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# WITHDRAWAL SHEET

## Ronald Reagan Library

DOCUMENT NO. AND TYPE	SUBJECT/TITLE	DATE	RESTRICTION
1. memo	Pat Buchanan to Judith Mandel, re draft	11/9/85	PS CB 12/29/00
COLLECTION: THOMAS, W. DENNIS: Files			KDB
FILE FOLDER: Geneva Oversight Group - Dennis Thomas [2 of 5] CFOA 582			11/8/95

### RESTRICTION CODES

**Presidential Records Act - [44 U.S.C. 2204(a)]**

- P-1 National security classified information [(a)(1) of the PRA].
- P-2 Relating to appointment to Federal office [(a)(2) of the PRA].
- P-3 Release would violate a Federal statute [(a)(3) of the PRA].
- P-4 Release would disclose trade secrets or confidential commercial or financial information [(a)(4) of the PRA].
- P-5 Release would disclose confidential advice between the President and his advisors, or between such advisors [(a)(5) of the PRA].
- P-6 Release would constitute a clearly unwarranted invasion of personal privacy [(a)(6) of the PRA].

C. Closed in accordance with restrictions contained in donor's deed of gift.

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

- F-1 National security classified information [(b)(1) of the FOIA].
- F-2 Release could disclose internal personnel rules and practices of an agency [(b)(2) of the FOIA].
- F-3 Release would violate a Federal statute [(b)(3) of the FOIA].
- F-4 Release would disclose trade secrets or confidential commercial or financial information [(b)(4) of the FOIA].
- F-6 Release would constitute a clearly unwarranted invasion of personal privacy [(b)(6) of the FOIA].
- F-7 Release would disclose information compiled for law enforcement purposes [(b)(7) of the FOIA].
- F-8 Release would disclose information concerning the regulation of financial institutions [(b)(8) of the FOIA].
- F-9 Release would disclose geological or geophysical information concerning wells [(b)(9) of the FOIA].

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President's Television Address

Pre-Geneva November 1985

Thematic Outline

*In Pursuit of a Permanent  
to Peace (Path)*

Looking Ahead to Geneva

-- In a few days, will be meeting with General Secretary Gorbachev in Geneva. I see meeting as a stepping stone to the kind of future both our peoples want:

- o to reduce and eventually eliminate the danger of nuclear destruction;
- o to relax regional tensions which can spread and engulf both our countries in conflict;
- o to respect the dignity of each human being;
- o to remove the barriers between our people.

-- Historic opportunity to set a course for the future, address the fundamental differences between us in a frank, open way.

-- We have prepared carefully and extensively for this moment: want to share my thoughts and vision of the future that I will present to Gorbachev.

A Historic Opportunity

-- Americans have reason to be satisfied: economy flourishing, alliances strong, military might second to none, and we enjoy individual freedoms about which much of the world can only dream.

-- But what about the future?

-- US-Soviet relationship holds key to world's future: ~~whether there is peace or war~~, progress in solving mankind's problems depends on what we do in coming months and years.

-- Differences between us are profound -- our history, economic systems, and the amount of freedom our citizens enjoy.

-- But we have a common interest -- and mankind has a common interest -- in dealing with these differences peacefully, and finding ways to cooperate wherever possible.

-- The most important task for General Secretary Gorbachev and me is to chart a course for the future that will ensure a safer and better world for all our citizens and for mankind.

- Our goals:
- not just to avoid war, but to strengthen peace;
  - not just to prevent confrontation, but to remove the sources of tension;
  - not just to paper over differences but to address them;
  - not just to talk about what our citizens

want, but to let them talk to each other.

### Peace is Indivisible

-- History has shown that peace is indivisible. Ensuring a safe future requires addressing the complex of problems we see, not just focusing on one or two issues, important as they may be. Thus our agenda for Geneva includes:

#### Putting the Nuclear Genie Back...

-- Since the dawn of the nuclear age, every American President has sought to limit and end the dangerous competition in nuclear arms. I have no higher priority than to finally realize that dream.

-- We have gone the extra mile in arms control:  
(Recap US arms control proposals)

-- Last month's Soviet counteroffer still very one-sided, but we are willing to hear them out, to work with them.

