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Collection Name REGAN, DONALD: FILES

Withdrawer

KDB 1/24/2006

File Folder [USSR: GENEVA OVERSIGHT GROUP]

FOIA

1997-066/13

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COHEN, D

14

ID	Doc Type	Document Description	No of Pages	Doc Date	Restrictions
23134	AGENDA	RE MEETING ON UN GENERAL ASSEMBLY AND GENEVA EVENTS (COPY OF DOC #23131) <i>R 11/4/2010 F1997-066/13</i>	1	10/18/1985	B1
23135	LIST	PROPOSED MAJOR PRESIDENTIAL EVENTS ON THE ROAD TO GENEVA (TENTATIVE) <i>R 11/4/2010 F1997-066/13</i>	3	10/8/1985	B1
23136	MEMO	GEORGE SHULTZ TO PRESIDENT RE TRIP TO UN GENERAL ASSEMBLY <i>R 11/4/2010 F1997-066/13</i>	2	10/7/1985	B1
23137	LIST	EXCHANGE INITIATIVES FOR GENEVA <i>R 11/4/2010 F1997-066/13</i>	1	ND	B1

Freedom of Information Act - [5 U.S.C. 552(b)]

B-1 National security classified information [(b)(1) of the FOIA]

B-2 Release would disclose internal personnel rules and practices of an agency [(b)(2) of the FOIA]

B-3 Release would violate a Federal statute [(b)(3) of the FOIA]

B-4 Release would disclose trade secrets or confidential or financial information [(b)(4) of the FOIA]

B-6 Release would constitute a clearly unwarranted invasion of personal privacy [(b)(6) of the FOIA]

B-7 Release would disclose information compiled for law enforcement purposes [(b)(7) of the FOIA]

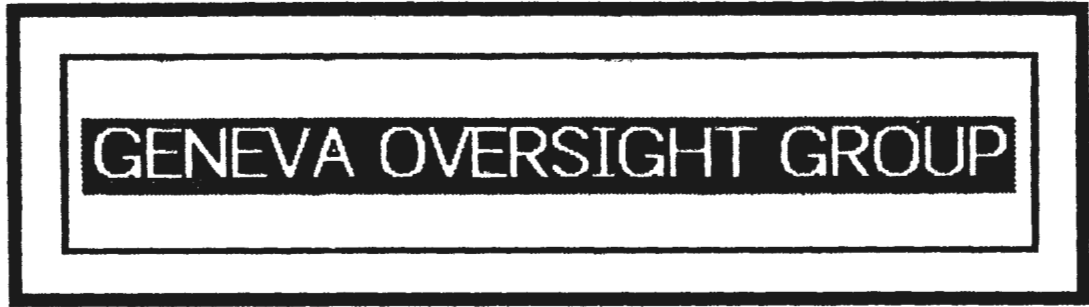
B-8 Release would disclose information concerning the regulation of financial institutions [(b)(8) of the FOIA]

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Donald T. Regan

~~SECRET/SENSITIVE~~

PENDING REVIEW IN ACCORDANCE WITH E.O. 13233
Ronald Reagan Library

Collection: Regan, Donald T.: Files
OA/Box: 7
File Folder: [USSR: Geneva Oversight Group]

Archivist: kdb
FOIA ID: F97-066/13, D. Cohen
Date: 3/21/07

DOCUMENT NO. & TYPE	SUBJECT/TITLE	DATE	RESTRICTION
A. memo	Peter Roussel to James Rosebush and Elaine Crispin re attached article, 1p	10/3/85	
B. memo	Larry Speakes to Regan re Reagan-Gorbachev meeting, 1p	10/2/85	open 4/15/10 KMU

UNGA SPEECH PROCESS

October 4	<u>Draft Outline</u>	To be circulated by NSC to Regan and McFarlane
October 7	<u>Draft Outline</u>	Forwarded to the President for his review
October 11	<u>Outline Meeting</u>	Meeting with the President to obtain his direction and views on UNGA speech
October 11-15	<u>Draft Prepared</u>	Speechwriters will prepare first draft from Presidentially approved outline
October 15-17	<u>Staff Review</u>	Senior staff and limited Departmental review of remarks
October 18	<u>Draft to President</u>	Draft of speech to be forwarded to the President for his review
October 21-23	<u>Finalization</u>	Text finalization and appropriate arrangements made
October 24	<u>Speech Delivered</u>	

Morning of Oct 22

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

TO:

FROM: DONALD T. REGAN
CHIEF OF STAFF

2-5-12
Miss K

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON


October 3, 1985

MEMORANDUM FOR: JAMES ROSEBUSH
ELAINE CRISPEN

FROM: PETER ROUSSEL 

As stated in my previous memorandum, I think this battle is going to pre-occupy the press at Geneva nearly as much as that taking place at the conference table. This story clearly shows the nature of the opposition.

