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## HIGHLIGHTS OF ACTIVITIES OF GROUPS BRIEFED BY THE WHITE HOUSE OUTREACH WORKING GROUP ON CENTRAL AMERICA

#### ACCURACY IN MEDIA

Accuracy in Media publishes a weekly tabloid, "The Washington Inquirer," which is primarily circulated on college campuses and to the members of Congress. The Washington Inquirer has regularly contained supportive articles on Central America. In addition, they publish the "AIM REPORT", a newsletter which has contained articles supportive of the President's policy. AIM also airs a daily radio program called "Media Monitor" and produces a syndicated column, both of which regularly have contained supportive opinions. AIM has a Speakers Bureau. To date, fifteen talks have been given in various parts of the country dealing with Central America. AIM is in the final stages of organizing a November conference in Houston, Texas which will focus on Central America. Members of the organization regularly give radio and television interviews on Central America.

#### THE AMERICAN LEGION

The May issue of The American Legion Magazine contained an editorial written by National Commander, Al Keller, that urged support of the President. The March-April 1983 edition of their National Security-Foreign Relations Bulletin contained a supportive article on El Salvador. They recently mailed approximately 700 American Legion and Legion Auxiliary leaders a letter (copy attached) urging legislative support of the President on Central America. They will have Administration speakers on Central America at their August 20, 1983 National Convention (Seattle, Washington). They will also focus on the Central American situation in committee sessions at their Annual Convention. The American Legion sponsored a group to Guatemala and wrote a favorable report on the situation in that country. The Report will be sent to the Congress.

#### THE AMERICAN LEGISLATIVE EXCHANGE COUNCIL

This organization works with state legislatures and is coordinating a program to send a high administration official to some of the border states to speak with legislators in those states. They are working to expand an awareness of the Central American issue at the state level by focusing on the potential refugee problem. They are encouraging state legislators to help inform the public and shape public opinion. They have scheduled Ambassador H. Eugene Douglas, U.S. Coordinator for Refugee Affairs, to speak on Central America at their national convention in September. They

participated in the July 2nd Captive Nations Vigil. They are distributing to state legislators information they learn from the Wednesday Outreach Working Group meetings.

#### AMERICAN SECURITY COUNCIL

The American Security Council has produced a film, "Attack on the Americas." They have sponsored the showing of this film on television. They work on a daily basis with Congressmen. The organization runs the Coalition for Peace Through Strength, which is a bi-partisan alliance of organizations and pro-defense leaders. In early August, they will hold a meeting of their Congressional Advisory Board during which time the major topic of discussion will be Central America. In late August, they will hold a meeting of the American Security Council Speakers' Bureau, and will devote an entire day of this two-day meeting to Central America. The August issue of their Washington Report will deal with Central America. They produce a daily, five-minute, Spanish news broadcast, largely on Central America, which goes to bi-lingual radio stations in the United States.

#### ANTI-DEFAMATION LEAGUE

The Anti-Defamation League has issued statements critical of the Sandinista government for their anti-Semitism and their relationship with the Palestine Liberation Organization. These statements were released to the general press, and received much circulation.

On Wednesday, July 20, 1983, Rabbi Morton Rosenthal of the Anti-Defamation League spoke at the meeting of the Outreach Working Group on Central America. (A copy of his remarks are attached.) In addition, Mr. Isaac Stavisky, a Nicaraguan Jewish refugee also addressed the July 20th meeting, a copy of his remarks are also attached. Rabbi Rosenthal's article, "Nicaragua Without Jews" appeared in the September issue of the ADL Bulletin. (Copy of the article attached). They have widely circulated a news release attacking antisemitism activities of the Sandinista regime in Nicaragua (copy attached).

#### ASSOCIATION OF AMERICAN CHAMBERS OF COMMERCE IN LATIN AMERICA

This organization has as affiliates Chambers of Commerce in almost every Central American country. They keep the Chambers apprised of policy concerning Central America. In addition to this, members of this organization have testified before Congressional subcommittees. Recently, they sponsored a visit by members of the Productive Alliance (an organization

comprised of businessmen presently engaged in all forms of commerce - industrial, retail, agriculture, etc. - throughout Central America) here in Washington. Senor Juan Vincente Maldonado, Executive Director of the National Association for Private Enterprise, El Salvador, spoke at the July 27th meeting of the Outreach Working Group on Central America.

#### CENTER FOR INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS

The Center for International Relations is in the process of putting together a conference on Latin America, scheduled for early 1984 which will be held in Miami, Florida. The Conference will include representatives from public policy institutions all over Latin America and Europe. They plan to use information gathered through the Outreach Working Group in this conference.

