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THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

November 24, 1987

Advance
Copy

MEMORANDUM FOR ANTHONY DOLAN
DEPUTY ASSISTANT TO THE PRESIDENT AND
DIRECTOR OF SPEECHWRITING

FROM: ARTHUR B. CULVAHOUSE, JR.
COUNSEL TO THE PRESIDENT

SUBJECT: Presidential Remarks: Heritage Foundation
Luncheon

Counsel's office has reviewed the above-referenced Presidential remarks and has the following comments:

1. Generally, we would recommend against the President endorsing a private Foundation. We recognize, however, that the President has a close personal relationship with Heritage and, therefore, have no legal objection to the President delivering the proposed address.
2. Page 1, Paragraph 1. We do not believe it is appropriate to refer to the Heritage Foundation as the "shadow cabinet" since such a reference implies that the President ignores his "governmental" cabinet. We recommend that the phrase "I've always considered Heritage, in a sense, my shadow cabinet" be deleted.
3. Page 1, Paragraph 2. We do not believe that the reference to Heritage as the "real power center in Washington" is appropriate. For the same reasons discussed with respect to paragraph one above, we recommend that the second sentence be deleted. In light of these recommendations, we also suggest that the remainder of paragraph two be deleted.
4. Page 2, Paragraph 3. We question whether it is appropriate to quote Clare Booth Luce for the proposition that Washington, Lincoln and Churchill can be reduced to one line in history but Luce is so important that she cannot.
5. Pages 2 and 3, Paragraph 4. With respect to the nomination of Judge Kennedy we suggest that the reference "He's tough on crime" be placed after the reference to his judicial philosophy. In addition, we recommend that the last two sentences and their implicit reference to Judge Ginsburg's failed nomination be deleted.



6. Page 3, Paragraph 1. In order to avoid any allegations that the President is attempting to "lobby," we suggest that the first sentence be revised as follows: "The second thing I'd like to discuss with you is the budget deal we hammered out with Congress."

7. Page 4, Paragraph 1. We suggest that the phrase "an important visitor" be replaced by "General Secretary Gorbachev."

8. Page 4, Paragraph 1 and Page 5, Paragraph 4. These two paragraphs are inconsistent. At page 4, we state that the difficulties have been ironed out while at page 5 we state that the issue of verification is not yet complete. We believe these two paragraphs must be reconciled.



9. Page 6, Paragraph 3, Sentence 2. In our view Congressional efforts to restrict funding, to bar testing and to bar development of certain weapons systems are as important as their attempt to impose the narrow interpretation of the A.B.M. treaty in limiting our ability to deal with the Soviets. In addition, we believe basing the defense of S.D.I. on the legal interpretation of the A.B.M. treaty focuses the debate on the wrong issue. Since the United States could abrogate the treaty, we believe the President should focus his remarks on the need for S.D.I. Along these lines, we suggest that the phrase "would bind us to an overly-restrictive interpretation of the A.B.M. Treaty that would effectively" be deleted.

10. Page 7, Continuation Paragraph. We do not believe it would be appropriate for the President to rely on the assessments of Robert McNamara and McGeorge Bundy. We recommend that the phrase "Two of the A.B.M. treaty's biggest proponents in this country--Robert McNamara and McGeorge Bundy-- agree that" be deleted. In our view the President's statement does not need to be buttressed by McNamara and Bundy.

11. Page 8, Paragraph 2 and Page 9, Paragraph 1. The President appears to be accepting the assessment of Joseph Terelya on the merits of glasnost. In our view, the President should not appear to rely on Mr. Terelya as the final word on this subject.

12. Page 9, Paragraph 2. We recommend that the word "Orthodox" be deleted. In addition, we are concerned that religious freedom, and particularly the Catholic Church, is the only issue mentioned by the President in connection with human rights. We recommend that other examples of Soviet violations of human rights be included, e.g., emigration.

13. Page 9, Paragraph 3, Sentence 3. The word "on" should read "in". In addition, it is not clear whether "in military hardware alone" is meant to modify support to the Angolans, the Sandinistas or both.
14. Page 9, Paragraph 4. We do not believe the President should rely on C.B.S. for information on the effectiveness of the Afghan freedom fighters. If these facts are true, they speak for themselves.
15. Page 11, Paragraph 1. We suggest inserting the phrase "During the" before the last sentence.
16. Page 11, Paragraph 2. Change "accept" to "accepts".
17. Page 11, Paragraph 3. In the last line change "this" to "his".
18. Page 12, Paragraph 1, Line 4. Insert the phrase "there would be" between "and" and "no."
19. Page 12, Paragraph 3. Insert the words "will have" between "fighters" and "accomplished".
- * 20. Page 13. In order to avoid any "lobbying" problems, we suggest that the next to last paragraph be revised as follows: "There will be few more important votes in Congress than this one. 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."

TR

Document No.

498236

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"/>
POWELL	<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:

OMB's comments
have been incorporated
and approved.

SPRUE TUPPA
X3060

Rhett Dawson
Ext. 2702

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

In fact, \$22
closings and the like -- *Impact, But,* I had \$11 billion of them in my own budget this year -- *These are Budget Authority that would allow it would use Budget Authority.* 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 \$15.0 billion in defense.~~ *\$15.0* With this deal, we ~~cut back and ended~~ *UP* with ~~1.3~~ *1.5* billion more in defense ~~spending~~ *OUTLAYS* than last year. We may have bid ~~herb~~

farewell to Cap Weinberger, but as I said to him, we know that

CUT AN ADDITIONAL \$16 BILLION FROM WAGNER HANLEY OF DEFENSE BUDGET AUTHORITY, CREATING THE DEFENSE PROGRAMS TO A LEVEL OF 10 PERCENT BELOW FY 1987 IN REAL TERMS.

D. Harkinson (x 4630)

see page 2 - 95 of Jan 5 Budget (Savings in B)
185 Proposals:
6 out Receipts 6.1
Credit Refunding 1.3
Other revenue 2.1

Investigation 5.4
User fees 3.2
Other revenue 2.1
Total 22.4

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The second step forward was on defense. Now, some people said we would have been better off with sequestration. Well, ^{as much as 14-15%} sequestration would have cost us ~~\$11.5~~ billion in defense. With this deal, we gained ^{much of it} ~~\$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

That large a cut, coupled with its indiscriminate across-the-board application, would quickly return us to the "hollow army" of the 70's. Flying hours would be reduced by 25%, steaming days by 20%, and serious reductions in maintenance and spare parts. Critical weapons development, such as the Stealth program, could be delayed for years.

WHITE HOUSE STAFFING MEMORANDUM

DATE: 11/18/87 ACTION/CONCURRENCE/COMMENT DUE BY: 2:00 p.m. Thursday 11/19

SUBJECT: PRESIDENTIAL REMARKS: DROPBY BRIEFING FOR REAGAN ACTIVISTS OF
I.N.F. TREATY
(11/18 6:00 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 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 type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	RANGE	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
CARLUCCI	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	RISQUE	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
CRIBB	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	RYAN	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
CRIPPEN	<input 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 2:00 p.m. on Thursday, November 19th, with an info copy to my office. Thank you.

RESPONSE:

November 19, 1987

TONY DOLAN:

The NSC Staff clears the attached, provided the attached changes are incorporated.

Joe Bill Courtney
 Grant S. Green, Jr.
 Executive Secretary

CC: Rhett Dawson
 Ext. 2702

(Gilder/ARD)
November 18, 1987
6:00 p.m.

PRESIDENTIAL REMARKS: DROPHY BRIEFING FOR REAGAN ACTIVISTS
OF I.N.F. TREATY
MONDAY, NOVEMBER 23, 1987

Thank you. Thank you all very much and welcome to the Old Executive Office Building.

It is wonderful to see so many familiar faces -- so many old friends and supporters. Together we've won some remarkable victories in the last 7 years. But as I told Cap Weinberger the other day at the Pentagon, the job isn't finished, and anyone who thinks we're going to be just sitting around on our laurels these last 14 months, better guess again.

It's like the story of Winston Churchill toward the close of World War II. He was visited by a delegation from the temperance league and chastised by one woman who said, "Mr. Prime Minister, I've heard that if all the whiskey you have drunk since the war began were poured into this room, it would come all the way up to your waist." Churchill looked dolefully down at the floor, then at his waist, then up to the ceiling, and said, "Ah, yes, madam, so much accomplished, so very much more left to do."

Well, one thing left to do -- one of the great challenges of these next months -- will be seeing if we can work out with the Soviet Union a better ^{way to ensure our long term security than through the threat of} ~~answer to nuclear weapons~~. As you know, I ^{General} will be meeting here in Washington with ^{Secretary} Gorbachev. If all goes well, we will sign an agreement that will, for the first time in history, eliminate an entire class of U.S. and Soviet missiles. It's a good bargain. For every nuclear warhead of our ^{nuclear retaliation}

own we remove, they will give up four. I wish I could negotiate a deal like that with Congress.

Recently, all seven living former Secretaries of Defense were asked if they would recommend this agreement to the President if they were still in office. All seven said yes -- it's a good agreement.

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. Now, neither on this issue nor any other do I hold any illusions about the Soviets. It's said that for them, past arms control treaties were like diets. The second day was always the best, because that's when they broke them.

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~~ ^{negotiations on our proposal to reduce} ~~US + Soviet~~ ^{US + Soviet} ~~two nations~~ ^{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 ^{and even deploying} developing ^{their own} anti-ballistic missile defense. ^S Research and development in some

→
(This is
now the
best way
to make
the point.)

Agreement
are is not
nearly as
close.)

Soviet strategic defense

-- We could call it "Red Shield"

parts of the ~~"Cosmos" weapons~~ program began more than 15 years ago. Today ^{Soviet capabilities} includes everything from killer-satellites to the modernized A.B.M. defenses that ring Moscow. More than 10,000 ~~scientists~~ ^{+ engineers} are working on military lasers alone -- with thousands more developing other advanced technologies such as particle beam and kinetic energy weapons.