-- Soviet Union has so far not given our proposals the same attention, unwilling to explore our offer unless we agree in advance to give up our research and testing program on defenses.

-- Meanwhile, the Soviet Union has for many years been intensively pursuing its own research and more on defenses: has the world's only anti-ballistic missile defense system in place around Moscow, only proven anti-satellite weapon.

-- Wouldn't it be better for both our countries and for the world for us to concentrate on reducing the weapons that exist today?

-- And wouldn't the world benefit if we could mutually find a way to render nuclear ballistic missiles obsolete and useless?

-- Wouldn't it be better if Mr. Gorbachev and I could discuss this, without artificial preconceptions and pretense?

### Sources of Tension

-- Reducing the levels of nuclear arms is not the whole answer:

since World War II, about twenty million people have died in regional wars, not one involving nuclear weapons.

- 3 -

-- Soviet Union's use of force or threat of force to intervene directly or through proxies in in Afganistan, Poland, Angola, Nicaragua has made world more dangerous.

-- We cannot isolate these activities from other aspects of our relationship. The Soviet invasion of Afghanistan killed any hope of ratification of SALT II.

-- That is why I proposed a plan for resolving regional conflicts that have taken such a heavy toll on the people involved, which threaten to engulf their neighbors and draw in outside powers which includes:

(Recap regional initiative)

#### Peace Depends on People

-- Respect for the individual and the rule of law is as fundamental to peace as arms control. A government which does not respect its citizens' rights and its international commitments to protect those rights is not likely to respect its other international undertakings.

-- Freedom and democracy are the best guarantors of peace: democractic nations do not start wars. Where citizens rule, there is a no need or desire to take up arms for conquest or political gain.

-- We hold these beliefs deeply, but are not trying to impose them on others. We do ask, however, that countries live up to their freely undertaken international commitments.

#### Removing the Barriers

-- Finally, enduring peace requires openness, contacts and honest communications in all areas:

- o to reduce the risk of war by accident or miscalculation, freedom of travel and inspection essential to arms control process;

- o ~~no secret treaties, surreptitious arms shipments, support for regional conflicts;~~

- o citizens listening to all sides of the case, making up their own minds.

-- The US has always stood for openness: in 1955, President Eisenhower, preparing for his first meeting with the then Soviet leader, made his Open Skies proposal (quote.....). His dream of educational, cultural exchanges.

-- Today, thirty years later, we have not even begun to realize the vast potential which science and technology offer to facilitate communications, contacts that could dispel stereotypes, and enable our people to better understand and learn from each other:

o Imagine if Joe Smith in Poughkeepsie could meet and visit Sergei Ivanov in Sverdlovsk, if Sergei's son or daughter could spend a year, or even three months living with the Smith family, going to summer camp or classes at Poughkeepsie High, while Smith's son or daughter went to school in Sverdlovsk? Soviet young people could learn first hand what spirit of freedom rules our land, and that we do not wish the peoples of the Soviet Union any harm. Our young people would get first hand knowledge of life in the USSR, learn about their culture and suffering in World War II?

o Imagine if people in Minneapolis could see the Kirov ballet live, while citizens in Mkhatchkala could see an American play or hear Duke Ellington's band? And how about Soviet children watching Sesame Street?

o Great things achieved in joint scientific research -- Apollo-Soyuz, development of mechanical heart -- imagine how much more we could do if we worked together?

-- Our open society is our greatest strength, believe the only way to break down barriers of mistrust is through more information, communication and contact between our people. That is part of my vision of the future, and what I want to discuss further with Soviet leader Gorbachev in Geneva.

-- Differences between our two countries are substantial, but now is time to get programs like these underway. They will not solve our problems overnight, but can move us in the right direction. And if we must compete, let it be in the sports arena, rather than arms factories, in sweatsuits rather than military uniforms.

#### Not An Impossible Dream

-- It is not an impossible dream that we can begin to reduce nuclear arsenals, reduce the risk of war and build a solid foundation for peace. It is not an impossible dream that our children and grandchildren can some day travel freely back and forth between American and the Soviet Union, visit each other's homes, work and study together, enjoy and discuss plays, music, television, and even root for each other's soccer teams.

-- The American people are ready for this. I have confidence in their ability to sift fact from fiction, propaganda from honest proposals. The people of the Soviet Union should have the same opportunity.