#### CENTRAL AMERICAN FREEDOM ALLIANCE

The Central American Freedom Alliance (CAFA) took charge of media relations for an informational conference on Nicaragua on July 19th. That conference was covered by all three major networks, CNN, and C-SPAN. They have booked four national talk shows (two on CNN; one on CBN and one on the syndicated "Face-to-Face") and are booking more. This organization planned and executed a July 26th Candlelight Vigil to commemorate those killed by the communist rebels in El Salvador. They are helping coordinate pro-El Salvador testimony for the upcoming human rights certification hearings. They are distributing OP-ED pieces and are generating a mailing list of key leaders for regular mailings on Central America.

The CAFA has set up a multi-faceted media committee that has produced many OP-ED pieces for Congressmen. They have been arranging for Congressmen who have been to El Salvador to be scheduled on talk shows. The CAFA has also produced a two-minute television spot that is now being aired. They are coordinating activities within a coalition of groups that are concerned with the Central America policy. In addition, they lobbied on the Boland-Zablocki Amendment and Radio Marti.

#### COALITIONS FOR AMERICA

Their pro-defense coalition, the Stanton Group, holds bi-weekly meetings of forty or more activists from private groups and Capitol Hill. This coalition organized grassroots pressure on the Congress against the Boland-Zablocki amendment and supporting expenditures supporting U.S. friends in Central America. Coalitions for America has been responsible for the publication of many OP-ED pieces written by CFA and signed by members of Congress.

#### COLLEGE REPUBLICAN NATIONAL COMMITTEE

The College Republican National Committee (CRNC) will hold a pro-Reagan rally in front of the White House during the second week in September. They have printed and distributed hard-hitting posters supporting the Administration policy in Central America. They will soon publish three new flyers on El Salvador and the Vietnam comparison. Upcoming editions of the College Republicans Newsletter will contain supportive articles on Central America. They will distribute literature in Congressman Michael Barnes' district. Some College Republican officers, as an independent project, are organizing a national tour for Miguel Bolanos Hunter, the former Sandinista security officer who has fled to the United States. The CR's have put together 300 El Salvador information packets for distribution to campus activists. In addition, they are in the process of putting together a brochure on CISPES (the Committee in Solidarity With the People of El Salvador), a pro-left group. They have held demonstrations in front of the El Salvadoran Embassy in support of the government.

#### CONSERVATIVE CAUCUS

The Conservative Caucus is placing ads in major city newspapers in support of U.S. interests in Central America. They are conducting seminars on Central America and are doing intensive lobbying of Congress through direct mail and by phone-banking the members of the organization and urging them to action in support of the President's policy. They have also been distributing information on Central America through their legislative alert network.

#### COUNCIL FOR INTER-AMERICAN SECURITY

The Council for Inter-American Security (CIS) has been especially energetic in the effort on Central America. They have made good use of information obtained in the Outreach Group. They recently began broadcasting television and radio spots on Central America in three cities (San Diego, California; Charlotte, North Carolina; Grand Rapids, Michigan) and have now expended these broadcasts to include the areas of Abilene, Texas and Tulsa, Oklahoma. They are preparing a multi-media campaign on Central America. Two direct-mail packages have been mailed. They produced a new television documentary on Central America that will air in September. They are buying air time to show "Attack on the Americas." Their President took the lead in organizing the day-long conference, "Nicaragua: The Revolution Betrayed" which took place on July 19th. They have produced a two-minute television

spot on Central America. CIS President, Lynn Bouchey, has been interviewed on Central America by the BBC and CNN as well as on two radio talk shows. They have just completed a study on terrorism by the El Salvadoran communists.

#### CUBAN-AMERICAN NATIONAL FOUNDATION

The Cuban-American National Foundaton is an independent, non-profit institution that supports the concept of an independent and democratic Cuba. They have published a number of pamphlets critical of Castro and supportive of American policy. Their major work in support of the President, however, has involved the Radio Marti effort and they have published and distributed a strong pamphlet on radio Marti (copy attached). They have also published a report on the Castro drug-traffic connection (copy attached). They plan another booklet about the Castro-PLO connection. They have published an informational pamphlet called "U.S. Radio Broadcasting to Cuba--Policy Implications." They have been and are working on letters to Congressmen and on sending out information on Radio marti. They are also producing letters supportive of the President's policy on Central America, and other related matters.

#### EAGLE FORUM

Mrs. Phyllis Schlafly, President of Eagle Forum, is in the process of writing an article on Central America which will appear as either a press release or a newsletter.

