, but also their <sup>INF</sup> shorter-range ballistic missiles, the SS-12's and SS-23's.

Accuracy   
(SRINF)

~~(It would, however, be hasty to assume that we're at the point where we are ready to put pen to paper and sign the treaty. For one thing, in one important area -- verification -- the treaty is not yet complete. Any treaty I agree to must provide for effective verification, including on-site inspection of~~

OBE

<sup>The INF that I will sign will</sup>

facilities before and during reduction and short-notice inspection afterwards. *In short, it will be the most stringent* ~~The verification regime we have put~~

~~forward in Geneva is the most stringent~~ in the history of arms control negotiations. ~~(I will not settle for anything less)~~

We are also *pressing for progress on the US proposal to reduce* ~~moving ahead with an agreement on reducing~~ our two nations' strategic arsenals by half. Our Geneva negotiators have made progress. The Soviets must, however, stop holding strategic offensive missile reductions hostage to measures that would cripple our research and development of S.D.I.

*Accuracy* It's no longer a secret that the Soviet Union has spent *roughly 200* ~~billions upon billions of~~ *over the past 10 years on* ~~dollars developing~~ their own *strategic defense programs.* ~~anti-ballistic missile systems.~~

Research and development in some parts of the Soviet strategic defenses -- we call it the "Red

Shield" -- began more than 15 years ago. Today it includes

*Accuracy* everything from *advanced R&D* ~~killer satellites~~ *are deployed around* to the modernized A.B.M. defenses that ~~ring~~ *skilled and engineers* Moscow. More than 10,000 *scientists*

*We don't link ASAT + S.D.I. Treat separately, if you want though not essential here)* are working on military lasers alone -- with thousands more

developing other advanced technologies such as particle beam and kinetic energy weapons. *[The Soviets also have the world's only operational Anti-satellite system.]*

*on which we have spent only \$10 billion so far.* The "Red Shield" program dwarfs S.D.I. Yet some in Congress

would bind us to an overly-restrictive interpretation of the A.B.M. treaty that would effectively block development of S.D.I., giving the Soviets a monopoly in anti-ballistic missile defenses.

This effort to tie our hands makes even less sense when the Soviets aren't abiding by the A.B.M. treaty. Whatever

*Unwise to cite by name - they will hedge if pressed* interpretation you give the A.B.M. treaty, broad or strict, the Soviets are violating it. *Virtually all experts, even some of our* ~~two of the A.B.M. treaty's biggest~~

biggest critics,  
~~proponents in this country -- Robert McNamara and McGeorge~~

~~body --~~ agree that <sup>with</sup> ~~(the Soviet)~~ construction of the large,  
phase array radar at Krasnoyarsk, <sup>the Soviets have not and not violated one</sup> ~~is almost certainly a violation~~  
<sup>of the central provisions of the ABM Treaty.</sup>

<sup>we have not decided to abrogate the Treaty</sup> To leave the Soviets with a monopoly in strategic defense would  
~~tying our hands to a treaty that the other side feels~~  
<sup>be highly dangerous for the West, as it would undermine the present</sup>  
~~perfectly free to violate amounts to nothing more than unilateral~~  
<sup>basis for deterrence.</sup>

<sup>disarmament,</sup> And as I promised Cap Weinberger last week in his  
farewell at the Pentagon -- we're not unilaterally disarming in  
this area or any other area.

[A recent report released by the Department of Defense,  
called "The Soviet Space Challenge," warns that the Soviets are  
developing a space-launch capability much greater than that of  
the United States. The report estimates that the Soviet launch  
requirements will be two to three times our own, while their  
proposed launch capability between 1990 and 2005 is nearly double  
any requirement we can identify. "Clearly," the Secretary of  
Defense states, "the Soviet program points in one direction --  
the methodical pursuit of a war-fighting capability in space." ]

[This report raises an ominous specter. Together with the  
long-standing "Red Shield" program and ~~(the completion, with the~~  
<sup>as part of updated</sup>  
construction of the Krasnoyarsk radar, of an early warning and  
tracking system, <sup>moving forward a</sup> the Soviets may ~~soon~~ be ~~in a position to~~  
"break out" of the A.B.M. Treaty, to confront us with a fait  
accompli that we will be totally and dangerously unprepared for.]

There has been a strange tendency by some in Congress to  
discuss S.D.I. as if its funding could be determined by purely  
domestic considerations, unconnected to what the Soviets are

doing. S.D.I. is too important to be subject to Congressional log-rolling. It is a vital insurance policy, a necessary part of any national security strategy that includes deep reductions in strategic weapons. In decades to come, it will underwrite all of us against Soviet cheating on both strategic and intermediate-range missile agreements. S.D.I. is not a bargaining chip. It is a cornerstone of our security strategy for the 1990's and beyond. We will research it. We will develop it. And when it is ready, we will deploy it.

Now, Let me just say a few more words about two of the other subjects I'll be discussing with General Secretary Gorbachev -- first human rights. There has been a lot of speculation about glasnost recently. *How significant are the recent changes? How sincere an effort is it to reform Soviet society?* Will this first breath of openness be followed by real freedoms? Those of us who have lived through the last 70 years remember earlier moments of promise in Soviet history -- temporary thaws soon frozen over by the cold winds of oppression.

~~(But we can certainly also look for signs of hope. One recent sign came from Joseph Terelya, the brave Ukrainian Catholic human rights activist who was released from the Soviet Union in September after 20 years in Soviet Labor camps, prisons, and psychiatric hospitals. Previously, Mr. Terelya had feared that glasnost was no more than, in his words, "camouflage for the West." He pointed out that "beginning in January 1987 repression has increased in the Ukraine," and that the Soviet press has been "full of vehement hatred" against the Ukrainian Catholic Church.~~

Perestroika  
is reform

This is  
very  
unwise.  
President  
should not  
be quoting  
Terelya  
(according to  
Fritz  
Ernst +  
Lisa  
Jameson)

~~(Recently, however, Mr. Terelya has found cause for guarded~~  
optimism. Saying that "something has changed at the top of the  
Soviet Government," he spoke of an apparent willingness on the  
part of the Soviets to consider legalization of the Ukrainian  
Catholic Church.)

*we will watch and hope for real improvements -- such things as release  
of political prisoners, more freedom of expression, real dissent, and emigration.  
to convince the world of the sincerity of their desire to reform.*

*So-called "democratization"*  
One of the truest measures of ~~glamour~~ will be the degree of  
religious freedom -- freedom of worship for all the people of the  
Soviet Union, including Protestants, ~~Catholics~~, Orthodox Jews,  
~~and followers of Islam,~~ *and Catholics -- including the brave*  
*believers of*  
~~great eagerness, and great expectations, at the talks between~~  
~~Soviet officials and the Catholic Church in the Ukraine.~~

*you can be sure that Soviet policy in the*  
Finally, ~~let me just touch on the subject of regional~~  
*will be high on my agenda. It's one of the most serious impediments to better relations.*  
conflicts, Today, even as their economy flags at home, the

Soviets spend billions to maintain or impose Communist rule  
abroad, from Eastern Europe, to Cuba, ~~Vietnam~~ *Cambodia,* South Yemen,  
Angola, Ethiopia, ~~Mozambique~~, Nicaragua, and Afghanistan. It's  
estimated that the Soviet war on Afghanistan costs them between  
\$5 billion and \$6 billion a year. The Soviet bloc has supplied  
some \$1 billion annually to the ~~Communist~~ *Marxist* Angolans and \$2 billion  
to the Sandinistas in military hardware alone.

*and Soviet-backed*  
Meanwhile, Soviet ~~forces~~ *forces* in Afghanistan and Angola have been  
suffering devastating ~~defeats~~ *losses* at the hands of the freedom  
fighters in those nations. ~~According to C.B.S. news, an~~  
~~operation by the Mujahadeen last spring, led by the courageous~~  
~~General Wardak, inflicted some of the heaviest losses on the~~

out of  
date  
info

SUBSTITUTE →  
INSERT  
attached,  
hooking up Afghan section



INSERT ON AFGHANISTAN

In Afghanistan, the Mujahedin have proven they cannot be defeated. In the past 15 months, fighting heroically to liberate their country, they have improved their weapons, their tactics, and their coordination. They have inflicted a string of serious defeats on Soviet elite combat units as well as on the puppet Afghan army. And the Resistance has strengthened its political unity as well.

International support for the brave Afghan freedom fighters is more solid than ever. Three weeks ago the UN General Assembly -- with a record vote -- called overwhelmingly for the withdrawal of all foreign forces from Afghanistan.

The Soviet leaders say they are prepared to withdraw their troops. I have urged -- and I urge again -- that they set a date certain -- an early date certain -- for that withdrawal to begin and end. They should respect the voice of the Afghan people and negotiate with the Resistance, without whose assent no political solution is possible. And they should face reality and allow a process of genuine self-determination to decide Afghanistan's destiny.



For the present regime in Kabul is discredited and doomed; its days are clearly numbered. From comments we hear the Soviets making, in many parts of the world, it's beginning to look as if even they are writing off that regime. The Soviets pride themselves on recognizing objective reality. It's time for them to bite the bullet.

The goal of the U.S. remains a genuinely independent, nonaligned, neutral Afghanistan, free from external interference. Once the Soviet Union shows convincingly that it is prepared to withdraw promptly and permit self-determination, the United States will be helpful diplomatically. In the meantime, the struggle against tyranny continues.

~~Soviet Army since they invaded that nation. tanks, troop carriers, and some aircraft were destroyed, and Soviet troops fell to the Afghan freedom fighters in just that one single operation.~~

In Angola in the past few weeks, Jonas Savimbi's freedom fighters <sup>have</sup> inflicted another crushing defeat on the ~~Soviets~~ <sup>Soviet-backed MPLA forces.</sup> This fall's ~~Communist~~ <sup>military</sup> offensive <sup>by the Marxist regime</sup> -- the biggest ever in Angola -- ended in a rout, ~~for the Soviets~~. The heroes of the Lomba River did it again, pushing back the massive ~~Soviet~~ assault, <sup>or capturing large numbers of</sup> and destroying ~~at least 60~~ Soviet tanks, <sup>capturing scores of trucks and shooting</sup> in the process. ~~They captured over 200 working trucks and 24 working tanks -- a dramatic gain for the freedom fighters, who began the year with only 300 operational trucks and, at the most, 2 or 3 tanks. And as many as 17 helicopters and 8 planes were shot down. The Soviets~~ <sup>MPLA and their</sup> ~~are truly beginning to feel the "sting" of free people fighting back.~~

<sup>Marxist</sup> Then there's Ethiopia. Two years after the devastating famine that galvanized world attention, that poor country seems to be sliding agonizingly into another that health officials predict could be even worse.