I hope you'll review the types of suggestions previously made and also note Mrs. Gorbachev's spontaneous, unscheduled event described here. Mrs. Reagan might want to consider such in Geneva lest there be a repetition of this there in a way that generates similar favorable press and dominates headlines.

cc: Donald T. Regan 
Robert McFarlane

10-23-85
1 P -Raisa Gorbachev 10-23 0503

P -Raisa Gorbachev, 7627<

French Paper Says First Lady Is Gorbachev's 'Secret Weapon'<

By FLAINE GANLEY=

Associated Press Writer=

PARIS (AP) Raisa Gorbachev, the Soviet first lady who has broken tradition by not staying in the shadow of her husband, was dubbed by the French press today as the Soviet leader's "secret weapon."

Mrs. Gorbachev got front-page photos and television coverage in Paris on her own account after the couple arrived Wednesday.

"The charm and elegance of the 'first lady' of the Soviet Union: it is surely that which is the secret weapon of the master of the Kremlin ...," the popular France-Soir said today.

"The smile of Mrs. Gorbachev is ... most engaging, and the French president was not unaware," the newspaper said.

Le Figaro referred to her as "the Soviet Union's ambassadress of charm," recalling how she enthralled the British on the couple's weeklong visit to London last December, when Gorbachev was No. 2 in the Kremlin. In March he became chief of the Communist Party and leader of the Soviet Union.

"She is the strong card in the operation of change being mounted by her husband on the Soviets as well as Westerners," said Le Figaro.

Mrs. Gorbachev maintained her outgoing image with an unscheduled car tour minutes after the couple's arrival in the French capital.

Accompanied by Danielle Mitterrand, wife of President Francois Mitterrand, and Francoise Fabius, wife of Prime Minister Laurent Fabius, her car bulldozed its way up the traffic-packed Champs Elysees, escorted by police with screaming sirens.

She took in the mirrored towers of the ultramodern business complex west of Paris, known as La Defense, then asked her hosts for a tour of the erstwhile artist's quarter of Montparnasse.

It was not clear whether the impromptu visit was at Mrs. Gorbachev's request. The Foreign Ministry, which is coordinating her activities, said it was not on the agenda.

Mrs. Gorbachev, who studied philosophy at Moscow State University, where she reportedly teaches Marxist-Leninist theory, has been presented in the Western press as something of a trendsetter.

The wives of Soviet officials have generally been shadowy, background figures, but Mrs. Gorbachev's openness and visibility breaks that tradition.

The auburn-haired Mrs. Gorbachev dressed in a gray pinstriped suit with an elegant white blouse for her arrival. She came to the Elysee Palace banquet Wednesday evening in a full-length tan chiffon dress with pleated skirt, inset with gold lame stripes.

She wore gold shoes and what appeared to be diamond earrings. As in London, Soviet watchers likely will study Mrs. Gorbachev for clues to a new style in the Kremlin. Despite her open manner, few facts are known. Her age, birthplace and details of how and when she met her husband have never been published.

A spokesman for Gorbachev denied Mrs. Gorbachev's openness presaged a new style of leadership behind the Kremlin walls. "Mrs. Gorbachev has said that there is no Gorbachev style, so there can be no new style leadership," Leonid Zaryatin said in answer to a question. "It's normal a wife should accompany her husband to Paris ... But I don't think this could be tied up with a new style. There is no new style."

Her husband attended the banquet, which began less than an hour after his talks with Mitterrand ended, in the same blue suit he wore on arrival.

Today Mrs. Gorbachev will visit the famous Jeu de Paume museum, where a vast collection of Impressionist paintings are housed, and watch a fashion parade at the house of Yves Saint-Laurent.

Before the couple's departure on Saturday, she is to visit the newly opened Picasso museum in the Hotel Sale, a restored mansion.

AP-NY-10-23-85 2941FDT<

Press-related Events: October 1 through November 18, 1985

1) Interview -- Bob Timberg and the editors of The Baltimore Sun

- o Early October (30 minutes)
- o To fulfill a longstanding request
- o Topic: Current issues
- o Action: Speakes

*APM
Summit*

2) Luncheon -- Selected Conservative Columnists

- o Early October 1985 - (other dates are acceptable)
- o Off-the-record. Lunch guests would include George Will, Arnaud deBorchgrave, William Buckley.
- o Topic: Current issues/Summit
- o Action: Buchanan

*10/28
12:00*

3) Interview -- Selected White House News Service Reporters

- o Mid-October (30 minutes)
- o Fulfills longstanding request, formerly granted then cancelled due to surgery. Would include Copley, Cox, Gannett, Hearts, Knight-Ridder, McClatchey, Newhouse and Scripps-Howard.
- o Topics: Current issues
- o Action: Speakes