Soviet

The ^{se}Soviet ~~"Cosmos" weapons~~ program ^Sdwarfs 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 ^{virtual} monopoly in anti-ballistic missile defenses. This effort to tie our hands makes even less sense ^{it is in fact only the US which is} when ~~the Soviets are~~ abiding by the A.B.M. treaty. Whatever interpretation you give the A.B.M. treaty, broad or strict, the Soviets are violating ^{one of its central provisions. All top experts, inside and outside the} ~~it. Two of the A.B.M. treaty's biggest~~ ^{Administration -- and even including most of our critics --} ~~proponents in this country -- Robert McNamara and McGeorge Bundy~~ ^{out and out violated the Treaty with their} agree that the Soviets' construction of the large, phase-array radar at Krasnoyarsk ~~is almost certainly a violation of A.B.M.~~ ^(It is a violation)

(Naming our critics invites them to rebut the Pres.) →

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 the other day 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 their long-standing ^{strategic defense} ~~Cosmos weapons~~ program^s and the completion, with the construction of the Krasnoyarsk radar, of an early warning and tracking system -- the Soviets may ~~soon~~ be ^{establishing the basis for a} ~~in a position to~~ nationwide defense all a "break out" of the A.B.M. Treaty, to confront us with a fait accompli which, ~~we will~~ ^{without S.D.I., we would} be totally and dangerously unprepared for.

(Accuracy: IC won't support "soon.")
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 ^{treated that way.} ~~subject to Congressional dog-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. It goes hand-in-hand with arms reductions. We cannot -- we will not -- bargain it away to get strategic arms reductions.

S.D.I. will also protect us against accidental missile launches and ballistic missile threats -- whether with nuclear, conventional, or chemical warheads -- from outlaw regimes. In the decades ahead, ~~missile technology will proliferate, just as nuclear weapons technology already has.~~ We can't be sure just

↑
(Could undercut our efforts to stop it)

access to ballistic missile technology

who will get ~~it~~ -- how competent they will be or how rational. We must have an insurance policy against that day, as well.

No, 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. Remember this: If both sides have defenses, it can be a safer world. But if we leave the Soviets with a monopoly in this vital area, our security will be gravely jeopardized. We must not let that happen.

My talks with General Secretary Gorbachev will cover the full range of U.S.-Soviet relations -- including human rights in the Soviet Union, exchanges between our peoples, and Soviet involvement in regional conflicts such as in Afghanistan, Angola, and Nicaragua.

Let me just say a few more words about two of those subjects -- 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 ^{new} ~~first~~ breadth 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~~ ^{alternating with} ~~thaws soon frozen 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~~^{deception of} 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,"]~~ ^{Recently he} ^{possible} 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~~ ^{Soviet} sincerity ^{for genuine} of ~~their desire to~~ reform.

One of the truest measures of glasnost will be the degree of religious freedom -- ^{and} ^{of speech + assembly - -} 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, projecting Soviet power by largely military means. Eastern Europe, Cuba, Vietnam, South Yemen, Angola, Ethiopia, ~~Mozambique~~, Nicaragua, and Afghanistan.

Numbers vary, but one study by the Rand Corporation estimated that in 1983 between 3.56 and 4.44 percent of the Soviet gross national product went to subsidize states supporting Soviet aims. It's estimated that the Soviet war on Afghanistan

(Be careful about our pushing this theme, given recent events)

(Important not to say "the".)

Not appropriate / appropriate / Western support of Mozambique is increasing / ties to Soviets increasing -

costs them between \$5 billion and \$6 billion a year. The Soviet bloc has supplied some \$2 billion in military hardware to the Sandinistas alone.

Meanwhile, Soviet forces in Afghanistan and Angola have recently suffered 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 the heaviest losses on the Soviet Army since Stalingrad. ___ 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 ^{recently} ~~in the past few weeks~~, Jonas Savimbi's freedom fighters inflicted another crushing defeat on the ^{Soviet-backed MPLA forces.} ~~Soviets~~. This fall's ^{MPLA} ~~Communist~~ offensive -- the biggest ever in Angola -- ended ^{in a rout,} ~~in a rout for the Soviets.~~ ^{(the heroes of the Lomba river.} ~~The heroes of the Lomba River did it again, pushing back the massive Soviet assault, destroying some~~ ^{(thanks to) MPLA} ~~___ tanks and ___ planes in the process. An estimated 7,000 Cuban and Soviet led Angolan troops perished in the failed offensive.~~

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 ^{a major} ~~the greatest~~ stumbling block to increased cooperation and exchange between our two nations is Soviet support for Communist tyranny in Nicaragua. Here too, the

Classified
Incorrect

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 ^{further} ~~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 ^{may think that} ~~would know~~ all they have to do is play a waiting game. ^{Without our aid to the freedom fighters, the Sandinistas} ~~They~~ will have no incentive to negotiate, no incentive to make real concessions to ^{fulfill the Esquipulas II agreement} ~~democracy~~.

The Sandinistas will know that Congress, ^{if it} ~~by~~ pulling the plug on the freedom fighters, ^{could} ~~accomplish~~ what they and their billions of dollars in Soviet aid could not -- the ^{losing of hope for} ~~total extinguishment of~~ ~~all hope of~~ freedom and democracy in Nicaragua.

It's the Nicaraguan freedom fighters ^{who} ~~that~~ brought the Sandinistas to the negotiating table. It is the freedom

fighters -- and only the freedom fighters -- ^{who} ~~that~~ can keep them there. If we're serious about ^{the} ~~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 women} 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.

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

The Fine Art of Political Wit by Lord Harris

FINE ART OF POLITICAL WIT

THE WIT OF POLITICIANS

evidence of it in my hand. Is he aware that position, which was mentioned in a leading Times on 11th February, is bringing the whole Purchase Tax Schedules into disrepute? Is it better was drastically overhauled by abolition of Tax and substitution of a sales turnover tax and uniform rate over the whole field?

My honourable Friend tempts me to reply in conductor Richter to the second flute at "Your damned nonsense can I stand twice times always, by God, never."

perhaps, somewhat less wit and less bitter House of Commons than formerly; at least, examples of the carefully prepared and the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries and al orations full of invective that were heard tenth and early twentieth centuries. This to the time-consuming multiplicity of tech- which the House must now address itself.

am things such as welfare, housing, trans- and farm prices. Former Prime Minister recently on the comparative lessening of upon a time politics were really tough and in America. That was before the an—when a man shot his own mouth off.

Randolph, who entered the United States natives in 1799, made his brethren sit up Edward Livingston: "He is a man of but utterly corrupt. Like a rotten mackerel shines and stinks." O'Connell said of Dis- be descended from one of the thieves that ar's side... [Mark Twain once wrote of a "I did not attend his funeral; but I wrote I approved of it."]

to a foreign politician said to me speaking sign politician that he was politically so ted being called a crook.

ember that in my youth politics were a wdy in this country than they are now.

There was none of the mealy-mouthed milk and water stuff that we have today. Why, you can hardly say boo to a goose in the House of Commons now without cries of "Ungentlemanly," "Not fair", and all the rest. But in those days they went at it hammer and tongs. I remember the great dock strike of 1912 and the famous chant by which Ben Tillet nightly rallied his men—a sort of litany which went: "Oh God, strike Lord Davenport dead." Well, nowadays we are more polite and I suppose that is a good thing. I certainly don't want to go looking for trouble myself.

'But perhaps we are about to see some revival of political vituperation. The by-election at Bolton seemed quite robust. "Supercilious carpet bagger who, in typical big-headed fashion, says that Parliament needs him." That's more the stuff....'

Macmillan himself, however, has been both the author and the butt of a good deal of political wit and invective. Perhaps the best-known example of his own wit occurred when his speech before the United Nations in New York on September 29, 1960, was interrupted by the Russian Premier, Khrushchev, who took off his shoe and pounded on the table with it. In the best tradition of British unflappability, Macmillan remarked calmly, 'I'd like that translated, if I may.'

Closer to home, when concern was expressed in London at the tremendous ovation given by Londoners to the Russian astronaut Major Gagarin, the former Prime Minister said, 'It would have been twice as bad if they had sent the dog.'

Macmillan agreed with German Chancellor Adenauer, who said, 'A thick skin is a gift from God.' Mr. Macmillan once said, 'One newspaper, I am told, has perpetually in type the headline "Mac at Bay". I suggest they also keep in type "Mac Bounces Back".' He has been criticized by everyone, including his own son, who once wrote a letter to *The Times* very critical of the government and his father. The former Prime Minister replied in the House of Commons, 'The Member for Halifax [Mr. Maurice Macmillan] has intelligence and independence. How he got them is not for me to say.' And he said on another occasion, 'I have never found, in long experience of politics, that criticism is ever inhibited by ignorance.'

... fought, Lincoln backed
Lincoln was urged by A.
... it was widely believed
... said, 'I can't spare this
... Wade of Ohio, came to
... dismissal, and Lincoln said,
... 'Yea, yes,' Wade
... story, story. You are the
... at has been made during
... ll, sir . . . and you are not
... lied, 'Senator, that is just
... the Capitol, is it not?'
... 'When General Grant
... ems to hang on to it as if
... urse, many versions of a
... e to send a barrel of the
... ach of his generals, but
... Lincoln told him he had
... one, and that he wished
... Lincoln supposed it was
... cy,' but went on, 'the
... time. Bitter complaints
... that he was mad. The
... sed of that, replied: 'I
... r generals.'"
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... al, so has that mule,
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... e a bastard, for I knew
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... that Simon Cameron
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... think Cameron would
... think he would steal a
... the story to Cameron,
... d that Stevens retract.

The Fine Art of Political Wit - By Leon Harris

ABRAHAM LINCOLN

Stevens then said to Lincoln, '... I believe I told you he would not steal a red-hot stove. I now take that back.'

Lincoln himself could, on occasion, be sharp-tongued, as when it was said to him of a certain man, 'It may be doubted whether any man of our generation has plunged more deeply into the sacred fount of learning,' and Lincoln replied, 'Yes, or come up drier.' According to a political circular sent out by Shields, Democratic State Auditor of Illinois, Lincoln declared, 'What they say is a lie, and not a well-told one at that. It grins out like a copper dollar. Shields is a fool as well as a liar. With him truth is out of the question and to get a good passable lie out of him, you might as well strike a fire from a cake of tallow.' There are several versions of a story that a visitor came upon Lincoln in the White House blacking his own boots and expressed surprise, whereupon Lincoln snapped, 'Why, whose boots do you black?' But such anecdotes on Lincoln are rare. He was a forgiving man and one who hated to refuse any reasonable request. Speaking of his willingness to forgive an old opponent, he said, 'I choose always to make my "statute of limitations" a short one.'

He refused to answer all the attacks, lies, and rumours about himself, saying it would involve 'a perpetual flea hunt'. 'If I were trying to read, much less answer all the attacks made on me, this shop might well be closed for any other purpose. I do the very best I know how: the very best I can: and I mean to keep on doing it to the end. If the end brings me out all right, what is said against me will not amount to anything. If the end brings me out all wrong, then a legion of angels swearing I was right will make no difference.'

When a woman criticized Lincoln, saying that rather than speaking kindly of the Confederates he should destroy them, Lincoln answered, 'What, Madam, do I not destroy them when I make them my friends?'

