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THE WASHINGTON CONNECTION

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Arms Control: A Priority



President Reagan and Vice President Bush pictured with (l to r) the head of the U.S. delegation to the Geneva talks, Ambassador Max M. Kampelman, and his fellow negotiators former Senator John G. Tower and Ambassador Maynard W. Glitman.

Toward Assured Survival

For a generation, strategic stability and our very survival have been based on the concept of deterrence.

We have developed and deployed nuclear forces in a manner meant to ensure their survival in the event of a Soviet attack. That attack is deterred by the knowledge that, even if subjected to a surprise attack, the U.S. would be able to retaliate with significant force capable of destroying the aggressor. This ability to retaliate has come to be known as "mutual assured destruction" or MAD.

During his first two years in office, President Reagan struggled with the moral dilemma posed by the MAD strategy. "Certainly, there should be a better way to strengthen peace and stability; a way to move away from a future that relies so heavily on the prospect of rapid and massive nuclear retaliation and toward greater reliance on defensive systems which threaten no one," he said.* On March 23, 1983, he announced the Strategic Defense Initiative (or SDI)—a comprehensive research program aimed at finding a better basis for deterring aggression, strengthening stability, and increasing the security of the U.S. and our Allies. The SDI research will investigate recent technological advances which might make possible the defenses considered infeasible only a decade ago. Speculation about the cost of deploying a defensive system, or the types of devices it will employ are very premature. Today, and for the

next four years, we will engage in an accelerated research effort into a variety of possible approaches. Once this research is conducted we will be in a better position to judge whether the task is one we can accomplish; how much it will cost; and whether it can fulfill the promise held out for it by the President.

"I have called upon the great scientific talents of our country to turn to the cause of strengthening world peace by rendering ballistic missiles impotent and obsolete... In carrying out this research program the United States seeks neither military superiority nor political advantage. Our only purpose is to search for ways to reduce the danger of nuclear war."

From Mutual Assured Destruction we might move to a new concept—some have called it "mutual survival." During a carefully managed transition period both superpowers would begin to dismantle their offensive weapons and, working together, develop defenses which will allow each side to protect itself from an attack. Is such a world possible? No one knows. The SDI research will give a future President a clear choice for the future—one based not on guesswork, but on hard research. It is an investment in knowledge which could some day lead to a safer world for us and our children.

*"The President's Strategic Defense Initiative," USGPO, Washington, D.C., January 1985.

Peace Talks: The Role Of Congress

At the outset of his second term President Reagan stated that one of his highest priorities was arms control and that, "We must and will engage the Soviets in a dialogue as serious and constructive as possible, a dialogue that will serve to promote peace in the troubled regions of the world, reduce the level of arms, and build a constructive working relationship."

The President's commitment to arms control was underscored by his surprise invitation to Soviet Foreign Minister Gromyko to visit Washington for an exchange of views in September of 1984. Their meeting led to a reopening of negotiations between the United States and the Soviet Union on a whole range of questions concerning strategic, theatre nuclear and space weapons. A subsequent meeting in Geneva on January 7, 1985 between Foreign Minister Gromyko and Secretary of State Shultz resulted in a mutual decision to divide the negotiations into three separate parts; one on space weaponry, one on strategic nuclear weapons, and one on intermediate range nuclear forces.

THE PRESIDENT'S NEGOTIATING TEAM

On January 18, 1985, the President announced his selection of three outstanding Americans to serve as the chief negotiators for the new negotiations. Ambassador Max M. Kampelman, a lawyer and former head of the US delegation to the Madrid followup meeting of the Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe (1980-83), will serve as the negotiator on defense and space arms and as head of the U.S. delegation. Former Senator John G. Tower of Texas, who was chairman of the Senate Armed Services Committee, will be the negotiator on strategic nuclear arms. Ambassador Maynard W. Glitman, a career Foreign Service Officer who has served as deputy to Ambassador Paul Nitze in the INF talks and most recently served as US negotiator at the mutual and balanced force reduction talks in Vienna, will be U.S. negotiator on intermediate-range nuclear arms. Ambassadors Paul H. Nitze and Edward L. Rowny have been designated special advisors to the President and Secretary of State on arms control matters.