#### FLORIDA CONSERVATIVE UNION

The Florida Conservative Union has begun a "Campaign to Protect the Americas," which will be their vehicle of support in the future. One of the more impressive single-supportive pieces came from the Florida Conservative Union. The piece is a full-page newspaper ad (copy attached) that will be run in newspapers in the border states and in the districts of Congressmen who are not supportive of the President's policy. This ad is headlined "18 Million Refugees Flee Into U.S. As Mexican Government Collapses' Reagan Declares Total Martial Law," and reads like a newspaper that would appear on the day that this would happen. The ad closes by encouraging readers to contact their Congressmen and send the message: "Don't Let El Salvador Fall to Communism! Please support full economic, diplomatic, and military training assistance to the Salvadoran people." This very strong full-page ad on the potential Latin American refugee problem ran in the July 8, Washington Times; the July 17, Fort Wortk Star-Telegram, and the July 17 Santa Barbara News-Press. They will soon run a

second full-page ad in the Washington Times, entitled, "The Nation You Save Could Be Your Own."

#### THE FORUM

The Forum is a group of women that all work in occupations that deal in some way with foreign policy. The Forum is a non-profit, non-partisan discussion group. They have hosted Geraldine Macias, a former nun who talked about why she and her husband, a former official in the Sandinista regime, left Nicaragua. They have also had at their meetings guests including Administration officials, House and Senate staff members, and other knowledgeable persons. They will be focusing in the next few meetings on Central American issues and plan to feature such speakers as Senor Adolfo Calero, the leader of the FDN in Nicaragua, who is now living in exile. This organization hosted Ambassador Jeane Kirkpatrick at their July meeting, and is planning more speakers on Central America for their fall programs.

#### HERITAGE FOUNDATION

The Heritage Foundation has published (in English and Spanish) material on human rights in Nicaragua. They will soon publish a new study on the Soviet Threat in the Caribbean as well as a study on the PLO in Central America. In addition, the Heritage Foundation has published a number of their "Backgrounders" concerning the President's Central American policy. They have written OP-ED pieces in support of the Administration policy and have had pieces published in the Washington Times and the Baltimore Sun as well as in other periodicals and newspapers.

Richard Araujo, the Latin American Policy Analyst for the Foundation, has testified in support of the President's policy on five different occasions before Congressional committees. He has participated in debates on such television shows as "The Today Show," and the "McNeil-Lehrer Report," as well as in a debate with Senator Christopher Dodd on the Cable News Network.

#### INSTITUTE OF RELIGION AND DEMOCRACY

This organization helped to sponsor the July 19th Conference on "Democracy for Nicaragua." They have arranged for the New York Times interview with former El Salvador Military Commander Montenegro, which appeared on July 28th. They are setting up radio talk shows for Senor Montenegro.

The Institute of Religion and Democracy has encouraged continued United States assistance to El Salvador. They

recently published a booklet entitled, "The Catholic Church in El Salvador."

#### JEWISH INSTITUTE FOR NATIONAL SECURITY AFFAIRS

The Jewish Institute for National Security Affairs (JINSA) published a large piece entitled, "The PLO in Central America," as well as supportive editorials, in the JINSA Newsletter (Vol. III, No. 21). This Newsletter reaches 8,300 leaders in the Jewish and defense communities. They plan to publish other supportive material in future Newsletters. JINSA sent on OP-ED piece to 75 Jewish newspapers. They supplied an article entitled, "The Jewish Community in Nicaragua" to the Baltimore Sun, and will soon supply an OP-ED piece for the Wall Street Journal. They are lining up speaking engagements and are preparing a panel discussion in September on Central America. They are also sending speakers to organizations in the Washington, D.C. area, and are organizing public meetings for leaders in the Jewish community.

#### MARANATHA CAMPUS MINISTRIES

The August edition of "The Forerunner," circulation 100,000, is devoted to Central America and Guatemala. This organization works extensively with Latin American students and is sponsoring an International Student Affairs dinner in Washington at the Hyatt-Regency, to take place in September.

#### MORAL MAJORITY

The Moral Majority has published supportive articles in their newsletter, "The Moral Majority Report." They are working on an effort to get relief to orphans in El Salvador.

#### NATIONAL CENTER FOR PUBLIC POLICY RESEARCH

This organization devoted a great deal of its resources to the July 1-2 "Captive Nations Vigil" which took place at the Vietnam Memorial. A letter of support from the President was read during the Vigil. The National Center for Public Policy Research will generate pro-Reagan policy rallies on cmpuses this fall. They are starting a campus news service to supply OP-EDs and articles to conservative school publications.

#### NATIONAL CHRISTIAN ACTION COALITION

The actions of the National Christian Action Coalition

have been concentrated in the areas of informing and indirect lobbying. They have included in their bulletins supportive stories on Central America. These bulletins reach over 16,000 churches nationwide. They also include information on Central America in their Leadership Training Seminars. They have encouraged members to lobby their Congressmen and organized an intense phone-lobbying effort against the Boland-Zablocki Amendment and plan more Central American articles in their newsletter. Also, they have sent facts obtained through the Office of Public Liaison to their most active members and have encouraged them to write letters to the editors of their local newspapers which include these facts.