-- But governments can only do so much: once they get the ball rolling, they should step out of the way and let the people get together to share, enjoy, help, listen and learn from each other, especially the young people.

-- Peace involves everyone. It is built on the daily actions of citizens, especially in a democracy.

-- History has shown us that peace is indivisible. Addressing all the problems we face together is the only way to develop a healthy, sound relationship based on equality, mutual trust and fairness:

o no matter how good an arms control agreement may be, its chances of being approved are diminished if Soviet behavior in other areas is unacceptable;

o similarly, the prospects for more trade and other bilateral exchanges are improved when governments treat their people with respect;

o and the chances for reaching an arms control agreement are improved if the barriers between people are lowered, and regional tensions not exploited.

-- Our peoples want nothing so much as peace, a better life for themselves and their children. We can have a more cooperative relationship with the Soviet Union only if the Soviet leaders also want it.

-- Real problems are hunger, disease, poverty. Soviets have made important contributions to music, literature, science, as have Americans.... If we pool our resources, what could we not achieve?

-- That is the dream I am taking to Geneva. It is not an impossible dream.

-- As the poet Robert Frost said ".... and many miles to go before we sleep."

-- But our meeting in Geneva need not be an end: it could be the beginning of a renewed commitment to working together to shape a safer future for both our countries and the world. History will not forgive us if we do not make a start.



**MEMORANDUM  
OF CALL**

Previous editions usable

**TO:**

YOU WERE CALLED BY--  YOU WERE VISITED BY--

OF (Organization)

PLEASE PHONE ►  FTS  AUTOVON

WILL CALL AGAIN  IS WAITING TO SEE YOU  
 RETURNED YOUR CALL  WISHES AN APPOINTMENT

**MESSAGE**

RECEIVED BY	DATE	TIME
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THE WHITE HOUSE  
WASHINGTON

TO: Dennis

FROM: **WILLIAM HENKEL**  
Deputy Assistant to the President

Information

Action

Per our meeting

DT

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

PROPOSED PARTICIPANTS FOR BRIEFINGS, WORKING LUNCHES,  
MEETINGS, AND DINNERS IN GENEVA, SWITZERLAND

November 16 - November 21, 1985

Sunday, 11/17/85 (1:30 p.m.) and Monday, 11/18/85  
(11:15 a.m.) Briefings

THE PRESIDENT  
Secretary Shultz  
F. Ikle  
D. Regan  
R. McFarlane  
L. Speakes  
D. Thomas  
P. Nitze (for arms control issues only)

OR

R. Ridgway (for all other issues)  
Ambassador Hartman  
J. Matlock (notetaker)  
M. Palmer (notetaker)  
R. Linhard (for arms control issues only)

OR

E. Rowny (for all other issues)  
S. Steiner (for SDI issues only)

Bilateral Meeting with President Furgler, Monday, 11/18/85

THE PRESIDENT  
Secretary Shultz  
D. Regan  
R. McFarlane  
R. Ridgway  
Ambassador Whittlesey  
T. Cobb (notetaker)

Tuesday, 11/19/85 (9:10 a.m.) and Wednesday, 11/20/85  
(9:10 a.m.) Briefings

THE PRESIDENT  
Secretary Shultz  
F. Ikle  
D. Regan  
R. McFarlane  
L. Speakes  
D. Thomas  
W. Henkel (logistics/scheduling if  
required)  
P. Nitze (for arms control issues only)

OR

R. Ridgway (for all other issues)  
Ambassador Hartman  
J. Matlock (notetaker)  
M. Palmer (notetaker)

R. Linhard (for arms control issues only)

OR

E. Rowny (for all other issues)

S. Steiner (for SDI issues only)

Monday, 11/18/85, Tuesday, 11/19/85, and Wednesday, 11/20/85  
Working Lunches

THE PRESIDENT

Secretary Shultz

F. Ikle

D. Regan

R. McFarlane

L. Speakes

D. Thomas

P. Nitze (for arms control issues only)

OR

R. Ridgway (for all other issues)

Ambassador Hartman

J. Matlock (notetaker)

M. Palmer (notetaker)

R. Linhard (for arms control issues only)

OR

E. Rowny (for all other issues)

S. Steiner (for SDI issues only)

U.S. Plenary Meeting Participants, Tuesday, 11/19/85 and  
Wednesday, 11/20/85

THE PRESIDENT

Secretary Shultz

D. Regan

R. McFarlane

P. Nitze (for arms control issues only)

OR

R. Ridgway (for all other issues)

Ambassador Hartman

J. Matlock (notetaker)

M. Palmer (notetaker - not seated at  
table)

Interpreter

Dinners at Soviet Mission and Maison de Saussure,  
Tuesday, 11/19/85 and Wednesday, 11/20/85

