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"CONGRESSIONAL INTERVENTION IN FOREIGN POLICY"

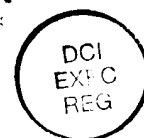
ADDRESS BY REP. HENRY J. HYDE

(R-ILL.)

MAY 17, 1985

TO THE ANNUAL JUDICIAL CONFERENCE OF THE U.S. COURT OF APPEALS  
FOR THE FEDERAL CIRCUIT

WASHINGTON HILTON  
WASHINGTON, D.C.



L-272

THEODORE WHITE HAS SAID THAT THE PROBLEMS OF SOCIETY CAN BE PLACED WITHIN THREE CATEGORIES: WAR & PEACE, BLACK & WHITE, AND BREAD & BUTTER. IT SEEMS TO ME THAT OUR COUNTRY'S GROWING PROBLEM OF IMMIGRATION DOESN'T FIT VERY NEATLY INTO MR. WHITE'S LIST, AND BELIEVE ME, THIS PROBLEM HAS EXPLOSIVE POTENTIAL.

WHILE IMMIGRATION HAS ALWAYS FUELED THIS COUNTRY WITH DIVERSITY AND VITALITY, AND WHILE AMERICA IS AND OUGHT TO BE A HAVEN FOR THOSE FLEEING OPPRESSION, WE HAVE ALWAYS EXERCISED CONTROL OVER OUR BORDERS -- UNTIL RECENTLY. MOST AMERICANS DON'T REALIZE THAT 270,000 PEOPLE IMMIGRATE LEGALLY TO THE U.S. EVERY YEAR. ANOTHER 190,000 RELATIVES OF CITIZENS LEGALLY ENTER, PLUS ABOUT 70,000 REFUGEES FLEEING POLITICAL PERSECUTION AND ANOTHER 5,000 PEOPLE WHO ARE GRANTED ASYLUM EVERY YEAR. NOW ADD TO THESE NUMBERS, HOW MANY ILLEGAL ALIENS EACH YEAR? HALF A MILLION? A MILLION? NOBODY KNOWS, BUT IT IS A FORMIDABLE NUMBER. HOW LONG CAN WE ACCEPT SUCH NUMBERS WITHOUT SERIOUS IMPACT ON OUR RELATIVELY INTEGRATED, MOBILE SOCIETY?

UNABATED, WITH ITS INTENSIFYING DEMAND FOR BILINGUALISM, IT  
WILL SOON BE ACCOMPANIED BY DEEP POLITICAL DIVISIONS AMONG  
THOSE ALREADY HERE, WE CAN THEN EXPECT THE EROSION OF PUBLIC  
SUPPORT FOR ANY IMMIGRATION AT ALL.

WE THOUGHT WE HAD THE PROBLEMS SOLVED LAST YEAR WITH A  
LEGISLATIVE TRADE-OFF OF AMNESTY FOR A LARGE GROUPS OF  
ILLEGALS IN EXCHANGE FOR IMPOSING CRIMINAL SANCTIONS ON  
EMPLOYERS WHO MAKE A PRACTICE OF HIRING ILLEGAL ALIENS. BUT  
THE PROPOSAL FOUNDERED ON THE AMOUNT OF FEDERAL REIMBURSEMENT  
THAT THE STATES MOST SERIOUSLY IMPACTED BY THIS AMNESTY WOULD  
REQUIRE. A LARGE NUMBER OF ILLEGAL ALIENS WOULD BE EXPECTED  
TO COME OUT OF THE CLOSET NOW THAT THEY HAD LEGAL STATUS,  
AND THE ADDED WELFARE AND SOCIAL SERVICE COSTS COULD NOT BE  
EVEN REMOTELY PREDICATED.

CALIFORNIA, FOR ONE STATE, DIDN'T WANT TO TAKE THE  
CHANCE WITHOUT A REASONABLE CHANGE OF FEDERAL REIMBURSEMENT.  
ONE BILLION DOLLARS FOR THE WHOLE COUNTRY WAS THE BEST THE  
ADMINISTRATION WOULD OFFER, AND SO THE WHOLE LEGISLATIVE  
ENTERPRISE JUST SHUT DOWN. WE'RE TRYING TO REVIVE IT, BUT  
THE PROBLEMS REMAIN AND THE PRACTICAL SOLUTIONS STILL ELUDE

THE PROBLEM IMMIGRATION IS IMMEDIATELY LINKED WITH IS  
FOREIGN POLICY -- PARTICULARLY IN CENTRAL AMERICA. OUR NEW  
AMBASSADOR TO THE UNITED NATIONS, VERNON WALTERS HAS CALLED  
CUBA THE BIGGEST COUNTRY IN THE WORLD: ITS GOVERNMENT IS IN  
HAVANA, BUT ITS ADMINISTRATION IS IN MOSCOW, ITS ARMY IS IN  
ANGOLA, AND ITS POPULATION IS IN MIAMI!