Once again, we hear that the <sup>main</sup> cause of the famine threatening Ethiopia is poor weather. <sup>There is</sup> No doubt ~~weather plays a role, but~~ <sup>that the rains have failed in a number of areas, and that crops are devastated. Nevertheless, a major share of</sup> there is real question if it is the major culprit. ~~This year, the responsibility rests squarely on the shoulders of Ethiopia's Marxist~~ <sup>the neighboring countries of Sub-Sahara seem little affected.</sup> ~~rulers.~~ The sad fact is, Ethiopia's agonizing situation is directly attributable to the policies of its Communist rulers. More than one relief agency has accused the Ethiopian Communists of

We're not sure of actual figures

manipulating the famine and relief efforts in the civil war against their own people. *The systematic suppression of all private initiative in Ethiopia will guarantee chronic agricultural shortages for years to come if not reversed.*

Last time, the United States was generous in responding to the emergency, sending more food, supplies, and logistical support than any other nation. *Since* ~~If the good Lord forbid --~~ <sup>his</sup> ~~famine~~ <sup>returns</sup> to Ethiopia, we will again do what we must to save innocent lives. But we will also insist that the Soviets do their part. Last famine, while the rest of the world sent food and medicine, the Soviets sent their clients in Ethiopia weapons of war.

It's long past time the Soviet Union accept its responsibility to save lives in Ethiopia. They must *do more* ~~move~~ ~~immediately~~ to pressure their client rulers in Ethiopia to institute the reforms that will prevent the horror of famine from happening again. The first time it was a tragedy -- the second will be a crime.

When I meet with General Secretary Gorbachev, I will ask him: Isn't it time that the Soviet Union put an end to these destructive, wasteful conflicts around the world? Without an end to Soviet efforts to impose totalitarian regimes through force of arms, I will tell him, there can never be a *real improvement in relations* ~~true glasnost, true openness~~ between this nation and ours.

*glasnost means publicity - wrong concept here!*  
I will also make it clear that *one of* the greatest stumbling blocks to increased cooperation ~~and exchange~~ between our two nations is Soviet support for Communist tyranny in Nicaragua. Here too, the Soviet-backed forces are hurting. With our aid, the Nicaraguan freedom fighters have made impressive gains in the field and

brought the Communist Sandinistas to do something that they never would have done otherwise -- negotiate.

If I can turn to the domestic side of this question for a moment, I hope the Members of our own Congress will not forget this important fact: Without the freedom fighters, there would be no ~~Arias peace plan~~ <sup>Guatemala agreement,</sup>, there would be no negotiations, and no hope for democracy in Nicaragua. An entrenched, hostile ~~Communist~~ <sup>Leninist</sup> regime in Nicaragua would be an irreversible fact of life. The Sandinistas would have permanently consolidated and fortified a new Cuba on the American mainland.

Within the next month, Congress will have to vote on nonlethal aid to the freedom fighters -- aid that will keep them ~~supplied~~ <sup>supplied</sup> ~~viable~~ through mid-January when the Central American Presidents meet to determine compliance with the ~~Arias peace plan~~ <sup>Guatemala agreement.</sup>. If Congress votes down this aid, the freedom fighters will run out of supplies ~~in the first 2 weeks of December~~ <sup>will before that meeting.</sup> ~~more than a month before the meeting~~. The Sandinistas will know all they have to do is play the waiting game. They will have no incentive to negotiate, no incentive to make real concessions to democracy.

The Sandinistas will know that Congress, by pulling the plug on the freedom fighters, accomplished what they and their billions of dollars in Soviet aid could not -- the final ~~extinguishment~~ <sup>ing</sup> of all hope of freedom and democracy in Nicaragua.

If we're serious about this peace process, we must keep the freedom fighters alive and strong until they can once again return home to take part in a free and democratic Nicaraguan

society. They are brave men, and they have sacrificed much in the cause of freedom. They deserve no less.

There will be few more important votes in Congress than this one, and as I have so often in the past, I'll be counting on your active support. With your help, I know we can win this one. The fact is, as you all very well know, we have no choice -- we have to win this one.

Well, thank you very much, and God bless you all.

UNCLASSIFIED  
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**CIRCLE ONE BELOW~**

**IMMEDIATE**

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**PAGES**

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**FROM/LOCATION**

1. KEN KRIEG / DENVER AIRPORT COMCTR

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1. KATITERLING LAOD / THE WHITE HOUSE

2. SPEECHWRITING OFFICES / THE WHITE HOUSE - x 6266

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**SPECIAL INSTRUCTIONS/REMARKS:**

SPECIAL INSTRUCTIONS/REMARKS: ATTACHED ARE TOM GRISCOM'S EDITS. <sup>THEY</sup> ~~THESE~~ HAVE BEEN REVIEWED WITH RHETT DAWSON AND BILL COURTESY OF NSC.

UNCLASSIFIED

**CLASSIFICATION**

Document No.

498236

## WHITE HOUSE STAFFING MEMORANDUM

DATE: 11/23/87

ACTION/CONCURRENCE/COMMENT DUE BY: 3:00 p.m. Tuesday 11/24

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(11/23 8:00 p.m. draft)

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| DONATELLI                | <input checked="" type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/>            |           | <input type="checkbox"/>            | <input type="checkbox"/>            |

## REMARKS:

Please provide any comments/recommendations to Tony Dolan by 3:00 p.m. on Tuesday, November 24th, with an info copy to my office. Thank you.

## RESPONSE:

- 1) add more on Afghanistan
- 2) do not over-state SDI/ SDI has been handled effectively & does not need to be main focus here
- 3) focus on regional is Afghanistan

Rhett Dawson  
Ext. 2702

(Gilder/ARD)

November 23, 1987

8:00 p.m.

PRESIDENTIAL REMARKS: HERITAGE FOUNDATION LUNCHEON  
MONDAY, NOVEMBER 30, 1987

Thank you. Thank you all very much. It's always a great pleasure to come here to the Heritage Foundation. ~~It's always a pleasure to come here to the Heritage Foundation. It's always a pleasure to come here to the Heritage Foundation. It's always a pleasure to come here to the Heritage Foundation.~~

~~In 1982, Ed Feulner did come into the Administration for a short while at the beginning of the year -- and his help and advice were invaluable -- but he wanted to get back to Heritage. He knew where the real power center in Washington is.~~

In the last 10 years, with Ed at the helm, and with the constant support and vision of Joe Coors, Heritage has transformed itself from a struggling and valiant coterie of conservatives to, well, a struggling and valiant coterie of conservatives, though today the influence and importance of Heritage is widely recognized in this town and, indeed, by policy makers around the world.

Thinking back to those days when, as we used to say, all the conservatives in this town could fit in a single phone booth, I remembered the story Lincoln told one day when he found his entire Cabinet, with the exception of one man, against him. During a revival meeting in his home town in Illinois, one of the audience, who'd indulged too much in the refreshments before hand, passed out and stayed asleep when the preacher challenged the assembly: "Who here that is on the Lord's side, stand up!" And the whole audience, of course, except for the drunk, stood up. When the preacher then asked, "And who is on the side of the



- 2 -

Devil?" he suddenly awoke, rose, and standing there all alone, said, "I don't exactly understand the question, but I'll stand by you parson, to the last."

Well, we've stood by each other -- all of you today, who have been so generous, have stood by the cause, and demonstrated the kind of dedication that has made conservatism the dominant intellectual and political force in American politics today.

When we think of those people who have helped shape American politics, one special name comes to mind -- a voice of patriotism, reason, and conservative values. That voice is now silent, but the memory of our great and good friend, Clare Boothe Luce, will continue to speak loudly -- not just to a new generation of conservatives, but to all Americans, to all people who cherish freedom, who know it's worth the struggle.

Clare once remarked that no matter how great or exalted a man might be, history will have time to give him no more than a single sentence: George Washington founded the country; Abraham Lincoln freed the slaves; Winston Churchill saved Europe. But I can't help but think that Clare will prove the exception to her own rule. History will have to make time to chronicle all her great achievements. Or if there is a single line, it will be: Clare Booth Luce, she did everything, superbly.

Before I get to the main body of my speech, there are two subjects I'd like to discuss -- really I want to ask for your support. The first, our nomination of Anthony Kennedy to the Supreme Court. He's tough on crime. He believes, as we do, that judges should interpret the law, not make it. He knows that

- 3 -

there are victims to crime as well as criminals, and he doesn't confuse the two. He's served for 12 years as a judge on the 9th Circuit Court of Appeals where he's won the respect of the entire legal community. He's been on my short list from the very start. In fact, the only thing wrong with Anthony Kennedy is he ~~is~~ <sup>wasn't</sup> 41-years-old. But you know those Californians, they're all health nuts, and they have a way of sticking around for a long time.

The second thing I ~~was going to be~~ need ~~ed~~ your support on is the budget deal we hammered out with Congress. Now, I know ~~many~~ <sup>Some</sup> people are ~~unhappy~~ <sup>disappointed</sup> with that deal. I don't expect people to be jumping up and down in ecstasy. But let me tell you about two important steps forward we've taken that should be reassuring to ~~conservatives~~ <sup>+ to all Americans</sup>: Marginal income taxes -- the heart of incentive economies -- have not been touched. The second round of rate cuts will go into effect, just as scheduled, on January 1st. That's vital for a strong, growth year in 1988. And there are no new across the board taxes, there are user fees, loophole closings and the like -- I had \$11 billion of them in my own budget this year -- we've kept our pledge to the American people ~~to hold the line on~~ <sup>to hold the line on</sup> taxes.

The second step forward was on defense. Now, some people said we would have been better off with sequestration. Well, sequestration would have cost us \$11.5 billion in defense. With this deal, we gained \$6.5 billion back and ended with \$3 billion more in defense spending than last year. We may have bid farewell to Cap Weinberger, but as I said to him, we know that

- 4 -

the magnificent job he did rebuilding our defenses is nowhere near complete -- and we're not slacking one iota from that commitment. *And right now - as we are on the eve of signing a treaty to reduce one class of missiles - is not the time to retreat from our commitment to a strong national defense.*

Well, as you all know, a week from today I will be receiving an important visitor. There's been, as you also know, a lot of back and forth in preparation for this summit -- mostly it's been George Shultz going back and forth. For now, we seem to have ironed out the difficulties, and I'm confident that they will stay ironed out. *out* (C)

With all of the things going on, however, one might be forgiven if one felt a little like Harold Macmillan in his famous exchange with Nikita Khrushchev. It was Macmillan, of course, who was delivering an address at the United Nations, when Khrushchev pulled off his shoe and started banging it on the table. Unflappable as ever, Macmillan simply remarked, "I'd like a translation, if I may."