THE PRESIDENT

Mrs. Reagan

Secretary Shultz

D. Regan

R. McFarlane

Ambassador Hartman

NOTE: Soviet hosted dinner may have more  
than 6 participants.

- 2 -

SENSITIVE

11/04/85 3:30 p.m.

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

ESSENTIAL STAFF REQUIRING ACCESS INSIDE FLEUR D'EAU  
(IN ADDITION TO MEETING ATTENDEES)

L. Speakes  
D. Thomas/DTR Representative  
W. Henkel/J. Hooley  
J. Kuhn  
White House Secretary  
Lead Advance/Site Advance  
Doctor  
Medic  
Military Aide  
Official Photographer  
NSC Representative  
State Department Representative

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

U.S. DELEGATION AT NATO BRIEFING

1. Secretary Shultz
2. Ambassador Abshire
3. D. Regan
4. R. McFarlane
5. Briefer (R. Ridgway ?)
6. Briefer (J. Matlock ?)/USSS

SENSITIVE

11/04/85 3:30 p.m.

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

November 4, 1985

MEMORANDUM FOR DONALD T. REGAN

THROUGH:

WILLIAM HENKEL *WH*

FROM:

JAMES L. HOOLEY *JH*

SUBJECT:

THE PRESIDENT'S VISIT TO ARLINGTON NATIONAL CEMETERY  
ON MONDAY, NOVEMBER 11, 1985

Attached is a proposed summary schedule and an attachment for The President.

EVENT CONCEPT

On Monday, November 11, 1985, The President will observe Veterans Day by visiting Arlington National Cemetery.

Upon arrival at Arlington National Cemetery, The President will place a wreath at the Tomb of the Unknown Soldier, and then proceed to the Amphitheater where he will speak to approximately 3,000-4,000 members of veterans' organizations and their guests. The theme of The President's remarks will be the need to avoid war and the suffering which war causes, and the speech will form a key part of The President's pre-Geneva public diplomacy strategy.

The President will return to The White House at 12:05 p.m.

RECOMMENDED PRESS COVERAGE

1. Arrival/Departure at Arlington National Cemetery - PRESS POOL COVERAGE

Approve \_\_\_\_\_ /

Disapprove \_\_\_\_\_

2. Wreath-laying at the Tomb of the Unknown Soldier - OPEN PRESS

Approve \_\_\_\_\_

Disapprove \_\_\_\_\_

3. Remarks in Amphitheater - OPEN PRESS

Approve \_\_\_\_\_ /

Disapprove \_\_\_\_\_

cc: D. Thomas  
T. Dawson  
W. Henkel  
F. Ryan  
J. Kuhn  
M. Weinberg

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

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PROPOSED SUMMARY SCHEDULE OF THE PRESIDENT

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MONDAY, NOVEMBER 11, 1985

10:45 a.m. THE PRESIDENT proceeds to motorcade for boarding.

10:50 a.m. THE PRESIDENT departs The White House en route  
Arlington National Cemetery.

Drive Time: 10 mins.

11:00 a.m. THE PRESIDENT arrives Arlington Cemetery, North Side  
Amphitheater.

NOTE: A 21 Gun Salute will greet THE  
PRESIDENT upon arrival at the gates of the  
cemetery.

PRESS POOL COVERAGE

Met by:

Major General John L. Ballantyne  
Mr. Harry N. Walters, Administrator of  
Veterans Affairs  
Mr. Robert A. Medeiros, National  
Commander, AMVETS

THE PRESIDENT, escorted by Major General Ballantyne,  
proceeds along color cordon to Tomb of the Unknown  
Soldier.

THE PRESIDENT, escorted by Major General Ballantyne,  
arrives Tomb of the Unknown Soldier.