COMMUNIST NATIONS DON'T PRODUCE VERY MUCH FOR EXPORT  
-- BUT THEY DO MANUFACTURE REFUGEES BETTER THAN ANYBODY IN THE  
WORLD, AND IF CENTRAL AMERICA GOES COMMUNIST, WE CAN EXPECT  
A TIDAL WAVE OF REFUGEES FROM SOUTH OF TEXAS -- AND THEY  
WON'T BE BOAT PEOPLE EITHER. THERE ARE 100 MILLION PEOPLE  
FROM THE RIO GRANDE TO THE PANAMANIAN BORDER -- TEN PERCENT  
IS THE RULE OF THUMB WHEN IT COMES TO REFUGEES FLEEING COMMUNISM.  
IN 1956, OVER A MILLION PEOPLE FLED NORTH VIETNAM AND HEADED  
SOUTH, IN THE EARLY 1960s, OVER A MILLION FLED CUBA -- AND THEY  
NEEDED BOATS -- SO WE CAN EXPECT LITERALLY MILLIONS OF REFUGEES  
HEADED NORTH TOWARDS TEXAS AND CALIFORNIA. IF THIS EVER HAPPENS  
ONE OF THE IMPORTANT GOALS OF SOVIET FOREIGN POLICY WILL BE  
ACCOMPLISHED - THE DIVERSION OF OUR RESOURCES AND ATTENTION  
FROM THE MIDDLE EAST AND NATO, AND WITH ALMOST EXCLUSIVE

DAWNED ON THOSE WHO DEPRECATE OUR POLICY TOWARDS NICARAGUA --

BUT THEN THEY DIDN'T APPROVE OF GRENADA EITHER.

AN INTERESTING QUIRK OF HUMAN NATURE IS OUR PENCHANT FOR  
JUDGING OTHERS BY OUR OWN STANDARDS AND VALUES. THIS IS  
CALLED "MIRROR IMAGING." AMERICANS BY NATURE ARE TRUSTING  
PEOPLE WHO LIKE TO BELIEVE OTHER PEOPLE ALWAYS MEAN WHAT THEY  
SAY. UNFORTUNATELY, MODERN HISTORY BURGEONS WITH INSTANCES  
OF COMMUNIST NATIONS REWARDING THIS TRUST WITH TREACHERY,  
MUCH TO THE SORROW AND SUFFERING OF THOSE NUMBERLESS VICTIMS  
CAUGHT IN THE POLITICAL CROSSFIRE.

FOR EXAMPLE, AVERILL HARRIMAN, WHILE SERVING AS OUR , ,  
AMBASSADOR TO MOSCOW DURING WORLD WAR II, CABLED WASHINGTON  
ON AUGUST 1, 1944, TO REPORT A CONVERSATION THAT HE HAD HAD  
WITH STANISLAW MIKOLAJCZYK, THE THEN POLISH PRIME MINISTER,  
ABOUT SOVIET PLANS FOR POLAND. "IN SOME DETAIL," HARRIMAN  
SAID, "I EXPLAINED TO HIM THE EVIDENCE THAT SATISFIED ME THAT  
THE SOVIET GOVERNMENT HAD NO INTENTION OF COMMUNIZING  
POLAND," THAT ANALYSIS HELPS EXPLAIN WHY THE UNITED STATES  
MADE SOME OF THE MISTAKES IT DID IN EUROPE DURING THE 1940'S.

NOW HARDLY A DAY GOES BY WITHOUT SOME GRAPHIC REMINDER OF  
THE ON-GOING TRAGEDY OF A COMMUNIZED POLAND.

SOME YEARS LATER, A CHARISMATIC GUERRILLA LEADER MARCHED  
INTO HAVANA AND WAS CELEBRATED BY THE AMERICAN MEDIA AS THE  
GEORGE WASHINGTON OF CUBA. WE EVENTUALLY REALIZED WHAT  
FIDEL CASTRO STOOD FOR, BUT BY THEN IT WAS AGAIN TOO LATE.

