

Speak *Nov. 8-9*
let me
Sun. A.M.

CENTER FOR THE STUDY OF THE PRESIDENCY
208 EAST 75TH STREET
NEW YORK, N. Y. 10021 212 249-1200

OFFICE OF THE PRESIDENT

Sheila *O.K.*

Betty Meyer
Executive Assistant to Senator
Robert J. Dole
Room 141
Hart Senate Office Building
Washington, D.C. 20510

Dear Betty,

10/21 Hoxie had lunch with Walter at dinner
want you to conclude conf w/ speech at 10:30-10:45 am at Atlanta Sun - Nov. 9
(you could fly to Fla. w/ the Andreas, after this event if you wish)

It was good speaking with you yesterday. Very much Inez Andreas and I are delighted with the prospect of having Bob and Elizabeth Dole as honored guests on Saturday evening, November 8th, at a reception and dinner in their honor at the Marriott Marquis Hotel in Atlanta, with the reception commencing at 6:30 p.m., and Bob's address following the dinner.

All this will mean a great deal to 1,000 business and professional leaders from throughout the nation. Although the invitation was primarily to Bob as the speaker, we do hope that Elizabeth may also be with us.

Betty, further we hope you can confirm the acceptance of our invitation prior to our Thursday afternoon, September 11th Board meeting, when Inez and I would like to advise our colleagues on the Board of Bob's acceptance.

Inez appreciated your well wishes, and sends you hers.

Warm regards.

Sincerely yours,

124 Copy to Mally
121

Marriott Marquis
404/521-0000

Gordon

R. Gordon Hoxie

RGH:cy

cc: Mrs. Dorothy Inez Andreas

**"CONSIDERATIONS ON NATIONAL SECURITY POLICY"
SEVENTEENTH ANNUAL LEADERSHIP CONFERENCE**

Sponsored by

CENTER FOR THE STUDY OF THE PRESIDENCY
208 EAST 75TH STREET, NEW YORK, NY 10021 212-249-1200

MARRIOTT MARQUIS HOTEL - ATLANTA, GEORGIA

November 7-9, 1986

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R. Gordon Hoxie
President
Center for the Study
of the Presidency

August 15, 1986

Hon. Robert J. Dole
141 Hart Senate Office Building
Washington, D.C. 20510

Dear Bob,

Confirming my verbal invitation extended through Betty Meyer today, it is our hope that you will be our honored guest at this Center's Seventeenth Annual Leadership Conference. As noted on this letterhead, we shall be convening at the Marriott Marquis Hotel in Atlanta, the weekend of November 7-9, 1986. We shall have with us 1,000 business and professional leaders from throughout the United States. The conference theme will be Considerations on National Security Policy.

President Carter will be addressing the conference Friday evening, November 7th; CIA Director William J. Casey will be delivering the Saturday luncheon address. It is our desire to have the Saturday evening, November 8th reception and dinner in your honor, followed by your address to the conferees. We believe that this conference will provide a platform for a major foreign policy address. Further, with your permission, we would like to feature it in the Center's Presidential Studies Quarterly.

You are, I believe, acquainted with the Quarterly. Herewith is a copy of the current issue. The essays by Don Regan, Bill Casey, Bill Crowe, and Kenneth Adelman may be of especial interest.

On behalf of the conference's Host Committee, co-chaired by Bill Marriott and Al Neuharth, may I say how very much your participation would mean to us. We are sharing the invitation with our mutual friend Inez Andreas, who, as you know, is a member of the Center's Board.

We would be additionally delighted if Elizabeth could accompany you. You may recall she was a recipient of the Center's Distinguished Public Service Award in 1984, and presented the candidate, Donald T. Regan, for this year's award.

Warm regards.

Sincerely yours,

R. Gordon Hoxie

R. Gordon Hoxie

RGH:cy

encl.

cc: Inez Andreas, Elizabeth Dole

*Bill Marriott
or Al Neuharth want
to host recep. for
Sen. Dole that
evening.*

*November 9
Sat. eve!
Sun. AM
in Atlanta*

*18 Copy to Molly
119 Inez & Al*

TALKING POINTS:
CONTACTS WITH IRAN

What has happened?