Well, today I want to give you a translation. I want to talk to you about relations between the United States and the Soviet Union -- relations that focus upon four critical areas. First -- and in many ways primary -- human rights; second, negotiated settlements to regional conflicts; third, expanded exchanges between our peoples; and fourth, arms reduction. Let me begin with the last, because in this area, particularly, our realism, patience, and commitment are close to producing historic results.

I remember when I visited Bonn, back in 1982, when we began deploying our Pershings in Europe. Thousands of demonstrators

- 5 -

chanted and marched. And I couldn't help thinking what irony. For it was to secure the peace they sought and the freedom they were exercising that we were deploying the missiles they protested.

Despite intense political pressure, NATO held firm. The two-track policy of arms reduction negotiations and deployment stayed -- well, it stayed on track. And yes, it was when we showed our determination, our willingness, if need be, to meet force with force that the Soviets -- after first walking out of the negotiations -- eventually returned and began to talk seriously about the possibility of withdrawing their own I.N.F. missiles.

I.N.F.

I'm pleased to say that the agreement ~~we're nearing~~ is based upon the proposal that the United States, in consultation with our allies, first put forward in 1981 -- the zero-option. The zero-option calls very simply for the elimination of this entire class of U.S. and Soviet I.N.F. missiles.

According to this agreement, the Soviets will be required to remove four times as many nuclear warheads as will the United States. Moreover, the Soviets will be required to destroy not only their entire force of SS-20's and SS-4's, but also their shorter-range ballistic missiles, the SS-12's and SS-23's.

~~It would, however, be hasty to assume that we're at the point where we are ready to put pen to paper and sign the treaty.~~

~~For one thing, in one important area -- verification -- the~~

~~treaty is not yet complete.~~ <sup>THIS TREATY, AS</sup> Any treaty I agree to, <sup>WILL</sup> ~~must~~ provide for effective verification, including on-site inspection of

- 6 -

facilities before and during reduction and short-notice inspection afterwards. The verification regime we have put forward in Geneva is the most stringent in the history of arms control negotiations. I ~~will~~ <sup>WOULD HAVE</sup> not settle for anything less.

We are also moving ahead with an agreement on reducing our two nations' strategic arsenals by half. Our Geneva negotiators have made progress. The Soviets must, however, stop holding strategic offensive missile reductions hostage to measures that would cripple our research and development of S.D.I.

It's no longer a secret that the Soviet Union has spent billions upon billions of dollars developing their own anti-ballistic missile system. Research and development in some parts of the Soviet strategic defenses -- we call it the "Red Shield" -- began more than 15 years ago. ~~Today it includes everything from killer-satellites to the modernized A.B.M. defenses that ring Moscow. More than 10,000 scientists are working on military lasers alone -- with thousands more developing other advanced technologies such as particle beam and kinetic energy weapons.~~

The "Red Shield" program dwarfs S.D.I. Yet some in Congress would bind us to an overly-restrictive interpretation of the A.B.M. treaty that would effectively block development of S.D.I., giving the Soviets a monopoly in anti-ballistic missile defenses. This effort ~~to tie our hands~~ makes even less sense when the Soviets aren't abiding by the A.B.M. treaty. ~~Whatever interpretation of the A.B.M. treaty, broad or strict, the Soviets are violating it.~~ <sup>Some</sup> [Two] of the A.B.M. treaty's biggest

as I have said repeatedly, I have waited 6 years to get an agreement that will be both reliable and verifiable. We must never be afraid to walk away from a bad deal, ~~but we must not be afraid~~ and on that point, there is no negotiation.

I urge you to join with me in taking this first step for peace. ~~(If there is a treaty)~~

said already

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proponents in this country [-- Robert McNamara and McGeorge Bundy --] agree that the Soviet construction of the large, phase-array radar at Krasnoyarsk is almost certainly a violation of A.B.M.

*(will not be tied)*

~~Our hands~~ Our hands to a treaty that the other side feels perfectly free to violate, ~~amounts to nothing more than unilateral disarmament.~~ And as I promised Cap Weinberger ~~last~~ <sup>two</sup> week<sup>s</sup> <sup>ago</sup> in his farewell at the Pentagon -- we're not unilaterally disarming in this area or any other area.

*— point is already made*

A recent report released by the Department of Defense, called "The Soviet Space Challenge," warns that the Soviets are developing a space launch capability much greater than that of the United States. The report estimates that the Soviet launch requirements will be two to three times our own, while their proposed launch capability between 1990 and 2005 is nearly double any requirement we can identify. "Clearly," the Secretary of Defense states, "the Soviet program points in one direction -- the methodical pursuit of a war-fighting capability in space."

This report raises an ominous specter. Together with the long-standing "Red Shield" program and the completion, with the construction of the Krasnoyarsk radar, of an early warning and tracking system -- the Soviets may soon be in a position to "break out" of the A.B.M. treaty, to confront us with a fait accompli that we will be ~~totally and dangerously unprepared for.~~

There has been a ~~strong~~ tendency by some in Congress to discuss S.D.I. as if its funding could be determined by purely domestic considerations, unconnected to what the Soviets are

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doing. S.D.I. is ~~too important to be subject to congressional~~  
~~leg rolling.~~ It is a vital insurance policy, a necessary part of  
any national security strategy that includes deep reductions in  
strategic weapons. ~~In decades to come, it will underwrite all of~~  
~~us against Soviet cheating on both strategic and~~  
~~intermediate-range missile agreements.~~ S.D.I. is not a  
~~bargaining chip.~~ It is a cornerstone of our security strategy  
for the 1990's and beyond. We will research it. We will develop  
it. And when it is ready, we will deploy it. // → check UNSC at

Now, Let me just say a few more words about two of the other  
subjects I'll be discussing with General Secretary Gorbachev --  
first human rights. There has been a lot of speculation about  
glasnost recently. How sincere an effort is it to reform Soviet  
society? Will this first breath of openness be followed by real  
freedoms? Those of us who have lived through the last 70 years  
remember earlier moments of promise in Soviet history --  
~~temporary~~ <sup>often followed by</sup> ~~thaws~~ ~~soon frozen over~~ by the cold winds of oppression.

But we can certainly also look for signs of hope. One  
recent sign came from Joseph Terelya, the brave Ukrainian  
Catholic human rights activist who was released from the Soviet  
Union in September after 20 years in Soviet Labor camps, prisons,  
and psychiatric hospitals. Previously, Mr. Terelya had feared  
that glasnost was no more than, in his words, "camouflage for the  
West." He pointed out that "beginning in January 1987 repression  
has increased in ~~the~~ Ukraine," and that the Soviet press has been  
"full of vehement hatred" against the Ukrainian Catholic Church.



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Recently, however, Mr. Terelya <sup>said</sup> ~~has found cause for guarded~~  
~~opinion saying~~ that "something has changed at the top of the  
Soviet Government," <sup>possible</sup> ~~he~~ spoke of an ~~apparent~~ willingness on the  
part of the Soviets to consider legalization of the Ukrainian  
Catholic Church.

Few moves on the part of the Soviet government could do more  
to convince the world of <sup>its</sup> ~~the~~ sincerity <sup>for</sup> ~~of that desire~~ to reform.  
One of the truest measures of glasnost will be the degree of  
religious freedom -- freedom of worship for all the people of the  
Soviet Union, including Protestants, Catholics, Orthodox Jews,  
and followers of Islam. [For this reason, we will be looking with  
great eagerness, and great expectations, at the talks between  
Soviet officials and the Catholic Church in the Ukraine.]

No talks  
taking  
place

Finally, let me just touch on the subject of regional  
conflicts. Today, even as <sup>reports state their economic problems</sup> ~~as their economy flags~~ at home, the  
Soviets spend billions to maintain or impose Communist rule  
abroad, from Eastern Europe, to Cuba, Vietnam, South Yemen,  
Angola, Ethiopia, ~~Mozambique~~, Nicaragua, and Afghanistan. It's  
estimated that the Soviet war on Afghanistan costs them between  
\$5 billion and \$6 billion a year. The Soviet bloc has supplied  
some \$1 billion annually to the Communist Angolans and \$2 billion  
to the Sandinistas in military hardware alone.

Meanwhile, Soviet forces in Afghanistan and Angola have been  
suffering ~~devastating~~ defeats at the hands of the freedom  
fighters in those nations. According to C.B.S. news, an  
operation by the Mujahadeen last spring, led by the courageous  
General Wardock, inflicted some of the heaviest losses on the



Soviet Army since they invaded that nation. \_\_\_ tanks, \_\_\_ troop carriers, and some \_\_\_ aircraft were destroyed, and \_\_\_ Soviet troops fell to the Afghan freedom fighters in just that one single operation.

In Angola in the past few weeks, Jonas Savimbi's freedom fighters inflicted another crushing defeat on the Soviets. This fall's Communist offensive -- the biggest ever in Angola -- ended in a rout for the Soviets. ~~The heroes of the Lomba River did it~~

~~again, pushing back the massive Soviet assault and destroying at least 60 Soviet tanks in the process. They captured over 200 working trucks and 24 working tanks -- a dramatic gain for the freedom fighters, who began the year with only 300 operational trucks and, at the most, 2 or 3 tanks. And as many as 17 helicopters and 8 planes were shot down.~~

The Soviets are truly beginning to feel the "sting" of free people fighting back.

~~Then there's Ethiopia. Two years after the devastating famine that galvanized world attention, that poor country seems to be sliding agonizingly into another that health officials predict could be even worse.~~

~~Once again, we hear that the cause of the famine threatening Ethiopia is poor weather. No doubt weather plays a role; but there is real question if it is the major culprit. This year, the neighboring countries of Sub-Sahara seem little effected. The sad fact is, Ethiopia's agonizing situation is directly attributable to the policies of its Communist rulers. More than one relief agency has accused the Ethiopian Communists of~~

see next page  
for pick up

- 11 -

manipulating the famine and relief efforts in the civil war against their own people.