When his whole Cabinet with the exception of one member was against him, Lincoln mildly told the story of the drunk at the Illinois revival who slept when the preacher asked, 'Who are on the Lord's side?' and the whole audience excepting himself rose, and who, after the preacher had then asked, 'Who are on the side of the Devil?' awoke, rose, and standing there alone said, 'I don't exactly understand the

THE FINE ART OF POLITICAL WIT

question but I'll stand by you, parson, to the last. But it seems to me that we're in a hopeless minority.'

Lincoln was constantly trying to help office seekers who badgered him, and granting pardons to soldiers whose mothers came to see him in their behalf. Lincoln said to General Egbert L. Viele, 'I have one vice, and I can call it nothing else, it is not to be able to say "No." Thank God for not making me a woman, but if He had, I suppose He would have made me just as ugly as He did, and no one would ever have tempted me.' Tad and Willie Lincoln made a doll they called Jack and dressed him as a Zouave. They sentenced him to be shot for sleeping on picket duty, and then asked their father for a pardon. Lincoln stopped his work and wrote out on Executive Mansion stationery: 'The doll Jack is pardoned. By Order of the President. A. Lincoln.'

After the conduct of the war, Lincoln's main concern was if and when to declare the Negro slaves free. He was under tremendous pressure from elements in his own Republican Party, as well as from his own personal feelings on the issue. Yet even on this issue he could and did joke. Ambassador Adlai Stevenson tells the following story, as told to him by his grandfather, Adlai Stevenson: 'Several months before Lincoln issued the great Proclamation of Emancipation which gave freedom to the whole race of Negro slaves in America, my friend Senator Henderson of Missouri came to the White House one day and found Mr. Lincoln in a mood of deepest depression. Finally, the great President said to his caller that the most constant and acute pressure was being brought upon him by the leaders of the most radical elements of the party to free the slaves. "Sumner and Stevens and Wilson simply haunt me," declared Mr. Lincoln "with their importunities for a proclamation of emancipation. Wherever I go and every way I turn, they're on my trail. And still in my heart I have the deep conviction that the hour is not yet come." Just as he said this, he walked to the window looking out upon Pennsylvania Avenue and stood there in silence. His tall figure silhouetted against the light of the window pane, every line of it and of his gracious face expressive of unutterable sadness. Suddenly his lips began to twitch into a smile and his eyes lighted with a twinkle

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Public Papers of the Presidents

Death of Clare Boothe Luce

Statement by the President.

23 Weekly Comp. Pres. Doc. 1151

October 9, 1987

LENGTH: 228 words

Nancy and I were saddened to learn of the death this morning of our friend Ambassador Clare Boothe Luce.

Born into a relatively humble home and given only a limited formal education, Mrs. Luce built a life and career that made her a legend: editor of *Vanity Fair*; playwright of Broadway hits, including the classic "The Women"; author of countless books and articles; war correspondent for *Life* magazine; Congresswoman; Ambassador; wife of Henry Luce, founder of *Time* magazine and one of the Nation's preeminent journalists; and, of course, a woman who was constantly expanding the boundaries of what a woman could do. As Wilfrid Sheed wrote about Mrs. Luce's career: "It was brand-new territory, outside the tiny compound where women lived in those days. Chare was a pioneer not just during office hours but every breathing minute. . . ."

Nancy and I knew Mrs. Luce as a woman of generosity, charm, forcefulness, and -- a point not always noted -- gentleness. Her Roman Catholic faith was central to her life and thought. And always, there was her concern for the Nation.

Near the end of her life, Mrs. Luce moved from her retirement home in Hawaii to Washington in order to be at the center of things, as she had been for so many decades. It is fitting that she died here in the Capital of the Republic she so loved. We will miss her, so will America.

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Public Papers of the Presidents

Heritage Foundation

Remarks at a Dinner Marking the Foundation's 10th
Anniversary.

19 Weekly Comp. Pres. Doc. 1380

October 3, 1983

LENGTH: 3183 words

It's wonderful for Nancy and me to be here tonight and see old friends like Joe Coors. Actually, I was a little surprised by the warmth of Joe's introduction. I'm not sure how many of you know this, but there's a certain coolness between Joe and me tonight. I guess maybe that's my fault. When I arrived at the reception here I said, "Joe, it's been a long, hard day in the Oval Office, but now it's Miller time." [Laughter] That's when he showed me his Mondale button. [Laughter]

Seriously, though, where are those Democratic candidates with their grandiose solutions now that we need them? The America's Cup race, for example. Now, there was a problem that could have been solved with more money and a lot of wind. [Laughter]

And I'm delighted to be here with Heritage. I remember the days when a conservative intellectual was considered a contradiction in terms -- you know, like "thrifty liberal" -- [laughter] -- "modest government," and "pennypincing Congressman." [Laughter] But it's a great privilege to be here tonight at an extraordinary moment not only in the history of the Heritage Foundation but, I firmly believe, in the intellectual history of the West.

Historians who seek the real meaning of events in the latter part of the 20th century must look back on gatherings such as this. They will find among your numbers the leaders of an intellectual revolution that recaptured and renewed the great lessons of Western culture, a revolution that is rallying the democracies to the defense of that culture and to the cause of human freedom, a revolution that I believe is also writing the last sad pages of a bizarre chapter in human history known as communism.

Now, we have been living in an age when the cult of overwhelming government was the reigning ideology. It dominated our intellectual thought and claimed some of the best minds of our society and civilization. And now all of that is changing. The evidence is before us in this room and in the astonishing growth of a remarkable institution called the Heritage Foundation.

You know, during the years when I was out on the mashed-potatoes circuit I was sometimes asked to define conservatism, and I must confess that, while I have the cream of the conservative intellectual movement before me, I'm tempted to use Justice Potter Stewart's definition. He gave it for another subject, by the way. He said he couldn't define it exactly, but "I know it when I see it." [Laughter] He was talking about pornography. [Laughter] Well, I can see conservatism here tonight. There is no better evidence that the time of the conservative idea has come than the growth of the Heritage Foundation.

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Back in the midseventies this foundation was begun, as you've been told, by Paul Weyrich and Ed Feulner with only a few staff members, some modest offices, and not very much in the way of funding. And today, of course, you know Heritage has more than a hundred staff members, many more associates and consultants, as you've been told, a brand-new office building -- its picture is on the program there -- a budget that's gone from 3 million to 10 million in 5 years. But it's not money or numbers of people or size of the offices that measure Heritage's impact. Your frequent publications, timely research, policy papers, seminars, and conferences account for your enormous influence on Capitol Hill and, believe me, I know at the White House. Yes, the Heritage Foundation is an enormous undertaking and achievement.

It's great to see old friends from California that are also Heritage activists, like Frank Walton, but I particularly, want to single out here for their enormous efforts some who've already been mentioned: Joe Coors, the Noble family, our master of ceremonies, Frank Shakespeare, and, of course, Heritage's guiding light, Ed Feulner.

Ed likes to say that not too many years ago a phone booth was just about big enough to hold a meeting of conservative intellectuals in Washington; he said it here tonight. I know what he means. Washington has a way of being the last to catch on. [Laughter] Just as the growth of Heritage has stunned the pundits, the conservative cause itself -- the Goldwater nomination in 1964, the growth of the New Right in the 1970's, the conservative victory in 1980, and the tax-cut victory of 1981 -- all of these came as huge surprises to the Washington technocrats who pride themselves on knowing what's going on in politics.

Well, the reason is plain. Many people in the power structure of our Capital think that appealing to someone's narrow self-interest is the best way to appeal to the American people as a whole, and that's where they're wrong. When the American people go to the polls, when they speak out on the issues of the day, they know how high the stakes are. They know the future of freedom depends not on "what's in it for me," but on the ethic of what's good for the country, what will serve and protect freedom.

Success in politics is about issues, ideas, and the vision we have for our country and the world -- in fact, the very sum and substance of the work of the Heritage Foundation. Don't take my word for it. In a book called "The Real Campaign," a study of the 1980 campaign, commentator Jeff Greenfield argues that gaffes or polls or momentum and all those other issues Washington experts thought were important in the election of 1980 were not. Mr. Greenfield argues that issues and ideas did count, that the electorate voted the way they did in large part because they rejected what liberalism had become, and they agreed with the coherent conservative message they heard from our side.

This point about politics and elections is reflected in what some have been saying about our economic system. As George Gilder points out, it isn't just self-gain or personal profit that drives the free market and accounts for the entrepreneurial spirit. There are larger issues involved: faith, a clear vision of the future, a hidden altruism, that simple human desire to make things better.

One current bestseller, "In Search of Excellence," has caused a great flurry in the business management world, because it argues that intangibles like shared values and a sense of mission are the great overlooked factors in accounting

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for the success of business institutions. Well, this is true of nations as well. The American electorate seeks from its national leadership this sense of shared values, this reaffirmation of traditional American beliefs. They do not want a President who's a broker of parochial concerns; they do not want a definition of antional purpose, a vision of the future. And I believe that we conservatives have provided that vision during the past few years.

When this administration took office, we declined to go with patchwork solutions and quick fixes. We delivered, instead, on the promises we'd made to the American people, promises that were part of a consistent and coherent view of this nation's needs and problems. We had a policy; we put it into effect. We made our promises, and we kept them. We said we would stop the juggernaut buildup of 40 years of increased Federal spending, and we did.

Despite the momentum accumulating from a host of new social welfare and entitlement programs, we still managed to cut the growth in Federal spending by nearly 40 percent. For the first time since 1964 all personal income tax rates have been cut, and cut by a hefty 25 percent across the board. And we made the most important reform of them all; in 1985, your income taxes will be indexed, so never again will you be pushed into higher tax brackets by inflation.

The story is the same for our efforts to deregulate the American economy. It was only a few years ago that every time you turned around, some government bureau had slapped on more restrictions on our commerce, our trade, and our lives. We were at the point where we could hardly adjust our thermostats or use our credit cards without checking first with Washington. Our regulatory task force has already cut the number of final regulations issued by almost 25 percent and saved American industry some 300 million hours of filling out forms.

And now that inflation has been reduced to 2.6 percent and the economy is on the move again, I'm just wondering where are all those folks who kept insisting that Reaganomics would lead to crippling recession or runaway inflation. In fact, how come no one calls it Reaganomics anymore? I never did call it that. That was their name when they thought it wouldn't work. I just called it common sense. But is it because our program is doing what we said it would, making America prosperous and strong again?