*10/19
2:30-3:00
2:00 Interview*

4) Interview -- Independent White House Radio Network Correspondents

- o Mid-October (30 minutes, following October 19 radio talk)
- o Would include AP, Mutual, NPR, RKO, Sheridan, UPI and Westinghouse.
- o Topic: Current issues
- o Action: Speakes

*10/19
12:15 Prep
(15)
12:00 Interview*

5) Off-the-record Cocktails -- Selected White House Correspondents

- o Mid-October (45 minutes)
- o Bernie Weinraub, NYT; Barry Seaman, TIME; Margaret Warner, Newsweek; Nelson Benton, Mutual Broadcasting; Charlotte Saikowski, Christian Science Monitor.
- o Topic: Primarily social, current issues, Summit
- o Action: Speakes

10/28
5:30
(95)

6) Off-the-record Cocktails -- Principal Washington Bureau Chiefs

- o Mid-October (45 minutes)
- o Gannett, Cox, Westinghouse, Hubbard
- o Topic: Primarily social, current issues, Summit
- o Action: Buchanan

11/4
5:00
(95)

7) Interview -- Times of India

- o Mid-October (10 minutes -- written interview & Photo Op)
- o Influential Third World newspaper
- o Topic: Summit
- o Action: Speakes

10/30
2:00 (S)
Admin/Tim

8) Formal Press Conference

- o Week of November 4 (30 minutes)
- o Fulfills regular interval commitment/Pre-Summit focus
- o Topic: Summit, other current issues
- o Action: Speakes

11/5

9) On-the-record: Drop-by Luncheon for Network Anchors and White House Correspondents

- o Late October or early November (15 minutes)
- o Format -- Senior White House and Administration officials will have conducted a background session over lunch. Network Anchors and White House correspondents from the three major networks plus CNN would be included.
- o Topic: Summit (a specific theme)
- o Action: Speakes

10/22
1:00
(15)

10) Interview -- Selected Foreign Press Representatives

- o Early November (30 minutes)
- p Principal print media representatives from England, France, Germany and Italy.
- o Topic: Summit (a specific theme)
- o Action: Speakes

11/12

11) Interview -- Selected Foreign Broadcast Representatives

- o Early November (30 minutes)
- o Principal broadcast media representatives from England, France, Germany and Italy.
- o Topic: Summit
- o Action: Speakes

11/13

12) Statement and Questions -- Regional Press Luncheon

- o Mid-November (30 minutes)
- o Attended by selected editors and new directors of major regional media organizations.
- o Topic: Summit (a specific theme), other current issues
- o Action: Buchanan

11/8
12:00
(75)

13) Interview/Message -- WorldNet

- 11/18
- o November 18 (15 to 20 minutes)
 - o Global audience. Unprecedented.
 - o Topic: Summit (a specific theme)
 - o Action: Speakes

Other Possible Initiatives:

* Interview -- White House Correspondents from five key newspapers

- o Mid-November (30 minutes)
- o Washington Post; New York Times; Los Angeles Times; Wall Street Journal; Washington Times. Considered to be high risk.
- o Topic: Summit (a specific theme)
- o Action: Speakes

* Call-in Interview -- VOA's "Talk to America"

- o Mid-November (30 minutes)
- o Global coverage.
- o Topic: Summit (Human Rights)
- o Action: Buchanan

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

October 2, 1985

MEMORANDUM FOR DONALD T. REGAN

FROM: Larry Speakes *LS*

Between now and November 19, the major focus of world attention will be on the Reagan-Gorbachev meeting.

Between now and November:

- o I will give 66 press briefings, which will total 33 hours of tough give-and-take with the press corps.
- o Those who sit in the White House briefing room will play the major role in shaping world opinion on the outcome of the meeting. When you narrow it down, the "target audience" for this message is: the three networks, two major newspapers, and two wires services.
- o I have not received a single piece of paper, nor have I been invited to a single policy meeting regarding U.S. - Soviet relations.

I need your help in order to do my job -- and do it right.

18 October 1985

AGENDA

REVIEW SCHEDULE ON THE ROAD TO GENEVA

- o Events and activities to take place before and following the meeting in Geneva.
- o Preparations schedule for speeches/events
- o BBC interview request

REVIEW PREPARATIONS FOR THE GENEVA MEETING

- o Briefing books (UNGA, day books, Geneva)
- o Communications Plan/Press Ground Rules
- o Logistical requirements

DISCUSS PRESIDENT'S SCHEDULE IN GENEVA

- o Schedule
- o Event for 18 November
- o Potential joint event 21 November
- o Brussels - NATO visit

PREVIEW UNGA ACTIVITIES

- o Radio address (10/19)
- o First Ladies Drug Conference (10/21)
- o Bilaterals (10/23)
 - Zia
 - Gandhi
 - Thatcher
- o Heads of State Reception including short remarks and mini-meetings (10/23)
- o Speech (10/24)
- o Summit working session (10/24)
- o UN 40th Anniversary appearance (10/24)
- o Summit Dinner (10/24)
- o Bilaterals (10/25)
 - Kohl
 - Nakasone
- o Radio address (10/26)