~~Then there's Ethiopia.~~

Last time, the United States was generous in responding to the emergency, sending more food, supplies, and logistical support than any other nation. If -- the good Lord forbid -- famine returns to Ethiopia, we will again do what we must to save innocent lives. But we will also insist that the Soviets do their part. ~~Last famine, while the rest of the world sent food and medicine, the Soviets sent their clients in Ethiopia weapons of war.~~

It's long past time the Soviet Union accept its responsibility to save lives in Ethiopia. They must move *now* ~~immediately~~ to press <sup>for true</sup> ~~their client rulers in Ethiopia to~~ <sup>in Ethiopia</sup> ~~institute the reforms~~ that will prevent the horror of famine from happening again. The first time it was a tragedy -- the second will be a crime.

When I meet with General Secretary Gorbachev, I will ask him: Isn't it time that the Soviet Union put an end to these destructive, wasteful conflicts around the world? Without <sup>such</sup> ~~an end,~~ ~~to Soviet efforts to impose totalitarian regimes through force of arms, I will tell him, there can never be a true glasnost, true~~ ~~openness, between this nation and ours.~~ ~~Another stumbling block to increased cooperation and exchange between our two nations is Soviet support for Communist tyranny in Nicaragua. Here too, the Soviet-backed forces are hurting.~~ <sup>support</sup> ~~With our aid, the Nicaraguan~~

~~I will also make it clear that the greatest stumbling block~~ <sup>another</sup> ~~to increased cooperation and exchange between our two nations is Soviet support for Communist tyranny in Nicaragua. Here too, the Soviet-backed forces are hurting.~~ <sup>support</sup> ~~With our aid, the Nicaraguan~~ freedom fighters have made impressive gains in the field and

And today, there is a real opportunity to set a timetable for withdrawal of Soviet forces. ~~And today~~ <sup>date certain</sup>

- 12 -

brought the Communist Sandinistas to do something that they never would have done otherwise -- negotiate.

If I can turn to the domestic side of this question for a moment, I hope the Members of our own Congress will not forget this important fact: Without the freedom fighters, there would be no Arias peace plan, there would be no negotiations, and no hope for democracy in Nicaragua. An entrenched, hostile Communist regime in Nicaragua would be an irreversible fact of life. The Sandinistas would have permanently consolidated and fortified a ~~new Cuba~~ <sup>Communist beachhead</sup> on the American mainland.

Within the next month, Congress will have to vote on nonlethal aid to the freedom fighters -- aid that will keep them viable through mid-January when the Central American Presidents meet to determine compliance with the Arias peace plan. If Congress ~~votes down~~ <sup>says no to</sup> this aid, the freedom fighters will run out of supplies in the first 2 weeks of December -- more than a month before the meeting. The Sandinistas ~~will know all they have to do is play the waiting game~~ <sup>will have no incentive to</sup> negotiate, no incentive to make real ~~concessions~~ <sup>steps toward</sup> to democracy.

*quote* The Sandinistas will know that Congress, by pulling the plug on the freedom fighters, accomplished what they and their billions of dollars in Soviet aid could not -- the final extinguishment of all hope of freedom and democracy in Nicaragua.

If we're serious about this peace process, we must keep the freedom fighters alive and strong <sup>and viable</sup> until they can once again return home to take part in a free and democratic Nicaraguan

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society. They are brave men, and they have sacrificed much in the cause of freedom. They deserve no less.

There will be few more important votes in Congress than this one, and as I have so often in the past, I'll be counting on your active support. With your help, I know we can win this one. The fact is, as you all very well know, we have no choice -- we have to win this one. ✓

Well, thank you very much, and God bless you all.

TR

(Gilder/ARD)  
November 23, 1987  
8:00 p.m.

SS

PRESIDENTIAL REMARKS: HERITAGE FOUNDATION LUNCHEON  
MONDAY, NOVEMBER 30, 1987

*Willed*  
Thank you. Thank you all very much. It's always a great  
pleasure to ~~come here~~ <sup>spark</sup> to the Heritage Foundation -- I've always  
considered Heritage, in a sense, my shadow cabinet. *Valued Heritages sage advice*

In fact, Ed Feulner did come into the Administration for a  
short while at the beginning of the year -- and his help and  
advice were invaluable -- but he wanted to get back to Heritage.  
He knew where the real power center in Washington is. *Respect*

In the last 10 years, with Ed at the helm, and with the  
constant support and vision of Joe Coors, Heritage has  
transformed itself from a struggling and valiant coterie of  
conservatives to, well, a struggling and valiant coterie of  
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Heritage is widely recognized in this town and, indeed, by policy  
makers around the world.

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conservatives in this town could fit in a single phone booth, I  
remembered the story Lincoln told one day when he found his  
entire Cabinet, with the exception of one man, against him.  
During a revival meeting in his home town in Illinois, one of the  
audience, who'd indulged too much in the refreshments before  
hand, passed out and stayed asleep when the preacher challenged  
the assembly: "Who here ~~that is~~ <sup>are</sup> on the Lord's side ~~stand up!~~" *X*  
And the whole audience, of course, except for the drunk, stood  
up. When the preacher then asked, "And who ~~is~~ <sup>are</sup> on the side of the *X*

Devil?" he suddenly awoke, rose, and standing there all alone, said, "I don't exactly understand the question, but I'll stand by you parson, to the last."

Well, we've stood by each other -- all of you today, who have been so generous, have stood by the cause, and demonstrated the kind of dedication that has made conservatism the dominant intellectual and political force in American politics today.

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Before I get to the main body of my speech, there are two subjects I'd like to discuss -- really I want to ask for your support. The first, our nomination of Anthony Kennedy to the Supreme Court. He's tough on crime. He believes, as we do, that judges should interpret the law, not make it. He knows that

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X

there are victims to crime as well as criminals, and he doesn't confuse the two. He's served for 12 years as a judge on the 9th Circuit Court of Appeals where he's won the respect of the entire legal community. He's been on my short list from the very start. In fact, the only thing wrong with Anthony Kennedy is he's not 41-years-old. But you know those Californians, they're all health nuts, and they have a way of sticking around for a long time. And he'll be a distinguished addition to the court.

The second thing I'm going to be needing your support on is the budget deal we hammered out with Congress. Now, I know many people are unhappy with that deal. I don't expect people to be jumping up and down in ecstasy. But let me tell you about two important steps forward we've taken that should be reassuring to conservatives: Marginal income taxes -- the heart of incentive economies -- have not been touched. The second round of rate cuts will go into effect, just as scheduled, on January 1st.

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W. L. L. L.  
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the magnificent job he did rebuilding our defenses is nowhere near complete -- and we're not slacking one iota from that commitment.

Well, as you all know, a week from today I will be receiving an important visitor. There's been, as you also know, a lot of back and forth in preparation for this summit -- mostly it's been George Shultz going back and forth. [For now, we seem to have ironed out the difficulties, and I'm confident that they will stay ironed.]

With all of the things going on, however, one might be forgiven if one felt a little like Harold Macmillan in his famous exchange with Nikita Khrushchev. It was Macmillan, of course, who was delivering an address at the United Nations, when Khrushchev pulled off his shoe and started banging it on the table. Unflappable as ever, Macmillan simply remarked, "I'd like a translation, if I may."

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I remember when I visited Bonn, back in 1982, ~~when we were~~ ~~deploying our Pershing missiles in Europe.~~ Thousands of demonstrators

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chanted and marched. And I couldn't help thinking what irony. For it was to secure the peace they sought and the freedom they were exercising that we were deploying the missiles they protested.

Despite intense political pressure, NATO held firm. The two-track policy of arms reduction negotiations and deployment stayed -- well, it stayed on track. And yes, it was when we showed our determination, our willingness, if need be, to meet ~~this new and unprovoked Soviet threat head-on~~ ~~force with force~~ that the Soviets -- after first walking out of the negotiations -- eventually returned and began to talk seriously about the possibility of withdrawing their own I.N.F. missiles.

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According to this agreement, the Soviets will be required to ~~remove four times~~ ~~more than three~~ as many nuclear warheads as will the United States. Moreover, the Soviets will be required to destroy not only their entire force of SS-20's and SS-4's, but also their shorter-range ~~INF~~ ballistic missiles, the SS-12's and SS-23's.

It would, however, be hasty to assume that we're at the point where we are ready to put pen to paper and sign the treaty. For one thing, in one important area -- verification -- the treaty is not yet complete. Any treaty I agree to must provide for effective verification, including on-site inspection of

The INF treaty which we will sign must will provide.

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A. K.  
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facilities before and during reduction and short-notice inspection afterwards. *On short, it will be the most* *NSC*  
~~The verification regime we have put forward in Geneva is the most stringent~~ *Verification regime* in the history of arms control negotiations. ~~I will not settle for anything less.~~

*NSC*  
*skinner NSC*  
We are also moving ahead with an agreement on reducing our *US and Soviet* ~~two national~~ strategic arsenals by half. Our Geneva negotiators have made progress. The Soviets must, however, stop holding strategic offensive missile reductions hostage to measures that would cripple our research and development of S.D.I.

*skinner Sov. space challenge intro.*  
It's no longer a secret that the Soviet Union has spent *roughly 200 billion over the past 10 years on* and even deploying billions upon billions of dollars developing their own *their own strategic defense programs, which* anti-ballistic missile system. Research and development in some *even include* parts of the Soviet strategic defenses -- we call it the "Red *the deployment of an anti-missile ballistic system from around Moscow.* Shield" -- began more than 15 years ago. Today it includes *advanced research and development* everything from ~~killer satellites to the modernized~~ *and engineers*

*skinner*  
A.B.M. defenses that ring ~~Moscow~~. More than 10,000 scientists are working on military lasers alone -- with thousands more developing other advanced technologies such as particle beam and kinetic energy weapons. *The Soviets also have the world's only operational anti-satellite system.*

*skinner*  
The "Red Shield" program dwarfs S.D.I., Yet some in Congress would bind us to an overly-restrictive interpretation of the *on which we have spent only \$10 billion.* A.B.M. treaty that would effectively block development of S.D.I., giving the Soviets a monopoly in anti-ballistic missile defenses. This effort to tie our hands makes even less sense when the Soviets aren't abiding by the A.B.M. treaty. Whatever interpretation you give the A.B.M. treaty, broad or strict, the Soviets are violating it. ~~Two of the A.B.M. treaty's biggest~~

McNamara critic Lloyd

delete names

Steiner

proponents in this country -- Robert McNamara and McGeorge Bundy -- agree that the Soviet construction of the large, phase-array radar at Krasnoyarsk is almost certainly a violation of A.B.M.