I think the picture on the foreign front is very much the same. You can all remember the days of national malaise and international humiliation. Everywhere in the world freedom was in retreat, and America's prestige and influence were at low ebb. In Afghanistan the liberty of a proud people was crushed by brutal Soviet aggression. In Central America and Africa Soviet-backed attempts to install Marxist dictatorships were successfully underway. In Iran international law and common decency were mocked, as 50 American citizens were held hostage. And in international forums the United States was routinely held up to abuse and ridicule by outlaw regimes and police state dictatorships.

That was an America that once upon a time not too long ago knew that an American in some distant corner of the world could be caught up in revolution or conflict of war of some kind, and all he had to do was pin a little American flag to his lapel, and he could walk through that war and no one would lay a finger on him because they knew this country stood by its people wherever they might be. We're going to have that kind of America again.

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Verifiable and equitable arms control agreements were nowhere in sight, and our own military might had sharply declined. Even friendly governments were toning down their pro-American rhetoric, abandoning their anti-Soviet declarations, withdrawing support for our diplomatic initiatives, and beginning to be influenced by Soviet diplomatic and commercial programs they had previously dismissed outright.

All this is changing. While we cannot end decades of decay in only a thousand days, we have fundamentally reversed the ominous trends of a few years ago.

First, our economic program is working, and our recovery sets the pace for the rest of the world. We strengthen the hand of other democracies.

Second, the willingness of the American people to back our program for rebuilding America's defenses has added to the respect, the prestige, and deterrent capability we need to support our foreign policy goals.

Third, we have significantly slowed the transfer of valuable free world technology to the Soviet Union.

Fourth, throughout the world today the aspirations for freedom and democracy are growing. In the Third World, in Afghanistan, in Central America, in Africa and Southeast Asia, opposition to totalitarian regimes is on the rise. It may not grab the headlines, but there is a democratic revolution underway.

Finally, our new willingness to speak out forthrightly about communism has been a critically effective foreign policy step. We're making clear that the free world, far from plunging into irreversible decline, retains the moral energy and spiritual stamina to tell the truth about the Soviets, to state clearly the real issues now before the world. That issue is not, as our adversaries would have us believe, the choice between peace and war, between being dead or Red, but, rather, the choice between freedom and servitude, human dignity and state oppression.

And now let me speak a word for a moment about a matter that needs to be cleared up. There are a number of Congressmen on the Hill, including conservatives, who, while being inclined to vote for our defense policies want to be absolutely sure of our desire for arms control agreements. Well, I hope my recent speech at the United Nations has helped to clarify this. But just let me add a personal note -- and this is a matter of conscience.

Any American President, anyone charged with the safety of the American people, any person who sits in the Oval Office and contemplates the horrible dimensions of a nuclear war must, in conscience, do all in his power to seriously pursue and achieve effective arms reduction agreements. The search for genuine, verifiable arms reduction is not a campaign pledge or a sideline item in my national security agenda. Reducing the risk of war and the level of nuclear arms is an imperative, precisely because it enhances our security.

In our relations with the Soviet Union, we're engaged in a comprehensive agenda of major arms control negotiations. And for the first time, the Soviets are now talking about more than nuclear arms ceilings; they're talking about nuclear arms reductions. And tomorrow I will be meeting with Ambassador Ed Rowley to give him the new instructions he will carry back to the START talks

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in Geneva on Wednesday. In fact, let me take this a step further and explain why it's our willingness to be candid about the Soviet Union, about its nature and expansionist policies. It improves the chances of success in the arms control area.

History shows us what works and doesn't work. Unilateral restraint and good will does not provide similar reactions from the Soviet Union, and it doesn't produce genuine arms control. But history does teach that when the United States has the resolve to remain strong and united, when we stand up for what we believe in, and when we speak out forthrightly about the world as it is, then positive results can be achieved. Weakness does not offer the chance for success; strength does. And that strength is based on military capability, strong alliances, a willingness to speak the truth and to state our hope that someday all peoples of the world will enjoy the right to self-government and personal freedom.

You can remember one administration that tried to minimize the differences between the Soviets and the democracies. They lectured us on our "inordinate fear of communism." Under that administration arms control efforts not only failed, but the hope of improved East-West relations ended in Soviet expansionism on three continents, the invasion of Afghanistan, and an actual discussion by an American President before a joint session of Congress about the use of military force against any attempt to seize control of the Persian Gulf.

We must never be inhibited by those who say telling the truth about the Soviet empire is an act of belligerence on our part. To the contrary, we must continue to remind the world that self-delusion in the face of unpleasant facts is folly, that whatever the imperfections of the democratic nations, the struggle now going on in the world is essentially the struggle between freedom and totalitarianism, between what is right and what is wrong. This is not a simplistic or unsophisticated observation. Rather, it's the beginning of wisdom about the world we live in, the perils we face, and the great opportunity we have in the years ahead to broaden the frontiers of freedom and to build a durable, meaningful peace.

Let us never underestimate the power of truth. Not long ago, Aleksandr Solzhenitsyn reminded us that righteousness, not just revolutionary violence, has such power. Indeed, that's why I believe the struggle in the world will never be decided by arms, but by a test of wills -- a test of Western faith and resolve.

And this brings me to a second point: The goal of the free world must no longer be stated in the negative, that is, resistance to Soviet expansionism. The goal of the free world must instead be stated in the affirmative. We must go on the offensive with a forward strategy for freedom. As I told the British Parliament in June of 1982, we must foster the hope of liberty throughout the world and work for the day when the peoples of every land can enjoy the blessings of liberty and the right to self-government.

This, then, is our task. We must present to the world not just an America that's militarily strong, but an America that is morally powerful, an America that has a creed, a cause, a vision of a future time when all peoples have the right to self-government and personal freedom.

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I think American conservatives are uniquely equipped to present to the world this vision of the future -- a vision worthy of the American past. I've always had a great affection for the words of John Winthrop, delivered to a small band of Pilgrims on the tiny ship Arabella off the coast of Massachusetts in 1630: "We shall be a city upon a hill. The eyes of all people are upon us, so that if we shall deal falsely with our God in this work we have undertaken and so cause Him to withdraw His present help from us, we shall be made a story and a byword throughout the world."

Well, America has not been a story or a byword. That small community of Pilgrims prospered and, driven by the dreams and, yes, by the ideas of the Founding Fathers, went on to become a beacon to all the oppressed and poor of the world.

One of those early founders was a man named Joseph Warren, a revolutionary who would have an enormous impact on our early history -- would have had, had not his life been cut short by a bullet at Bunker Hill. His words about the perils America faced then are worth hearing today. "Our country is in danger," he said, "but not to be despaired of. On you depends the fortunes of America. You are to decide the important question on which rests the happiness and liberty of millions yet unborn. Act worthy of yourselves." Well, let his idealism guide us as we turn conservative ideas into political realities.

And as I urged in those closing days of the 1980 campaign, let us remember the purpose behind our activities, the real wellspring of the American way of life. Even as we meet here tonight some young American coming up along the Virginia or Maryland shores of the Potomac is looking with awe for the first time at the lights that glow in the great halls of our government and the monuments to the memory of our great men.

We're resolved tonight that young Americans will always see those Potomac lights, that they will always find here a city of hope in a country that's free so that when other generations look back at this conservative era in American politics and our time in power, they'll say of us that we did hold true to that dream of Joseph Winthrop and Joseph Warren, that we did keep faith with our God, that we did act worthy of ourselves, that we did protect and pass on lovingly that shining city on a hill.

Thank you very much, and God bless you all.

Note: The President spoke at approximately 9:30 p.m. in the International Ballroom at the Washington Hilton Hotel.

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Public Papers of the Presidents

Heritage Foundation

Remarks at the Foundation's 10th Anniversary Dinner.

1986 Pub. Papers 520

April 22, 1986

LENGTH: 2874 words

Thank you very much. Clare, I must have been doing something wrong. I'm kind of enjoying it. [Laughter]

It's wonderful to be with you again. Some of you may remember that when the "Heritage 10" drive was inaugurated a few years ago, I had the privilege of coming over and saying a few words. I mentioned the things that were on the minds of conservatives at the moment: the place of ideas in politics, the importance of the Heritage Foundation, the remarkable work of Ed Feulner, Joe and Holly Coors, Frank Shakespeare, and so many of you in this room in bringing to Washington the political revolution that had already occurred in the American heartland. The Capital, as you know, is frequently the last place to experience or even hear about such developments. [Laughter]

But some of you may remember that on that wonderful evening I did make a terrible faux pas. When I arrived at the reception before dinner, I saw Joe and Holly, and I mentioned how good it was to be among friends and then I added: "Joe, it's been a long hard day in the Oval Office, but now it's Miller time." [Laughter] Some of you may also remember that's when Joe showed me his Mondale button. [Laughter]

So, when I arrived at the reception tonight -- and you can well imagine that I was very careful about what I said -- I complimented Joe on his tremendous work with Heritage and mentioned to him how, from a little seed, such a great organization had flowered. "There's no doubt about it, Joe and Holly," I said, "this bud's from you." [Laughter]

Well, I felt pretty bad until somebody told me that Joe and Holly had expected tonight's speaker to be an actor from California who had dedicated his life to public service. And when I walked in Holly said to Joe, "Hey, that's not Clint Eastwood." [Laughter]

But I do want to thank Clare Luce for that wonderful introduction. I can't say enough about Clare, and I certainly can't say anything more than I used to in all those telegrams I sent her years ago when she was a successful playwright and I was an actor looking for work. [Laughter] But to be serious, I quoted Clare Luce in a recent address to the Nation, and I suspect I won't be the last President to do that. Clare, it's no exaggeration to say that you've more than made your mark in American history. Tonight I thank you, Heritage thanks you, and so does the conservative movement.

But I can't help reflecting tonight on the fact that "Heritage 10" actually exceeded its fundraising goal by \$2 million. Ed Feulner says he's thinking of using the extra money to set up a first aid station for Washington liberals.

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[Laughter] Which just goes to show the conservative movement has come of age, we've gone from hope to charity. [Laughter]

Tonight is special for Heritage. It marks the culmination of an extraordinary project. What boldness it took to suggest that Heritage, whose operating budget only a few years ago was \$3 million, could raise 10 times that amount in just 2 years. But you've done it and then some.

Yet it isn't really the money, nor even the tremendously valuable work that will be done with it that needs to be talked about tonight. After all, I could stand here most of the evening and recite all the newspaper accounts of Heritage's success, with the adjectives ranging from "stunning" to "amazing." But on this point, the record speaks for itself. So, I think the time is better spent explaining the causes of Heritage's success, causes that lie deeper than a good many people realize, causes that teach us something about the nature of historical change itself.