IN 1973 HENRY KISSINGER RETURNED FROM PARIS WITH A PEACE  
TREATY SIGNED BY THE NORTH VIETNAMESE. MOST AMERICANS  
BREATHED A SIGH OF RELIEF. TWO YEARS LATER, SAIGON FELL WITH  
DESPERATE AMERICANS ANXIOUSLY AIRLIFTED FROM OUR EMBASSY  
ROOFTOP, LEAVING BEHIND THE OUT-STRETCHED HANDS OF ABANDONED  
VIETNAMESE WHOSE FATAL MISTAKE WAS TO TRUST US. I DOUBT  
HOWEVER MR. KISSINGER UNDERTOOK THOSE TREATY NEGOTIATIONS AS  
TRUSTINGLY AS IT MIGHT APPEAR, BECAUSE IN HIS BOOK WHITE  
HOUSE YEARS HE TEACHES A LESSON THAT EVERY DIPLOMAT,  
EVERY MEMBER OF CONGRESS AND EVERY AMERICAN NEEDS TO LEARN.  
KISSINGER WRITES: "FROM LENIN TO STALIN...TO BREZHNEV AND  
WHOEVER SUCCEEDS HIM, SOVIET LEADERS HAVE BEEN PARTLY  
MOTIVATED BY A SELF PROCLAIMED INSIGHT INTO THE FORCES OF  
HISTORY AND BY A CONVICTION THAT THEIR CAUSE IS THE CAUSE OF  
HISTORICAL INEVITABILITY. THEIR IDEOLOGY TEACHES THAT THE

CLASS STRUGGLE AND ECONOMIC DETERMINISM MAKE REVOLUTIONARY

UPHEAVAL INEVITABLE. THE CONFLICT BETWEEN THE FORCES OF

REVOLUTION AND COUNTER-REVOLUTION IS IRRECONCILABLE. TO THE

INDUSTRIAL DEMOCRACIES PEACE APPEARS AS A NATURALLY ATTAIN-

ABLE CONDITION, IT IS THE COMPOSITION OF DIFFERENCES, THE

ABSENCE OF STRUGGLE. TO THE SOVIET LEADERS, BY CONTRAST,

STRUGGLE IS ENDED NOT BY COMPROMISE BUT BY THE VICTORY OF ONE

SIDE. PERMANENT PEACE, ACCORDING TO COMMUNIST THEORY CAN BE

ACHIEVED ONLY BY ABOLISHING THE CLASS STRUGGLE, AND THE CLASS

STRUGGLE CAN BE ENDED ONLY BY A COMMUNIST VICTORY."

DESPITE A DREARY RECORD OF COMMUNIST BETRAYAL,

JIMMY CARTER DECLARED DURING A MAY 22, 1977 PRESIDENTIAL

COMMENCEMENT ADDRESS AT NOTRE DAME THAT "...WE ARE NOW FREE OF

THAT INORDINATE FEAR OF COMMUNISM." IT TOOK THE BRUTAL

SOVIET INVASION OF AFGHANISTAN TO CHANGE HIS MIND IN LATE

1979 WHEN HE TOLD THE LATE FRANK REYNOLDS OF ABC-TV'S WORLD NEWS

TONIGHT BROADCAST TEAM THAT "...THIS ACTION OF THE SOVIETS

HAS MADE A MORE DRAMATIC CHANGE IN MY OWN OPINION OF WHAT THE

SOVIETS' ULTIMATE GOALS ARE THAN ANYTHING THEY'VE DONE IN THE

PREVIOUS TIME I'VE BEEN IN OFFICE." A CERTAIN AMOUNT OF ON-

THE-JOB TRAINING IS TO BE EXPECTED OF ANY PRESIDENT DURING



HIS FIRST TERM, BUT IT OUGHT NOT TO INVOLVE SUCH A FUNDAMENTAL  
ISSUE AS THE NATURE AND EXTENT OF THE SOVIET THREAT TO FREEDOM.

NEARLY SIX YEARS AGO A BAND OF SEEMINGLY PATRIOTIC  
SANDINISTA REVOLUTIONARIES OVERTHREW THE SOMOZA DICTATORSHIP  
IN NICARAGUA AND PROMISED THE ORGANIZATION OF AMERICAN STATES  
THAT THEY WOULD HOLD FREE ELECTIONS AND ESTABLISH A  
DEMOCRATICALLY PLURALISTIC SOCIETY.

