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(Gilder)
November 23, 1987
2:30 a.m.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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have ironed out the difficulties, and I'm confident that they will stay ironed.

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

Unflappable as ever, Macmillan simply remarked, "I'd like a translation, if I may."

Well, today I want to give you a translation. I want to talk to you about relations between the United States and our nation's greatest competitor, the Soviet Union -- relations that are likely to shape the course of world events for a long time to come. I want, in particular, to discuss our present efforts for arms reductions, efforts that may soon be yielding historic fruits.

From the beginning, our Administration has insisted that this country base its relations with the Soviet Unions upon realism, not illusion.

That's why, when we took office, and we found America's military forces in a state of disrepair, we moved to correct the problem. Today the situation is very different. Pay and training for our Armed Forces are up. The Navy has been expanded. Weapons systems of all kinds have been modernized, making full use of the technological revolution. And we've begun work upon a dramatic new departure, both in military strategy and technology, our Strategic Defense Initiative, which offers the

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hope of rendering ballistic missiles obsolete and of ensuring deterrence by protecting lives, not threatening them. In brief: We have replaced weakness with strength.

And it is from that position of strength that we now approach the coming summit. The agenda of our relations with the Soviet Union has focused upon four critical areas. First, human rights; second, negotiated settlements to regional conflicts; third, expanded exchanges between our peoples; and fourth arms reduction.

In some areas of this four-part agenda, we have seen progress. Cultural, scientific, and other bilateral exchanges have shown a dramatic increase since my 1985 meeting with Mr. Gorbachev in Geneva. In human rights, too, we've seen some positive developments. Some political prisoners have been released.

Emigration figures are up somewhat. And of course there's talk of reform in the Soviet Union -- of some liberalizing changes in Soviet laws and of economic reforms that could give greater scope to individual initiative.

We harbor no illusions: While changes have taken place in the Soviet system, the one-party system unchecked by democratic institutions remains unchanged. And yet, we welcome such changes as have taken place. And we call upon them to make still more.

In the area of regional conflicts, we have not seen the kind of progress we would like. The Soviet Union has talked about setting up a timetable for withdrawal from Afghanistan. Unfortunately, their time table is much too long and conditional.

In my meetings with General Secretary Gorbachev, I will stress the need for him to specify a date certain for the complete withdrawal of all Soviet troops.

On the final area on our agenda for U.S.-Soviet relations -- arms reductions -- our realism, patience, and commitment are close to producing historic results.

First, a little historical background. It was in 1977 that the Soviet Union first deployed the SS-20. The SS-20 was, as you know, a qualitatively new and unprovoked threat against our friends and allies, a triple-warhead nuclear missile capable of striking anywhere in Western Europe and much of Asia mere minutes after being launched. NATO had no comparable weapon in its arsenal with which to counter this new force.

By 1979, the Soviets had deployed some 130 I.N.F. missiles, with 390 warheads. General Secretary Brezhnev declared that "a balance now exists." In March 1982, they declared a "moratorium" on the deployment of new I.N.F. missiles in Europe. But this was only a cover, and by August 1982, the number of Soviet I.N.F. missiles had climbed to over 300, with more than 900 warheads.

How did the West respond? In 1977, Chancellor Helmut Schmidt of West Germany led the call for the deployment of NATO's own I.N.F. missiles to counter this new Soviet threat. And in December 1979, NATO made a two-track decision. First, the United States would negotiate with the Soviets, attempting to persuade them to withdraw the SS-20's. Second, as long as the Soviets refused to do so, the United States would indeed deploy a limited

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number of its own I.N.F. missiles -- Pershing II and ground-launched cruise missiles -- in Europe.

It's important to stress that the aim of this decision was not in itself the deployment of American missiles. That was only to be the means to an end. In the words of Valery Giscard d'Estaing, President of France at the time of the 1979 NATO decision, "the deployment of Pershing II's in Europe was a tactical exercise, whose preferred goal was to compel the Soviet Union to eliminate the SS-20's."

Well, no doubt the Soviets wanted to test NATO resolve. And indeed, the deployment of our I.N.F. missiles had to be carried out in the face of sharp political protests and even mass demonstrations.

I remember speaking in Bonn in 1982. Thousands of demonstrators chanted and marched. And I couldn't help thinking what irony. For it was to secure the peace they sought and the freedom they were exercising that we were deploying the missiles that they protested.

Yet NATO held firm. And yes, it was when we showed strength that, if need be, we would ensure the credibility of our deterrent posture by meeting force with force that the Soviets -- after first walking out of the negotiations -- eventually returned and began to talk seriously about the possibility of withdrawing their own I.N.F. missiles.

I'm pleased to say that the agreement we're nearing is based upon the proposal that the United States, in consultation with our allies, first put forward in 1981 -- the zero-option. The

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zero-option calls very simply for the elimination of this entire class of U.S. and Soviet I.N.F. missiles.