#### NATIONAL CONSERVATIVE POLITICAL ACTION COMMITTEE

After the President's televised address to the Joint Session of Congress on April 27th, NCPAC sent letters to every Congressman urging their support for the President's policy in Central America. They are planning a mailing which will be focusing on Congressmen who oppose the President's policies.

#### NATIONAL FORUM FOUNDATION

The National Forum Foundation will cover Central America in their mid-year report, as well as in their regular newsletter. They are composing a "white paper" on Central America which is scheduled for release in late August. The National Forum Foundation prepared issue papers which have been distributed to their members on Central America. They also participated in the July 2nd "Captive Nations Vigil" at the Vietnam Memorial and were instrumental in setting up early planning sessions to generate support for the President's Central American policy shortly after the President's address to the Joint Session of Congress on April 27, 1983.

#### NAVY LEAGUE

The Navy League adopted a resolution in support of the President's policies in Central America at their national convention.

#### NEW CENTURY FOUNDATION

Working with Dennis Suit, an independent war-zone journalist, on talk shows. They funded a ten-minute video tape on television news bias and the value of U.S. military training in El Salvador.

#### NEW WORLD DYNAMICS

New World Dynamics is a non-profit organization to encourage greater public participation in foreign policy issues. Colonel Samuel T. Dickens, Director of New World Dynamics has debated guerrilla leaders on Cable News Network, on various local channels and on the "Evans and Novak" radio talk show. He has held press conferences in Honduras, El Salvador, and Guatemala, speaking in Spanish at these press conferences. Colonel Dickens spoke at the Candlelight Vigil on July 26th, and has recently toured El Salvador to collect information for presentation as testimony during the human rights certification hearings. He will brief one of the Wednesday Outreach Working Group meetings on his trip. New World Dynamics has issued a bulletin called Foresight which contains supportive material. In addition, they produce OP-ED pieces for Congressmen on Central America.

#### RESERVE OFFICERS ASSOCIATION

The Reserve Officers Association passed a national resolution of endorsement on the Caribbean Basin Initiative. They published a supportive editorial in the June issue of "The Officer." At their recent national convention in Salt Lake City, Utah they urged state and local chapters to contact their Congressmen to urge support for the President's Central American policy.

#### UNITED STATES DEFENSE COMMITTEE

In early July they produced a mailing that reached 47,000 people. The lead story in the May/June 1983 edition of their bi-monthly newsletter, "Defense Watch" was headlined "Congress Warned to Act on El Salvador Before It Is Too Late." They have sponsored Congressional trips to El Salvador and also plan a mailing targeted toward unsupportive Congressmen. In August, the U.S. Defense Committee will send another 30,000 piece mailing and their July/August newsletter will feature several articles on Central America.

#### VIGUERIE COMPANY

The Richard A. Viguerie Company is hosting a weekly breakfast that is attended by leaders in the Central American support effort. They are producing a thirty-minute television show and some ad spots. They have mailed to 5-10 million people urging post cards be sent to Congress in support of Central America and in particular of the President's policies toward that area. The July edition of the Conservative Digest featured

an interview with Faith Ryan Whittlesey, much of which was devoted to Central America and strongly supportive of U.S. interests in Central America.

#### WOMENS' ALERT

They began a weekly newsletter to women on Central America which is very supportive of the President's policies. Their purpose is to inform women on the issues and urge them to call their Congressmen on a regular basis. They also plan to send representatives around the United States to conduct seminars and educate women community leaders. They also maintain a liaison with other womens groups in Central America.

#### AMERICAN FARM BUREAU FEDERATION

The Farm Bureau national President, Robert Delano, wrote a strong editorial on Central America for publication in the Organization's magazine. The editorial called for support for the Reagan Central American policy.

#### CHAMBER OF COMMERCE OF THE UNITED STATES

The Chamber has been increasingly supportive of the President's Central American policy. They invited Assistant Secretary of State for Economic and Business Affairs, Richard McCormack, to address a large gathering at the Chamber of officers of major national corporations. This speech was then broadcast nationally over the Chamber's BIZNET TV satellite system. The Chamber assisted the Working Group in compiling lists of appropriate business leaders for briefings on Central American policy.

#### SUMMARY OF WORKING GROUP ACTIVITY

The purpose of the White House Outreach Working Group on Central America is to communicate information about the President's policy regarding Central America.

The group meets each Monday afternoon for about 90 minutes. There have been ten Monday meetings to date.

Each Wednesday, members of the group brief leaders of outside groups on topics relating to Central American policy. Attendance began at 30 and has grown to more than 100, with 194 people present when the President addressed the group. There have been twelve Wednesday briefings.

A new publication, the "White House <u>Digest</u>" was created as a communications vehicle for Central American policy information. Five Digests on various topics have been printed.