THE PRESIDENT, escorted by Major General Ballantyne,  
proceeds to gray line.

OPEN PRESS COVERAGE

National Anthem

NOTE: At the conclusion of the National  
Anthem, the Wreath Bearer will bring the  
wreath to THE PRESIDENT.

THE PRESIDENT, accompanied by the Wreath Bearer,  
proceeds to the tomb, places the wreath, and returns to  
his position on gray line.

11/4/85 3:00 p.m.



OPEN PRESS COVERAGE

Four Muffled Ruffles and Taps are played.

Thirty Seconds of Silence.

11:15 a.m. THE PRESIDENT, escorted by Major General Ballantyne, proceeds to Memorial Display Room.

THE PRESIDENT, escorted by Major General Ballantyne, arrives Memorial Display Room.

11:20 a.m. THE PRESIDENT departs Memorial Display Room en route off-stage announcement area.

THE PRESIDENT arrives off-stage announcement area.

Ruffles and Flourishes  
Announcement (off-stage)  
"Hail to the Chief"

11:25 a.m. THE PRESIDENT proceeds on dais and remains standing.

OPEN PRESS COVERAGE

Dais Participants:

TBD

Mr. Medairos makes welcoming remarks.

Presentation of Colors

Invocation by Rev. Paul Sanborn, National Chaplain.

Pledge of Allegiance is led by Colonel Harvey Barnun, USMC.

National Anthem is played by Marine Corps Band.

Posting of Colors

11:35 a.m. Master of Ceremonies Morgan Ruph, Executive Director of AMVETS, introduces Harry N. Walters, Administrator of Veterans Affairs.

Harry N. Walters introduces THE PRESIDENT.

11:40 a.m. THE PRESIDENT makes remarks.

OPEN PRESS COVERAGE

11:50 a.m. THE PRESIDENT concludes remarks.

THE PRESIDENT proceeds to Memorial Display Room.

THE PRESIDENT arrives Memorial Display Room.

THE PRESIDENT proceeds to motorcade for boarding.

11:55 a.m. THE PRESIDENT departs Arlington National Cemetery en route The White House.

Drive Time: 10 mins.

PRESS POOL COVERAGE

12:05 p.m. THE PRESIDENT arrives The White House and proceeds inside.

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

SCHEDULE OF THE PRESIDENT

FOR

MONDAY, NOVEMBER 11, 1985

On Monday, November 11, 1985, you will observe Veterans Day by visiting Arlington National Cemetery.

Upon arrival at Arlington National Cemetery, you will place a wreath at the Tomb of the Unknown Soldier, and then proceed to the Amphitheater where you will speak to approximately 3,000-4,000 members of veterans' organizations and their guests. The theme of your remarks will be the need to avoid war and the suffering which war causes, and the speech will form a key part of your pre-Geneva public diplomacy strategy.

You will return to The White House at 12:05 p.m.

MONDAY, NOVEMBER 11, 1985

10:50 a.m. Depart The White House

11:00 a.m. Arrive Arlington Cemetery  
\* Wreath-laying  
\* Remarks

11:55 a.m. Depart Arlington Cemetery

12:05 p.m. Arrive The White House and proceed inside.

11/4/85 3:00 p.m.

(Dolan/Buchanan/Elliott)  
November 6, 1985  
2:15 a.m.

PRESIDENTIAL ADDRESS TO THE NATION: GENEVA SUMMIT  
THURSDAY, NOVEMBER 14, 1985

My fellow Americans. Good evening. In 48 hours, I will be leaving to meet Mr. Gorbachev, the leader of the Soviet Union. It will be the first summit between an American President and a Soviet General Secretary in more than six years. <sup>tonight want to share</sup> So, I <sup>with</sup> thought ~~it my duty tonight to tell you why I am going to Geneva.~~

My mission, stated simply, is a mission for peace. It is to engage the new Soviet leader in what I hope will be a dialogue <sup>in enduring</sup> for peace ~~[that endures as long as my Presidency.]~~ It is to sit down across from Mr. Gorbachev and try to map, together, a common causeway over the no-man's land of suspicion and mistrust and hostility that separates our societies and nations. <sup>I do so</sup>