GENEVA

Judging from the statements emanating from both Washington and Moscow, it is obvious that there is a wide difference of opinion regarding the outcome of the Geneva negotiations. This situation has led many arms control experts from both parties to predict that these negotiations will be a long, complicated and arduous task for both sides.

The expectation of a lengthy negotiating process has created a situation where upcoming Congressional action on the 1986 Defense Budget and certain weapon systems contained in that budget will have a critical effect on the prospects for a successful arms control agreement with the Soviets. In particular, congressional decisions on the funding levels for the MX Peacekeeper Missile and the President's Strategic Defense Initiative will be critical.

WHY PEACEKEEPER NOW

- President Reagan has determined that deployment of 100 MX Peacekeeper missiles is vital to the national security of the United States. Just a few short weeks ago, the President said, "If Congress acts responsibly our negotiators (in Geneva) will have a chance to succeed. Without the Peacekeeper, our chances of reaching an

equitable agreement with the Soviet Union to reduce significantly the size of our nuclear arsenals are substantially lowered. Should congress delay or eliminate the Peacekeeper program, it would send an unmistakable signal to the Soviet Union that we do not possess the resolve required nor the continuity of purpose to maintain a viable strategic triad and the policy of deterrence the triad represents."

- Not in 15 years has the United States deployed a new land-based strategic missile. During that time, the Soviets have deployed four new missiles and are developing two additional systems—in an unprecedented and relentless nuclear buildup.
- The Peacekeeper, with the Trident submarine and the B-1 Bomber, represents overdue modernization of an aging strategic "triad" that has kept the West secure, free and at peace for thirty years.
- Without the modern Peacekeepers—deployed in existing silos—the aging U.S. land-based missile force—smaller than it has been in decades due to continued retirement of the 22-year-old Titan missiles—will become less and less credible and effective as a deterrent.
- The Peacekeeper has proven to be the most accurate, most reliable, most effective land-based system ever developed. One hundred of these missiles would significantly enhance the credibility of the U.S. deterrent, and command the respect of Soviet strategic planners.
- The Soviets have already placed more than 600 Peacekeeper-type weapons in silos with 5000 strategic warheads aimed at the American deterrent. (They have deployed 308 SS-18s, with ten warheads each, and 360 SS-19s, with six warheads each.)
- The blue-ribbon bipartisan Scowcroft Commission, which studied the strategic security requirements of the United States into the next decade, has urged deployment of 100 Peacekeepers.

IF PEACEKEEPER IS DEFEATED

(Editor's note: with strong bipartisan support, Congress on March, 28, 1985 finalized approval of the President's request for production of 21 MX Peacekeeper missiles. This increases the number of authorized missiles to 42. Ten missiles have already been built and are scheduled to be deployed in late 1986. This summer, the President will ask Congress to approve a final 48 missiles capping MX deployment at 100 missiles.)

- The Soviets will be handed by Congress a significant strategic and political victory. The U.S. arms modernization program will sustain a crippling blow. For the first time in postwar history, a U.S. President will have been denied a strategic weapon he deemed vital to the national security.
- U.S. negotiators in Geneva will be severely undercut by the legislative branch of their own government.
- Chances of reaching an arms control agreement with the Soviet Union that is fair and equitable to the United States will be sharply diminished.

(continued on page 5)

It's Not Who You Are

I had always been one of God's most exotic of creatures, a life-long Jewish Republican. It had never occurred to me that other than immediate family there were other such rare fauna as I until last year. A friend of mine casually mentioned that some friends of hers had gone to Washington in the spring as a part of the Republican Jewish Coalition. Imagine! The thought that there were other rarities such as I made mine real. At once my husband and I joined what seemed at first to be a very elaborate mailing list of speeches that the President and Vice President made to Jewish groups. Upon reading their speeches, I learned for the first time about the dangers facing the Jews of Central America. I wanted to do something, but what could one woman do?