PROVING THAT HOPE USUALLY TRIUMPHS OVER COMMON SENSE, A  
MAJORITY OF MY COLLEAGUES VOTED IN 1979 FOR MILLIONS OF  
DOLLARS OF ASSISTANCE TO HELP THE SANDINISTAS IMPLEMENT THEIR  
REVOLUTION. I WAS ONE WHO JOINED IN THAT HOPE WITH MY VOTE.  
MY LEARNING PERIOD WAS ACCELERATED IN THE FEW MONTHS  
FOLLOWING THAT VOTE. SOME OF MY COLLEAGUES ARE STILL HOPING  
-- A HOPE THAT EVENTS OUGHT TO HAVE DASHED A LONG TIME AGO.  
HISTORY INDEED DOES REPEAT ITSELF AND OUR TRUST AND STARRY  
EYED IDEALISM HAS BEEN EXPLOITED TIME AND TIME AGAIN. SO FAR  
WE HAVE SURVIVED OUR BLUNDERS. NOT SO, SOME OF OUR ALLIES.  
HOW MANY MORE MISJUDGMENTS WE WILL BE PERMITTED WITHOUT  
MORTALLY WOUNDING FREEDOM IS A QUESTION I HOPE NEVER HAS TO  
BE ANSWERED.

WITH THE RAPID ADVANCEMENT OF WEAPONS TECHNOLOGY, AND

ALL THIS IMPLIES, A SERIOUS SAFETY FACTOR HAS BEEN LOST, AND THIS IS THE "MARGIN FOR ERROR." IN 1941 WE HAD TIME TO GEAR UP THE MILITARY INDUSTRIAL COMPLEX, ONLY THEN WE CALLED IT THE ARSENAL OF DEMOCRACY. I CAN RECALL SEEING VOLUNTEERS DRILLING IN CHICAGO'S GRANT PARK WITH BROOM HANDLES FOR RIFLES. THE LUXURY OF TIME CAN NO LONGER BE COUNTED ON.

ALL THE MORE REASON THEN, WHY A CLEARLY DEFINED AND EFFECTIVE FOREIGN POLICY -- ONE THAT CAN ANTICIPATE THE TWISTS AND TURNS OF INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS - A POLICY THAT CAN INFLUENCE EVENTS, NOT MERELY REACT TO THEM, IS INCREASINGLY ESSENTIAL IN A DANGEROUS WORLD.

TRADITIONALLY AND CONSTITUTIONALLY THE CONDUCT OF FOREIGN POLICY IS A FUNCTION OF THE CHIEF EXECUTIVE. SINCE CONGRESS CONTROLS THE APPROPRIATIONS PROCESS, ITS ULTIMATE CONTROL OVER EVERYTHING THAT COSTS MONEY IS CLEAR. HOWEVER, SINCE VIETNAM, CONGRESS HAS DEVELOPED AN ENTHUSIASM FOR MICRO-MANAGING FOREIGN POLICY THAT IS INHERENTLY COUNTER-PRODUCTIVE. A DEMOCRATIC CONGRESS IMPOSED THE WAR POWERS ACT ON A REPUBLICAN PRESIDENT, AND ONE CAN ARGUE BOTH SIDES OF THIS CONTROVERSY IN AN AGE OF NUCLEAR WEAPONS. A SIGNIFICANT ISSUE TODAY IS WHETHER THAT ACT IS CONSTITUTIONAL AND SINCE

THE COURT -- THIS PRESENTS A VERY MURKY AREA FOR BOTH THE  
PRESIDENT AND CONGRESS. THE CONSTITUTIONAL QUESTION HAS NOT  
INHIBITED CONGRESS FROM SEEKING TO LIMIT THE PRESIDENT'S  
AUTHORITY AS COMMANDER IN CHIEF. WE ARE NOW DEALING WITH THE  
SO CALLED FOLEY AMENDMENT WHICH BARS THE USE OF AMERICAN  
TROOPS "IN AND ABOVE NICARAGUA" UNLESS WE ARE DIRECTLY  
ATTACKED. THUS DO WE BECOME ENFORCERS OF THE BREZHNEV  
DOCTRINE DE JURE AS WELL AS DE FACTO.

BUT CONGRESS ALSO HAS MANDATED A LONG SERIES OF DUTIES  
ON THE PRESIDENT, INCLUDING CERTIFICATIONS, HUMAN RIGHTS  
REPORTS ON EVERY OTHER STATE IN THE WORLD, INTELLIGENCE  
OVERSIGHT (CONSISTING OF SEPARATE HOUSE AND SENATE  
INTELLIGENCE COMMITTEES, EACH WITH APPROPRIATE STAFF) WHICH  
IN PRACTICE BECOMES FAR MORE THAN MERE OVERSIGHT, AND IS BI-  
PARTISAN ON SOME MATTERS AND EXTREMELY PARTISAN ON OTHERS,  
LIKE NICARAGUA; RESTRICTIONS ON THE SALE OF MILITARY  
EQUIPMENT AND A HOST OF OTHER INTRUSIONS -- SOME USEFUL, SOME  
NOT. ONE CLEAR RESULT IS A LACK OF SECRECY WHERE SOMETIMES  
SECRECY IS ESSENTIAL AND A LACK OF FLEXIBILITY AND ABILITY TO  
PROMPTLY RESPOND.