DECLASSIFIED

NLRR 97-0166/13#23134
BY RW NARA DATE 11-4-0

DECLASSIFIED

White House Guidelines, August 28, 1997
By 623 NARA, Date 2/1/06

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

~~SECRET~~

ACTION

MEMORANDUM FOR THE PRESIDENT

FROM: DONALD T. REGAN
ROBERT C. MCFARLANE *RCM*

SUBJECT: Approaching Geneva: Current Assessment

As we approach Geneva here are our current thoughts on how to present our views on key issues to the public and how best to use your time. We thought you would like to review these papers and give us your reaction to the direction we are taking.

Attached please find:

- - Tab I Themes and Perceptions for Geneva
- - Tab II Proposed Presidential schedule on the road to Geneva
- - Tab III A thematic outline of your speech and George Shultz's scope paper for the UNGA
- - Tab IV Geneva Schedule - updated outline of your program
- - Tab V People to People Initiative - a comprehensive list of new exchange ideas which we propose be presented by you at a youth event prior to departure

Recommendation

OK

No

That you review and approve the attached papers.

~~SECRET~~

Declassify on: OADR

082

DECLASSIFIED
White House Guidelines, August 28, 1997
By 7/1/06 NARA, Date 1/10/08

SECRET

TABLE OF CONTENTS.

- o Themes/Perceptions for Geneva
- o Major Events on the Road to Geneva
- o Secretary's Scope Paper and Outline of UNGA Speech
- o Geneva Schedule
- o People to People Initiative

SECRET

DECLASSIFY: OADR

ROAD TO GENEVA AND BEYOND

Themes and Perceptions for Public Presentation

Theme: BUILDING A SAFER WORLD

Basic Messages: (Bracketed portions to be used when proposals made.)

- We want countries to stop trying to expand their influence through armed intervention and subversion.

[That is why we are proposing negotiated settlements, withdrawal of outside forces, and international efforts to build economies and meet human needs.]

- We have the mandate and opportunity to reduce the danger of nuclear war by drastic cuts in nuclear arsenals.

[That is why we are proposing radical, verifiable and balanced reductions of offensive nuclear weapons and are pursuing research to identify defensive technologies - which threaten no one.]

- We must defend human rights everywhere, since countries which respect human rights are unlikely to unleash war.

[That is why we insist that the Helsinki accords and other international commitments be observed.]

- We must establish better communication between our societies, since misunderstandings make the world more dangerous.

[That is why we are proposing dramatic increases in people-to-people exchanges, programs to share information, and enhanced cooperation in meeting human needs.]

- The meeting in Geneva marks a new phase in this process. Our efforts to reach these ambitious goals will continue.



1030 October 8, 1985

TENTATIVE
PROPOSED MAJOR PRESIDENTIAL EVENTS ON THE ROAD TO GENEVA

- October 7-11 Short Presidential meeting with Prime Minister Blaize of Grenada (success of Grenada a good message to send to the world before Geneva).
- October 12: Radio Address - SDI
- Mid October: Interview Times of India (Theme: regional issues)
- Off the record cocktails with selected White House Correspondents (40 minutes)
- Off the record cocktails with principal Washington Bureaus
- Interview with White House News Service Reporters. (30 Minutes)
- October 15-18: 10 minute meeting/photo op with Jerzy Milewski of Poland's Solidarity Trade Union. Theme: American Respect for Freedom; Human Dignity
- October 19: Radio Address previewing Global Visions Theme of UNGA Speech; reference First Ladies Drug Conference.
- Late October -- Interview with Independent White House Radio Network Correspondents. (30 minutes)
- October 21: First Lady's Drug Conference at the UN

October 23-25 Trip to New York for United Nations

- October 23: Bilaterals with President Zia and President Gandhi (Emphasis on U.S. concern for Third World; Afghanistan)
- Thirty minute Bilateral with Prime Minister Nakasone (Emphasis on close consultation with Allies prior to Geneva).