Early in the summer of 1984, the Jewish Coalition announced a White House briefing. It seemed like the chance of a lifetime, so I went. While in an elevator, I met Sandy Stein, and my life hasn't been the same since. She learned I was from Dallas and asked me if I would have a coffee for Congresswoman Bobbi Fiedler during the convention. As it turned out, my friend Dr. Dale Robinowitz hosted it with me, and the two of us became the first Dallas members of THE WASHINGTON CONNECTION. Later in the fall, we were invited to another White House conference, this time with a number of Jewish women leaders. Through THE WASHINGTON CONNECTION, I met Joyce Press from Maryland that day, talked to her and gave her my card. She and I spoke of

our mutual concern for the Jews of Central America. Three days ago, she called my number. It seems that the vote on covert aid to Central America is coming up in Congress either late in March or early in April. She said that Congressman Jim Wright was the key to the vote and did I know anyone in Fort Worth who might know him? I remembered a man I met last year who is active in politics in Fort Worth and called him to ask him if he knew anyone who knew Jim Wright. As luck would have it, he was having lunch with him in two hours! He was happy to share our feelings and pass them along to the Congressman! This was the first time THE WASHINGTON CONNECTION connected! A few days later, THE WASHINGTON CONNECTION connected again, this time with the White House. Professor Jamie Darenblum, Costa Rican writer and political commentator, was invited to speak at a special White House program on Central America focusing on the future of Jewry in this part of the world. All of us can visualize the implications for the future and look forward to becoming a vital part of the Republican Party.*

Jane Guzman
Washington Connection Key Contact, Texas

***Editor's Note:** If you would like to have THE WASHINGTON CONNECTION connect for you, write to me . . . Sandra Stein, National Director, THE WASHINGTON CONNECTION, P.O. Box 25575, Washington, D.C. 20007 or call (818) 788-0419

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Honorable Betty Heitman
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Sandra Stein, Attorney at Law
National Director

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THE WASHINGTON CONNECTION is an educational outreach focusing on issues of concern to the Jewish community. Working with the White House, members of Congress and the Republican National Committee our goal is to create a bipartisan network which enables our members to effectively share in a dialogue with the President.

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Soviet Jewry: A Call To Conscience



President Reagan signing proclamation establishing Human Rights Day. With the President is Avital Shcharansky, wife of Soviet Refusenik Anatoly B. Shcharansky.

The United States recognizes a special responsibility to advance the claims of the oppressed; to reaffirm the rights to life and liberty as fundamental rights upon which all others are based; and to safeguard the rights to freedom of thought, conscience, and religion. As we are free, we must speak up for those who are not.

Let us always remember the critical moral distinction of our time—the clear difference between a philosophy of government that acknowledges wrong-doing and injustice and one that refuses to admit to such injustices, and even justifies its own assaults on individual liberty in the name of a

(continued on page 6)



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(continued from page 2)

- Congress will have virtually conceded to the Soviets another decade of superiority in land-based missiles, those weapons the Soviets have always valued most and regarded as the ultimate yardstick of relative military power.
- Moscow will have no disincentive to discontinue their ongoing strategic buildup.
- Allied unity will be put in jeopardy. The NATO allies

who had stood firm in accepting Pershing and cruise missiles would look across the Atlantic and see a wilting American resolve to carry forward U.S. modernization of the Western deterrent.

- A decade of research, and billions of dollars in development funds, for the most effective and reliable land-based missile the U.S. has ever produced, will be washed down the drain.

*White House Office of Public Affairs

Bipartisan Support For Peacekeeper

"The fact that the chairman (Democrat) and the ranking member (Republican) of the House Armed Services Committee are both supporting the building of the next twenty-one missiles is a clear sign that, except for a few extremists who are prepared to unilaterally disarm, our nation's defense is not a partisan issue."

**—Congresswoman Bobbi Fiedler
Ranking Member, Defense and International Affairs Task Force
of House Budget Committee, 13 March 1985.**

"Until the MX and Pershing missiles are deployed, the Soviets won't move . . . shutting down these programs would be the equivalent of a unilateral freeze at a time when the NATO alliance has never been stronger."