One of the most valuable lessons that history has to teach us is that after the most terrible frustration and discouragement sometimes change can come so quickly and so unexpectedly, it surprises even those who have made it happen. This is particularly true in Washington. One Cabinet member in a former administration put it very well: "The toughest job in Washington," he said, "is being able to tell the difference between the tides, the waves, and the ripples." Well, actually that's been the problem with the perceptions of many of the experts and the pundits; they concentrate so much on the ripples, they can't see the waves and the tides.

An analogy that I've used before on this point has to do with March of 1943. In that terrible month it became clear that the allies were losing the battle of the Atlantic. It was the only development, Churchill said, that ever really frightened him during the war. More than 500,000 tons of allied shipping went down, thousands of merchant seamen lost their lives. England was left with only a 2-month supply of food and material, and the experts in the British Admiralty seriously doubted that England's lifeline across the Atlantic could be kept open.

But then suddenly -- only a month later -- it all changed. Innovations in the convoy system, escort training, radio and radar use, long-range aircraft had a sudden cumulative weight. Suddenly the U-boat wolfpacks sustained enormous losses. Hitler's admirals were conceding the defeat in the Atlantic, and by June it had all turned around. The experts were confounded. In a little over 60 days the looming catastrophe had turned to decisive victory. Allied convoys crossed the ocean without the loss of a single ship.

I first used that analogy back in 1982, when the same people who said the oil shortage would last for decades were talking gloom and doom about America's economy. They claimed that huge, new tax increases were the only way to get the economy moving again. Back then, they used the term "Reaganomics" -- and maybe you haven't noticed -- they're not using that anymore. [Laughter] But the larger point is this: Being too close to the data can sometimes mean missing its significance and the chance to change it for the better.

There were many people who thought you were being unwise in setting out on such ambitious goals at your 10th anniversary dinner; just as a few years ago there were those who told Clare Luce that cochairing Citizens for Goldwater

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would hurt her reputation. [Laughter] There were even those who warned me that a certain TV broadcast I did for the Senator in '64 would certainly end my career. And you know, come to think of it, they were right -- [laughter] -- it did end my career, at least one of them. [Laughter]

But as one American intellectual and religious leader of the last century, William Channing, said: "There are seasons, in human affairs, of inward and outward revolution, when new depths seem to be broken up in the soul, when new wants are unfolded in multitudes, and a new and undefined good is thirsted for. There are periods when in truth to dare is the highest wisdom."

And that's the story of Heritage's success. Joe and Holly Coors and a young man named Ed Feulner wouldn't listen to the experts. They knew the experts lacked vision, that they were too close to the data, that they only saw the ripples. And they knew, too, that the best way to ride the wave of history is to make a few waves of your own.

Ed Feulner, you're a combination of many things: intellectual, administrator, politician, diplomat, but most of all, dreamer and darer. And for that, and for Heritage, all of us salute you.

Joe and Holly, I won't even mention the personal debt that I owe each of you. Let me just say that no one has been more important to Heritage's success and that of the conservative movement than the two of you. So, let me also say, as President, on behalf of the present generation of Americans and many more to come, your devotion to country, your selflessness and patriotism, put all of us in your permanent debt.

I think we should keep in mind the example of people like Joe, Holly, and Ed when we try to grasp the significance of what's happening in the world today. Heritage -- with its quiet promotion of ideas, its seminars, its research papers, its conferences, and, yes, occasionally its buttonholing of Congressmen -- for informational purposes only, of course -- [laughter] -- is a reflection, as well as a cause, of the revolution in ideas occurring throughout the world, a revolution whose significance may only be appreciated long after it has brought about startling, unexpected change.

Recently I've asked a few conservative audiences to reflect on that change, to think back to 1980 and ask themselves: Who would have thought that in a few short years even our political opposition would be calling for an end to deficit spending and voting for a de facto balanced budget amendment, known as Gramm-Rudman? Or who could have predicted that a House of Representatives supposedly under liberal leadership would spontaneously repeal the Clark amendment, the amendment which prevented us from helping the freedom fighters in Angola?

But these changes in American domestic politics reflect a wider international trend. Since our first days in office, our administration has tried to defend our way of life not just by increasing the defense budget, but by pointing to the world of ideas and the revolution now going on there. We've talked about the decadence of Marxist-Leninist ideology. Early in 1981 I mentioned to Mrs. Thatcher that totalitarian ideology had lost its force and energy and perhaps the time had come for the democracies to plan for a world where that ideology was no longer a dominant force. A little later at Notre Dame, we called communism a spent force, a sad, bizarre chapter in human history whose last

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pages even now are being written. And in Westminster, I noted that statism had lost the intellectuals. Our call was for a forward strategy for freedom, a crusade to promote and foster democratic values throughout the world.

Much of this at the time was viewed skeptically. But here we are a few years later; democracy is prospering in many nations where it's never before been seen. In Latin America and the Caribbean alone more than 50 -- or 90 percent of the people live in nations that are democracies or headed in that direction. What a change from a few years ago.

And we've seen the insurgencies in Afghanistan, Cambodia, Nicaragua, Angola, and elsewhere, vivid evidence that the romance of revolution is no longer on the side of the totalitarians. It's telling proof that the eighties is a break with the past, that the eighties is truly the decade of the freedom fighters.

There are those, of course, who are a little slow to catch on to all this. And it probably won't surprise you that a good many of them reside here in Washington. [Laughter] But even this is changing. The old politics, the post-Vietnam syndrome, the partisans of "Blame America First," are fading fast.

So, let me make a prediction. I think there's a growing recognition that the idea of self-government and the commitment to democratic rights is on the march everywhere in the world, and especially in Central America. Those who've been naive about the dangers of communism in the past, those who've been wrong about the nature of Communist regimes in Vietnam, Cambodia, Grenada, and El Salvador are uneasy now with their views on the Sandinistas and the freedom fighters. So, here is my prophesy: We're going to get the freedom fighters the help they need, and we're going to get it to them soon. But it's going to happen because I know you and I are going to redouble our efforts over the next few weeks.

And let me make one other prediction: We must never forget that totalitarian regimes are as fragile as they are powerful. Time magazine recently did a story on scholar Robert Laken, who went to Nicaragua and, much to the distress of some of his liberal colleagues, concluded that opposition to the Sandinistas is very deep and very strong in that nation.

So, let's remember this, too: The vast majority of the people in Nicaragua want nothing to do with communism or the militarism it engenders. The day is coming when the democratic promises of the revolution of 1979 will be fulfilled and Nicaragua will be free.

The only point I'm making here is this: We've been talking about the idea of freedom, about expanding its frontiers, since the beginning of this administration. So no one should be surprised that our policies and programs have followed suit. Freedom is on the march; we pledge solidarity to those who seek to make it their own.

In much the same way, no nation -- friend or foe, ally or adversary -- should be surprised by the events of last week and the United States Government's determination to protect American lives and the world from terrorism. I could recite here a long list of speeches and statements by myself and Cabinet officers outlining the terrorist danger, presenting the evidence of collaboration among certain terrorist States and making clear to those States that we would not tolerate what amounts to acts of war against the American people.

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Only last summer, in an address to the American Bar Association, I outlined the terrorist network; citing evidence the United States Government had accumulated, as well as private scholars in the field such as Dr. Avigdor Haselkorn. I carefully outlined the interconnection among those terrorist States and issued the most solemn warnings to their leaders.

And yet, even at the start of the administration, people like Jeane Kirkpatrick were offering some pretty broad hints that things would be different. "How will the Reagan administration change American foreign policy?" she was asked early in 1981 at the United Nations. She answered correctly. She said, "Well, we've taken down our 'Kick Me' sign." And then someone said, "Well, does this mean that if the United States is kicked it will kick back?" "Not necessarily," she said. "Ut it does mean we won't apologize." [Laughter] Well, we haven't been apologizing. Things are different. And perhaps you've noticed. I know Colonel Qadhafi has.

And by the way, these two issues we've discussed here this evening -- the march of freedom, especially in Central America, and the fight against terrorism -- are directly related. In that American Bar Association address, I pointed out the strong ties of the Sandinistas to the international terror network. The Sandinistas have provided refuge for all sorts of international terrorists. Members of the Italian Government have openly charged that Nicaragua is harboring some of Italy's worst terrorists. And we have evidence that in addition to Italy's Red Brigades, other elements of the world's most vicious terrorists groups -- West Germany's Baader-Meinhof gang, the Basque ETA, the PLO, and the Tupamaros -- have found a haven in Nicaragua. They have actively supported the Salvadoran rebels and have frequently used terror, including the killing of four of our marines in a cafe last summer. And these are the same rebels who celebrated the Challenger explosion and said our astronauts were war criminals and deserved what they got.

That picture making the rounds showing Daniel Ortega standing with Mu'ammar Qadhafi and raising his fist in a gesture of solidarity is very much to the point. I hope every member of Congress will reflect on the fact that the Sadinistas have been training, supporting, and directing, as well as sheltering terrorists; and in this sense, they're trying to build a Libya on our doorstep. And it's the contras, the freedom fighters, who are stopping them. So, you see it goes back to what Richard Weaver has said and what Heritage is all about: Ideas do have consequences, rhetoric is policy, and words are action.

And just in case the meaning of last week's events are still unclear to those who would terrorize and murder Americans, let me explain once more, and, believe me, far from being belligerent or warlike -- clearing up misunderstanding on this point is precisely the way to avoid conflict, not cause it.

Yes, we Americans have our disagreements, sometimes noisy ones, almost always in public -- that's the nature of an open society. But no foreign power should mistake disagreement for disunity or disputes for decadence. Those who are tempted to do so should reflect on our national character, on our record of littering history with the wreckage of regimes who've made the mistake of underestimating the will of the American people, their love for freedom, and their national valor. "The American people are slow to wrath," Teddy Roosevelt once said, "but when their wrath is once kindled it burns like a consuming flame."

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So, tonight I speak for a united people. Let me say simply to those who wish us ill: We are Americans. We love our country, we love what she stands for, we will always defend her. We live for freedom -- our own and our children's -- and we stand ready always to protect our birthright and guard our patrimony, as our fathers did before us.

Thank you. God bless you.

Note: The President spoke at 7:51 p.m. in the Grand Ballroom at the Shoreham Hotel. Prior to the dinner, the President attended a reception for headtable guests at the hotel.