According to this agreement, the Soviets will be required to remove four times as many nuclear warheads as will the United States. Moreover, the Soviets will be required to destroy not only their entire force of SS-20's and SS-4's, but also their shorter-range ballistic missiles, the SS-12's and SS-23's. As I said, all these missiles will be eliminated. Only a few details, such as verification, remain to be worked out.

At the same time that we've been moving forward on I.N.F. missiles, we've attached the highest priority to achieving deep reductions in U.S. and Soviet strategic arms. Even Mr. Gorbachev has described strategic weapons as the "root problem" in arms control, and we agree. To that end we've expedited the strategic arms negotiations in Geneva. Much progress has been made in reaching accord on our proposal of cutting strategic arsenals in half. The Soviet must, however, stop holding strategic offensive reductions hostage to measures that would cripple our S.D.I. -- particularly since the Soviets are already spending billions of dollars on a strategic defense program of their own.

Let us remember that we've reached this point only as a solid alliance -- an alliance made up of NATO, Congress, and the American people. If we're to continue to see real results and to convince the Soviets to bargain seriously, this cohesion must continue.

Now, some have argued that when the I.N.F. missiles have been removed, our commitment to Europe will have been weakened.

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This is simply untrue. We maintain our firm commitment to the NATO strategy of flexible response, ensuring that the Alliance is capable of blocking aggression at any level. In Europe itself, we will retain a large force of many types, including ground-based systems -- and aircraft and submarines capable of delivering nuclear weapons. And in consultation with our NATO allies, we've agreed that further nuclear reductions can take place only in the context of a substantial improvement in the balance of chemical and conventional forces.

During the years of these negotiations, new realities have come into play -- new realities that present new opportunities. In particular, in recent years we've seen the emergence among some of our European allies of a willingness, even an eagerness, to seek a larger, more closely-coordinated role for Western Europe in providing its own defense. Well, we Americans welcome this.

For these four decades, NATO has in effect represented an alliance between a number of partners and one very senior partner. Yet today our European allies have risen from the ruins of war to vitality, prosperity, and growing unity as a continent. And so I would submit that now the Alliance should become more and more among equals, indeed, an alliance between continents.

So there will be many problems facing us in the years ahead as we rethink global politics, but those problems bring with them new opportunities. In the words of Henry Kissinger, "...it is not beyond the realm of hope that a coherent, unified Western policy

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One is a hero
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could at long last bring into view the prospect of a negotiated global settlement...."

This then is the agenda that lies before us when I meet with Secretary Gorbachev, one week from today. I hope that our discussion will be candid, even exploratory, free from cant on both sides. There is so much that our two nations -- two superpowers -- can do, together, to help end an era of misunderstanding, to combine our energies to bring on a new era of peace and cooperation.

Thank you all very much and God bless you.

T.R.

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

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

Schedule -
Indian Treaty

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

Donatelli memo

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.

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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."

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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 answer to nuclear weapons. As you know, I 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

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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 two nations' strategic arsenals by half. Our Geneva negotiators have made progress. The Soviets must, however, stop holding strategic offensive missile reductions hostage to measures that would cripple our research and development of S.D.I.

It's no longer a secret that the Soviet Union has spent billions upon billions of dollars developing their own anti-ballistic missile defense. Research and development in some

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Soviet Space Challenge

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

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The Soviet "Cosmos" weapons program dwarfs S.D.I. Yet some in Congress would bind us to an overly-restrictive interpretation of the A.B.M. treaty that would effectively block development of S.D.I., giving the Soviets a monopoly in anti-ballistic missile defenses. This effort to tie our hands makes even less sense when the Soviets aren't abiding by the A.B.M. treaty. Whatever interpretation you give the A.B.M. treaty, broad or strict, the Soviets are violating it. Two of the A.B.M. treaty's biggest proponents in this country -- Robert McNamara and McGeorge Bundy -- agree that the Soviet construction of the large, phase-array radar at Krasnoyarsk is almost certainly a violation of A.B.M.

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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.

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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

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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."

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

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There has been a strange tendency by some in Congress to discuss S.D.I. as if its funding could be determined by purely domestic considerations, unconnected to what the Soviets are doing. S.D.I. is too important to be subject to congressional log-rolling. It is a vital insurance policy, a necessary part of any national security strategy that includes deep reductions in strategic weapons. In decades to come, it will underwrite all of us against Soviet cheating on both strategic and intermediate-range missile agreements. It goes hand-in-hand with arms reductions. We cannot -- we will not -- bargain it away to get strategic arms reductions.

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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

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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 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 thaws soon frozen over by the cold winds of oppression.