~~I do not -- and you should not, my fellow Americans -- over-estimate the prospects for a great success at the Geneva summit. The history of American-Soviet relations does not argue well for euphoria. Eight of my predecessors -- each in his own way and in his own time -- sought to achieve a more stable and peaceful relationship with the Soviet Union. None fully succeeded. I do not under-estimate the difficulty of the task. But that sad and tragic record does not <sup>I do so</sup> ~~relieve me of the~~ obligation to use <sup>deliber me from using</sup> ~~the years allotted by my countrymen,~~ and the powers and capacities God has given me, to try to make ours a safer and more secure world. For ourselves, our children, our grandchildren, for all mankind -- <sup>am committed</sup> I intend to make that effort.~~

For, as I said at the United Nations, peace is God's Commandment; peace is God's will.

~~You know, [In my long lifetime, [which exceeds that of almost all of you listening out there,]~~ we Americans have created a miracle on this continent. We have built as great and mighty and rich and flourishing a nation as the world has ever seen. And we take pride in what we have built.

Yet, much of what it has taken us all most of a lifetime to build could be shattered and destroyed in half an hour in a nuclear exchange with the Soviet Union. The danger of thermonuclear war and the havoc it would wreak, as President Kennedy put it, remains a modern sword of Damocles dangling over all of us. The awful reality of these weapons is a kind of terrible crescendo to the steady, dehumanizing progress of warfare in this century.

To a few people here in this office, I recently recalled a hotly debated issue in my college years. Some of us strenuously argued that in the advent of another world war no civilized person, and certainly no American, would ever obey an order to bomb civilian targets. Humanity, we were certain, would never come to that. Well, World War II and 34 million civilian casualties later we were all sadly, tragically wiser. Today, we have no such illusions. We know if World War III ever breaks out, civilian casualties could reach 80 percent of the population.

To occupy this office is to live with that reality every day. Whenever I travel I am followed by a military aide who

*Delete  
This seems to  
be an indictment  
of us - we  
dropped H-Bomb*

carries a small black attache case -- "the football" is its nickname. It is a grim reminder of the narrow line our world walks every day. It contains the codes necessary for retaliation to a nuclear attack on the United States. And I am sure a young Russian officer walks next to Mr. Gorbachev -- with the same assignment.

This, then, is why I go to Geneva. For peace. In the hope of never having to face the awful option of nuclear retaliation. In the hope of never having again to speak to the parents or wives of American servicemen killed in some military engagement or terrorist attack, ~~-- as I did at the time of Grenada and at the time of Beirut.~~

The full agenda for the summit has now been set, ~~down by Secretary Shultz and Foreign Minister Shervarnadze.~~

We <sup>plan</sup> ~~hope~~ to <sup>address</sup> ~~make at least some progress~~ with the Soviet leadership, ~~on~~ the four fronts of our agreed-upon agenda: First, reducing the danger of nuclear confrontation and the stockpiles of nuclear weapons. Second, resolving those regional conflicts in Asia, Africa and Central America that carry the seeds of a wider war. Third, inaugurating an unprecedented series of people-to-people exchanges. Fourth, I intend to engage Mr. Gorbachev directly on the question of Soviet violations of human rights guaranteed in the Helsinki Accords -- those fundamental, God-given rights without which the prospects for peace are always tenuous at best.

Even as we talk about peace, we must remember its indispensable elements. If peace were merely the absence of

This, then, is the second reason I go to Geneva. For freedom. To speak for the right of every people and every nation to choose their own future, for the right of human beings everywhere to determine their own destiny, to live in the dignity God intended for each of his children.

Not only is this affirmation of freedom our responsibility as Americans, it is ~~essential for success in Geneva~~ <sup>our duty</sup>. If history has shown there is any key to dealing successfully with the Soviets it is this: The Soviets must realize that we harbor no illusions about their ultimate goals and intentions. The Soviet mind is not the mirror image of the American or the Western mind. The Soviets have a very different view of the world. They believe a great struggle is underway and true peace can only be attained with the final triumph of communist power. They believe the march of history is embodied in the Soviet state. So, to them, the continued existence of the great democracies is seen as an obstacle to the ultimate triumph of history and that state.

So I must also be blunt tonight. I go to Geneva for peace and freedom, but without illusions. The fact of this summit conference does not mean the Soviets have forsaken their long-term goals. President Eisenhower's somber warning in his farewell address unfortunately still rings true: "we face a hostile ideology -- global in scope, atheistic in character, ruthless in purpose and insidious in method."