- October 23: Reception for visiting Heads of State/Government and short remarks (hosted by President and Mrs. Reagan); potential mini meetings with several leaders
- October 24: Presidential Address before the United Nations General Assembly (Global Vision Theme; US-Soviet relations, including regional initiatives)
Two hour Meeting with Thatcher, Kohl, Nakasone, Mulroney, Craxi at USUN at U.S. Mission (Emphasis on Close Allied Consultation)
President attends 40th Anniversary ceremony at the U.N. Brief remarks
Private Dinner, hosted by President in honor of Allied leaders.
- October 25: Mid morning bilaterals of 30 minutes each with P.M. Thatcher and Chancellor Kohl; Late morning departure from New York for Washington (and then Camp David)
- October 26: Radio Address from Camp David. Theme: Reemphasizing message of UN Speech and Consultations with Allies
- October 28: 15 minute Statue of Liberty Anniversary Ceremony at the White House. Theme: Freedom and Open Societies
- Week of October 28: Rose Garden Ceremony with Afghan Resistance Leaders
Interview with Press (to be determined)
- November 2: Radio Address
Working lunch with outside advisors at Camp David (such as former National Security Advisors)
- Early November: SDI Event TBD
Youth event with remarks emphasizing people-to-people initiatives; peace through people.
- Week of Nov 4: Soviet Experts lunch with President
Private Meeting (Academics and other experts)

Taped Interview with Selected Foreign Broadcast Representatives; broadcast media from England, France, Germany, and Italy. (30 minutes) State Dining Room

Interview with selected U.S. Press

- November 8: On-the-record Luncheon for Network Anchors (15 minutes)
- November 9: Radio Address. Theme: U.S. efforts to reduce nuclear danger
- President meets with U.S. arms negotiators in Roosevelt Room/Cabinet Room.
- Week of Nov 11: Interview with selected Foreign Press Representative; Print Media from England, France, Germany and Italy. (30 Minutes)
- November 11: Veterans' Day Appearance at Arlington National Cemetery. Theme: The need to discourage the use of force
- November 12: Private lunch with religious leaders (Human Rights)
- November 13: Meeting with bipartisan Congressional Arms Control Oversight Group (State Dining Room or Cabinet Room). Theme: A United America goes to Geneva
- November 14 or 15: Presidential Address to the Nation (Oval office) Vision of Future if Soviets are responsive (Integrating four main themes: reduce force; eliminate nuclear weapons; improve human contact; defend human rights)
- November 16: Breakfast at the White House with former Presidents Nixon, Ford and Carter. Theme: United America
- Predeparture remarks (East Room - 5 minutes) to be broadcast worldwide (Worldnet). Theme: Commitment to Century of Peace.
- Short arrival statement in Geneva (variation on predeparture statement of Commitment to Peace; Geneva's legacy in such efforts)
- November 16-21 Meeting in Geneva (See separate schedule)
- November 21: Televised Address to Joint Session of Congress Theme: Future Agenda for Peace

PERCEPTIONS OF THE GENEVA MEETING

Working for a Safer Future

The President seeks to build the foundation for peaceful and constructive relations with the Soviet Union. This will require a long-term, sustained effort. It must be based on the principles of fairness, reciprocity and honest fulfillment of all agreements.

Soviet Behavior: The Roots of Tension

The use or threat of force by the Soviet Union and its proxies is an underlying cause of Soviet-American and world tension. The President is determined to defend the United States and its Allies. The USSR must cease using arms and force to expand its influence if tensions are to diminish.

Leading from Strength

The President's hand is strong: he has reversed the decline in American strength and has a robust economy, a united public and strong alliances behind him. He is able to defend us whatever the Soviets do. But he wants more: he wants to lower arms levels, reduce tensions and create a more cooperative relationship with the USSR.

Promoting Democratic Ideals

The President will speak out for democracy, freedom, justice and decency everywhere since these values are the surest foundation of a just and peaceful world in the future. He does not attempt to impose our political or economic system on others, but will insist that the Soviet Union also refrain from attempts to dominate others.

Probing Soviet Intentions

We can have a more cooperative relationship with the Soviet Union only if the Soviet leaders also want it. The Geneva meeting will determine whether there has been a change in Soviet policy or only in Soviet style.

Realistic but Determined Effort

The President is preparing seriously for the meeting in Geneva. He has no illusions about the profound differences in our philosophies and societies but will go the extra mile for enduring peace and a safer world. He will bring creative and ambitious ideas to the meeting. His efforts will not end when the Geneva meeting is over. He is in this for the long haul.



THE SECRETARY OF STATE
WASHINGTON

October 7, 1985

~~SECRET~~

MEMORANDUM FOR: The President
FROM: : George P. Shultz *GS*
SUBJECT: : Your October 23-24 Trip to the United Nations General Assembly: Scope Paper

Your visit to the United Nations next month culminates this year's 40th anniversary celebrations. It occurs in the most important phase of the UN schedule, after the General Debate and the Security Council meeting which I attended September 26. It also sets a milestone: no U.S. President has ever addressed the Assembly three years in a row. This fact will add to attention from the media, Secretary General Perez de Cuellar, and the 100 other chiefs of state and heads of government expected in New York. Your meetings with selected leaders will advance important U.S. policy goals. Several wild cards may be in New York during your visit, including Ortega, Castro and Arafat.