But we can certainly also look for signs of hope. One recent sign came from Joseph Terelya, the brave Ukrainian Catholic human rights activist, who was released from the Soviet Union in September after 20 years in Soviet labor camps, prisons, and psychiatric hospitals. Previously, Mr. Terelya had feared

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that glasnost was no more than, in his words, "camouflage for the West." He pointed out that "beginning in January 1987 repression has increased in the Ukraine," and that the Soviet press has been "full of vehement hatred" against the Ukrainian Catholic Church.

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

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

Finally, let me just touch on the subject of regional conflicts. Today, even as their economy flags at home, the Soviets spend billions to maintain or impose Communist rule abroad, projecting Soviet power by largely military means. Eastern Europe, Cuba, Vietnam, South Yemen, Angola, Ethiopia, ~~_____~~ 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

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costs them between \$5 billion and \$6 billion a year. The Soviet
block 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 in the past few weeks, Jonas Savimbi's freedom
fighters inflicted another crushing defeat on the Soviets. This
fall's Communist offensive -- the biggest ever in Angola -- ended
in a rout for the Soviets. The heroes of the Damba River did it
again, pushing back the massive Soviet assault, destroying some
tanks and planes in the process. An estimated ___ 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 the greatest stumbling block
to increased cooperation and exchange between our two nations is
Soviet support for Communist tyranny in Nicaragua. Here too, the

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Soviet-backed forces are hurting. With our aid, the Nicaraguan freedom fighters have made impressive gains in the field and brought the Communist Sandinistas to do something that they never would have done otherwise -- negotiate.

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

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

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

It's the Nicaraguan freedom fighters that brought the Sandinistas to the negotiating table. It is the freedom

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

There will be few more important votes in Congress than this one, and as I have so often in the past, I'll be counting on your active support. With your help, I know we can win this one.

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

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.

11TH DOCUMENT of Level 1 printed in FULL format.

Public Papers of the Presidents

Heritage Foundation

1986 Pub. Papers 520

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'ammarr 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.

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Public Papers of the Presidents

Heritage Foundation

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

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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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July 20, 1986, Sunday, Final Edition

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HEADLINE: The Latter Days of Clare Boothe Luce The Grande Dame of Conservative Politics Is 83...and Not Ready to Shut Up Yet, Thank You.

KEYWORD: LUCE

BODY:

ARNAUD DE BORCHGRAVE, THE DAPPER, DIMINUTIVE AND DEEPLY tanned editor in chief of The Washington Times, is introducing Clare Boothe Luce in flowery, well-cadenced phrases, to the assembled throng of Young Republicans. "Politics . . . diplomacy . . . a magazine editor . . . a playwright . . . a consultant to presidents," de Borchgrave intones. "A glamorous intellectual, a conservative intellectual . . ." De Borchgrave conjures the spirit of her late husband, Henry R. Luce, founder of Time Inc., calling him "the most awesome media emperor in the world." He deftly works in an encomium from old friend and conservative ally Sen. Barry Goldwater: "Her advice to me has been invaluable. Just look her straight in the eye and tell her I love her."

He finishes, finally, and as the band plays "Time On My Hands," Arnaud de Borchgrave presents Clare Boothe Luce with the Young Republican National Federation's Americanism Award, for her "major contributions to the American principles of freedom, individual liberty and free enterprise." It's not an award to sneeze at. Past recipients have included Goldwater, William F. Buckley, John Wayne, Bob Hope and Nancy Reagan.

Playfully, Luce puts the silver plate award on her head, then clasps it to her bosom. The Young Republicans love it.

"I am . . . embarrassed," says Clare Boothe Luce. Actually, she's delighted -- delighted to hear her achievements recalled, and at such graceful length; delighted to be here in the spotlight, in front of a gigantic American flag, which does seem appropriate, the focus of attention now for all these "beautiful, bright, enthusiastic, energetic, brilliant, sexy young Republicans." They really get off on that last adjective.

It's been a long evening, so her remarks are relatively brief: extemporaneous bits of personalized history, her specialty. "I told you I had lived a long, long time," she says at one point. "In 1936, 50 years ago, Henry Luce had just published Life magazine. I had just written a play called 'The Women' . . ." There's a mention, but not the vaunted imitation, of her good friend Winston Churchill, and an anecdote about lunching with JFK at the White House shortly after the Bay of Pigs disaster and asking him how history would sum him up in one sentence, a favorite game she plays with presidents and other world leaders. "He didn't live long enough to write that sentence," she adds.

She winds up with a ringing endorsement of the Reagan presidency -- "He returned the United States to a sense of strength and solidity, and forward progress" -- and exhorts them, and the Congress, to help President Reagan stop

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the ~~_____~~ America.

Luce gets a standing ovation, of course. She returns to the dais, picks up a white table napkin, holds it above her head and begins whirling it, a gleeful smile on her face. Soon the room is a sea of whirling white napkins. People reverently crowd around her, offering earnest congratulations, eager to shake her hand, exchange a few words and get close to a living American legend, this white-haired figure of geriatric glamor in an elegant black gown, diamonds and pearls. She deals with the adulation calmly, matter-of-factly, with the kind of practiced grace you'd expect from someone who's been in the public eye for more than half a century.