*Virtually all experts, even our critics, agree that with the construction of the large phased-array radar at Krasnoyarsk, the Soviets have not only violated*

11/17/87  
2 weeks  
ago

...Tying our hands to a treaty that the other side feels *one of the* perfectly free to violate amounts to nothing more than unilateral *Central* provisions *world be highly dangerous for the West, as it would 3 the* disarmament. And as I promised Cap Weinberger last week in his *undermine our present basis for deterrence.* farewell at the Pentagon -- we're not unilaterally disarming in this area or any other area.

A recent report released by the Department of Defense, called "The Soviet Space Challenge," warns that the Soviets are developing a space-launch capability much greater than that of the United States. The report estimates that the Soviet launch requirements will be two to three times our own, while their proposed launch capability between 1990 and 2005 is nearly double any requirement we can identify. "Clearly," the Secretary of Defense states, "the Soviet program points in one direction -- the methodical pursuit of a war-fighting capability in space."

This report raises an ominous specter. Together with the long-standing "Red Shield" program *and* with the construction of the Krasnoyarsk radar *as part of updated* of an early warning and tracking system -- the Soviets may *be moving toward* ~~soon be in~~ a position to "break out" of the A.B.M. treaty, to confront us with a fait accompli that we will be totally and dangerously unprepared for.

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There has been a strange tendency by some in Congress to discuss S.D.I. as if its funding could be determined by purely domestic considerations, unconnected to what the Soviets are

doing. S.D.I. is too important to be subject to congressional log-rolling. It is a vital insurance policy, a necessary part of any national security strategy that includes deep reductions in strategic weapons. In decades to come, it will underwrite all of us against Soviet cheating on both strategic and intermediate-range missile agreements. S.D.I. is not a bargaining chip. It is a cornerstone of our security strategy for the 1990's and beyond. We will research it. We will develop it. And when it is ready, we will deploy it.

Now, Let me just say a few more words about two of the other subjects I'll be discussing with General Secretary Gorbachev -- first human rights. There has been a lot of speculation about glasnost recently. How sincere an effort is it to reform Soviet society? Will this first breath of openness be followed by real freedoms? Those of us who have lived through the last 70 years remember earlier moments of promise in Soviet history -- temporary thaws soon frozen over by the cold winds of oppression.

But we can certainly also look for signs of hope. One recent sign came from Joseph Terelya, the brave Ukrainian Catholic human rights activist who was released from the Soviet Union in ~~September~~ <sup>August</sup> after ~~20~~ <sup>31</sup> years in Soviet Labor camps, prisons, and psychiatric hospitals. Previously, Mr. Terelya had feared that glasnost was no more than, in his words, "camouflage for the West." He pointed out that "beginning in January 1987 repression has increased in the Ukraine," and that the Soviet press has been "full of vehement hatred" against the Ukrainian Catholic Church.

doing. S.D.I. is ~~too important to be subject to congressional log rolling. It is~~ a vital insurance policy, a necessary part of any national security strategy that includes deep reductions in strategic weapons. ~~In decades to come, it will underwrite all of us against Soviet cheating on both strategic and intermediate-range missile agreements. S.D.I. is not a bargaining chip.~~ It is a cornerstone of our security strategy for the 1990's and beyond. We will research it. We will develop it. And when it is ready, we will deploy it.

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Insert over

Catherine Chumachenko

Still, this mere  
~~It was just a~~ promise of openness,  
~~yet it~~ has been enough to inspire  
people throughout the Soviet Union  
to come out of hiding and  
declare proudly their commitment to  
human and national rights, and to  
speak openly about their religious  
beliefs.

Let me give you one example.  
In August, ~~the~~ <sup>underground</sup> Ukrainian Catholic  
Church leaders and  
laity fearlessly and for the first time  
disclosed their names in an  
appeal to Gen Sec Gorb, <sup>to legalize their</sup> ~~in their~~ church.  
appeal, ~~they asked for no more than~~  
~~a recognition that their Church~~  
~~existed.~~

Katherine Chumachenko

647-1573

174 lay  
2 Bishop  
23 priest  
3 monks  
9 nuns

231



Recently, however, Mr. Terelya has found cause for guarded optimism. Saying that "something has changed at the top of the Soviet Government," he spoke of an apparent willingness on the part of the Soviets to consider legalization of the Ukrainian Catholic Church.

Thinks Terelya is wrong?

Few moves on the part of the Soviet government could do more to convince the world of the sincerity of their desire to reform. One of the truest measures of glasnost will be the degree of religious freedom -- freedom of worship for all the people of the Soviet Union, including Protestants, Catholics, Orthodox, Jews, and followers of Islam. For this reason, we will be looking with great eagerness, and great expectations, at the talks between Soviet officials and the Catholic Church in the Ukraine.

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Finally, let me just touch on the subject of regional conflicts. Today, even as their economy flags at home, the Soviets spend billions to maintain or impose Communist rule abroad, from Eastern Europe, to Cuba, Vietnam, South Yemen, Angola, Ethiopia, ~~Mozambique~~ Nicaragua, and Afghanistan. It's estimated that the Soviet war on Afghanistan costs them between \$5 billion and \$6 billion a year. The Soviet bloc has supplied some \$1 billion annually to the Communist Angolans and \$2 billion to the Sandinistas in military hardware alone.

X

Meanwhile, Soviet forces in Afghanistan and Angola have been suffering devastating defeats at the hands of the freedom fighters in those nations. According to C.B.S. news, an operation by the Mujahadeen last spring, led by the courageous General Wardock, inflicted some of the heaviest losses on the

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Soviet Army since they invaded that nation. \_\_\_ tanks, \_\_\_ troop carriers, and some \_\_\_ aircraft were destroyed, and \_\_\_ Soviet troops fell to the Afghan freedom fighters in just that one single operation.

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In Angola in the past few weeks, Jonas Savimbi's freedom fighters inflicted another crushing defeat on the Soviets. This fall's Communist offensive -- the biggest ever in Angola -- ended in a rout for the Soviets. The heroes of the Lomba River did it again, pushing back the massive Soviet assault and destroying at least 60 Soviet tanks in the process. They captured over 200 working trucks and 24 working tanks -- a dramatic gain for the freedom fighters, who began the year with only 300 operational trucks and, at the most, 2 or 3 tanks. And as many as 17 helicopters and 9 planes were shot down. The Soviets are truly beginning to feel the "sting" of free people fighting back.

Then there's Ethiopia. Two years after the devastating famine that galvanized world attention, that poor country seems to be sliding agonizingly into another that health officials predict could be even worse.

Once again, we hear that the cause of the famine threatening Ethiopia is poor weather. No doubt weather plays a role; but there is real question if it is the major culprit. This year, the neighboring countries of Sub-Sahara seem little effected. The sad fact is, Ethiopia's agonizing situation is directly attributable to the policies of its Communist rulers. [More than one relief agency has accused the Ethiopian Communists of

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Medicine Sans Frontiers  
French Medical relief team.  
John Bernsten  
S. Ethiopian Country Officer  
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manipulating the famine and relief efforts in the civil war against their own people.]

Last time, the United States was generous in responding to the emergency, sending more food, supplies, and logistical support than any other nation. If -- the good Lord forbid -- famine returns to Ethiopia, we will again do what we must to save innocent lives. But we will also insist that the Soviets do their part. Last famine, while the rest of the world sent food and medicine, the Soviets sent their clients in Ethiopia weapons of war.

It's long past time the Soviet Union accept its responsibility to save lives in Ethiopia. They must move immediately to pressure their client rulers in Ethiopia to institute the reforms that will prevent the horror of famine from happening again. The first time it was a tragedy -- the second will be a crime.

When I meet with General Secretary Gorbachev, I will ask him: Isn't it time that the Soviet Union put an end to these destructive, wasteful conflicts around the world? Without an end to Soviet efforts to impose totalitarian regimes through force of arms, I will tell him, there can never be a true glasnost, true openness, between this nation and ours.

I will also make it clear that the greatest stumbling block to increased cooperation and exchange between our two nations is Soviet support for Communist tyranny in Nicaragua. Here too, the Soviet-backed forces are hurting. With our aid, the Nicaraguan freedom fighters have made impressive gains in the field and

brought the Communist Sandinistas to do something that they never would have done otherwise -- negotiate.

If I can turn to the domestic side of this question for a moment, I hope the Members of our own Congress will not forget this important fact: Without the freedom fighters, there would be no Arias peace plan, there would be no negotiations, and no hope for democracy in Nicaragua. An entrenched, hostile Communist regime in Nicaragua would be an irreversible fact of life. The Sandinistas would have permanently consolidated and fortified a new Cuba on the American mainland.

Within the next month, Congress will have to vote on nonlethal aid to the freedom fighters -- [aid that will keep them viable through mid-January when the Central American Presidents meet to determine compliance with the Arias peace plan. If Congress votes down this aid, the freedom fighters will run out of supplies in the first 2 weeks of December -- more than a month before the meeting.] The Sandinistas will know all they have to do is play the waiting game. They will have no incentive to negotiate, no incentive to make real concessions to democracy.

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*See Spelt final for Activists*  
*Ball*  
~~The Sandinistas will know that Congress, by pulling the plug on the freedom fighters, accomplished what they and their billions of dollars in Soviet aid could not -- the final extinguishment of all hope of freedom and democracy in Nicaragua.~~

If we're serious about this peace process, we must keep the freedom fighters alive and strong until they can once again return home to take part in a free and democratic Nicaraguan

*and women*

society. They are brave men, and they have sacrificed much in the cause of freedom. They deserve no less.

There will be few more important votes in Congress than this one, and as I have so often in the past, I'll be counting on your active support. With your help, I know we can win this one. The fact is, as you all very well know, we have no choice -- we have to win this one.

Well, thank you very much, and God bless you all.

(Gilder/ARD)

November 24, 1987

8:30 p.m. RR

PRESIDENTIAL REMARKS: HERITAGE FOUNDATION LUNCHEON  
MONDAY, NOVEMBER 30, 1987

Thank you. Thank you all very much. It's always a great pleasure to speak to the Heritage Foundation and have a chance to see so many old friends and supporters.

And advisors: As many of you know, Ed Feulner joined the Administration for a short while at the beginning of the year -- and his help and advice were invaluable -- but he wanted to get back to Heritage. He knows where the real power center in Washington is.

In the last 10 years, with Ed at the helm, and with the constant support and vision of Joe Coors, Heritage has transformed itself from a struggling and valiant coterie of conservatives to, well, a struggling and valiant coterie of conservatives, though today the influence and importance of Heritage is widely recognized in Washington and, indeed, by policymakers around the world.