Assessing the Summit: A Reagan Checklist of Achievements

- ☐ Gorbachev agrees to cooperate on the four-plank agenda that you outlined to the West Point cadets this October: Addressing Soviet human rights abuses; negotiating solutions to regional conflicts; expanding U.S.-Soviet people-to-people exchanges; and real reductions in the threatening Soviet nuclear arsenal.
- ☐ Gorbachev agrees to begin an internationally monitored total withdrawal of Soviet troops from Afghanistan. A timetable for such withdrawal is fixed and rapid. Conditions are created for a speedy and honorable return home of Afghan refugees. The Soviet Union agrees to internationally supervised free elections in Afghanistan, pledges non-interference in Afghanistan's domestic affairs, and guarantees the return of Afghan children forcibly brought to the Soviet Union.
- ☐ Gorbachev agrees to stop jamming all foreign broadcasts, including Radio Liberty.
- ☐ Soviet funding of the African National Congress, the PLO, and other terrorist groups stops. The Soviet Union joins the West in sanctions against such terrorist-supporting states as Libya, South Yemen, and Syria.
- ☐ Gorbachev relaxes restrictions on the travel and emigration of Soviet citizens.
- ☒ Reagan refuses to accept any new limits on the testing of strategic defenses, even in exchange for promised reductions in strategic nuclear forces. Any agreement laying out a timetable for SDI deployment provides not only for speedy SDI development, but for explicit Soviet agreement as to when deployment should begin.
- ☒ Gorbachev and Reagan agree to U.S.-Soviet talks on how to make the transition from a superpower balance based on offensive nuclear weapons to a balance based on both offensive and defensive strategic weapons.
- ☒ Reagan makes any U.S.-Soviet arms agreement fully dependent on solid verification of Soviet compliance. An agreement also spells out compensatory measures which each side can take to enforce compliance.
- ☐ Gorbachev agrees to allow one uncensored broadcast per month on Soviet TV by a U.S. official. The Soviet Union gradually adopts the American practice of uncensored appearances of U.S. decision-makers and journalists on regular Soviet TV broadcasts.
- ☐ Gorbachev agrees to press the Soviet-backed regime in Angola to negotiate with Jonas Savimbi's UNITA freedom fighters.
- ☐ Gorbachev releases all political prisoners within six months. He then abolishes those criminal code articles (such as Articles 70 and 190-1 of the Russian Republic's Code) that have been used to prosecute political or religious dissidents.
- ☐ Anti-U.S. propaganda in the Soviet press ends within six months. The Soviet Union pledges to refrain from distributing such disinformation in the future.
- ☐ Gorbachev and Reagan agree to exchange at least 10,000 high school and college students per year between their countries. Applications for exchange programs must be freely available in each country. After applications are submitted, the host country, and not the country of origin, chooses the participants.
- ☐ Soviet newsstands and bookstores begin offering American periodicals and books and those by Soviet emigres living in the West. Soviet citizens are permitted to order books and periodicals directly from the United States.

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Note: Nothing written here is to be construed as necessarily reflecting the views of The Heritage Foundation or as an attempt to aid or hinder the passage of any bill before Congress.

Recommended U.S. Agenda

REGIONAL ISSUES

ISSUE: Some 115,000 Soviet troops are waging brutal war against the Afghan people which has cost some 1 million Afghans their lives and made 5 million refugees.

U.S. Position: Moscow immediately should withdraw its troops and let the Afghans determine their own future. If not, the U.S. will continue providing the Afghan Freedom Fighters with military aid.

ISSUE: The Soviet Union is interfering in Central America. Soviet military and economic aid to Nicaragua's communist regime has been \$3 billion. There are up to 3,500 Soviet and Cuban military "advisors" in Nicaragua.

U.S. Position: Moscow must stop violating the Monroe Doctrine. Peace in Central America requires that Moscow halt its massive arms aid to Nicaragua.

ISSUE: The Soviet presence is expanding in Mexico.

U.S. Position: The U.S. knows that the Soviets have transformed their embassy and other diplomatic missions in Mexico into a massive KGB espionage base against the U.S. Washington regards this as a hostile act.

ISSUE: The Soviet military buildup in Asia far exceeds Soviet defensive needs. Since 1965 ground troop strength has tripled to 470,000, and since the mid-1970s, the Soviet Pacific Fleet has become a threatening navy.

U.S. Position: Soviet expansionism in Asia will not go unanswered.

ISSUE: In giving Vietnam an annual \$3 billion in military and economic aid, the Soviets fund a regime that refuses to settle the U.S. POW-MIA issue. Vietnam also uses Soviet aid to occupy Cambodia and attack Thailand.

U.S. Position: Moscow should push Vietnam to settle the POW-MIA issue and to negotiate in Cambodia.

ISSUE: The Communist Party of the Philippines is establishing formal ties with the Soviet Communist Party.

U.S. Position: The U.S. is committed to the democratic evolution in the Philippines led by Corazon Aquino. The U.S. will honor its Mutual Defense Treaty with the Philippines and interdict Soviet material support to the Philippine communists. Moscow must understand the extraordinary U.S. security interests in the Philippines.

ISSUE: The Soviet Union and its Eastern Bloc allies provide arms to the terrorists of the African National Congress and the South African Communist Party which seek to overthrow the South African government.

U.S. Position: The U.S. will oppose this.

ISSUE: Moscow has used the Brezhnev doctrine and some 500,000 ground troops to suppress attempts by East European nations to become more democratic and independent.

U.S. Position: Soviet domination of Eastern Europe will never be accepted as legitimate. This is a permanent source of East-West tensions and makes impossible lasting cooperation.

ECONOMIC AND CULTURAL ISSUES

ISSUE: Moscow wants the U.S. to give Soviet exports "Most Favored Nation" (MFN) treatment.

U.S. Position: Congress correctly ties the Soviet request for MFN status to Soviet emigration policy. Unless Moscow liberalizes emigration, Soviet exports to the U.S. will not receive MFN.

ISSUE: Moscow wants more U.S. technology.

U.S. Position: Restrictions on technology transfers will continue until the Soviet Union no longer threatens the West. The U.S. will never repeat the experience of the 1970s when U.S. precision ball bearing grinders enabled Moscow to make rapid advances in producing highly accurate multiple warhead nuclear missiles.

ISSUE: Moscow is interested in membership in the International Monetary Fund and World Bank.

U.S. Position: Moscow uses its participation in international organizations for propaganda purposes. Its membership in the IMF and World Bank would be disruptive. The U.S. thus opposes Soviet membership.

ISSUE: Moscow seeks more exchange of U.S. and Soviet scientists.

U.S. Position: U.S.-Soviet scientific exchanges have been skewed heavily towards the Soviet Union. Moscow exploits exchanges for military and industrial espionage. While the activities and movements of American scientists in the USSR are carefully controlled, Soviet scientists visiting the U.S. enjoy enormous freedoms.

ISSUE: "People-to-people" exchanges are seen as ways to improve U.S.-Soviet relations.

U.S. Position: Such exchanges must be conducted without government shaping agendas or selecting participants. The imbalance of exchanges must be corrected; 100,000 Americans will visit the USSR this year compared with 10,000 Soviets coming to the U.S. Tens of thousands more Soviet citizens must be allowed to come to the U.S.

ISSUE: While Americans can order Soviet books by mail or read *Pravda* in English, not a single American periodical is freely sold in the Soviet Union.

U.S. Position: Under the Helsinki Accords, Moscow must facilitate free flow of information across its border. Soviet violations here impede U.S.-Soviet relations.

ISSUE: Anti-American propaganda continues unabated in Soviet mass media. Examples: The U.S. military "engineered" AIDS; children from Latin America are kidnapped and imported into the U.S. for the extraction of their organs for transplants; the U.S. is a repressive state where protesters are harassed and imprisoned.

U.S. Position: All deliberate distortions must stop immediately if U.S.-Soviet ties are to improve.

Recommended U.S. Agenda

STRATEGIC DEFENSE

ISSUE: The U.S. Strategic Defense Initiative, it is claimed, is a bargaining chip which has accomplished what it sought. The Soviets probably will make key concessions regarding their offensive arsenals if the U.S. will abandon SDI.

U.S. Position: SDI is no bargaining chip. It is the first real chance offered the world to shift the superpower balance from arms based on nuclear destruction to arms based on defense. SDI is the only U.S. program designed to protect America from nuclear weapons. It should not be bargained away.

ISSUE: Strategic defenses cannot work.

U.S. Position: Rapid progress in kinetic energy weapons, sensors, and lasers proves that a defense against Soviet ICBMs is achievable. A defense could be constructed within ten years.

ISSUE: The 1972 Anti-Ballistic Missile Treaty prohibits U.S. testing of strategic defense systems.

U.S. Position: A legally correct ABM Treaty interpretation allows rapid SDI development and testing.

ISSUE: SDI will cost too much.

U.S. Position: Studies show that a three-tiered near-term system based on kinetic kill weapons could be fielded for only \$12 billion annually for ten years.

ISSUE: SDI is an offensive threat.

U.S. Position: The weapons being developed under SDI are entirely defensive—for use only against launched enemy ICBMs.

ISSUE: Strategic defense systems will militarize outer space.

U.S. Position: Outer space already has been militarized by the deployment of nuclear ballistic missiles. SDI is protection against this threat.

ISSUE: The U.S. with SDI will alter the U.S.-Soviet balance.

U.S. Position: The Soviet Union has been working on its own strategic defense program longer and at a more feverish pace than the U.S. The Soviets have spent \$150 billion on this over the last ten years—fifteen times the U.S. expenditures on SDI. Recently Soviet research has accelerated.

ISSUE: SDI will destabilize the superpower relationship and thus make war more likely.

U.S. Position: SDI will stabilize the relationship by forcing each side to stress defending itself rather than threatening the other with offensive forces.

HUMAN RIGHTS

ISSUE: Gorbachev claims that the human rights situation in the Soviet Union is improving rapidly.

U.S. Position: *Glasnost* has done nothing to remove or even modify such Soviet policies as: total party monopoly of political power; secret police; state control of mass media; absence of an independent judiciary; secret personal dossiers compiled on every Soviet citizen; the absence of independent trade unions; residence restrictions; and state control of churches, synagogues and mosques.

ISSUE: *Glasnost* gives dissidents greater freedoms.

U.S. Position: Nonsense. The Soviet Union continues harassing dissidents. Examples: demonstrations by Soviet Jewish "refuseniks" were broken up by force and their participants beaten and detained; organizers of public protests in the Baltic Republics have been thrown out of the Soviet Union; members of independent peace groups are threatened and detained. Such harassment violates international agreements signed by Moscow.

ISSUE: Moscow claims that most political prisoners have been released from Soviet prisons.

U.S. Position: Recent releases of political prisoners seem to be token, public relations gestures. Even of those prisoners known by name in the West, fewer than half have been released. Religious and nationalist dissidents are subjected to especially cruel punishments.