- o NO COMMENT ON SPECIFICS.
- o TOP PRIORITY GOAL OF ALL AMERICANS IS TO SEE HOSTAGES FREED. WON'T JEOPARDIZE THAT.
- o BUT WHAT IS CLEAR IS THAT WINNING RELEASE OF HOSTAGES HAS BEEN AN ABSOLUTELY TOP PRIORITY FOR ADMINISTRATION.
 - THOSE WHO CRITICIZED PRESIDENT ON THIS SHOULD NOW KNOW BETTER.
- o BEST FOR NOW JUST TO HOPE FOR BEST AND SEE HOW THINGS WORK OUT.

Should we be dealing with Iran?

- o POLICY SHOULD BE (AND IS):
 - TALK TO ANYONE ABOUT RELEASE OF HOSTAGES.
 - BUT NO NEGOTIATIONS WITH TERRORISTS.
- o WE DON'T REWARD TERRORISTS WHO'VE TAKEN AMERICAN CITIZENS HOSTAGE.
- o IF WE START TRADING WHAT TERRORISTS WANT FOR HOSTAGES, WE'RE GOING TO SEE MANY MORE PEOPLE TAKEN HOSTAGE.
- o NET RESULT IS ALL AMERICANS ARE GOING TO FACE EVEN GREATER RISKS.
- o ONLY TWO THINGS WE SHOULD BE TALKING TO IRAN ABOUT NOW:
 - 1. GETTING ITS HELP IN RELEASE OF AMERICAN HOSTAGES.
 - BUT NO DEALS, NO QUID PRO QUO.
 - 2. ENDING IRANIAN SUPPORT FOR TERRORISM.
- o OTHERWISE, NO NEGOTIATIONS, PERIOD.

-2-

Facilitating supply of arms to Iran.

- o IF THAT WAS DONE, IT WAS A MISTAKE.
 - THOUGH OBVIOUSLY THE MOTIVATION WAS A GOOD ONE:
GETTING HOSTAGES OUT.
- o BUT I FEAR LONGER-TERM RESULT WOULD BE TO ENDANGER MORE
AMERICAN LIVES AND GENERATE MORE HOSTAGES.

Israel's role.

- o NO COMMENT ON SPECIFICS.
- o BEST COURSE FOR ALL COUNTRIES IS NOT TO PROVIDE MILITARY
EQUIPMENT/SUPPLIES TO EITHER SIDE IN IRAN-IRAQ WAR.

Situation in Iran.

- o OBVIOUSLY A BIG POLITICAL STRUGGLE GOING ON IN IRAN.
- o CAN'T TAKE ANYTHING IRAN GOVERNMENT SAYS AT FACE VALUE.
 - ALWAYS TRUE WITH THAT GOVERNMENT.
 - DOUBLY TRUE NOW.

TPIRAN:AML
10/7/86



JACK D. WEILER CENTER FOR INTERGROUP RELATIONS
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April 29, 1986

Dear Senator,

There are few issues of greater concern to you and the American people than that of terrorism. This is a complicated and dangerous problem which threatens us all. To help you gain insight into the complexities and to suggest possible solutions, we are pleased to provide you with a copy of a new book, "Terrorism, How the West Can Win." Featuring thoughtful papers presented at a major international conference by leading experts, this volume is a valuable contribution to understanding this problem on which a lot of heat and very little light has been shed. Edited by Israel's Ambassador to the United Nations, Hon. Benjamin Netanyahu, we hope you will find it a useful resource. We would welcome your comments.

We have undertaken to make this available as a service in the interest of fostering sound policy formulation and effective action.