Thinking back to those days when, as we used to say, all the conservatives in this town could fit in a single phone booth, I remembered the story Lincoln told ~~one day~~ when he found his entire Cabinet, with the exception of one man, against him. During a revival meeting in his home town in Illinois, one of the audience, who'd indulged too much in the refreshments before hand, passed out and stayed asleep when the preacher challenged the assembly: "All here who are on the Lord's side, stand up!" And the whole audience, of course, except for the drunk, stood

up. When the preacher then asked, "And who is on the side of the Devil?" he suddenly awoke, rose, and standing there all alone, said, "I don't exactly understand the question, but I'll stand by you parson, to the last."

Well, we've stood by each other -- all of you today, who have been so generous, have stood by the cause, and demonstrated the kind of dedication that has made conservatism the dominant intellectual and political force in American politics today.

When we think of those people who have helped shape American politics, one special name comes to mind -- a voice of patriotism, reason, and conservative values. That voice is now silent, but the memory of our great and good friend, Clare Boothe Luce, will continue to speak loudly -- not just to a new generation of conservatives, but to all Americans, to all people who cherish freedom, who know it's worth the struggle.

Clare once remarked that no matter how great or exalted a man might be, history will have time to give him no more than a single sentence: George Washington founded the country; Abraham Lincoln freed the slaves; Winston Churchill saved Europe. But I can't help but think that Clare will prove the exception to her own rule. History will have to make time to chronicle all her great achievements. Or if there is a single line, it will be: Clare Boothe Luce, she did everything, superbly.

Before I get to the main body of my speech, there are two subjects I'd like to discuss -- really I want to ask for your support. The first, our nomination of Anthony Kennedy to the Supreme Court. He's tough on crime. He believes, as we do, that

judges should interpret the law, not make it. He knows that there are victims of crime as well as criminals, and he doesn't confuse the two. He's served for 12 years as a judge on the 9th Circuit Court of Appeals where he's won the respect of the entire legal community. He's been on my short list from the very start because he's second to none in his commitment to the philosophy of judicial restraint. [In fact, the only thing wrong with Anthony Kennedy is he's already reached the ripe old age of 51. But you know those Californians, they're all health nuts, and they have a way of sticking around for a long time.]

The second thing I need your support on is the budget deal we hammered out with Congress. Now, I know some people are disappointed with that deal. I don't expect people to be jumping up and down in ecstasy. But let me tell you about two important aspects of the deal that should be reassuring to conservatives, indeed, to everyone: Marginal income taxes -- the heart of incentive economics -- have not been touched. The second round of rate cuts will go into effect, just as scheduled, on January 1st. That's vital for a strong, growth year in 1988. There are no new across-the-board taxes. There are user fees, loophole closings and the like -- in fact, I had \$22 billion of them in my own budget this year -- but we've kept our pledge to the American people to hold the line on taxes.

And we actually came out ahead on defense. Now, some people said we would have been better off with sequestration. Well, sequestration would have cut an additional \$16 billion of Defense Budget Authority, reducing the defense programs to a level



10 percent below fiscal year 1987 in real terms. With this deal, we ended up with \$3 billion more in defense outlays spending than last year. We may have bid farewell to Cap Weinberger, but as I said to him, we know that the magnificent job he did rebuilding our defenses is nowhere near complete -- and we're not slacking one iota from that commitment.

Well, as you all know, a week from today I will be receiving an important visitor. There's been, as you also know, a lot of back and forth in preparation for this summit -- mostly it's been George Shultz going back and forth. ~~[For now, we seem to have ironed out the difficulties. I am confident that they will stay ironed.]~~

With all of the things going on, however, one might be forgiven if one felt a little like Harold Macmillan in his famous exchange with Nikita Khrushchev. It was Macmillan, of course, who was delivering an address at the United Nations, when Khrushchev pulled off his shoe and started banging it on the table. Unflappable as ever, Macmillan simply remarked, "I'd like that translated, if I may."

Well, today I want to give you a translation. I want to talk to you about relations between the United States and the Soviet Union -- relations that focus upon four critical areas. First -- and in many ways primary -- human rights; second, negotiated settlements to regional conflicts; third, expanded exchanges between our peoples; and fourth, arms reduction. Let me begin with the last, because in this area, particularly, our

realism, patience, and commitment are close to producing historic results.

I remember when I visited Bonn, back in 1982, when we were planning deployment of our Pershings in Europe. Thousands of demonstrators chanted and marched. And I couldn't help thinking what irony. For it was to secure the peace they sought and the freedom they were exercising that we were deploying the missiles they protested.

Despite intense political pressure, NATO held firm. The two-track policy of arms reduction negotiations and deployment stayed -- well, it stayed on track. And yes, it was when we showed our determination, our willingness, if need be, to meet force with force that the Soviets -- after first walking out of the negotiations -- eventually returned and began to talk seriously about the possibility of withdrawing their own I.N.F. missiles.

I'm pleased to say that the I.N.F. agreement is based upon the proposal that the United States, in consultation with our allies, first put forward in 1981 -- the zero-option. The zero-option calls very simply for the elimination of this entire class of U.S. and Soviet I.N.F. missiles.

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According to this agreement, the Soviets will be required to remove <sup>More than three</sup> four times as many nuclear warheads as will the United States. Moreover, the Soviets will be required to destroy, not only their entire force of SS-20's and SS-4's, but also their shorter-range I.N.F. missiles, the SS-12's and SS-23's.

This treaty, as any treaty I agree to, will provide for effective verification, including on-site inspection of facilities before and during reduction and ~~short-notice~~ inspection afterwards. ~~The verification regime we have put forward in Geneva~~ <sup>in short, it will be the most stringent?</sup> ~~is the~~ most stringent in the history of arms control negotiations. I would not ever settle for anything less. I urge you to join in support of this historic treaty.

*grammar!!!*  
We are also pressing ahead on an agreement to reduce our two nations' strategic arsenals by half. Our Geneva negotiators have made progress. But as I have said repeatedly, I have waited 6 years to get an agreement that is both reliable and verifiable. We must never be afraid to walk away from a bad deal -- on that point there is no negotiation. Meanwhile, the Soviets must stop holding strategic offensive missile reductions hostage to measures that would cripple our research and development of S.D.I.

It's no longer a secret that the Soviet Union has spent roughly \$200 billion developing and deploying their own anti-ballistic missile system. Research and development in some parts of the Soviet strategic defenses -- we call it the "Red Shield" -- began more than 15 years ago. The "Red Shield" program dwarfs S.D.I. Yet some in Congress would cut funding for S.D.I. and bind us to an overly-restrictive interpretation of the A.B.M. Treaty that would effectively block its development, giving the Soviets a monopoly in anti-ballistic missile defenses. This effort makes even less sense when the Soviets aren't abiding by the A.B.M. Treaty. Virtually all experts, even some of our

biggest critics, agree that the Soviet construction of the large, phased-array radar at Krasnoyarsk is an out and out violation of the A.B.M. Treaty.

Our hands will not be tied to a treaty that the other side feels perfectly free to violate. As I promised Cap Weinberger 2 weeks ago in his farewell at the Pentagon -- we're not unilaterally disarming in this area or any other area.

A recent report released by the Department of Defense, called "The Soviet Space Challenge," warns that the Soviet space program points in one direction -- "the methodical pursuit of a war-fighting capability in space." This report raises an ominous specter. Together with the long-standing "Red Shield" program and the construction of the Krasnoyarsk radar as part of an updated early warning and tracking system, the Soviets may be positioning themselves to "breakout" of the A.B.M. Treaty, to confront us with a fait accompli that we will be totally and dangerously unprepared for.

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first human rights. There has been a lot of speculation about glasnost recently. Is it merely an effort to make the economy more productive? Or will this first breath of openness inspire peoples in the Soviet Union to demand real freedoms? Those of us who have lived through the last 70 years remember earlier moments of promise in Soviet history -- temporary thaws soon frozen over by the cold winds of oppression.

Glasnost -- a promise as yet unfulfilled. Still, it inspired brave souls throughout the Soviet Union to take a chance -- to come out of hiding and declare proudly their commitment to human and national rights and to speak openly about their religious beliefs.

Just last August, over 200 underground Ukrainian Catholic church leaders and laity fearlessly and for the first time disclosed their names in an appeal to General Secretary Gorbachev to legalize their church. Joseph Terelya, the brave Ukrainian Catholic human rights activist recently released from the Soviet Union after 21 years in Soviet Labor camps, prisons, and psychiatric hospitals, delivered the appeal personally.

Few moves on the part of the Soviet government could do more to convince the world of its sincerity for reform than the legalization of the Ukrainian Catholic Church. One of the truest measures of glasnost will be the degree of religious freedom ~~they~~ <sup>the Soviet</sup> ~~rulers/ their people~~ allow -- freedom of worship for all, ~~the people of the Soviet Union,~~ including Protestants, Jews, Catholics, Orthodox, and followers of Islam.

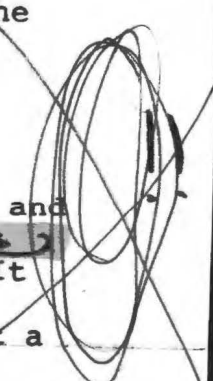
Finally, let me just touch on the subject of regional conflicts. Today, even as their economy flags at home, the Soviets spend billions to maintain or impose Communist rule abroad, from Eastern Europe, to Cuba, Cambodia, South Yemen, Angola, Ethiopia, Nicaragua, and Afghanistan. It's estimated that the Soviet war on Afghanistan costs them between \$5 billion and \$6 billion a year. The Soviet bloc has supplied some \$1 billion annually to the Communist Angolans and \$2 billion to the Sandinistas<sup>in</sup> in military hardware alone.

Meanwhile, Soviet and Soviet-backed forces in Afghanistan and Angola have been suffering devastating defeats at the hands of the freedom fighters in those nations. The courage of the Mujahedin has become legendary. In the past 15 months, they have inflicted a string of serious defeats on Soviet elite combat units as well as the puppet Afghan army. With improved weapons, tactics and coordination, and strengthened political unity, they have sent a message loud and clear to the Red army: "Ivan go home."

International support for the brave Afghan freedom fighters is more solid than ever. Three weeks ago the U.N. General Assembly -- with a record vote -- called overwhelmingly for the withdrawal of all foreign forces from Afghanistan.