ISSUE: The Soviets say that they are abandoning punitive psychiatry, forcible commitment of healthy people to psychiatric wards, as a punishment for political views.

U.S. Position: They are not. "Special Psychiatric Hospitals" for some 1,000 dissidents continue to exist.

ISSUE: Moscow insists that Soviet citizens have expanding religious freedom.

U.S. Position: The Soviet Union still persecutes and harasses religious believers. As of September, there were 292 known political prisoners whose only "crime" was openly professing religion and proselytizing. Being known as a "believer" effectively puts an end to any professional advancement. Religious organizations are forbidden to run schools or engage in charity work.

ISSUE: The Soviet Union insists on an international conference on Human Rights in Moscow and urges U.S. participation.

U.S. Position: There is no need for yet another conference on human rights. The Soviet Union should comply with existing international agreements on human rights that it has pledged to honor.

ISSUE: The Soviets jam Western radio stations, such as Radio Liberty, Kol Israel, Deutsche Welle.

U.S. Position: The jamming is a flagrant violation of the right to "impart and receive information" guaranteed by a number of international agreements signed by the Soviet Union, including the Helsinki Accords.

Recommended U.S. Agenda

U.S. SECURITY

ISSUE: The increasing Soviet capability to launch a nuclear first-strike, an attack which destroys credible U.S. retaliatory forces, threatens U.S. security.

U.S. Position: The Soviet Union must reduce its strategic nuclear threat considerably before real improvements in relations can be achieved. It must reduce its 5 to 1 advantage over the U.S. in number of warheads capable of destroying land-based missiles in their silos with little warning, and its at least 4 to 1 advantage over the U.S. in the amount of nuclear destructive power (throwweight, or the capability to deliver nuclear explosive power).

ISSUE: The Soviets continue to keep most of their nuclear arsenal in massive land-based intercontinental missiles.

U.S. Position: This is particularly dangerous because these missiles carry many warheads that can destroy U.S. missiles with very little warning. Strategic defenses will protect against surprise attacks.

ISSUE: The buildup of conventional forces gives the Soviet bloc a 2 to 1 lead over NATO in such offensive items as tanks and attack helicopters.

U.S. Position: Moscow must reduce its conventional military threat to NATO before real improvement in relations can be achieved. The Soviet bloc should reduce its conventional forces to NATO levels.

ISSUE: The agreement to eliminate medium and intermediate-range nuclear forces will increase the West's vulnerability to Soviet conventional arms in Europe.

U.S. Position: To offset major Soviet conventional forces advantages, the U.S. will not give up its remaining nuclear forces in Europe consisting of bombs and tactical battlefield weapons.

ISSUE: The Soviet Union supports such terrorist groups as the Democratic Front for the Liberation of Palestine (DFLP) and the Armenian Secret Army for the Liberation of Armenia (ASALA) and such states that host terrorist groups as Libya, Syria, and South Yemen.

U.S. Position: Moscow should end completely all training, support, and sheltering of terrorists. If not, the U.S. will start publicizing Soviet support of terrorism. The impact this will have on U.S. public opinion will impede further improvements of U.S.-Soviet ties.

ISSUE: The Soviet Union continues to conduct military genetic engineering experiments. Soviet-developed chemical and biological weapons have been used in Laos, Cambodia, and Afghanistan.

U.S. Position: The U.S. reserves the right to research into biological and toxic weapons to develop antidotes for and defenses against Soviet weapons. The nature of biological weapons research is such that barring extremely stringent verification measures, a ban on the development of such weapons is not feasible.

ARMS CONTROL

ISSUE: The Soviet Union continues to take arms control positions aimed at preserving its first-strike capability based on heavy land-based missiles.

U.S. Position: The Soviet Union must agree to greater reductions in first-strike land-based missiles than in sea-based missiles and bombers which are stabilizing because of their function as reserve, or second-strike weapons. Since a key to the Soviet first-strike threat is the large number of warheads placed on land-based missiles, a U.S.-Soviet agreement must drastically cut the number of Soviet land-based missiles and warheads.

ISSUE: The Soviets complain that the U.S. does not comply with the SALT II Treaty.

U.S. Position: The U.S. has invoked its right to renounce SALT II because the 1979 agreement: 1) was never ratified by the Senate; 2) anyway would have expired in 1985; and 3) is being violated by such Soviet actions as deployment of the prohibited SS-25 missile.

ISSUE: Moscow is calling for the limitation and eventual cessation of nuclear testing.

U.S. Position: So long as the West is dependent upon nuclear forces to deter a Soviet attack against the West, testing will be required to maintain confidence in the reliability of U.S. nuclear weapons. Testing allows the U.S. to decrease the total explosive yield and numbers of nuclear weapons in its stockpile.

ISSUE: Because the USSR obviously is adjacent to Eastern Europe while the Atlantic Ocean separates the U.S. from its allies, wartime conventional forces reinforcement is easier for the Warsaw Pact.

U.S. Position: Any agreement limiting conventional forces must take geographical disparities between Warsaw Pact and NATO into account. The U.S. will sign an agreement equating forces withdrawn to Russia proper with forces withdrawn across the Atlantic Ocean.

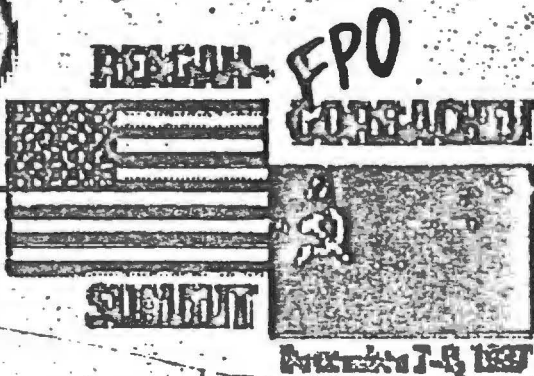
ISSUE: The Soviet Union possesses an operational anti-satellite system—or ASAT; the U.S. does not. This gives Moscow the ability to destroy U.S. intelligence gathering satellites essential for verifying Soviet arms accords compliance and for detecting major Soviet military moves.

U.S. Position: Because of the Soviet lead in this area and because of the impossibility of verifying an ASAT ban, the U.S. will not agree to banning development and testing of ASAT systems.

ISSUE: U.S. security is threatened by such Soviet activities as jamming U.S. electronic intelligence gathering devices, blinding U.S. reconnaissance satellites and aircraft, encryption of Soviet missile flight test telemetry, and construction of massive radar in Siberia banned by treaty.

U.S. Position: Unless Moscow stops these actions, the U.S. will not be able to verify arms control agreements.

WARM-UP



BRIEFING

Key U.S. Objectives


- 1) An international system in which both the U.S. and the Soviet Union respect the rights of people to freely choose their form of government, to be free of oppression, to exchange ideas, and to move unobstructed across national borders.
- 2) Significant reductions in the Soviet land-based strategic arsenal in the context of a new strategic relationship based primarily on strategic defenses.
- 3) Reduction and redeployment of Soviet conventional forces in Europe so that they serve only a defensive purpose.
- 4) Significant drop of Soviet support to such anti-U.S. regimes and groups as Nicaragua, Angola, Vietnam, Libya, the PLO, the Philippine "New People's Army," and terrorist groups in Western Europe, the Middle East, and Latin America.
- 5) Repeal of the so-called Brezhnev doctrine which has prevented peoples from freely choosing a democratic political system in Czechoslovakia, Poland, and other communist-controlled and Soviet-influenced nations.
- 6) More Soviet help in conflicts around the world, including cooperation with the West in boycotting Iran.
- 7) Immediate and unconditional withdrawal of Soviet occupying forces from Afghanistan.
- 8) Strict Soviet compliance with agreements as the Universal Declaration of Human Rights and the Helsinki Accords.
- 9) Cessation of Soviet anti-American activities abroad such as spreading disinformation and cessation of cold-war anti-U.S. propaganda in the Soviet mass media.
- 10) Free and uncontrolled access of the Soviet people to American periodicals and books.

Themes to Emphasize

- The U.S. is committed to the moral imperative of developing defenses against nuclear weapons.
- Testing and deployment of U.S. Strategic Defense Initiative systems is not negotiable.
- Soviet expansionism into Afghanistan, Angola, Vietnam, Ethiopia, Nicaragua, and elsewhere—not nuclear arms competition—is the most important cause of U.S.-Soviet tensions.
- The U.S. does not accept as permanent the division of Eastern and Western Europe or the denial of freedom to Eastern Europe.
- The U.S. will continue backing movements fighting for freedom against Marxist-Leninist regimes.
- The U.S. cannot trust a state that does not trust its own people enough to grant them human rights.
- The U.S. has global interests and will protect them.

Questions to Ask Gorbachev

- Why does the Soviet military continue to acquire nuclear arms that can be used for a first strike?
- If you truly are against nuclear holocaust, why do you oppose strategic defense?
- When will Soviet troops leave Afghanistan?
- When will you stop supporting terrorists?
- Why does the Soviet military buildup of Cuba and Nicaragua continue?
- When will Moscow begin working with the U.S. on revising the Anti-Ballistic Missile Treaty and on other matters leading to a strategic balance based mainly on defensive rather than offensive systems?
- Why do Soviet newspapers continue the Stalinist-Brezhnev line of routinely printing outrageous lies about the U.S.?


The Heritage Foundation

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In Dealing with Gorbachev, Reagan Should Keep in Mind That:

Since the time of your first summit with Gorbachev in 1985, his policy of *glasnost* has widened the range of subjects allowed for discussion in the Soviet mass media, encouraged investigative reporting critical of local authorities, relaxed censorship of arts enough to allow the appearance of anti-Stalinist films and novels, allowed publication of previously banned authors, tolerated the emergence and operation of independent non-political organizations, permitted several public protests to proceed without interruption, and released nearly 200 political prisoners. There is no question, therefore, that Gorbachev's *glasnost* is changing the Soviet Union. How much is still uncertain. Soviet leaders, after all, as the czars before them, have been skilled at abruptly reversing policy and at deceiving the outside world. Thus, in dealing with Gorbachev keep in mind:

- He heads a regime responsible for killing U.S. Major Arthur D. Nicholson, Jr., in East Germany, for shooting down Korean Air Lines Flight 007 with its 269 passengers and crew and for repressing human rights and religious freedoms in violation of treaties which it signed.

- Despite all the talk of *glasnost*, Gorbachev last month staged a modern version of the Stalinist show trials to strip the powers and publicly humiliate his one-time ally Boris Yeltsin because, as *The New York Times* reports, "Yeltsin had the temerity to suggest that the widely publicized Gorbachev plan for restructuring Soviet society was not working."