Your visit serves as our major stage-setter for the meeting with Gorbachev in November. Interest in that meeting is keen: many General Debate speeches have cited it as a harbinger for the future. The Soviets have sought to define the agenda and put us on the defensive with their anti-SDI campaign. Their "star peace" proposal was the key to Shevardnadze's General Assembly address; it has been reinforced by the new Soviet counterproposal in Geneva. Both will figure prominently in Soviet rhetoric between now and the November meeting.

Our challenge is to articulate a broader vision of world leadership that goes beyond arms control. Our goals are to stress all major concerns of American policy, show leadership in the quest for Western ideals and human rights around the world, and pledge our determination to make the United Nations system follow the principles of the Charter. Our positive, pragmatic approach to world problems contrasts sharply with the simplistic but seductive Soviet effort to define the issue as "star peace" versus "star wars". By raising our key issues of human rights, capitalism as the best engine of economic development, and self-determination of peoples -- on all of which the Soviets are vulnerable -- we will set our own agenda.

~~SECRET~~

DECLASSIFIED

NLRR F97-D6d13 #23136

DECL: OADR

BY RW NARA DATE 11-4-10

~~SECRET~~

- 2 -

Following the anniversary events and your Geneva meeting, the 40th UNGA will be a close replica of its predecessors. We again face standard clusters of resolutions on southern Africa, the Middle East, economic issues, and especially arms control.

Our greatest specific problem lies in southern Africa. Your recent Executive Order won attention and applause, but the problem is likely to spark more resolutions demanding sanctions, and more critical references to the United States. Last year we made progress in defeating name-calling at our expense; we expect to do better this year. On Middle Eastern issues, we shall again defeat a challenge to Israel's credentials but expect to be largely isolated on resolutions criticizing Israel. (The October 1 air raid on Tunis will probably make our task more difficult.) In Central America, prospects are good for another Contadora-backed text we can support.

There are other bright spots at this Assembly. The annual resolutions against Communist aggression in Afghanistan and Cambodia will again pass by large majorities. The problem will be to maintain their margins of support. For the first time, this Assembly will review human rights in Afghanistan and Iran.

Another dividend of your visit will be ensuring that our views as the major donor and host country get greater attention in UN decision-making. Two issues in particular concern us. First, the Congress has required major withholdings of our assessed contributions, starting late next year, unless we and other large donors receive greater influence on budget matters. Second, we are imposing controls on domestic travel by hostile-country members of the UN Secretariats, mainly Soviet nationals.

On balance, we expect this Assembly to serve USG interests reasonably well, thanks to our widespread consultations with member states, intense interest in your visit, high-level attendance by many leaders who will work with us, and the cumulative impact of your Administration's leadership in the UN arena over the past five years. Your visit gives us an excellent chance to define the UN agenda for the rest of 1985, as well as the agenda for your meeting with Gorbachev in Geneva.

~~SECRET~~

PRESIDENT'S UNGA ADDRESS, 1985
Basic Outline

Introduction on UN

- On UN anniversary, should not only evaluate its record, but what we want to work for, and, how to make it happen.
- UN is a political institution, and politics requires compromise. But we should remember the true path to UN's original vision -- peace and human progress. We cannot attain either unless we recall their relationship to freedom and human rights. America's policies based on this relationship.

America's Record

- Recall Charter principle: to "save succeeding generations from the scourge of war."
- In the past 40 years, a new world war has been averted. The US takes pride in the efforts we've made along the way: from helping rebuild war-ravaged nations to maintaining a secure military balance with our NATO and other allies; protecting peace-loving friends in danger from Korea to Pakistan, El Salvador and Grenada; to taking risks for peace in the Middle East and through our proposals to reduce the weapons of war and the dangers of misunderstanding.

Looking Ahead to Geneva: A Fresh Start

- First meeting of US-Soviet leaders in over 6 years. Differences between us are deep and abiding, but this does not mean we cannot deal with these differences peacefully.
- In Geneva, we will look to the new Soviet leadership for a willingness to engage in real give-and-take -- a complete and candid discussion of where dangers exist and where peace is being disrupted.
- We will present a full explanation of our arms proposals, and how past disappointments can be avoided in the future. We do not seek treaties for treaties' sake. We seek to combine radical, equitable and verifiable reductions in offensive strategic weapons with progress on strategic defenses to make the entire world safer.
- Success in this and other efforts described above can contribute to building peace, to guaranteeing a safe path into the 21st century. But have to do more than that: try to lay the foundation for a truly enduring peace.