Clare Boothe Luce looks -- no surprise -- splendidly turned out one afternoon several weeks later, when her "so dreadful" schedule finally permits time for an interview. A white silk blouse and a black and white houndstooth check skirt is the basic costume, enhanced by the gold coin necklace she wears, the black textured stockings encasing her shapely legs, the black suede pumps. Her short white hair is brushed back, her skin looks pink and healthy. Her blue eyes are shielded by a pair of tinted, rimless glasses.

"She still worries about what to wear," says longtime friend Letitia Baldrige, social secretary to Luce when she was ambassador to Italy during the Eisenhower administration. "She pours on the tea rose perfume. She still loves her little sable jacket. Clare has always been ardently feminine. As a result she really puts men at their ease . . ."

But up close, shaking her hand, you get no whiff of tea rose, or any other perfume, for that matter.

What you get is the scent of . . . advanced age. As it happens, Clare Boothe Luce was 83 in April.

Even now, her life is full of lunches and speeches, banquets, awards ceremonies and embassy parties, not to mention board meetings and those civilized little dinners she frequently gives in her own apartment, where the guests have included Supreme Court Justice Sandra Day O'Connor, Attorney General Ed Meese, CIA Director William Casey, Sens. Richard Lugar, Malcolm Wallop and John Warner, Librarian of Congress Daniel Boorstin and his wife Ruth Boorstin and superflack Bob Gray, among others. Gray, who escorts Luce to embassy parties, first got to know her when he worked at the White House as President Eisenhower's appointments secretary. He remembers her as a woman who broke the rules of Washington dinner parties of that period, Gray recalls, and got by with it.

" 'I don't want to go and talk about babies,' she would say when it came time for the men and women to separate," Gray recalls, " 'I want to stay with the men.' She was drop-dead gorgeous in those days, and intellectually so stimulating, the men always circulated around her anyway."

Not that much has changed. Luce's current social schedule would tax a woman half her age and she's booked months in advance. You only have to see her give a speech or accept an award to understand why. She loves an audience, loves being center stage. These activities sustain her, renew her, reconfirm her. They give excitement and focus and meaning to these latter days of her life, the latter days of a remarkable and original American woman, an intellectual grande dame

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who has defied tradition and opened doors and been on speaking terms with every president from Woodrow Wilson to Ronald Reagan. Clare Boothe Luce still wants in on the national dialogue. She's not ready to shut up and fade away quite yet, thank you.

She's a consultant to the National Security Council, a founding member of the Committee on the Present Danger and a member of The Washington Times advisory board. Nice little pats on the head for a smart, old lady conservative? Does Clare Boothe Luce still have any clout?

"I would say her political influence today in broad policy is as great as it's ever been," says Edwin Feulner Jr., head of the Heritage Foundation, the neoconservative think tank where Luce is on the board of advisors. "I talk to her a couple of times a week. She's truly an amazing person, always on the cutting edge of new ideas in intelligence, in foreign policy. She was an early supporter of SDI Strategic Defense Initiative, really urged them to get on with it . . . She's very close to Dick Lugar and Ed Meese and U.N. Ambassador Vernon Walters. She sees the president socially . . ." According to Feulner, it's not at all a pat on the head for dear old Clare. "People really do pay attention," he says.

There is no doubt that Clare Boothe Luce has access. She's often photographed talking intently with Casey, Defense Secretary Caspar Weinberger, Goldwater, Buckley or some other prominent figure at one important gathering or another in Washington or New York. And the accolades keep coming her way: At the National Review's 30th anniversary gala last December at the Plaza Hotel in New York, the New York Post society columnist Suzy reported that "Clare Boothe Luce, sitting at President Reagan's left, looked glorious in black and white satin and pearls, and heard herself referred to by Bill Buckley as 'God's definitive putdown to male chauvinism.' Clare couldn't have said it better herself."

RONALD REAGAN'S ELECTION as president in the White House was one of the major reasons Clare Boothe Luce moved back to Washington in 1981 from Hawaii, where she had stayed on after her husband Henry Luce died in 1967, at age 69.

"I was building a house in Hawaii," she recalls, "where I was going to do nothing but look at the ocean, having led such an active life, and then gradually it began to dawn on me that I would either fill my remaining years with intellectual relationships and work, or I would wither away. I am sure that if I had a husband who was my age and as healthy as I am, or maybe not even as healthy, just someone to love and care for and sit and talk with in the evening, I would have stayed in Hawaii."

But it wasn't just that the atmosphere was more congenial, with the Republicans back in power. It was also that Reagan reinstated the Foreign Intelligence Advisory Board, which President Carter had abolished, and on which Luce served during the Nixon and Ford administrations.