Sincerely,

Jay Zises
Jay Zises

Chairman, Special Projects

Malcolm Hoenlein
Malcolm Hoenlein
Executive Director

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Peggy Tishman
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SPEECH

SEVENTEENTH ANNUAL LEADERSHIP CONFERENCE
CENTER FOR THE STUDY OF THE PRESIDENCY
ATLANTA, GEORGIA, NOVEMBER 9, 1986

LADIES AND GENTLEMEN:

SENATE RESULTS CAN MEAN TOUGH FIGHTS IN 100TH CONGRESS

37 LAST TUESDAY, THE AMERICAN PEOPLE -- AT LEAST THE
95% OF THE ELIGIBLE VOTERS WHO TURNED OUT -- MADE
THEIR CHOICES. TO THOSE OF US WHO ARE REPUBLICANS,

*the lowest
since 1942*

SPEECH

SEVENTEENTH ANNUAL LEADERSHIP CONFERENCE

CENTER FOR THE STUDY OF THE PRESIDENCY

ATLANTA, GEORGIA, NOVEMBER 9, 1986

LADIES AND GENTLEMEN:

SENATE RESULTS CAN MEAN TOUGH FIGHTS IN 100TH CONGRESS

LAST TUESDAY, THE AMERICAN PEOPLE -- AT LEAST THE
35% OF THE ELIGIBLE VOTERS WHO TURNED OUT -- MADE
THEIR CHOICES. TO THOSE OF US WHO ARE REPUBLICANS,

- 2 -

THE GOOD NEWS, OF COURSE, IS THAT WE DID WELL IN THE GOVERNORSHIPS AND HELD OUR OWN IN THE HOUSE. THE BAD NEWS IS, WE TOOK IT ON THE CHIN IN THE SENATE.

AND, LET'S BE CANDID, THOSE NEW NUMBERS IN THE SENATE MEAN THAT THE 100TH CONGRESS -- EVEN MORE THAN THE 99TH -- CAN TURN INTO A BATTLEGROUND FOR FIGHTING OUT A GREAT MANY VITAL ISSUES.

SOME OF THE TOUGHEST FIGHTS IN PROSPECT FOR THE 100TH CONGRESS -- AND SPECIFICALLY FOR THE SENATE -- COULD BE OVER THE NATIONAL SECURITY ISSUES WHICH ARE THE FOCUS OF THIS CONFERENCE. I HOPE MY REMARKS THIS MORNING WILL GIVE YOU SOME IDEA OF HOW THE SENATE IS LIKELY TO DEAL WITH THESE ISSUES AND WILL SHED SOME LIGHT, AS WELL, ON THE BROADER QUESTIONS OF HOW THE PRESIDENT AND CONGRESS DO -- AND, WHERE IT IS DIFFERENT, HOW THEY SHOULD -- WORK TOGETHER ON THESE ISSUES.

- 3 -

WHAT DO I LOOK FOR ON NATIONAL SECURITY ISSUES FROM THE 100TH CONGRESS? THE FIRST THING WE'LL HAVE TO FIND OUT IS WHETHER THE 100TH IS GOING TO TURN INTO THE KIND OF CONFRONTATIONAL CONGRESS SOME ARE NOW PREDICTING. ARE WE GOING TO SEE THE PRESIDENT GO AT IT WITH THE CONGRESS, AND REPUBLICANS GO AT IT WITH DEMOCRATS? IS THAT GOING TO BE THE NORM, OR THE EXCEPTION?

PRESIDENT DOES NOT SEEK CONFRONTATION

I CAN'T GIVE YOU A SURE ANSWER THIS MORNING. BUT I CAN MAKE TWO OBSERVATIONS. ONE, I AM CONVINCED THE PRESIDENT DOES NOT WANT HIS LAST TWO YEARS IN OFFICE TO BE MARKED BY A SERIES OF SHOWDOWNS WITH THE CONGRESS ON NATIONAL SECURITY ISSUES. THAT'S NOT GOOD FOR THE COUNTRY. IT'S NOT GOOD FOR THE PRESIDENT OR THE CONGRESS. AND, EVEN ON THE SIMPLEST POLITICAL LEVEL, IT'S NOT GOOD FOR ~~THE REPUBLICAN~~ PARTY.