In addition to the Wednesday briefings, the Working Group provides speakers and briefers for programs in the White House complex and for interested audiences across the country. To date, eleven programs of Administration spokesmen have been held, with more than twenty-one already scheduled for the future.

Organizations briefed through the programs of the Working Group have, in turn, generated newsletters, magazine editorials, newspaper advertisements, op-ed pieces, films, television talk shows, radio shows and direct mail pieces which have reached millions of Americans with messages of support for the President's Central American policy.

#### LISTING OF SPECIAL BRIEFINGS

INSIDERS BREAKFAST, Chamber of Commerce, June 18, 1983

ASIAN INDIAN-AMERICANS, June 24, 1983

WESTERN HEMISPHERE/LATIN AMERICAN PARLIAMENTARIANS, June 28, 1983

AMERICAN FARM BUREAU FEDERATION PRESIDENTS, July 7, 1983
50 State Presidents of American Farm Bureau Federation

THE FORUM, July 11, 1983
Women's Foreign Policy Discussion Group

GIRLS NATION, July 11, 1983

AMERICAN LEGION STATE CONVENTION, July 13, 1983 Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania

BUSINESS LEADERS BRIEFING, July 13, 1983

AMERICAN LEGION STATE CONVENTION, July 15, 1983 Ocean City, Maryland

WOMEN'S LEADERS BRIEFING, July 21, 1983

RELIGIOUS BROADCASTERS BRIEFING, July 38, 1983

Additions to Listing - Attendees, Meeting of July 27, 1983

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WHITTLESEY, Faith Ryan
Assistant to the President
For Public Liaison



# THE WHITE HOUSE WASHINGTON August 17, 1983

MEMORANDUM TO: FAITH RYAN WHITTLESEY

THROUGH: Jonathan Vipond, III

FROM: Morton C. Blackwell Mit Light

SUBJECT: Draft of President's Speech to the

American Legion Convention

This is a very good speech, but the section on Central America should be strengthened.

I suggest adding after the first full paragraph on page 10 the following paragraphs:

"What the Soviets and the Cubans are doing in Central America and the Caribbean poses the most serious threat to American security in nearly 40 years. They are trying to force the entire region into their empire -- to establish a second Eastern Europe right here on the same continental land mass with the United States.

"Should that happen, not only would the millions of people who live in the region be damned to the Communist hell, but for the first time, we would have to divert much of our military might to the defense of our own borders during peacetime.

"Some of our troops might have to be recalled from other areas around the globe to be stationed here. Through their puppets, the Soviets would sit astride sea lanes through which most of our overseas commerce passes and through which we supply our troops in Europe, the Middle East, and the Pacific, greatly increasing the challenge to our naval forces.

"The human cost to the people of the region would be inexcusable. The tragic flow of refugees to this country from Communism would reach record levels. The threat to American security would be intolerable.

"But these consequences can be avoided, will be avoided, and without the use of American troops, if the Congress allows us to provide the needed economic and military aid to the beleagured countries of the region."

To insure serious consideration of this strengthening, I suggest you take the matter up now with Judge Clark.

MCB:jet

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## WHITE HOUSE STAFFING MEMORANDUM OFFICE OF PUBLIC LIAISON

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### WHITE HOUSE STAFFING MEMORANDUM

DATE: August 15	ACTION/CONCUR	RENCE/CO	MMENT DUE BY: 4:00 p	.m. TOMORRO	)W
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Please provide any edits/comments directly to Aram Bakshian by 4:00 p.m. Tomorrow, Wednesday, August 16, with an information copy to my office.

Thank yo
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RESPONSE:

(NSC/Bakshian edit) August 16, 1983 11:00 a.m.

PRESIDENTIAL ADDRESS: AMERICAN LEGION CONVENTION SEATTLE, WASHINGTON TUESDAY, AUGUST 23, 1983

[Greetings]

Thank you for that warm greeting. The feeling's mutual.

It's always a special pleasure to address the Legion, and today is no exception. So Legionnaire Ronald Reagan of Pacific Palisades Post 283 is happy to present his compliments and report for duty.

One of the great lessons of life -- one that I learned a long time ago -- is that if you set high standards and do your best to live up to them, you will not go wrong. The Legion has set high standards for itself and for our country. And as long as America lives up to your standards, America will not go wrong.

At home and abroad, our country is on the right track again. As a Nation, we took stock nearly 3 years ago. We closed the books on a long, dark period of failure and self-doubt and we set a new course. With your continuing support and the support of millions of other patriotic, God-fearing Americans, we have come a long way. But, make no mistake, the task we face is still a challenging one, and a lot of hard work remains to be done.