WHILE WE ARE ON THE SUBJECT OF INTELLIGENCE LET ME

COMMENT THAT SOME SENSE OF REALISM IS MISSING FROM THE BLIZZARD OF  
CRITICISM CONSISTENTLY HEAPED ON THE CENTRAL INTELLIGENCE  
AGENCY. I AM NOT UNCRITICAL OF SOME EGREGIOUS MISTAKES THE  
AGENCY HAS MADE, BUT "GOING PUBLIC" ON EVERY ONE MAY GET A  
POLITICIANS NAME IN THE NEWSPAPER BUT THE LOSS OF CONFIDENCE  
IN AN ESSENTIAL AGENCY CAN SOMETIMES BE A VERY HIGH PRICE TO  
PAY. FOR EXAMPLE, JUST CONSIDER THE ENORMOUS DIFFICULTY  
FACING THE CIA IN LEBANON, WHERE THE ONLY WAY TO EFFECTIVELY  
ANTICIPATE AND DEAL WITH RAMPANT TERRORISM IS TO PENETRATE  
SOME OF THESE GROUPS. THIS REQUIRES PEOPLE WILLING TO RISK  
THEIR LIVES AND WHO ARE ASSIMILABLE INTO THESE TERRORIST  
GROUPS. I CAN ASSURE YOU CLARK KENT OR EVEN ADMIRAL  
STANSFIELD TURNER WOULDN'T MAKE IT PAST THE FRONT DOOR! YOU  
WORK WITH WHO AND WHAT IS AVAILABLE AND HOPE FOR THE BEST.  
FROM OUR SAFE AND SECURE WASHINGTON OFFICES IT IS MIGHTY EASY  
TO THROW STONES -- ITS NOT SO EASY TO CATCH THEM.

ONE VITAL INGREDIENT OF AN EFFECTIVE FOREIGN POLICY HAS  
BEEN MISSING FROM OUR POLITICS FOR ABOUT TWENTY YEARS -- AND  
THAT IS BI-PARTISANSHIP. IF ITS YOUR ADMINISTRATION YOU  
DEPLORE THE SNIPING AND CARPING OF WHAT YOU LAUGHINGLY CALL

YOU INSIST THAT YOUR INCESSANT BARRAGE OF CRITICISM IS ONLY  
"DEMOCRACY IN ACTION", AND BESIDES, IT IS CONSTRUCTIVE CRITICISM  
ANYWAY!

BUT THE FACT IS THAT SINCE VIETNAM AND WATERGATE, THERE  
HAS BEEN A CRISIS OF CONFIDENCE IN THE OFFICE OF THE  
PRESIDENT THAT HAS BEEN DOWNRIGHT HARMFUL TO OUR NATIONAL  
INTERESTS.

OUR CONGRESS IS PEOPLED BY MANY MEMBERS WHOSE HISTORICAL  
PERSPECTIVE BEGAN AT VIETNAM AND THEN SHUT OFF SHORTLY  
THEREAFTER. THESE MEMBERS RAN ON ANTI-ESTABLISHMENT  
PLATFORMS AND IT BECAME A PART OF THE CULTURE TO QUESTION  
AUTHORITY -- ESPECIALLY PRESIDENTIAL AUTHORITY.

WITH THE PROLIFERATION OF STAFF, EVERY CONGRESSMAN  
DEVELOPED THE CAPACITY TO RUN HIS OFFICE AS A MINI-STATE  
DEPARTMENT AND SOME OF THEM DO JUST THAT. FOR EXAMPLE, MAY  
16TH'S WASHINGTON POST REPORTS THAT AFTER CONGRESS DEFEATED  
ALL AID TO THE CONTRAS THE OTHER DAY, REPRESENTATIVE MICHAEL  
BARNES (D-MD), CHAIRMAN OF THE HOUSE SUBCOMMITTEE ON THE  
WESTERN HEMISPHERE SET UP A MEETING IN HIS OFFICE WITH THE  
NICARAGUAN AMBASSADOR TO THE UNITED STATES. IN HIS OP-ED

LIFT CENSORSHIP; GRANT ROBELO AND ANOTHER CONTRA LEADER,  
ARTURO CRUZ, SAFE PASSAGE BACK TO NICARAGUA AND THE RIGHT TO  
STATE THEIR CASE; ANNOUNCE A READINESS TO NEGOTIATE REGIONAL  
SAFEGUARDS WITH THE SO-CALLED CONTADORA GROUP. THE  
AMBASSADOR WOULD SEE WHAT HE COULD DO." HEADY STUFF FOR ONE  
CONGRESSMAN!