... And Obstacles

- Much stands in our way, but we shouldn't settle for second-best in seeking peace. Harry Truman said that ultimately, our greatest hopes for peace and human progress lie not only in measures of defense or in the control of weapons, but in the growth and expansion of freedom and self-government.
- He, like the UN's founders, saw the core of peace in mutual trust among nations, and self-determination -- in both national independence and democracy. To live up to this vision, need to change our thinking in four ways:
 - Peace based on partition is not true peace. Years after World War II, nothing justifies permanent division of European continent. [Foreshadow exchanges proposals]. This pattern must not spread to other continents through intervention and interference.
 - Peace based on repression is not true peace. To make peace secure, and to enjoy its blessings, individuals must be free to direct their own governments.
 - Peace based on quarantine is not true peace. World community can't avert its eyes from the tragic consequences of conflict, just because contained within one country.
 - Finally, peace based on mutual fear is not true peace. Sketch rationale for SDI; reiterate hope for a nuclear weapons-free future. Hope Soviets will see this serves their interests.
- Rather than walls of partition and mistrust, we need greater communication for an OPEN WORLD. In place of repression, policies that enhance reform. In place of quarantine, engagement. In place of fear and insecurity, increased safety.
- Always hard to find practical ways to bring these closer. Today want to present an American approach on one of the most important areas on the Geneva agenda.

Initiative on Regional Conflicts

- A plan to deal with conflicts taking a heavy human toll, which have drawn in outside powers and greatly concerned peaceloving people everywhere about the conduct of the Soviet Union. Builds on proposal for US-Soviet discussions made at 1984 UNGA.

- Among the most brutal wars being fought today: those in which popular resistance forces battle Communist regimes, in Afghanistan, Cambodia, Nicaragua, Ethiopia, Angola. In all these cases: people refusing to accept imposed regimes; conflicts spilling over borders, threatening neighboring states and more dangerous confrontation; external involvements prolonging the fighting.
- A three-part American proposal:
 - First, ceasefire and negotiations among the warring parties in countries I've mentioned.
 - Second, once these negotiations open, a separate set of Soviet-American talks on how to eliminate external military presence in the country and to cut off the external flow of arms into the area of conflict.
 - These talks would lay the basis for the third element of a long-term solution -- reintegration of these countries into the world economy. US would participate generously.
- To succeed, such a proposal has to address the underlying conflicts that have drawn others in, but also to find a formula for keeping them out in the future. Plan is not meant to replace but to complement existing efforts at mediation, peace-making.
- Ask careful thought before rejecting this proposal: to reject is to take responsibility for perpetuating violence. Benefits of proposal should be clear, for the US and USSR, but most of all for the peoples of these regions. Creates a basis for internal reconciliation, and for beginning economic growth.

Economic Growth and Human Rights

- Recall Charter principle: "promoting social progress and better standards of life in larger freedom." Scientific achievement, technological advance today promise revolutionary improvements in lives of ordinary people.
- Proud of American record of helping others, from Marshall Plan to Mexican and African relief. Cite 40-year foreign aid totals.
- But the real energy of economic growth comes from assuring individual freedom; it depends on rewarding individual initiative to the fullest. Nations cannot enjoy the blessings of peace and prosperity, without also protecting human rights.

- Those who doubt the link between peace, growth and freedom should compare the nations that have been denied them: e.g., Eastern Europe, Indochina, southern Africa, Nicaragua, Cuba, with those where freedom has been welcomed as a friend and staunch ally.
- Sakharov quote: international trust, mutual understanding, disarmament and security inconceivable without an open society.

Looking with hope and realism to a better future -- How do we get there?

- We're practical: look problems in the face, develop fair and balanced solutions. Understand what works, what doesn't.
- No country can ignore its responsibility to contribute. At present, we're pursuing improved relations with the Soviet Union. Given importance of these two powers, people everywhere would benefit from results.
- Consider what would be possible if Soviet side ready to work with us. Relief for the Soviet people of major burdens; benefits for all nations. Less likelihood of confrontations arising from regional conflicts. The confidence that can help us to lessen reliance on nuclear weapons, and in the future eliminate altogether. Confidence that facilitates unfettered economic cooperation.
- Emphasize: we don't exaggerate what greater Soviet-American agreement can accomplish. The real revolution of our time cannot be made by the great powers, but by free people who can show what peace really means.
- As for the UN's future, plainly it, too, is only a part of securing peace, because its members -- governments -- are themselves only a part of it. But won't begin to play the role it could unless we understand the true meaning, and real requirements, of its high goals.



THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

TRIP OF THE PRESIDENT

GENEVA, SWITZERLAND

NOVEMBER 16 - NOVEMBER 21, 1985

Saturday, November 16, 1985

(T) Breakfast with Former Presidents

- Departure Remarks from South Lawn (8:20 am)
- Depart The White House (8:30 am)
- Depart Andrews Air Force Base (8:45 am)
- Arrive Cointrin Airport, Geneva Switzerland (10:25 pm)
- Brief Remarks
- Arrive Maison de Saussure (Residence) (10:50 pm)
- REMAIN OVERNIGHT - MAISON DE SAUSSURE
GENEVA, SWITZERLAND