Hard work reminds me of the story they tell about a worldwide scientific conference. The best and brightest scientists had gathered from around the globe to exchange information on new discoveries. The Americans discussed computer chip technology, the French genetic engineering, and the Japanese robotics. Then the Russians took the podium and announced what

they claimed was an astounding scientific breakthrough. We put a flea in our left hand, the Russian scientist explained, and we said, "jump". The flea jumped to the right hand. Then we pulled off the legs of the flea and again ordered it to jump. The flea didn't jump. The discovery? We proved that when you pull the legs off a flea, it goes deaf.

Well, I have yet to pull anybody's legs off in Washington.

But, there are times when I can't help thinking that some of the folks back there suffer from politically-inspired deafness — especially when it comes to making the tough decisions. Either that, or they're just not listening. Several vital issues come to mind; specifically, our arms control and strategic modernization program and America's responsibility to protect peace and freedom.

My own concern with these issues is nothing new, as many of you know. Three years ago at your Boston convention, I pledged to restore America's military posture so that we could promote peace while we safeguard our freedom and security. With the help of groups like the Legion, we've kept that pledge for America.

Our military forces are back on their feet and standing tall. Modern equipment is being delivered to the troops, training is way up, and combat readiness rates have really soared. Once again, young Americans wear their uniforms and serve their flag with pride. We're getting and keeping very good people in all of the services. We've made great progress, we're going to make more, and I hope that makes you as proud as it makes me.

While I'm on the subject of our military forces, I want to reaffirm our determination to account for every brave American who served in Southeast Asia. This Administration has not forgotten and will never forget the sacrifices that they and their families have made. And we will not rest until the fullest possible accounting has been made.

The other half of restoring our\_military posture concerns our strategic forces. In the past, we paid a grim price for indecision and neglect -- for a one-way restraint that was never reciprocated by the other side. The resulting imbalance weakened the credibility of our nuclear deterrent -- the deterrent that has been the single greatest bulwark for peace in the postwar era. While past American leaders hesitated or naively hoped for the best, the Soviet Union was left free to pile up new nuclear arsenals without any real incentives to seriously negotiate reductions.

History doesn't offer many crystal clear lessons for those who manage our Nation's affairs. But there are a few, and one of them is surely the lesson that weakness on the part of those who cherish freedom inevitably leads to trouble -- that it only encourages the enemies of both peace and freedom.

That was why, at your Boston convention in 1980, I pledged to strive for arms reduction agreements -- not arms control, but arms reductions.

We've kept that pledge, too. For the past 3 years, this Administration has steadfastly followed a dual-track of

deterrence through modernization and the search for a more stable peace through arms reduction negotiations.

There is no contradiction in this dual approach, despite what some of the deaf men in Washington might have you believe. The restoration of a credible deterrent and the search for real arms reductions and stability are two sides of the same coin -- a coin that is inscribed with the words, peace and security.

Our efforts are designed to sustain peace, plain and simple. We do not seek an arms race; indeed, we seek to reverse the trends that cause it by beginning to lower the levels of nuclear arms. But we will not -- we cannot -- accept anything that would be detrimental to our security, and to the freedom and safety of our children and grandchildren.

That's what is so important about the MX. The

MX Peacekeeper missile and our program to develop a new, small,

single-warhead missile are critical to our country's present and

future safety. They will provide modernization, to maintain

state-of-the-art readiness against the much newer Soviet systems.

They will also provide deterrence, to make clear that aggression

by the Soviet Union would never pay. And they are an essential

incentive for progress in arms reduction so that we can move from

a balance of terror to a more stable world in which the risk of

war is reduced.

Modernization goes hand-in-hand with deterrence. Both are necessary incentives for successful negotiations.

Now many of our critics willfully ignore this interrelationship. Instead, they focus their attention and

criticism on some single issue, often based on wishful thinking or downright misinformation.

For example, one argument goes that since the MX Peacekeepers will be put into existing silos, they will be just as vulnerable as -- and no more valuable than -- today's aging Minuteman force. That argument is both misinformed and irrelevant. Our deterrent capability is not and never was based on the theoretical invulnerability of any one leg of our strategic TRIAD. Rather, an effective defense posture is the result of the combined strength and flexibility of all three legs of the TRIAD -- a carefully-measured combination of forces that presents an insoluble problem to Soviet military planners. The MX Peacekeeper program is a vital part of that combination.

That example is typical of the twisted logic of the anti-MX lobby. It reminds me of the tale told of an all-service poker game which took place a few years back on a western military base. The M.P.'s were tipped off and raided the barracks. The four poker players just managed to hide the cards and poker chips in time. When the police got there, they were sitting at an empty table, staring innocently at each other. The M.P. sergeant asked each one, in turn, if he had been gambling. The soldier bit his lip and replied, "No sarge, I haven't been gambling." The sailor paused, silently asked God's forgiveness, and also said he wasn't gambling. The airman answered the same way. Finally, it was the marine's turn. "Have you been gambling?" the M.P. asked. Without a pause, the marine looked the cop dead in the eye and asked, "Who with?" That was quick thinking, but the

marine sure avoided the real issue, and the real issue is what counts.