The 14-member board, currently chaired by former ambassador to Great Britain Anne Armstrong, and whose members also include former secretary of state Henry Kissinger, former senator Howard Baker and former U.N. ambassador Jeane Kirkpatrick, meets every other month for two days of highly classified meetings.

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"We do our work, we work hard," she Clare Boothe Luce says, not wanting to get into specifics. But there she was, flying in from Hawaii six times a year.

"I had to go to the meetings, and back. It goes on and on. I found myself trying to commute, getting more and more exhausted. I really wanted a 'Star Trek' arrangement, where I could be beamed in from Honolulu -- that would have been delightful," she says with a smile. Bored with vegetating in Hawaii, she might logically have returned to New York, where she was born (her mother was an actress, her father was a fiddler who deserted his family); where she was married (by her mother's arrangement) to wealthy businessman George Brokaw, by whom she had her only child, a daughter, Ann, who was killed in a car accident at college in 1946; where she was divorced six years later and left with a small fortune; where she charmed her way into a job at Conde' Nast writing captions for Vogue and ended up managing editor of Vanity Fair; where she married Henry Luce and began writing plays, not necessarily in that order. What family ties she has are in New York. "She has no blood relatives," notes Sybil Cooper, her appointments secretary, "but there are a lot of Luces. She's close to her stepson Henry Luce III and his wife Nancy who live in New York."

New York, however, no longer appeals. "New York scares me," she says. "I love Washington. I love the openness of Washington, the patches of green . . . It is now a very sophisticated city, intellectually and culturally."

But, she adds, "the private life has become more and more public. The public life is more and more commercialized. That isn't good."

She remembers a much different Washington when she served as congresswoman from Connecticut from 1943 to 1947.

[REDACTED],
she says. "I lived in an apartment, at the Wardman Park. It was the war, and there was a feeling of great deprivation about a lot of things.. We all shared taxis. I got to know a number of senators sharing a taxi every morning going to the Capitol with Arthur Vandenburg or Charles Varnum.

FDR, Henry Wallace, Sen. Wayne Morse . . . someone once said Clare Boothe Luce has outlived most of her enemies, she is reminded. "I said it," she says. Does she get much satisfaction from that?

"It isn't your enemies you miss," she replies. "What you miss is the struggle over ideas. My enemies were gained in terms of the ideas I was putting forth that other people didn't like. The first time I was aware of this, in the late '30s, when it seemed to me a war was coming, and it was going to be our war, and should be our war. Even at that time I was an advocate of that. I had differences with Mr. Roosevelt. I thought we should be preparing for war."

She also tangled with Henry Wallace when he was vice president and when he ran for president on the Progressive Party ticket. She coined the word "globaloney" to describe Wallace's international aviation freedom-of-the-air policy. "I emerged as an absolutely hopeless isolationist," she recalls. When he ran for president in 1948 she called him "Red Hank Wallace." They feuded for years.

"We were reconciled," she says. "I got a lovely letter from him, a year or two before he died. He was a gentleman, a very sweet gentleman."

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She would not apply that term to the late Democratic senator from Oregon, Wayne Morse, dissenting member of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee, who called her mentally unstable and a slanderer of FDR and effectively scuttled her nomination as ambassador to Brazil in 1959. She said at the time, "My difficulties, of course, go some years back and began when Senator Wayne Morse was kicked in the head by a horse." (In 1951 a mare broke Morse's jaw in a Virginia horse show.) Her nomination was confirmed by the Senate, 79-11, and President Eisenhower defended her (she had been a popular and effective ambassador to Italy from 1953 to 1957, until an illness caused her to resign), but Luce resigned the ambassadorship, saying, "the climate of good will was poisoned by thousands of words of extraordinarily ugly charges against my person, and of distrust of the mission I was to undertake."

A more recent, comparatively minor media flap occurred in 1982, when Harper's ran an excerpt from a Wilfrid Sheed book about her, with the catchy, if inaccurate, cover line "From Courtesan to Career Woman." It still amuses her. "I would have rather had it read, 'From Career Woman to Courtesan.' Now, that would have really got them talking," she says, laughing.

Is Clare Boothe Luce the first modern woman?

"Well, I didn't invent the modern woman," she replies. "Women in Europe . . . there was a woman suffrage movement in Europe in the early 19th century. I think I was one of the first married women to have a public career -- at a certain price. Well, always, you pay for everything . . ."

The price for marrying Henry Luce was being excluded from the pages of Time, although she was a war correspondent for Life. Luce himself wrote a "very severe" Time review of her 1935 play, "Abide With Me," which ran three months on Broadway anyway. "He thought he had to do it," she says. He also decided against running the Time cover story on her in April 1954 when she was ambassador to Italy. "He was concerned about nepotism," she says matter-of-factly, though it must have been a blow at the time. "In a way it worked out strangely for me," she says. "Other magazines wrote about it."