Sunday, November 17, 1985

- Private Breakfast at Residence (am)
- WASHINGTON WORK/PRIVATE TIME
- Private Lunch at Residence (pm)
- Meet Senior Advisors at Residence (1:30 pm)
- Walk to Pometta Residence * for Briefing with Advisors
- Optional Walk in Garden of Residence with Mrs. Reagan
(2:45 pm)
- Tour of Meeting Facilities and Grounds of Fleur d'Eau
(3:20 pm)
- WASHINGTON WORK/PRIVATE TIME
- FREE EVENING
- REMAIN OVERNIGHT - MAISON DE SAUSSURE
GENEVA, SWITZERLAND

Monday, November 18, 1985

- Private Breakfast at Residence (am)
- WASHINGTON WORK/PRIVATE TIME
- Briefing with Senior Advisors at Pometta Residence
(11:15 am)
- Working Lunch at Pometta Residence (12:15 pm)
- PRIVATE TIME (1:20 pm - 30 mins)
- Arrive Le Reposeir (2:00 p.m. **)
- Arrival Ceremony (2:00 pm)
- Meeting with President Furgler (2:20 pm)
- (T) Arrive University of Geneva (3:15 pm)
- Address to Students
- Mix and Mingle with Students

* NOTE: Pometta Residence is adjacent to Maison de Saussure on the same grounds.

** Subject to confirmation (GOS)



Monday, November 18, 1985 (con't)

WASHINGTON WORK/PRIVATE TIME
FREE EVENING
REMAIN OVERNIGHT - MAISON DE SAUSSURE
GENEVA, SWITZERLAND

Tuesday, November 19, 1985

Private Breakfast at Residence (am)
Briefing with Senior Advisors at Pometta Residence
(9:10 am)
Tete-a-tete with General Secretary Gorbachev at
Fleur d'Eau (10:00 am)
Plenary Meeting with General Secretary Gorbachev at
Fleur d'Eau (10:20 am)
Working Lunch at Pometta Residence (12:35 pm)
WASHINGTON WORK/PRIVATE TIME (1:20 pm - 55 mins.)
Plenary Meeting with General Secretary Gorbachev at
Fleur d'Eau (2:30 pm)
WASHINGTON WORK/PRIVATE TIME (4:40 pm - 3 hrs.
5 mins.)
Small Dinner hosted by Soviets at Soviet Mission
Villa (8:00 pm)
Arrive Residence (10:15 pm)
REMAIN OVERNIGHT - MAISON DE SAUSSURE
GENEVA, SWITZERLAND

Wednesday, November 20, 1985

Private Breakfast at Residence (am)
Briefing with Senior Advisors at Pometta Residence
(9:10 am)
Plenary Meeting with General Secretary Gorbachev at
Soviet Mission (10:00 am)
Working Lunch at Pometta Residence (12:40 pm)
WASHINGTON WORK/PRIVATE TIME (1:25 pm - 45 mins.)
Plenary Meeting with General Secretary Gorbachev at
Soviet Mission (2:30 pm)
WASHINGTON WORK/PRIVATE TIME (4:45 pm - 2 hrs.
35 mins.)
Reception hosted by Swiss Government at La Gandole
(7:00 pm)
Small Dinner hosted by U.S. at Maison de Saussure
(8:15 pm)
REMAIN OVERNIGHT - MAISON DE SAUSSURE
GENEVA, SWITZERLAND

Thursday, November 21, 1985

Private Breakfast at Residence (am)
EVENTS TBD
Depart en route Andrews Air Force Base (12:00 pm *)
Arrive Andrews Air Force Base (3:00 pm *)
Arrive The White House (3:15 pm *)
WASHINGTON WORK/PRIVATE TIME
(T) Televised Address to Joint Session of Congress (8:00 pm)

* Denotes approximate time

EXCHANGES INITIATIVES FOR GENEVA

- - People to People Exchanges
 - - exchange of undergraduate students - to begin, at least 5,000 each way for one year of study
 - - youth exchange - at least 5,000 secondary school age youngsters to live with host family and attend school or summer camp
 - - sister cities - expansion of sister city relationships
 - - Soviet-American scholarship program - ten top college students to study for a year
- - Increased Consultations
 - - regular bilateral consultations to combat terrorism and
 - - to combat alcoholism, drug abuse, and drug trafficking
- - Wider Information Exchanges
 - - establishment of cultural centers and libraries
 - - regular media exchanges
 - - mutual satellite program transmissions
 - - increased publication and distribution of books, to include establishing a book store in each country
 - - increased language study - two educators, one American one Soviet, to study ways of improving understanding through language study
- - Cooperation in Science and Space
 - - exchange of astronauts to participate in space flight (pending NASA clearance)
 - - jointly staffed medical research institutes in each country (pending HHS clearance)
 - - joint development of microcomputer educational software
- - Sports Cooperation and Exchanges
 - - increased athletic exchanges
 - - joint sponsorship of annual "great race" (auto, bicycle, etc.) between Moscow and Washington
 - - greater binational sporting competition