- Gorbachev is not the first Soviet leader to claim to be reforming the Soviet system. Lenin had his "New Economic Policy," Khrushchev had his "destalinization" and "thaw," and even Brezhnev had his Libermanism experiment. At no time did any of these domestic developments change Soviet expansionist foreign policy aims. Khrushchev sent Soviet troops into Hungary and Brezhnev sent them into Czechoslovakia. Meanwhile, the buildup of their nuclear arsenal that today threatens the West continued unabated. As you told the cadets at West Point in October: "Anyone searching for evidence that the Soviets remain expansionist, indeed imperialist, need look no farther than Nicaragua and Afghanistan."

- His country is the major source of training and funding for international terrorists.

- He will try unrelentingly in his talks with you to drive a wedge between the U.S. and its NATO allies.

- He is overseeing the continuation of the most massive sustained military buildup in world history.

- His country for years has been working on its own strategic defense initiative, even while he has launched a worldwide campaign to stop your strategic defense program.

- His country has violated numerous provisions of existing U.S.-Soviet arms control agreements.

- As you told the West Point cadets, "The Soviets have an extensive record of violating past arms control agreements." Indeed, they are violating, among others, the Biological and Toxin Weapons Convention of 1972, the Threshold Test Ban Treaty of 1974, the Helsinki Final Act of 1975, SALT I, SALT II, the ABM Treaty and, of course, the solemn promises made at the 1945 Yalta Conference.

- His country, by tradition and ideology, is expansionist. It exploits instability and power vacuums throughout the world.

- Détente as it was pursued in the 1970s gave extraordinary advantages to the Soviet Union. To such a lopsided arrangement, the U.S. must say: Never Again.

- In the Soviet political lexicon, "compromise" is a dirty word. At best, it is a temporary expedient in dealing with the "class enemy."

- His regime is engaged in relentless anti-American propaganda campaign at home and abroad. No lie is too

outrageous if it hurts the U.S., including the stories spread by the Soviet that AIDS was invented by the U.S. military or that the Ku Klux Klan is given free reign to terrorize black Americans and that the U.S. kidnaps Latin American children and uses their organs for transplants.

- Soviet officials and official publications have denounced you as being like Hitler and worse than Hitler. The Soviet military daily *Red Star* describes you as: "The former Hollywood actor, behaving as did the unrecognized artist Hitler in his day."

- He will try, as his predecessors did with great success, to make you feel guilty by invoking the image of "poor Mother Russia" being ravaged by the Nazis in World War II. Soviet leaders do this to win concessions on critical substantive matters. The antidote to this is to remember: a) that the Soviet Union brought on World War II through Stalin's alliance with Hitler, b) that Soviet citizens have suffered much more from their repressive government than from the Nazis; and c) World War II suffering, as great as it was, does not excuse Soviet behavior since 1945 and does not entitle Moscow to special treatment by the West.

- You must control the organizational details of the summit talks. Such details are never too petty for Soviet negotiators. Control of the details has allowed Moscow, in effect, to set summit agendas.

- He will take preposterous opening positions simply to enable him to appear reasonable and flexible when he modifies them. Do not be tempted to offer real concessions in exchange for illusory Soviet concessions.

- He will favor broad statements of principle which sound grandly virtuous but will be unbinding and unenforceable—except by public opinion pressure in the U.S. and the West.

- He assumes that an American president dare not end a summit empty-handed. As the summit nears its end, therefore, Gorbachev will seek ever greater U.S. concessions as the price for agreement and summit success. This is what forced Richard Nixon to make unnecessary concessions on the SALT I Accord at his meeting with Leonid Brezhnev in 1972. You did not fall for this in Reykjavik; do not fall for it now.

- You should not try to prove that the U.S. means no harm. The records of Roosevelt, Eisenhower, Kennedy, and Carter attest to the futility of this. The Soviets perceive such attempts as a sign of weakness. After Kennedy's attempt to convince Khrushchev that the U.S. stood for social progress, was against colonialism, and so forth, Khrushchev toughly reacted by erecting the Berlin Wall and installing nuclear missiles in Cuba.

- You should not respond to Soviet proposals without sufficient briefing. The Soviets will pursue relentlessly any inadvertent concession made in passing or off-the-cuff by a negotiating counterpart.

100-120 people

100,000 donors

recognition of These people
for Cobs. cause

RR Value

ref. to C. B. Luce for
her contributions to Heritag-

• tied into Hert. Board meeting
dedicating Board room

to
Lawrence Fertig (Jany)
connected to Buckley
died - room to memory

• Buckley doing remarks for
dedication of room

12 WH staff invited as
guest

Heese, Mc Caughlin, Bennett,
Burnley, Hodel,
Cribb, Bauer, Baker,
speechwriters

• Joe Coss founder, ^{visio} not there
but mention

• Substance.

Summit

INF

SDI

Human rights.

regional conflicts

Afghanistan

• mention Heritage paper on
Summit

• introd. by

Shelby Cullorn - Davis

15 minutes speech

Cap just a phone call away

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

11/10/87

MEMORANDUM

TO: REBECCA RANGE (Coordinate with James Hooley)
FROM: FREDERICK J. RYAN, JR. *FRJ*
SUBJECT: APPROVED PRESIDENTIAL ACTIVITY

MEETING: Attend Heritage Foundation Luncheon

DATE: November 30, 1987

TIME: To be determined

DURATION: Approximately 1 hour

LOCATION: Willard Hotel

BACKUP LOCATION:

REMARKS REQUIRED: Yes

MEDIA COVERAGE: Coordinate with Press Office

FIRST LADY

PARTICIPATION: No

NOTE: PROJECT OFFICER, SEE ATTACHED CHECKLIST

M. Archambault
W. Ball
J. Courtemanche
E. Crispen
R. Dawson
F. Donatelli
D. Dellinger
A. Dolan
J. Erkenbeck
L. Faulkner
C. Fuller
M. Fitzwater
T. Griscom

Advance Office
J. Hooley
J. Kuhn
J. Lamb
J. Manning
J. McKinney
N. Risque
D. Johnson
R. Shaddick
G. Walters
WHCA Audio/Visual
WHCA Operations

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

SCHEDULE PROPOSAL

November 5, 1987

TO: FREDERICK RYAN, JR., DEPUTY ASSISTANT TO
THE PRESIDENT AND DIRECTOR OF PRESIDENTIAL
APPOINTMENTS AND SCHEDULING

FROM: REBECCA G. RANGE, DEPUTY ASSISTANT TO THE
PRESIDENT AND DIRECTOR OF PUBLIC LIAISON

REQUEST: For the President to host a luncheon for
The Heritage Foundation's Founders and
Trustees.

PURPOSE: To thank The Heritage Foundation and its
donors for their unfailing support of the
President and his policies.

BACKGROUND: Every year The Heritage Foundation hosts a
number of events to keep their members
informed as to the current events in
Washington and to thank them for their
support.

PREVIOUS
PARTICIPATION: The President has, in years past, spoken
at two Heritage Foundation formal dinners.

DATE AND TIME: November 30, 1987
DURATION: one hour

LOCATION: Crystal Room - The Willard Hotel

PARTICIPANTS: The 100 Trustees and Founders of the
Heritage Foundation such as Joseph Coors,
Shelby Cullom Davis, Jack Eckert, Sir
James Goldsmith, Lewis Lehrman, Henry
Salvatori, Richard Scaife, William Simon,
and Arthur Spitzer.

OUTLINE OF EVENTS: To be determined

REMARKS REQUIRED: Brief remarks provided by speechwriters

MEDIA COVERAGE: To be determined

RECOMMENDED BY: Rebecca G. Range

PROJECT OFFICER: Mildred J. Webber

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

November 5, 1987

Dear Ed:

I wanted to let you know that we discussed The Heritage Foundation Board meeting in our Long Range Scheduling meeting today.

Rebecca Range, who is Deputy Assistant to the President and Director of the Office of Public Liason, will be in touch with you because we have selected a date and time for the event.

I wanted you to be aware of this.

Again, thank you for your continued support.

Sincerely,



Thomas C. Griscom
Assistant to the President
for Communications and Planning


Mr. Edward J. Feulner, Jr.
President
The Heritage Foundation
214 Massachusetts Avenue, N.E.
Washington, D.C. 20002

MEMORANDUM

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

November 19, 1987

MEMO TO: JOSH

FROM: Teresa 

Re: Heritage Foundation luncheon

100-120 people will attend.

all are donors of \$100,000 or more except possible
Administration guests.

Recognize the donors for contributing to the Conservative cause
and the Reagan values.

A reference is requested by Heritage to the late Clare Booth Luce
for her contributions to Heritage.

The luncheon is tied into the Heritage Board meeting which will be
held the next day and will dedicate the new board room to
Lawrence Fertig (Larry). Fertig died recently. He is connected
to Bill Buckley.

Buckley will do the dedication remarks.

Approximately 12 Administration heavies will attend: Meese, Bennett,
Burnley, McLaughlin, Hodel, Cribb, Bauer, Baker, Dolan, Gilder,
Robinson, Rohrbacher, Judge.

A reference to Joe Coors for his vision and support is requested.
Coors is not expected to attend.

President will be introduced by Shelby Cullom Davis.

Substance requested by Heritage: INF, Summit; SDI, Human rights,
Regional conflicts, Afghanistan.

Mention Heritage paper on Summit.

15 - 20 minute speech.

(14)

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

November 17, 1987

project office -
2310
Mildred Webber

MEMORANDUM FOR TONY DOLAN

FROM: BOB TUTTLE *BT*

SUBJECT: Suggested Talking Points for Heritage Foundation Luncheon

As a suggested talking point for the President's address to the Heritage Foundation Luncheon on November 30, approximately 45 individuals associated with The Heritage Foundation have been appointed to positions in the Reagan Administration. The President could highlight the following prominent appointees:

Edwin Feulner - Currently, Chairman of the U.S. Advisory Committee on Public Diplomacy;

Jack Svahn - Previously, Assistant to the President for Policy Development;

Eugene McAllister - Currently, Special Assistant to the President and Executive Secretary for Economic Policy Council;

Marshall Breger - Currently Chairman of the Administrative Conference of the United States;

Richard Holwill - Currently, Deputy Assistant Secretary of Congressional and Business Affairs at the Department of State;

James Hackett - Previously, Associate Director of Management at U.S. Information Agency;

Charles Heatherly - Previously, Deputy Administrator of Small Business Administration

*120 people at Willard - close to administration - most of
Kitchen cabinet there - donors to Heritage in large sums.
Founders & Trustees lunch - Board meeting*