Does she miss her husband Harry? "Oh, yes, very much," she says, unhesitatingly. She looks down a moment, then adds, "more and more with the passing of the years . . ."

They were, no question, the most famous media couple of their day. "They had their ups and downs, like most marriages, but they stayed the course," says Letitia Baldrige. "When she was ambassador, he lived in Italy six months out of the year and ran Time from there. I think he was very proud of her."

In the end, if there is a footnote for her in history, Clare Boothe Luce senses it will be "wife of the man who invented international journalism . . . He was a publishing genius, you know. We don't have them anymore. It's all the bottom line, that's all they talk about, the bottom line. They don't take risks."

Luce converted to Catholicism after the death of her daughter. Henry Luce was the son of Presbyterian missionaries in China. Does she believe she will join him again somewhere in an afterlife? "I will have to join him somewhere . . . What will I look like, what will he look like -- I don't speculate about such things. I just leave it up to God . . ."

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She gets up from her chair and, offering tea, heads toward the kitchen. When she returns with the tea, the talk turns briefly to writing, which was, she has often said, her favorite career "beyond anything else . . . I often say when I wake up in the middle of the night, 'If only I had stayed with my real vocation, which was playwriting.'" She wrote seven plays, had three solid Broadway hits ("Margin for Error," 1939; "Kiss the Boys Goodbye," 1938, "The Women," 1936). The latter is best remembered, partly because MGM made a very successful, all-star movie of it in 1939. "My grandniece in college wrote and asked did I know it's become a cult movie, along with 'Frankenstein.'" she says. Yes, she has a cassette of it. "I played it once," she says. "I think they hoked it up, of course, but it was a lovely cast. I think the parts they kept from the play were best . . ." The play is frequently revived, this year in London and Berlin, for the first time. "I'm enormously surprised at how popular it still is."

LUCE SEEMS PREOCCUPIED with the Soviet nuclear accident at Chernobyl when we meet several weeks later for a follow-up interview: How many people really were affected, and will they all be incarcerated in some "radiation gulag," she wonders darkly. "Even in a dictatorship there should be a tremendous rolling of heads," she declares.

She tells me there was a Foreign Intelligence Discussion Group at City Tavern the evening before. "I didn't write anything, I winged it," she says. "I find the speeches go better if I just wing it. It was a very interesting group -- we talked about Libya and the Arab world. Nobody agreed with my views at all. That made for an interesting evening."

Just as frequently, one of her evenings might consist of dinner and conversation at the home of conservative columnist Michael Novak and his wife Karen who've become good friends over the past five years. "You know, I thought she would expect a very formal kind of dinner," says Karen Novak. "We live very casually. She had a delightful time the first time she came. We have two children in college, and she'll go off in a corner and draw them out. She really wants to know what young people are doing, and what they think . . . There are many sides to Clare. She's a very caring person. The loss of her daughter was a very serious thing for her. Her daughter was her greatest accomplishment, she says. And she's always recommending books she runs across -- Robertson Davies, the Canadian novelist , for instance. She always reads very heavy stuff."

Luce has been trying to get her social schedule under control. "If I have a lunch, I won't do a dinner," she says. "If I have a dinner, I won't do lunch. Sometimes I don't do anything. I just sit here and catch up on my correspondnece, or work on a couple of speeches I've been asked to make." She's often up until the wee hours, "when I've gotten home from a party or a dinner, then I can really read, and think. I listen to the TV less and less. I find that the radio and the newspapers are the mediums to be preferred."

As for being a role model, "I think I probably was," she says, "because I did so many things, because I was a great success in many different things, so I'm called that by many young people. I didn't want pure politics . . . I get the most extraordinary letters, and they are rather comforting. People who say, 'You've been my role model for years.'" She laughs softly. "Now, that is the real satisfaction that you get in life -- the people who say you've changed their lives."

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According to British-born author Sylvia Morris, now at work on the definitive biography of Clare Boothe Luce, to be published by Houghton Mifflin, one of her greatest fears about advancing age is "losing her mind." Luce admits she sometimes forgets names and dates now and her eyesight isn't what it once was. She's had a number of cataract operations. "I see very well straight ahead," she says. "Looking down is a tricky business."

Any serious illness she's had to cope with? "I had a bad one in October, as a matter of fact, the same miserable operation that the president had. I left the hospital on the fifth day. 'Oh, no, Mrs. Luce,' the nurse said, 'you can't go, the doctor hasn't checked you out yet.' I'm checking myself out, I told her. I know my rights."

She's aware of certain intimations of her mortality in some of the invitations she receives. "Someone will ask, can they bring along their niece or nephew, they so want to meet me . . . while I'm still alive," she adds, laughing.