I SUPPOSE THE CLASSIC CASE OF FANTASIZING ONESELF AS  
SECRETARY OF STATE OCCURRED MARCH 20, 1984 WHEN 10 OF THE  
MOST PRESTIGIOUS DEMOCRAT CONGRESSMAN WROTE DANIEL ORTEGA  
THEIR FAMOUS "DEAR COMMANDANTE" LETTER. SIGNATORIES INCLUDED  
MAJORITY LEADER JIM WRIGHT, THE AFORESAID MR. BARNES, THE  
DEPUTY WHIP BILL ALEXANDER, THE THEN CHAIRMAN OF THE  
PERMANENT SELECT COMMITTEE ON INTELLIGENCE, EDWARD BOLAND, THE  
CHAIRMAN OF THE SUBCOMMITTEE ON ASIAN AND PACIFIC AFFAIRS,  
THE WELL-TRAVELED STEPHEN SOLARZ, THE CHAIRMAN OF THE  
SUBCOMMITTEE ON EUROPE AND THE MIDDLE EAST (AND PRESENT  
CHAIRMAN OF THE INTELLIGENCE COMMITTEE) LEE HAMILTON AND FOUR  
OTHERS. IN THIS HISTORIC LETTER TO THIS MARXIST-LENINIST  
HEAD OF STATE THEY SAID: "WE HAVE BEEN, AND REMAIN, OPPOSED  
TO U.S. SUPPORT FOR MILITARY ACTION DIRECTED AGAINST THE

PEOPLE OR GOVERNMENT OF NICARAGUA." AFTER COMMENDING THE  
COMMANDANTE FOR "TAKING STEPS TO OPEN UP THE POLITICAL  
PROCESS IN YOUR COUNTRY" (SOMETHING THAT WOULD SURPRISE THE  
EDITORS OF LA PRENSA, THE HEAVILY CENSORED DAILY PAPER IN  
MANAGUA) AND URGING FURTHER LIBERALIZATIONS, THEY THEN  
"PLEDGE OUR WILLINGNESS TO DISCUSS THESE OR OTHER MATTERS OF  
CONCERN WITH YOU OR OFFICIALS OF YOUR GOVERNMENT AT ANY  
TIME."

AS WE GRAPPLE WITH THE BUDGET, IT SEEMS WE REALLY DON'T  
NEED OUR EXPENSIVE STATE DEPARTMENT; ALL WE NEED TO DO IS LET  
ALL 535 MEMBERS OF CONGRESS KEEP THEIR HANDS ON THE WHEEL OF  
THE SHIP OF STATE AND "AWAY WE GO!"

LEST YOU THINK THE "DEAR COMMANDANTE" LETTER WAS AN  
ABBERATION, PLEASE RECALL THAT ON JANUARY 11, 1985, 13  
MEMBERS OF CONGRESS LED BY RON DELLUMS OF CALIFORNIA, TED  
WEISS OF NEW YORK, PAT SCHROEDER OF COLORADO, WILLIAM GRAY OF  
PENNSYLVANIA (CHAIRMAN OF THE BUDGET COMMITTEE) WROTE PRIME  
MINISTER WILFRIED MARTINS OF BELGIUM COMMENDING HIM ON HIS  
GOVERNMENT'S DELAY IN ITS INITIAL DEPLOYMENT OF CRUISE  
MISSILES AND ASKING THAT HE SERIOUSLY CONSIDER FORMALLY  
EXTENDING THIS PAUSE! THEY ALSO SAID THEY EXPECTED THE PRIME

MINISTER TO ASK THE SOVIET UNION FOR A "SIMILAR DEMONSTRATION OF RESPONSIBLE RESTRAINT CONCERNING THE FURTHER DEPLOYMENT OF THEIR THEATER NUCLEAR WEAPONS..." THE KEY WORDS IN THIS LETTER ARE "INITIAL DEPLOYMENT" AS IT APPLIES TO BELGIUM, AND "FURTHER DEPLOYMENT" AS IT APPLIES TO THE SOVIET UNION. BY THAT TIME THE SOVIET HAD 350 SS 20'S IN PLACE, BELGIUM HAD NONE -- SO GUESS WHO THIS PROPOSED PAUSE FAVORED!