The Soviets have talked of setting a timetable for withdrawal from Afghanistan -- but that timetable is too long and too conditional. The Soviets invaded that country in 1979. It shouldn't take them any longer to get out. It's time they set a date certain for the complete withdrawal of all Soviet troops

Shari  
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from Afghanistan. They should respect the voice of the Afghan people and negotiate with the Resistance, without whose assent no political solution is possible. And they should face reality and allow a process of genuine self-determination to decide Afghanistan's destiny.

For the present regime in Kabul is discredited and doomed; its days are clearly numbered. From comments we hear the Soviets making, in many parts of the world, it's beginning to look as if even they are writing off that regime. The Soviets pride themselves on recognizing objective reality. It's time for them to bite the bullet.

The goal of the U.S. remains a genuinely independent, nonaligned, neutral Afghanistan, free from external interference. Once the Soviet Union shows convincingly that it is prepared to withdraw promptly and permit self-determination, the United States will be helpful diplomatically. In the meantime, the struggle against tyranny will continue.

In Angola in the past few weeks, Jonas Savimbi's freedom  
fighters inflicted another crushing defeat on the Soviet-backed  
M.P.L.A. forces. This fall's Communist offensive -- the biggest  
ever in Angola -- ended in a rout for the Soviets and their  
proteges. The heroes of the Lomba River did it again, pushing  
back the massive Soviet assault, capturing hundreds of  
operational trucks and tanks, and shooting down <sup>substantial</sup> ~~a large~~ <sup>number of</sup> ~~as many as~~  
~~\_\_\_\_\_ Cuban~~ piloted planes. The Soviets are truly  
beginning to feel the "sting" of free people fighting back.

Mr.  
John  
S.C. Director  
for Central  
Africa

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On the other side of the continent, the Soviets must take their share of responsibility for the situation developing in Ethiopia. Once again, famine threatens that poor land. No doubt weather plays a role; nevertheless, a major share of the

responsibility rests squarely on the shoulders of Ethiopian

*15. Government  
ever calls them  
communists.  
and they refer  
to themselves  
as Marxists.  
the last people  
to manipulate  
were the rebels.*  
Marxists

Communist rulers. ~~More than one relief agency has accused the~~

~~Government~~

Ethiopian Communists of manipulating the famine and relief

efforts in the civil war against their own people. And the

systematic suppression of all private initiative in Ethiopia will

guarantee chronic shortages for years to come if not reversed.

During the last famine, while the rest of the world sent food and medicine, the Soviets sent their clients in Ethiopia weapons of war. The Soviet Union must move now to press for reforms in Ethiopia that will prevent the horror of famine from happening again. The first time it was a tragedy -- the second will be a crime.

When I meet with General Secretary Gorbachev, I will ask him: Isn't it time that the Soviet Union put an end to these destructive, wasteful conflicts around the world? Otherwise, there can never be a true glasnost, true openness, between his nation and ours.

I will also make it clear that ~~another~~ <sup>one of the greatest</sup> stumbling block to increased cooperation and exchange between our two nations is Soviet support for Communist tyranny in Nicaragua. With our support, the Nicaraguan freedom fighters have made impressive gains in the field and brought the Communist Sandinistas to do something that they never would have done otherwise -- negotiate.

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CONCERNED  
FROM

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Deputy Dir  
East Africa  
647-8852

World Bank  
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criticism

If I can turn to the domestic side of this question for a moment, I hope the Members of our own Congress will not forget this important fact: Without the freedom fighters, there would be no Arias peace plan, there would be no negotiations and no hope for democracy in Nicaragua. An entrenched, hostile Communist regime in Nicaragua would be an irreversible fact of life. The Sandinistas would have permanently consolidated and fortified a Communist beachhead on the American mainland.

Within the next month, Congress will have to vote on further aid to the freedom fighters. If Congress says no to this aid, the Sandinistas will know all they have to do is play ~~the~~ waiting game. They will have no incentive to negotiate, no incentive to make real steps toward democracy.

If we're serious about this peace process, we must keep the freedom fighters alive and strong and viable until they can once again return home to take part in a free and democratic Nicaraguan society. They are brave men, and they have sacrificed much in the cause of freedom. They deserve no less.

There will be few more important votes in Congress than this one, and as I have so often in the past, I'll be counting on your active support. With your help, I know we can win this one. The fact is, as you all very well know, we have no choice -- we have to win this one.

Well, thank you very much, and God bless you all.

# WHITE HOUSE STAFFING MEMORANDUM

DATE: 11/23/87 ACTION/CONCURRENCE/COMMENT DUE BY: 3:00 p.m. Tuesday 11/24

SUBJECT: PRESIDENTIAL REMARKS: HERITAGE FOUNDATION LUNCHEON  
(11/23 8:00 p.m. draft)

| ACTION FYI        |                                     |                                     | ACTION FYI |                                     |                                     |
|-------------------|-------------------------------------|-------------------------------------|------------|-------------------------------------|-------------------------------------|
| VICE PRESIDENT    | <input type="checkbox"/>            | <input checked="" type="checkbox"/> | FITZWATER  | <input type="checkbox"/>            | <input checked="" type="checkbox"/> |
| BAKER             | <input type="checkbox"/>            | <input checked="" type="checkbox"/> | GRISCOM    | <input checked="" type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/>            |
| DUBERSTEIN        | <input type="checkbox"/>            | <input checked="" type="checkbox"/> | HOBBS      | <input type="checkbox"/>            | <input type="checkbox"/>            |
| MILLER - OMB      | <input checked="" type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/>            | HOOLEY     | <input type="checkbox"/>            | <input checked="" type="checkbox"/> |
| BALL              | <input checked="" type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/>            | KING       | <input type="checkbox"/>            | <input type="checkbox"/>            |
| BAUER             | <input checked="" type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/>            | RANGE      | <input checked="" type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/>            |
| <del>POWELL</del> | <input checked="" type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/>            | RISQUE     | <input checked="" type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/>            |
| CRIBB             | <input checked="" type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/>            | RYAN       | <input type="checkbox"/>            | <input type="checkbox"/>            |
| CRIPPEN           | <input checked="" type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/>            | SPRINKEL   | <input type="checkbox"/>            | <input type="checkbox"/>            |
| CULVAHOUSE        | <input checked="" type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/>            | TUTTLE     | <input type="checkbox"/>            | <input type="checkbox"/>            |
| DAWSON            | <input type="checkbox"/>            | <input checked="" type="checkbox"/> | DOLAN      | <input type="checkbox"/>            | <input checked="" type="checkbox"/> |
| DONATELLI         | <input checked="" type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/>            |            | <input type="checkbox"/>            | <input type="checkbox"/>            |

## REMARKS:

Please provide any comments/recommendations to Tony Dolan by 3:00 p.m. on Tuesday, November 24th, with an info copy to my office. Thank you.

## RESPONSE:

1. This looks terrific. Beware of "softening" of the language.
2. The speech should rebut the notion that Kennedy was a "compromise" candidate. See suggested language on p.3.

Rhett Dawson  
Ext. 2702

(Gilder/ARD)  
November 23, 1987  
8:00 p.m.

PRESIDENTIAL REMARKS: HERITAGE FOUNDATION LUNCHEON  
MONDAY, NOVEMBER 30, 1987

Thank you. Thank you all very much. It's always a great pleasure to come here to the Heritage Foundation -- I've always considered Heritage, in a sense, my shadow cabinet.

In fact, Ed Feulner did come into the Administration for a short while at the beginning of the year -- and his help and advice were invaluable -- but he wanted to get back to Heritage. He knew where the real power center in Washington is.

In the last 10 years, with Ed at the helm, and with the constant support and vision of Joe Coors, Heritage has transformed itself from a struggling and valiant coterie of conservatives to, well, a struggling and valiant coterie of conservatives, though today the influence and importance of Heritage is widely recognized in this town and, indeed, by policy makers around the world.

Thinking back to those days when, as we used to say, all the conservatives in this town could fit in a single phone booth, I remembered the story Lincoln told one day when he found his entire Cabinet, with the exception of one man, against him. During a revival meeting in his home town in Illinois, one of the audience, who'd indulged too much in the refreshments before hand, passed out and stayed asleep when the preacher challenged the assembly: "Who here that is on the Lord's side, stand up!" And the whole audience, of course, except for the drunk, stood up. When the preacher then asked, "And who is on the side of the

Devil?" he suddenly awoke, rose, and standing there all alone, said, "I don't exactly understand the question, but I'll stand by you parson, to the last."

Well, we've stood by each other -- all of you today, who have been so generous, have stood by the cause, and demonstrated the kind of dedication that has made conservatism the dominant intellectual and political force in American politics today.

When we think of those people who have helped shape American politics, one special name comes to mind -- a voice of patriotism, reason, and conservative values. That voice is now silent, but the memory of our great and good friend, Clare Boothe Luce, will continue to speak loudly -- not just to a new generation of conservatives, but to all Americans, to all people who cherish freedom, who know it's worth the struggle.

Clare once remarked that no matter how great or exalted a man might be, history will have time to give him no more than a single sentence: George Washington founded the country; Abraham Lincoln freed the slaves; Winston Churchill saved Europe. But I can't help but think that Clare will prove the exception to her own rule. History will have to make time to chronicle all her great achievements. Or if there is a single line, it will be: Clare Booth Luce, she did everything, superbly.

Before I get to the main body of my speech, there are two subjects I'd like to discuss -- really I want to ask for your support. The first, our nomination of Anthony Kennedy to the Supreme Court. He's tough on crime. He believes, as we do, that judges should interpret the law, not make it. He knows that



the magnificent job he did rebuilding our defenses is nowhere near complete -- and we're not slacking one iota from that commitment.

Well, as you all know, a week from today I will be receiving an important visitor. There's been, as you also know, a lot of back and forth in preparation for this summit -- mostly it's been George Shultz going back and forth. For now, we seem to have ironed out the difficulties, and I'm confident that they will stay ironed.

With all of the things going on, however, one might be forgiven if one felt a little like Harold Macmillan in his famous exchange with Naikita Khrushchev. It was Macmillan, of course, who was delivering an address at the United Nations, when Khrushchev pulled off his shoe and started banging it on the table. Unflappable as ever, Macmillan simply remarked, "I'd like a translation, if I may."

Well, today I want to give you a translation. I want to talk to you about relations between the United States and the Soviet Union -- relations that focus upon four critical areas. First -- and in many ways primary -- human rights; second, negotiated settlements to regional conflicts; third, expanded exchanges between our peoples; and fourth, arms reduction. Let me begin with the last, because in this area, particularly, our realism, patience, and commitment are close to producing historic results.