I've asked to see the Time portrait of Clare Boothe Luce, ambassador to Italy, the one Time readers never saw. It hangs in her apartment down the hall, and even though guests are expected momentarily for cocktails, I get a quick tour -- quick past the kitchen, where two silver bowls heaped with macadamia nuts are on a counter, and past the sitting room where she pauses to show me the Rene' Magritte painting of her as a dagger and a rose. She rather likes that concept of her, it's evident. It's a light and airy apartment, simply and tastefully furnished in white and beige and browns, with two beautiful blue and beige oriental rugs in the sitting room, which has a sparkling view of the Potomac. It's not a cluttered-up life she's living now. The signed color photos of President Reagan and Nancy -- "To Clare, with warm affection" -- the framed color portrait of Henry Luce, are in her study. In an alcove are the green, Jo Davidson busts of Clare Boothe and Henry Luce. She gives Harry an affectionate pat on the head as we leave the study.

The Time portrait, on a far wall in her bedroom, makes her look a bit like mid-Grace Kelly, fuller of face than she is in real life, but it's a serene and thoughtful work in pastels by Chaliapin, who did many Time covers of that period -- and also one in the Time cover style from a photograph of her beloved daughter, Ann, a dark-haired coed with a winning, toothy smile, which hangs on the wall by Luce's queen-sized bed.

"I don't get enough exercise," she was saying earlier. "I have one of those bicycles . . . I do miss the beach." (She's an excellent swimmer. She took up scuba diving in her sixties.)

She switches on the TV set on a cart near her bed. Ironically, an aerobics class is in progress. She watches for a minute, amused, then switches it off, but, picking up on the one-two, one-two rhythm, hands in the air, she does an aerobics dance down the corridor without missing a beat.


*Teresa
Replacement
P. 14
(Heritage)*

- 14 -

THE "RED SHIELD" PROGRAM DWARFS S.D.I.
YET SOME IN CONGRESS WOULD CUT FUNDING FOR
S.D.I. AND BIND US TO AN OVERLY-RESTRICTIVE
INTERPRETATION OF THE A.B.M. TREATY THAT
WOULD EFFECTIVELY BLOCK ITS DEVELOPMENT,
GIVING THE SOVIETS A MONOPOLY IN
ANTI-BALLISTIC MISSILE DEFENSES.
THIS EFFORT MAKES EVEN LESS SENSE WHEN THE
SOVIETS AREN'T ABIDING BY THE A.B.M. TREATY.
VIRTUALLY ALL EXPERTS, EVEN SOME OF OUR
BIGGEST CRITICS, AGREE THAT THE SOVIET
CONSTRUCTION OF THE LARGE, PHASED-ARRAY
RADAR AT KRASNOYARSK IS AN OUT-AND-OUT
VIOLATION OF THE A.B.M. TREATY. WE WILL NOT
SIT IDLY BY AND FAIL TO RESPOND TO THESE
VIOLATIONS.

AS I PROMISED CAP WEINBERGER 2 WEEKS
AGO IN HIS FAREWELL AT THE PENTAGON --
WE'RE NOT UNILATERALLY DISARMING IN THIS
AREA OR ANY OTHER AREA.

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON



MEMORANDUM FOR TONY DOLAN

FROM: FRANK DONATELLI *ep for F.D.*
RE: HERITAGE FOUNDATION SPEECH

I think this is an excellent speech and geared very appropriately to the Heritage audience.

I have a few suggestions:

Page two, last paragraph: Move the sentence "He's tough on crime" so that it follows the next sentence. It would then read:

"The first, our nomination of Anthony Kennedy to the Supreme Court. He believes, as we do, that judges should interpret the law, not make it and He's tough on crime."

Page four, Add a new paragraph between the end of the paragraph at the top of the page and the one that starts "Well"

Insert: "This agreement is fair and balanced and an important first step. Once this is adopted, I will continue to work with Congress on further budget reductions."

Last page, add a paragraph before the last sentence.
"Together, we have made a lot of progress to ensure that America's future will continue to be bright. But now is not the time to rest on our laurels, our job is not done. I ask you to join with me, to give me your support as we put the pedal to the medal for the next 14 months."

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:

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

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

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

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

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

and

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

This agreement is fair + balanced, & an important first step. Once this is adopted, I will continue to work with

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

To w.r. + results

20-Nov-87
02:23 PM

TR

PROPOSED BUDGET COMPROMISE

FY 1988 FY 1989
----- -----

REVENUES		
Hard taxes.....	9.00	14.00
IRS compliance (net).....	1.60	2.90
User fees.....	0.40	0.40
	----	----
subtotal, revenues.....	11.00	17.30
SPENDING		
Defense (func. 050).....	5.00	8.20
Non-defense discretionary.....	2.60	3.40
1989 effect of 1988 2% pay....	0.00	2.40
ENTITLEMENTS:		
Medicare.....	2.00	3.50
Farm price supports.....	0.90	1.60
GSL balances.....	0.25	0.00
Federal personnel.....	0.85	0.85
	----	----
subtotal, entitlements.	4.00	5.95
Debt service.....	1.20	3.50
	----	----
subtotal, spending.....	12.80	23.45
ADDITIONAL SAVINGS		
PBGC premiums.....	0.40	0.40
VA origination fee extension..	0.20	0.20
VA loan guarantee.....	0.80	1.00
Asset sales.....	5.00	3.50
	----	----
subtotal.....	6.40	5.10
GRAND TOTAL.....	30.20	45.85