—Senator Henry Jackson, 11 May 1983.

"The MX is very important to arms control negotiations . . . having the MX production line open provides leverage with the Soviets. Though I would not trade overall forces today, I would feel differently in a few years without ICBM modernization."

—Harold Brown, 18 April 1983

"Deploying the new Peacekeeper missile will demonstrate U.S. resolve, counter the Soviet missile imbalance, replace aging systems and provide the incentive for arms reduction talks that enhance future stability . . . the Navy knows that, and so should the Congress."

—J. William Middendorf II, (formerly Secretary of Navy), 24 May 1983

"I for one do not find it reasonable that the Soviet Union will willingly make concessions on its most threatening land-based systems if we fail to proceed with near-term deployment of an improved missile. Strong rhetoric unsupported by decisive action will surely be perceived as empty posturing."

—Senator Warren Rudman, 23 May 1983

"A failure of the Congress to authorize continued procurement of the MX would seriously undermine our negotiations."

—Edward L. Rowny

"I am concerned that a vote against MX will send a message to Moscow harmful to U.S. interests."

—Paul H. Nitze

"We are strengthening each of the three legs of our strategic forces . . . the new MX missile will strengthen our ability to attack a wide variety of Soviet targets."

—President Jimmy Carter, 21 January 1980

"The Soviets produced more (Peacekeeper) MX caliber warheads in the last year, alone, than are planned to be deployed over the entire MX program."

—General John Vessey, CJCS, 28 February 1983

(continued from page 4)

Chimeric utopian vision. Such brutal affronts to the human conscience as the systematic suppression of individual liberty in the Soviet Union, and the denial of religious expression by Christians, Jews, and Muslims in that country, are tragic examples.

Today, for example, the largest remaining Jewish community in Europe, Soviet Jewry, is again being exposed to a systematic anti-Semitic campaign. Ominously, teachers of the Hebrew language have been arrested and their efforts to preserve their culture and religion treated as a crime.

Soviet authorities are continuing to threaten many "refuseniks" with confinement in psychiatric hospitals, expulsion from their jobs, and internal exile. Yet thousands of Soviet Jews have applied for permission to emigrate. We have, and shall continue to insist, that those who wish to leave must be allowed to do so.

Our heart also goes out today to an individual who has worked so hard for human rights progress in the Soviet Union and suffered so much for his efforts—the Nobel Prize Laureate, Dr. Andrei Sakharov. Nothing more clearly illus-

trates the absence of what our Founding Fathers called a "decent respect for the opinions of mankind" than the cruel treatment of this great humanitarian.

The Soviet Union, itself, would do much to regain respect within the international community if it would allow academician Sakharov and his wife, Yelena Bonner, to live the rest of their lives in dignity in a place of their own choosing. We're pleased to have the Sakharovs' son-in-law here with us today.

The Sakharovs are the best-known victims of human rights violations in the Soviet Union. But thousands of other Soviet citizens, such as Uri Orlov, or Anatoly Shcharansky—whose wife, Avital, is here with us today—suffer in Soviet prisons and labor camps for the sole crimes of expressing a personal opinion, seeking to emigrate, or openly expressing their love of God.
(Excerpts from President Reagan)

***Editor's Note:** Jewish Agency Executive Chairman Arye Dulzin predicts that 1985 will be a turning point in Jewish emigration from the Soviet Union because of Moscow's strong desire to improve relations with Washington and make the newly resumed Geneva arms talks a success.

*Note: A special word of thanks to Donna Sternberg, WASHINGTON CONNECTION Key Contact Louisiana, who has so generously contributed of her time and efforts on behalf of the WASHINGTON CONNECTION. We would also like to congratulate Donna and another Key Contact, June Cahn, on the recent honors they have received from the Jewish community in Louisiana.



Republican National Committee

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Update on Central America

The Struggle for Democracy in Central America
The Exile of Nicaragua's Jewish Community
The Future of Central American Jewry