Arthur Dole

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MOREOVER, THE RECORD OF THIS PAST CONGRESS DOESN'T LEAD ME TO BELIEVE WE ARE NECESSARILY IN FOR A NEVER-ENDING SERIES OF PARTISAN VOTES AND VETOES. DESPITE SOME OF THE COMMENTS I'VE HEARD OVER THE PAST FEW DAYS, THE RECORD JUST DOES NOT SUPPORT THE PROPOSITION THAT RONALD REAGAN HAS BEEN PARTISAN IN HIS FOREIGN AND DEFENSE POLICIES OR THAT HE WILL BE A MORE PARTISAN PRESIDENT FOR THE NEXT TWO YEARS. NOR DOES OUR EXPERIENCE IN THE 99TH CONGRESS INDICATE THAT COMPROMISE BETWEEN REPUBLICANS AND DEMOCRATS IN THE SENATE IS IMPOSSIBLE.

THE PRESIDENT HAS PUSHED FOR A STRONG NATIONAL DEFENSE AND LARGER DEFENSE BUDGETS, TO BE SURE, AND HAS CRITICIZED THOSE WHO RESISTED, MANY OF THEM DEMOCRATS. AND DEMOCRATS HAVE MADE SOME NASTY REMARKS ABOUT RONALD REAGAN ON DEFENSE ISSUES. BUT WE HAVE ALWAYS FOUND GROUNDS FOR COMPROMISE ON FINAL BUDGET FIGURES.

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BEFORE SITTING DOWN TO ARMS CONTROL TALKS WITH THE SOVIETS, THE PRESIDENT DID INDEED WANT TO BE IN A POSITION TO DEAL FROM STRENGTH, AND HE STRONGLY RESISTED HOUSE DEMOCRATIC EFFORTS TO TIE HIS HANDS BY FORCING SALT COMPLIANCE AND OTHER THINGS. BUT, AGAIN, WITH THE PRESIDENT'S ACTIVE INVOLVEMENT, WE DID WORK OUT A PACKAGE OF ARMS CONTROL PROVISIONS IN THE CONTINUING RESOLUTION THAT PERMITTED THE PRESIDENT TO GO TO REYKJAVIK WITH SOME CARDS TO PLAY.

THE PRESIDENT WAS DETERMINED TO SEE AID FOR THE CONTRAS IN NICARAGUA AND UNITA IN ANGOLA. BUT HE WAS ALSO WILLING TO SHAPE HIS ASSISTANCE PROPOSALS IN BOTH CASES TO TAKE INTO ACCOUNT LEGITIMATE CONGRESSIONAL CONCERNS AND TO INSURE THAT CONGRESS COULD PLAY ITS LEGITIMATE OVERSIGHT ROLES, AS THE AID PROGRAMS WERE IMPLEMENTED. AND SO, BOTH THOSE TWO PROGRAMS WENT FORWARD.

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AND EVEN ON ISSUES WHERE WE CAME CLOSER TO THE CRUNCH, AS WE DID ON SOUTH AFRICAN SANCTIONS, I PERSONALLY FEEL THE SHOWDOWN WAS FORCED AS MUCH BY SOME IN THE CONGRESS WHO WANTED TO DEAL THE PRESIDENT A DEFEAT AS BY THE WHITE HOUSE.

SO WE CAN WORK OUT SOME OF THESE ISSUES, AND I BELIEVE WE WILL.