BUT THE MERITS OF THE LETTER AREN'T THE POINT -- THE LETTER ITSELF IS ENOUGH. EVANS AND NOVAK REPORT ON APRIL 15, 1985 THAT TWO DEMOCRATIC CONGRESSMEN FLEW TO NICARAGUA AS ORTEGA WAS IN MOSCOW, AND ACCORDING TO DIPLOMATIC CABLES THEY WERE SEEKING HELP FROM THE SANDINISTAS IN CALMING THE "CONGRESSIONAL UPROAR" OVER ORTEGA'S TELL-TALE TRIP. A DEMOCRATIC LEADER IS QUOTED AS FEELING THAT "THEIR WEEKEND IN MANAGUA BROUGHT THEM 'DANGEROUSLY CLOSE TO NEGOTIATIONS'." WHAT MUST OUR ALLIES AND OUR ADVERSARIES THINK OF US? WE SPEND MOST OF OUR TIME NEGOTIATING WITH OURSELVES! JUST TWO DAYS AGO WE PASSED OUT OF THE HOUSE FOREIGN AFFAIRS COMMITTEE HOUSE JOINT RESOLUTION 3, WHICH REQUIRES THE PRESIDENT TO SUBMIT THE THRESHOLD TEST BAN TREATY TO THE SENATE FOR RATIFICATION (THE SAME TREATY THAT WAS WITHDRAWN BY PRESIDENT



CARTER WHEN THE SOVIETS INVADED AFGHANISTAN) AND REQUIRING

THE PRESIDENT TO IMMEDIATELY PROPOSE A COMPREHENSIVE TEST BAN  
TREATY TO THE SOVIETS. NEVER MIND THAT WE HAVE SERIOUS  
VERIFICATION PROBLEMS AND THE SOVIETS HAVE SHOWN NOT THE  
SLIGHTEST INTEREST IN COOPERATING TO SOLVE THESE PROBLEMS --  
NEVER MIND THAT AMBASSADOR KAMPLEMAN AND FOREIGN MINISTER  
GROMYKO HAVE THEIR AGENDA ALL DETERMINED - NEVER MIND THAT A  
COMPREHENSIVE TEST BAN SHOULD ONLY BE NEGOTIATED WITHIN THE  
CONTEXT OF OVERALL SUBSTANTIAL AND MUTUAL REDUCTIONS IN  
NUCLEAR WEAPONS -- NEVER MIND THE MANY REASONS WHY THIS  
ATTEMPT TO MICRO-MANAGE THE ONGOING ARMS CONTROL TALKS IN  
GENEVA IS SIMILAR TO PERFORMING BRAIN SURGERY WHILE WEARING  
BOXING GLOVES. THE URGE TO LEGISLATE, TO INTERVENE IN  
COMPLICATED MATTERS THAT WE DIMLY UNDERSTAND IS IRRESISTIBLE.

MORE FUNDAMENTAL THAN THE RAW PARTISAN POLITICS INVOLVED  
IS THE ABSENCE OF HISTORICAL PERSPECTIVE TO HELP OUR  
LEGISLATORS APPROACH AN UNDERSTANDING OF WHERE WE ARE AND HOW  
WE EXTRICATE OURSELVES.

AS ZBIGNIEW BRZEZINSKI TELLS US, THE LOGICAL EXTENSION  
OF A LACK OF INTEREST IN HISTORY IS A PRE-OCCUPATION WITH  
PERSONALITIES AND PERSONAL INFIGHTING. AND CLEARLY IT IS

EASIER TO TAKE POSITIONS ON ISSUES IF THEY ARE IDENTIFIED

WITH A PERSONALITY OR A POLITICAL PARTY THAT YOU SUPPORT OR  
OPPOSE. NO ANALYSIS IS REQUIRED. SIMPLY THE IDENTIFICATION  
OF THE IDEA OR ISSUE WITH THE OBJECT OF YOUR SUPPORT OR  
OPPOSITION. THUS TO MANY CONGRESSIONAL DEMOCRATS, IF  
PRESIDENT RONALD REAGAN ASSERTED THAT IT WAS MIDNIGHT THERE  
WOULD BE A RESOLUTION, WITH BROAD SPONSORSHIP INSISTING IT  
WAS HIGH NOON. WHERE DOMESTIC ISSUES ARE INVOLVED, THE HARM  
FROM REFLEX OPPOSITION CAN BE MANAGED. WHERE FOREIGN POLICY  
IS CONCERNED THIS IS NOT OFTEN POSSIBLE.