And the real national defense issue of our times is maintaining deterrence while seeking arms reductions. Today, I'm pleased to be able to report some good news on the negotiating front. Our fundamental negotiating positions in both the START and INF talks are working because of a number of related developments that have occurred this year. Let me share a few of them with you.

First on the list is the strong bipartisan support that now exists for our strategic program. Beginning with the perceptive recommendations of the Scowcroft Commission, and strengthened by the bipartisan congressional support in strategic modernization votes in May and July, America has finally forged a national consensus for peace and security. The MX Peacekeeper program and the development program for a new, small, single-warhead missile will complement the B-l bomber and Trident submarine programs -- the other legs of the TRIAD. But we aren't over the hump yet. There is still work to be done, and I am counting on your continuing and active support as we approach the next legislative round on the MX this autumn.

If we see this mission through, the combined efforts of this Administration and the Congress will restore the credibility of America's strategic posture. This is the foundation for deterrence and the essential precondition for successful negotiations. We have learned over and over again that only

common resolve in the West can bring responsiveness from the East.

Fortunately, western allied unity today is a firm reality.

Our negotiations have been preceded by close consultations with
the Congress and with our Allies. This process has continued
during the negotiating process, and we have given our negotiators
the flexibility to explore all possible avenues with the Soviets.

Peace is a beautiful word; it is also freely used.

Sometimes it is abused. As I have said before, peace is an objective, not a policy. Those who fail to understand this do so at their peril. Neville Chamberlain thought of peace as a vague policy in the thirties, and the result brought us closer to World War II. Today's so-called "peace movement" -- for all its modern hype and theatrics -- makes the same old mistake. They would wage peace by weakening the free. That just doesn't make sense. The members of the real peace movement -- the real peacemakers -- are people like you. You understand that peace must be built on strength. And, for that, the American people and free people everywhere owe you a deep debt of gratitude.

Like you, our Allies remain united in a common effort to strengthen both deterrence and the prospects for arms reduction through negotiations. They recognize that if, as a result of Soviet propaganda and thinly-veiled threats, NATO was to abandon its dual-track decision to modernize and negotiate, it could be the beginning of the end for a strong, cohesive western alliance. If we lacked the will to provide a credible deterrent, then we

could look forward to ever more aggressive Soviet behavior in the future. Because NATO understands this, NATO will persevere.

When you add it all up, despite the problems, there is strong reason for hope. This Administration has worked very hard over the course of many months to sort out our own negotiating objectives and positions. We have developed a sound, well-thought-out strategy to achieve\_them. We stand united with the Congress and our Allies. Our strategic TRIAD is being modernized. We are negotiating arms reductions in good faith. And there has been encouraging movement in these negotiations. For the first time, in the START talks, the Soviets are willing to talk about actual reductions. In Vienna, at the MBFR talks, the Soviet negotiators have shown movement on the verification issues meeded to reduce conventional forces. There has also been progress on confidence-building measures. All these indicators, modest though they may seem, point in the same positive direction -- new hope for arms reductions and a more secure world.

Let's not kid ourselves: There are lots of ambiguities and we are still a long way from agreement. Plenty of tough, hard dealing remains to be done at the negotiating table. But I can assure you that our highest priority is focused on this, the most challenging and important issue of our lifetimes, and we're making headway.

Another issue of critical importance to all Americans -- and one I view as the centerpiece of American foreign policy -- concerns our responsibility as peacemaker.

We can't build a safer world with honorable intentions and good will alone. Achieving the fundamental goals our Nation seeks in world affairs -- peace, human rights, economic progress, national independence, and international stability -- means supporting our friends and defending our interests. Our commitment as peacemaker is focused on those goals. Right now, this commitment is most visible in Central America, the Middle East, and Africa.

Our policy in Central America is to help the people of that troubled region help themselves; to help them build a better life -- to help them toward liberty, toward peace, and to help them reverse centuries of poverty and inequity.

That's what they want, too. In Costa Rica, democracy and respect for human rights are a long and proud tradition. In Honduras, democratic institutions are taking root. In El Salvador, democracy is beginning to work even in the face of externally-supported terrorism and guerrilla warfare.

Oh, we know that democracy in Central America will not be built overnight. But, step by step, with humanitarian, economic, and private sector assistance from the United States, it can and will be achieved.

That is why we established the Caribbean Basin Initiative, a program designed to help the people in that region help themselves. The Caribbean Basin Initiative is based on a combination of trade and private investment incentives. We decided to listen and learn from what our neighbors have been saying for a long time -- that the best thing we could do is to

help them build a better, freer life for themselves. We agree and, though you wouldn't know it from some of the coverage, by far the greatest portion of our aid to Central America is humanitarian and economic.