REAL DIFFERENCES ON SOME ISSUES

BUT AT THE SAME TIME, LET ME BE CLEAR. THE PRESIDENT DOES HAVE STRONG VIEWS ON NATIONAL SECURITY ISSUES. SO DO I AND MANY OTHER REPUBLICANS. NONE OF US ARE GOING TO ABANDON THOSE VIEWS BECAUSE WE HAVE EIGHT FEWER SEATS ON OUR SIDE OF THE SENATE AISLE. WE'RE NOT ROLLING OVER AND PLAYING DEAD; WE'RE NOT RUNNING UP THE WHITE FLAG; WE'RE GOING TO CONTINUE TO FIGHT FOR WHAT WE BELIEVE IN. WE ARE GOING TO CONTINUE TO PUSH FOR AID TO FREEDOM FIGHTERS; FOR A

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STRONG NATIONAL DEFENSE; FOR SDI; AND FOR MANY OTHER PROGRAMS THAT, IN MY VIEW AT LEAST, ARE CENTRAL TO THE SECURITY OF THIS NATION. AND THAT MEANS WE ARE VERY LIKELY GOING TO SEE SOME DONNEYBROOKS ON NATIONAL SECURITY ISSUES.

IF THAT OCCASIONALLY HAPPENS, IT'S NOT GOVERNING BY CONFRONTATION OR UNBRIDLED PARTISANSHIP. IT'S DEMOCRACY IN ACTION.

SOMETIMES REPUBLICANS WILL WIN

AND LET ME MAKE THIS FURTHER PREDICTION.
SOMETIMES, WE REPUBLICANS ARE GOING TO WIN THOSE TESTS, EVEN IF WE NOW NUMBER ONLY 45 IN THE SENATE. WE'RE GOING TO WIN BECAUSE WE HAVE THE FACTS BEHIND US. WE'RE GOING TO WIN BECAUSE THE PEOPLE ARE BEHIND US. WE'RE GOING TO WIN BECAUSE A STRONG AND PERSUASIVE PRESIDENT IS BEHIND US. AND WE'RE GOING TO WIN BECAUSE SOME DEMOCRATS ARE GOING TO VOTE WITH US -- AS, FOR EXAMPLE, 11 DID LAST YEAR ON CONTRA AID.

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THE FIRST MAJOR FOREIGN POLICY TEST OF THE NEW CONGRESS IS LIKELY TO BE THE ISSUE OF RELEASING THE LAST \$40 MILLION OF THE \$100 MILLION APPROVED BY THE 99TH CONGRESS FOR THE CONTRAS. I'M SURE SOME IN CONGRESS, EMBOLDENED BY THE NEW NUMBERS IN THE SENATE, ARE GOING TO TRY TO USE THE OPPORTUNITY TO TORPEDO THE CONTRA AID PROGRAM FOR GOOD.

I DON'T THINK THEY'LL SUCCEED. WE WON THE CONTRA AID VOTES IN THE SENATE LAST CONGRESS NARROWLY, AS I SAID, WITH THE HELP OF SOME DEMOCRATS. AND -- LOOKING AT THE VOTING RECORDS AND PUBLIC STATEMENTS OF THE NEW MEMBERS WE'RE GETTING -- I THINK WE CAN WIN AGAIN. MAYBE BY AN EVEN NARROWER MARGIN. BUT I BELIEVE WE CAN WIN.

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AND IF -- WHEN -- WE DO, I HOPE THAT WILL STILL
SOME OF THE GLEEFUL CRIES ABOUT RONALD REAGAN BEING A
LAMEDUCK. WE'VE GOT A VERY LIVE, VERY DETERMINED AND
VERY POWERFUL PRESIDENT, AND ALL OF US IN CONGRESS
BETTER REMEMBER THAT AND PLAN ACCORDINGLY.

BUT AGAIN, AS I INDICATED BEFORE, THE NEW NUMBERS
-- EVEN IF THEY DON'T ADD UP TO PERMANENT
CONFRONTATION AND MULTIPLE VETOES -- DO POSE SOME REAL
PROBLEMS AND RAISE SOME REAL CONCERNS IN THE NATIONAL
SECURITY AREA. TWO ISSUES TROUBLE ME THE MOST.