WE DON'T SPEAK ANYMORE OF AMERICAN FOREIGN POLICY, BUT  
RATHER OF REAGAN'S FOREIGN POLICY, OR CARTER'S, ALL OF WHICH  
UNDERScores THE DISCONTINUITIES THAT HOBBLE US AND NOT OUR  
ADVERSARIES. WE NEED BI-PARTISANSHIP MORE THAN EVER, BUT NOT  
SINCE THE VERY EARLY DAYS OF LYNDON JOHNSON'S ADMINISTRATION  
HAVE WE SEEN A GENUINELY BI-PARTISAN FOREIGN POLICY. THE  
BREAKDOWN OF THE SENIORITY SYSTEM IN THE HOUSE, AND THE RISE  
OF THE DEMOCRATIC CAUCUS, HAS WEAKENED HOUSE LEADERSHIP TO  
WHERE IT CAN MORE ACCURATELY BE CALLED "FOLLOWSHIP." I NEED  
ONLY CITE THE LAST FEW MX VOTES AS PROOF OF THIS.

THERE ARE SO MANY OTHER DIFFICULT PROBLEMS WE MUST

RESOLVE IF WE ARE TO SURVIVE -- I SOMETIMES WONDER IF A  
LIBERAL DEMOCRACY SUCH AS WE ENJOY -- AN OPEN SOCIETY -- CAN  
EVER "KEEP A SECRET"? WE NEED TO HAVE SOME SECRETS, WE NEED  
TO HAVE EFFECTIVE AND NON PARTISAN OVERSIGHT OF OUR  
INTELLIGENCE AGENCIES, BUT ALL THAT SAID, ARE WE CAPABLE OF  
KEEPING A SECRET? FOREIGN INTELLIGENCE SOURCES WATCH US WITH  
FEAR AND DISMAY. THE FREQUENCY OF DISCLOSURES OF CLASSIFIED  
INFORMATION DOES NOT INSTILL CONFIDENCE IN THEM THAT THEY  
WILL BE PROTECTED IF THEY COOPERATE WITH US.

I FEAR THESE REMARKS HAVE BEEN MOSTLY DEPRESSING  
-- AND THAT'S NO WAY TO SPEND YOUR LUNCH HOUR; GETTING  
DEPRESSED. THERE SURELY IS A BRIGHT SIDE TO MANY FOREIGN  
POLICY ISSUES -- FOR EXAMPLE, THERE ARE THOSE THAT DESCRIBE  
ITALY AS GENERALLY MARXIST, BUT MORE GROUCHO THAN KARL.

LET ME LEAVE YOU WITH THE EVENTS OF JANUARY 31, 1979,  
WHEN DENG XIAOPING THE VICE PREMIER OF CHINA VISITED  
LINCOLN'S MEMORIAL IN WASHINGTON AND THE ILLINOIS DELEGATION  
WAS INVITED TO WITNESS THE CEREMONY. I ATTENDED, EVEN THOUGH  
I THOUGHT IT A SUPREME IRONY THAT THE HEAD OF THE GREATEST  
SLAVE STATE IN HISTORY WAS TO PLACE A WREATH ON THE STATUE  
OF THE GREAT EMANCIPATOR. AS I WATCHED THIS VERY SMALL

SPRIGHTLY ELDERLY MAN, I REALIZED HE REPRESENTED ONE BILLION  
PEOPLE AND 6000 YEARS OF CULTURE AND TRADITION. WHAT DID HE  
WANT FROM US -- AN UPSTART COUNTRY BARELY 200 YEARS OLD, MADE  
UP OF POLES, GREEKS, IRISH, BOHEMIANS, GERMANS AND AN ARRAY  
OF ETHNIC, RACIAL AND RELIGIOUS DIVERSITY -- WHAT DID HE WANT  
FROM US? HE WANTED FOOD, TECHNOLOGY, HE WANTED US TO HELP  
PULL HIS NATION TWO CENTURIES FORWARD INTO THE MODERN AGE.  
AND WHY, I ASKED MYSELF, DO WE HAVE THESE THINGS, AND HIS  
GREAT COUNTRY DOES NOT? AND THE ANSWER CAME TO ME IN A WORD  
-- FREEDOM.

IN AMERICA THERE ARE NO WALLS AROUND THE HUMAN MIND --  
NO BARRICADES AROUND THE HUMAN SPIRIT -- AND WE SHARE A LEGAL  
SYSTEM DESIGNED TO PROTECT THE WEAK FROM THE STRONG.

TO THE EXTENT THAT WE LAWYERS HELP MAKE THAT SYSTEM WORK  
WE BELONG IN THE COMPANY OF THE VITAL FEW WHO PRESERVE AND  
NURTURE FREEDOM AND JUSTICE. NO SMALL ACHIEVEMENT!