November 20, 1987

SUMMIT AGREEMENT
BETWEEN THE PRESIDENT
AND
THE JOINT LEADERSHIP OF CONGRESS

1. The elements of this agreement should provide for deficit reduction amounts that exceed the requirements of the Balanced Budget and Emergency Deficit Control Reaffirmation Act of 1987 and thus when fully implemented eliminate the need for sequestration.
2. The package outline is approved by the President, the Speaker, and the Majority and Republican Leadership of Congress.
3. The President and the Leadership of Congress agree to carry out this agreement.
4. The President's FY 1989 budget shall comply with the appropriations levels in this agreement.
5. For FY 1988 Congress shall present reconciliation and the continuing resolution (or other appropriations legislation) to the President concurrently.
6. Congress shall provide sufficient budget authority to achieve full levels of domestic, international affairs, and defense outlays, in both FY 1988 and FY 1989.
7. Agreed upon discretionary spending levels are as follows:

(IN BILLIONS OF DOLLARS)

<u>Category</u>	<u>FY 1988</u>		<u>FY 1989</u>	
	<u>BA</u>	<u>O</u>	<u>BA</u>	<u>O</u>
Domestic	\$145.1	\$160.3	\$148.1	\$169.2
International				
Affairs (150)	17.8	16.5	18.1	16.1
Defense (050)*	292.0	285.4	299.5	294.0

The President and Leadership agree that, in implementing this agreement, essential programs serving the poor, including the elderly, should be a priority.

* Functional total includes mandatory spending.

8. Discretionary scorekeeping: Use CBO estimates with an agreed-upon list of discretionary accounts; no change in methodology from the current CBO-OMB understanding. CBO and OMB shall work together to resolve scoring methodology problems on mandatory accounts.


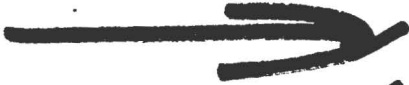
9. The following procedures will be utilized to implement this agreement for spending:
 - a. FY 1988 -- The agreement will provide ceilings for defense and non-defense domestic spending (including international affairs); the continuing resolution or other appropriations legislation will carry them out.
 - b. FY 1989 -- The FY 1988 reconciliation bill will specify:
 - i. agreed-upon defense and non-defense budget authority and outlay discretionary ceilings;
 - ii. the FY 1989 budget resolution, and committee 302(a) and (b) allocations pursuant thereto, shall be consistent with the agreement; and
 - iii. in the Senate, a three-fifths point of order will lie against a budget resolution that is inconsistent with the agreement.
 - c. Neither the Congress nor the President shall initiate supplementals except in the case of dire emergency. When the Executive Branch makes such a request, it shall be accompanied by a presidentially-transmitted budget amendment to Congress.
 - d. For FY 1988 in the Senate, before the continuing resolution (or other appropriations legislation) comes to the floor, a separate resolution will modify the relationship between reconciliation and defense spending, and adjust 302(a) allocations and budget totals for 311 purposes to conform with the agreement. The leadership will seek a waiver of points of order under sections 302 and 311 for the FY 1988 continuing resolution if it conforms to this agreement.
10. The \$9 billion in receipts in 1988 and the \$14 billion in receipts in 1989 are gross figures and the ingredients composing these figures will be determined through the regular legislative process and conference agreement, subject to the President's signature or veto.
11. Pending the enactment of legislation to implement this agreement, the President shall take such action consistent with current law as may be necessary to reduce the effects of sequestration and provide for minimal disruption of on-going governmental programs and services during this interim period.

TR

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 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"/> SS	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:

see pg. 3

Dan L. Crippen / CES
Dan L. Crippen
11-24-87

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. ^TThere are user fees, loophole closings and the like -- I had \$11 billion of them in my own budget this year -- we've kept our pledge to the American people on taxes.

The second step forward was on defense. Now, some people said we would have been better off with sequestration. Well, sequestration ^{could} ~~would~~ have cost us ^{as much as \$15} ~~\$11.5~~ billion in defense. With this deal, ^{we avoid that devastating cut, essentially holding defense} ~~we gained \$6.5 billion back and ended with \$5 billion~~ at last year's level. ^{Moreover, the defense budget will grow by about 3% next year.} ~~more in defense spending than last year.~~ We may have bid farewell to Cap Weinberger, but as I said to him, we know that