ADEQUATE DEFENSE SPENDING IN PERIL

FIRST, ARE WE GOING TO BE ABLE TO KEEP DEFENSE
SPENDING AT THE LEVELS NECESSARY TO MEET OUR
LEGITIMATE DEFENSE NEEDS? GRAMM-RUDMAN-HOLLINGS IS
STILL VERY MUCH WITH US, AND THIS YEAR'S DEFICIT
CEILING IS \$36 BILLION LESS THAN LAST YEAR'S -- WHILE

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ENTITLEMENTS CONTINUE TO GROW. THE AXE IS GOING TO FALL SOMEWHERE. BUT WE MUST KEEP IT FROM BEING POINTED DIRECTLY AT THE HEART OF OUR NATIONAL DEFENSE.

CONGRESS CANNOT TIE PRESIDENT'S HANDS ON ARMS CONTROL

THE OTHER MAJOR WORRY I HAVE IS IN THE ARMS CONTROL AREA I'VE TOUCHED ON BRIEFLY BEFORE. AND THERE ARE REALLY TWO COMPONENTS TO THE PROBLEM HERE. ONE IS A BASIC CONSTITUTIONAL ISSUE. THE EXECUTIVE IS SUPPOSED TO NEGOTIATE AND SUBMIT TREATIES FOR APPROVAL. RATIFICATION IS THE JOB OF THE CONGRESS. BUT CONGRESS -- PRIMARILY THE HOUSE IN THE 99TH, BUT WHO KNOWS IN THE 100TH -- SEEMS TO WANT TO DO IT ALL, THE CONSTITUTION NOTWITHSTANDING.

WE ARE ALMOST CERTAIN TO SEE A RENEWAL OF EFFORTS TO FORCE U.S. COMPLIANCE WITH SALT II -- A TREATY NEVER RATIFIED; WHICH WOULD HAVE EXPIRED ALREADY HAD IT BEEN RATIFIED; AND WHICH THE SOVIETS HAVE

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REPEATEDLY VIOLATED. IF IT COMES DOWN TO IT, I AM PREPARED TO TRY TO BRING THE SALT II TREATY ITSELF TO THE FLOOR, TO FIND OUT WHO REALLY IS PREPARED TO VOTE FOR IT. AND IF WE GET TO THAT POINT, I AM CONFIDENT THE VOTES ARE NOT THERE FOR RATIFICATION. PERHAPS THAT WILL ALLOW US TO QUIT BEATING THIS DEAD HORSE AND RESIGN IT TO THE FORMAL BURIAL IT DESERVES.

THE CONGRESS, THROUGH THE COMPROMISE REACHED ON THE CONTINUING RESOLUTION, HAS ALSO MORE OR LESS FORCED THE PRESIDENT TO AGREE TO THE SUBMISSION OF TWO TESTING TREATIES -- THE THRESHOLD TEST BAN AND THE PEACEFUL NUCLEAR EXPLOSIONS TREATY. HOPEFULLY WE WILL BE ABLE TO HANDLE THESE IN A WAY WHICH WILL NOT COMPROMISE THE U.S. POSITION -- AND COMPROMISE OUR NATIONAL SECURITY -- ON THE VITAL QUESTION OF VERIFICATION.

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SO THERE IS THE IMPORTANT CONSTITUTIONAL QUESTION. BUT THERE ARE ALSO THE SUBSTANTIVE POLICY QUESTIONS, AND THEY ARE EQUALLY VITAL. WE HAVE MADE THE PROGRESS WE HAVE ON ARMS CONTROL BECAUSE OF THE PRESIDENT'S POLICIES: OUR MILITARY BUILD-UP; OUR WILLINGNESS TO NEGOTIATE COMBINED WITH A DETERMINATION TO DEFEND OUR VITAL INTERESTS; OUR AGGRESSIVE PURSUIT OF THE POTENTIAL OF NEW TECHNOLOGIES, THROUGH SDI AND OTHER INITIATIVES; AND OUR EFFECTIVE COORDINATION WITH OUR ALLIES. WITHOUT THESE REAGAN ADMINISTRATION PROGRAMS, THERE WOULD HAVE BEEN NO GENEVA TALKS; THERE WOULD HAVE BEEN NO REYKJAVIK; THERE WOULD HAVE BEEN NO PROSPECT OF REAL, MEANINGFUL NUCLEAR ARMS REDUCTIONS.