Now there are some -- in Moscow and Havana -- who don't want to let our Caribbean neighbors solve their problems peacefully.

They seek to impose their alien form\_of totalitarianism with bullets instead of ballots.

That is why we are supporting a security shield for those nations that are threatened. Unless that shield is there, democracy, reform, economic development; and constructive dialogue and negotiations cannot survive and grow. This is the one and only purpose behind our military exercises — to demonstrate our commitment to the free aspirations and sovereign integrity of our neighbors.

I've said it before and I'll say it again: Human rights means working at problems, not walking away from them. Would America be America if, in the hour of need, we abandoned our nearest neighbors? From the tip of Tierra del Fuego to Alaska's Point Barrow, we are all Americans. We worship the same God and cherish the same freedom. Can we stand idly by and allow a totalitarian minority to destroy our common heritage? Our concern is justice. Has Communism ever provided it? Our concern is poverty. Has a Communist economic system ever brought prosperity? No, my fellow legionnaires, if the United States were to let down the people of Central America -- people who are struggling for the democratic values we share -- we would have

let ourselves down, too. We could never be certain of ourselves, much less of the future, if we turned our back on our nearest neighbors' struggle for peace, freedom, and evolving democracy.

In the Middle East, the pursuit of peace between Israel and its Arab neighbors remains another fundamental objective of this Administration. Yes, it's a thorny problem, and our negotiators have faced serious difficulties over the past 2½ years. But there has also been real progress. Peace between Egypt and Israel was finally achieved in April 1982 with the withdrawal of Israeli forces from the Sinai. This would not have been possible without our decision to contribute to the multinational force and observers currently operating in the Sinai.

In Lebanon, our marines continue to serve alongside their French, British, and Italian comrades in arms as we work for the withdrawal of all foreign forces from that troubled land. Our joint presence strengthens the resolve of the Lebanese Armed Forces to assume the tough task of maintaining order. We Americans covet no foreign territory and we have no intention of becoming policeman to the world. But, as the most powerful country in the West, we have a responsibility to help our friends keep the peace. We should be proud of our achievements and especially proud of the fine men and women of our armed forces who undertake these tough, yet vital tasks.

In Africa, we are engaged in a parallel commitment -economic development, the growth of democracies, and the peaceful
resolution of conflict. Here too, our emphasis is on
developmental and economic assistance. We maintain only a

handful of military advisers on the whole African continent. Our economic aid is three times larger than what we spend on security assistance. Contrast this with what the Soviet Union is doing. The record shows that since the Soviets began their aid program to Africa in 1954, military aid has outpaced all other Soviet aid by seven-to-one. Then add more than 60,000 Soviet and surrogate military personnel stationed in Africa and it's no wonder that Africa is rife with conflict and tension.

For our part, we are actively working to defuse the tensions and conflict in Namibia and Angola while we help fight poverty in the region. In Chad, the United States is a partner in a multinational economic assistance package designed to get this tragically poor and strife-torn country on its feet. But without protection from external aggression, there can be no economic progress.

And naked, external aggression is what is taking place in Chad today. Drawing upon the nearly \$10 billion worth of Soviet military equipment and munitions now in Libya, Colonel Qadhaffi is using Soviet-built fighter bombers and T-55 tanks in a blatant attempt to destroy a legitimate government. President Habre and the people of his country are truly beleaguered as they struggle to preserve their independence. It is in this context that we have joined a number of other countries in providing emergency security assistance to Chad.

Yes, in Africa there is real reason for concern. But there are also harbingers of hope. Less than 2 weeks ago, I had the pleasure of meeting with President Diouf of Senegal. He is a

great man doing a great job. His outstanding leadership has brought Senegal fully into the community of truly democratic states. And a similar democratic success story has just taken place in Nigeria, where free presidential elections were successfully completed last week.

That's right, there's a democratic revolution going on in this world. It may not grab the headlines, but it's there and it's growing. The tide of history is with the forces of freedom -- and so are we.

That's the real message, the overwhelming news story of our time, even though it seldom makes the front page. The light of the democratic ideal is not slowly fading away. It gains in brightness and brilliancy with every passing day. But it needs our care—and cultivation.

You know, Mark Twain once remarked that he spent \$25 to research his family tree and then had to spend \$50 to cover it up. Well, America is more fortunate. We can be proud of our heritage and we need never hide from our roots. The world we live in is not an easy one, but we have inherited a noble mission that casts a beacon of hope for all the Earth's people. America, more than anything, wants lasting peace -- peace with liberty, with justice, and with the freedom to follow the dictates of God and conscience. To succeed, we will need wisdom, strength, and imagination. We will need patience and vigor. But to seek anything less would be to deny our heritage and the real meaning of our great Nation.

Thank you for all you in the Legion are doing to help America stay true to this quest, and God bless you.