I remember when I visited Bonn, back in 1982, when we began deploying our Pershings in Europe. Thousands of demonstrators



chanted and marched. And I couldn't help thinking what irony. For it was to secure the peace they sought and the freedom they were exercising that we were deploying the missiles they protested.

Despite intense political pressure, NATO held firm. The two-track policy of arms reduction negotiations and deployment stayed -- well, it stayed on track. And yes, it was when we showed our determination, our willingness, if need be, to meet force with force that the Soviets -- after first walking out of the negotiations -- eventually returned and began to talk seriously about the possibility of withdrawing their own I.N.F. missiles.

I'm pleased to say that the agreement we're nearing is based upon the proposal that the United States, in consultation with our allies, first put forward in 1981 -- the zero-option. The zero-option calls very simply for the elimination of this entire class of U.S. and Soviet I.N.F. missiles.

According to this agreement, the Soviets will be required to remove four times as many nuclear warheads as will the United States. Moreover, the Soviets will be required to destroy not only their entire force of SS-20's and SS-4's, but also their shorter-range ballistic missiles, the SS-12's and SS-23's.

It would, however, be hasty to assume that we're at the point where we are ready to put pen to paper and sign the treaty. For one thing, in one important area -- verification -- the treaty is not yet complete. Any treaty I agree to must provide for effective verification, including on-site inspection of

facilities before and during reduction and short-notice inspection afterwards. The verification regime we have put forward in Geneva is the most stringent in the history of arms control negotiations. I will not settle for anything less.

We are also moving ahead with an agreement on reducing our two nations' strategic arsenals by half. Our Geneva negotiators have made progress. The Soviets must, however, stop holding strategic offensive missile reductions hostage to measures that would cripple our research and development of S.D.I.

It's no longer a secret that the Soviet Union has spent billions upon billions of dollars developing their own anti-ballistic missile system. Research and development in some parts of the Soviet strategic defenses -- we call it the "Red Shield" -- began more than 15 years ago. Today it includes everything from killer-satellites to the modernized A.B.M. defenses that ring Moscow. More than 10,000 scientists are working on military lasers alone -- with thousands more developing other advanced technologies such as particle beam and kinetic energy weapons.

The "Red Shield" program dwarfs S.D.I. Yet some in Congress would bind us to an overly-restrictive interpretation of the A.B.M. treaty that would effectively block development of S.D.I., giving the Soviets a monopoly in anti-ballistic missile defenses. This effort to tie our hands makes even less sense when the Soviets aren't abiding by the A.B.M. treaty. Whatever interpretation you give the A.B.M. treaty, broad or strict, the Soviets are violating it. Two of the A.B.M. treaty's biggest

proponents in this country -- Robert McNamara and McGeorge Bundy -- agree that the Soviet construction of the large, phase-array radar at Krasnoyarsk is almost certainly a violation of A.B.M.

Tying our hands to a treaty that the other side feels perfectly free to violate amounts to nothing more than unilateral disarmament. And as I promised Cap Weinberger last week in his farewell at the Pentagon -- we're not unilaterally disarming in this area or any other area.

A recent report released by the Department of Defense, called "The Soviet Space Challenge," warns that the Soviets are developing a space-launch capability much greater than that of the United States. The report estimates that the Soviet launch requirements will be two to three times our own, while their proposed launch capability between 1990 and 2005 is nearly double any requirement we can identify. "Clearly," the Secretary of Defense states, "the Soviet program points in one direction -- the methodical pursuit of a war-fighting capability in space."

This report raises an ominous specter. Together with the long-standing "Red Shield" program and the completion, with the construction of the Krasnoyarsk radar, of an early warning and tracking system -- the Soviets may soon be in a position to "break out" of the A.B.M. treaty, to confront us with a fait accompli that we will be totally and dangerously unprepared for.

There has been a strange tendency by some in Congress to discuss S.D.I. as if its funding could be determined by purely domestic considerations, unconnected to what the Soviets are

doing. S.D.I. is too important to be subject to congressional log-rolling. It is a vital insurance policy, a necessary part of any national security strategy that includes deep reductions in strategic weapons. In decades to come, it will underwrite all of us against Soviet cheating on both strategic and intermediate-range missile agreements. S.D.I. is not a bargaining chip. It is a cornerstone of our security strategy for the 1990's and beyond. We will research it. We will develop it. And when it is ready, we will deploy it.

Now, Let me just say a few more words about two of the other subjects I'll be discussing with General Secretary Gorbachev -- first human rights. There has been a lot of speculation about glasnost recently. How sincere an effort is it to reform Soviet society? Will this first breath of openness be followed by real freedoms? Those of us who have lived through the last 70 years remember earlier moments of promise in Soviet history -- temporary thaws soon frozen over by the cold winds of oppression.

But we can certainly also look for signs of hope. One recent sign came from Joseph Terelya, the brave Ukrainian Catholic human rights activist who was released from the Soviet Union in September after 20 years in Soviet Labor camps, prisons, and psychiatric hospitals. Previously, Mr. Terelya had feared that glasnost was no more than, in his words, "camouflage for the West." He pointed out that "beginning in January 1987 repression has increased in the Ukraine," and that the Soviet press has been "full of vehement hatred" against the Ukrainian Catholic Church.

Recently, however, Mr. Terelya has found cause for guarded optimism. Saying that "something has changed at the top of the Soviet Government," he spoke of an apparent willingness on the part of the Soviets to consider legalization of the Ukrainian Catholic Church.

Few moves on the part of the Soviet government could do more to convince the world of the sincerity of their desire to reform. One of the truest measures of glasnost will be the degree of religious freedom -- freedom of worship for all the people of the Soviet Union, including Protestants, Catholics, Orthodox Jews, and followers of Islam. For this reason, we will be looking with great eagerness, and great expectations, at the talks between Soviet officials and the Catholic Church in the Ukraine.

Finally, let me just touch on the subject of regional conflicts. Today, even as their economy flags at home, the Soviets spend billions to maintain or impose Communist rule abroad, from Eastern Europe, to Cuba, Vietnam, South Yemen, Angola, Ethiopia, Mozambique, Nicaragua, and Afghanistan. It's estimated that the Soviet war on Afghanistan costs them between \$5 billion and \$6 billion a year. The Soviet bloc has supplied some \$1 billion annually to the Communist Angolans and \$2 billion to the Sandinistas in military hardware alone.

Meanwhile, Soviet forces in Afghanistan and Angola have been suffering devastating defeats at the hands of the freedom fighters in those nations. According to C.B.S. news, an operation by the Mujahadeen last spring, led by the courageous General Wardock, inflicted some of the heaviest losses on the

Soviet Army since they invaded that nation. \_\_\_ tanks, \_\_\_troop carriers, and some\_\_\_ aircraft were destroyed, and \_\_\_Soviet troops fell to the Afghan freedom fighters in just that one single operation.

In Angola in the past few weeks, Jonas Savimbi's freedom fighters inflicted another crushing defeat on the Soviets. This fall's Communist offensive -- the biggest ever in Angola -- ended in a rout for the Soviets. The heroes of the Lomba River did it again, pushing back the massive Soviet assault and destroying at least 60 Soviet tanks in the process. They captured over 200 working trucks and 24 working tanks -- a dramatic gain for the freedom fighters, who began the year with only 300 operational trucks and, at the most, 2 or 3 tanks. And as many as 17 helicopters and 8 planes were shot down. The Soviets are truly beginning to feel the "sting" of free people fighting back.

Then there's Ethiopia. Two years after the devastating famine that galvanized world attention, that poor country seems to be sliding agonizingly into another that health officials predict could be even worse.

Once again, we hear that the cause of the famine threatening Ethiopia is poor weather. No doubt weather plays a role; but there is real question if it is the major culprit. This year, the neighboring countries of Sub-Sahara seem little effected. The sad fact is, Ethiopia's agonizing situation is directly attributable to the policies of its Communist rulers. More than one relief agency has accused the Ethiopian Communists of

manipulating the famine and relief efforts in the civil war against their own people.

Last time, the United States was generous in responding to the emergency, sending more food, supplies, and logistical support than any other nation. If -- the good Lord forbid -- famine returns to Ethiopia, we will again do what we must to save innocent lives. But we will also insist that the Soviets do their part. Last famine, while the rest of the world sent food and medicine, the Soviets sent their clients in Ethiopia weapons of war.

It's long past time the Soviet Union accept its responsibility to save lives in Ethiopia. They must move immediately to pressure their client rulers in Ethiopia to institute the reforms that will prevent the horror of famine from happening again. The first time it was a tragedy -- the second will be a crime.

When I meet with General Secretary Gorbachev, I will ask him: Isn't it time that the Soviet Union put an end to these destructive, wasteful conflicts around the world? Without an end to Soviet efforts to impose totalitarian regimes through force of arms, I will tell him, there can never be a true glasnost, true openness, between this nation and ours.

I will also make it clear that the greatest stumbling block to increased cooperation and exchange between our two nations is Soviet support for Communist tyranny in Nicaragua. Here too, the Soviet-backed forces are hurting. With our aid, the Nicaraguan freedom fighters have made impressive gains in the field and



brought the Communist Sandinistas to do something that they never would have done otherwise -- negotiate.

If I can turn to the domestic side of this question for a moment, I hope the Members of our own Congress will not forget this important fact: Without the freedom fighters, there would be no Arias peace plan, there would be no negotiations, and no hope for democracy in Nicaragua. An entrenched, hostile Communist regime in Nicaragua would be an irreversible fact of life. The Sandinistas would have permanently consolidated and fortified a new Cuba on the American mainland.

Within the next month, Congress will have to vote on nonlethal aid to the freedom fighters -- aid that will keep them viable through mid-January when the Central American Presidents meet to determine compliance with the Arias peace plan. If Congress votes down this aid, the freedom fighters will run out of supplies in the first 2 weeks of December -- more than a month before the meeting. The Sandinistas will know all they have to do is play the waiting game. They will have no incentive to negotiate, no incentive to make real concessions to democracy.

The Sandinistas will know that Congress, by pulling the plug on the freedom fighters, accomplished what they and their billions of dollars in Soviet aid could not -- the final extinguishment of all hope of freedom and democracy in Nicaragua.

If we're serious about this peace process, we must keep the freedom fighters alive and strong until they can once again return home to take part in a free and democratic Nicaraguan

society. They are brave men, and they have sacrificed much in the cause of freedom. They deserve no less.

There will be few more important votes in Congress than this one, and as I have so often in the past, I'll be counting on your active support. With your help, I know we can win this one. The fact is, as you all very well know, we have no choice -- we have to win this one.

Well, thank you very much, and God bless you all.