BUT WE ARE GOING TO MAKE NO FURTHER PROGRESS -- AND, INDEED, WE RISK SEEING THE GAINS WE'VE ALREADY MADE UNRAVEL -- IF WE NOW TURN OUR BACKS ON THE STRATEGY AND POLICIES THE PRESIDENT HAS ADVOCATED AND WHICH HAVE BROUGHT US SO FAR.

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100TH CONGRESS MUST MEET ITS RESPONSIBILITY

WE WILL BE TAKING CRITICAL DECISIONS IN THE 100TH CONGRESS. SENATORS AND CONGRESSMEN FROM BOTH PARTIES ARE GOING TO HAVE TO STAND UP AND BE COUNTED. WE'RE GOING TO BE HELD ACCOUNTABLE FOR OUR DECISIONS. AND WITH BOTH HOUSES IN THE CONTROL OF ONE PARTY, THE ACCOUNTING MAY BE A LITTLE MORE CLEAR-CUT THAN FOR THE 99TH CONGRESS.

THE LIST OF ISSUES IS LONG. AID FOR THE FREEDOM FIGHTERS; DEFENSE SPENDING LEVELS; ARMS CONTROL STRATEGIES; WHETHER TO CONTINUE THE MX PROGRAM AND IN WHAT BASING MODE; THE PROFILE OF THE NEW, SMALL ICBM; FUNDING AND R&D PRIORITIES FOR SDI; AND ON AND ON. IN THE 99TH CONGRESS, WE -- THE PRESIDENT AND THOSE OF US WHO SUPPORT HIM -- DID NOT GET ALL WE WANTED IN THESE AND OTHER EQUALLY SENSITIVE AREAS. BUT WE GOT ENOUGH TO KEEP OUR DEFENSE STRONG AND OUR NEGOTIATING POSTURE IN GENEVA AND REYKJAVIK CREDIBLE.

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WILL BE DO AS WELL IN THE 100TH CONGRESS? IT
REMAINS TO BE SEEN.

A SPIRIT OF COOPERATION

NEARLY TWO YEARS AGO, ON JANUARY 3, 1985, I OPENED
THE 99TH CONGRESS AS THE THEN NEWLY-ELECTED MAJORITY
LEADER. I DID SO WITH THE HOPE THAT, ESPECIALLY ON
NATIONAL SECURITY MATTERS, THE 99TH WOULD BE ABLE TO
WORK, FIRST, WITH THE PRESIDENT, AND, SECOND, IN A
TRULY NONPARTISAN WAY ON FOREIGN AND DEFENSE POLICY
ISSUES.

TO GET US OFF ON THE RIGHT FOOT, BOTH
SUBSTANTIVELY AND SYMBOLICALLY, I ASKED THE MINORITY
LEADER, SENATOR BYRD, TO JOIN ME IN DOING SOMETHING
THAT HAD NEVER BEFORE BEEN DONE ON AN OPENING DAY -- A
DAY TRADITIONALLY SET ASIDE ONLY FOR CEREMONY. WE
INTRODUCED AND SUCCEEDED IN PASSING SUBSTANTIVE

- 15 -

LEGISLATION, WHICH ENDORSED THE PRESIDENT'S THEN BRAND-NEW INITIATIVE IN RESUMING ARMS CONTROL TALKS WITH THE SOVIETS, AND WHICH ALSO ESTABLISHED A SENATE ARMS CONTROL OBSERVER TEAM TO HELP US KEEP TRACK OF THE PROGRESS OF THE TALKS.

THAT INITIATIVE HAS PAID SOME REAL DIVIDENDS. BY PUTTING THE SOVIETS ON NOTICE FROM THE OUTSET THAT THE PRESIDENT AND THE CONGRESS WERE ON THE SAME BASIC WAVELENGTH ON THE GENEVA TALKS, IT HELPED IN A SMALL WAY TO BRING ABOUT THE PROGRESS WE RECENTLY SAW CRYSTALIZE IN REYKJAVIK. BY GIVING THE SENATE AN ESTABLISHED CHANNEL TO MONITOR AND PROVIDE IN-PUT INTO THE NEGOTIATIONS, IT HAS HELPED IN A SIGNIFICANT WAY TO HEAD OFF ANY REAL COLLISIONS BETWEEN THE PRESIDENT AND THE CONGRESS ON ARMS CONTROL.

BUT THE REAL POINT I WANT TO MAKE THIS MORNING IS THAT THE OBSERVER GROUP INITIATIVE WAS A PRIME EXAMPLE OF THE WAY I THINK MOST OF US WOULD LIKE THE CONGRESS

- 16 -

TO WORK ON NATIONAL SECURITY ISSUES. WE'D LIKE OUR WORK TO BE NON-PARTISAN. AND ON THE OBSERVER GROUP, SENATOR STEVENS FROM MY PARTY, ONE CO-CHAIRMAN, HAS WORKED EXTREMELY WELL WITH SENATOR NUNN, FROM THE OTHER PARTY AND FROM THIS STATE, WHO HAS BEEN THE OTHER CO-CHAIRMAN.

AND MOST OF US WOULD LIKE TO WORK WITH THE ADMINISTRATION, WHENEVER THAT IS POSSIBLE. AND, AGAIN, ALL THE MEMBERS OF THE GROUP HAVE WORKED CLOSELY AND COOPERATIVELY WITH THE PRESIDENT, WITH PAUL NITZE AND HIS OTHER WASHINGTON ADVISERS, AND WITH MAX KAMPELMAN AND HIS TEAM IN GENEVA.

THAT DOES NOT MEAN THAT WE'VE NOT HAD DIFFERENCES ON ARMS CONTROL ISSUES, NOR THAT SOME OF THOSE DIFFERENCES HAVE SPLIT OUT ALONG PRETTY PARTISAN LINES. WE HAVE HAD THOSE DIFFERENCES, IN MY VIEW TOO MANY OF THEM. I'VE ALREADY TALKED ABOUT THAT.

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BUT IN GENERAL THE ARMS CONTROL OBSERVER GROUP, A SMALL INITIATIVE, IS NONETHELESS AN INSTRUCTIVE AND HOPEFUL ONE. IT SHOWS -- LIKE SOME OF THOSE OTHER EXAMPLES I CITED, ON EVEN MORE CONTROVERSIAL QUESTIONS -- THAT OFTEN WE CAN WORK TOGETHER, PRESIDENT AND CONGRESS, REPUBLICAN AND DEMOCRAT. WE CAN FIND SOME COMMON GROUND. AND WHEN WE DO, WE ALL WIN.

THAT IS THE SAME SPIRIT IN WHICH I WILL APPROACH THE 100TH CONGRESS. AND IT IS CERTAINLY THE SAME SPIRIT I'VE HEARD SENATOR BYRD ESPOUSE IN THE MANY JOINT APPEARANCES WE'VE MADE OVER THE PAST FIVE DAYS, DISCUSSING THE ELECTIONS AND THEIR MEANING.

SO I ENTER THE 100TH CONGRESS, MY FIRST AS LEADER OF THE PARTY IN THE MINORITY, WITH HOPE. BUT ALSO WITH THE REALIZATION THAT MUCH HARD WORK, AND MANY CHALLENGES, LIE AHEAD -- FOR ME, FOR MY 44 REPUBLICAN COLLEAGUES IN THE SENATE, AND FOR THE PRESIDENT WHO SPEAKS FOR US ALL ON NATIONAL SECURITY ISSUES.