I do not mean, however, to sound unduly pessimistic. While it would be foolhardy to think one summit conference can

establish a permanent peace, this conference can begin a permanent dialogue for peace.

My fellow Americans, there is cause for hope -- hope that peace and freedom will not only survive but triumph, and perhaps sooner than any of us dare to imagine.

How could this be? Because this same 20th century that gave birth to nuclear weapons and totalitarian regimes, that witnessed so much bloodshed and suffering, is now moving inexorably toward mankind's age-old dream for self-determination and human dignity.

We see the dream alive in Latin America where more than 90 percent of the people are now living under governments that are democratic -- a dramatic reversal from a decade ago.

We see the dream stirring in Asia, where economies in Singapore, South Korea, Taiwan and China are vaulting ahead with stunning success.

We see the flame rising in places like Afghanistan and Angola where brave people risk their lives for the liberties we have enjoyed since birth. We even see the dream flickering in the captive nations of Eastern Europe. In Poland, men and women of great faith and spirit -- the members of Solidarity, the faithful of the Catholic Church -- rise up to struggle again and again for better lives and a future of hope for their children.

A powerful tide is surging, moving the world toward more open and democratic societies. And what is the driving force behind it?

It is faith -- faith in a loving God who, despite all the trials of the 20th century, has raised up the smallest believers



to stand taller than the most powerful state. And it is freedom -- freedom for people to dream, to take great risks to reap the rewards of their initiative and unique abilities to excel.

We've seen what restoration of those values, and our renewed belief in the moral worth of our open society have meant to America: A Nation rediscovering its destiny, poised for greatness.

The health and vigor of the American economy -- with 9 million new jobs -- has helped lift up the world economy, holding out to the family of nations the vision of growth .

The re-building of America's military might has rekindled the world's respect for American power, confidence and resolve.

And, now, a new idea filled with promise that may prove vital to peace. As most of you know, the United States and the Soviet Union have for decades used massive nuclear arsenals to hold each other hostage in a kind of mutual terror -- each side threatening massive retaliation against the other.

It's called mutual assured destruction; M-A-D or MAD as the arms control experts call it. As most of you know, the United States is now determined to lead mankind out of this prison of terror, to research and test a new system -- a non-nuclear defense that could provide a survival shield against incoming missiles; that would destroy weapons not people; that would protect our entire planet from nuclear weapons launched by design or by mistake.

America today has a foreign policy that not only speaks out for peace and freedom, but vigorously works for them as well. In

these past five years, not one square inch of real estate has been lost to communist aggression; and, Grenada has been liberated and set free.

So we look to the future with optimism, and we go to Geneva with confidence. We know that the differences between the United States and the Soviet Union are deep and abiding. But we share a common interest in dealing with those differences peacefully.

Ensuring a safer future requires that we address every threat to peace and every disruption of peace.

Since the dawn of the nuclear age, every American President has sought to limit the build-up in nuclear arms. We have gone the extra mile, but our offers have not always been welcome.

In 1977, the United States proposed reciprocal deep cuts in strategic forces, but these were immediately rejected by Moscow. In 1981, my Administration proposed deep reductions in strategic forces. Again, the Soviet leadership rejected that proposal. Then, in 1983, the Soviet Union unilaterally walked out of the negotiations.

I am pleased with the interest expressed by the new Soviet leadership in reducing offensive weapons. Let me repeat tonight what I announced last week: The United States is prepared to reduce offensive weapons by over 50 percent, provided both sides make comparable and verifiable reductions resulting in equivalent strength with no first strike capability.

If we both reduce the weapons of war there would be no losers, only winners. And ultimately the whole world would benefit if we could mutually find a way to abandon offensive

weapons in exchange for survival shields that would render nuclear weapons forever obsolete.

But nuclear arms control is only a partial answer: Since World War II, 20 million people have died in regional wars; not a single one perished from nuclear attack. The Soviet use of force directly and through its proxies has made the world a dangerous place for free men.

Look where the Soviets are pushing to consolidate and expand and what do we see? That there is no peace in Afghanistan; there is no peace in Cambodia; no peace in Angola; no peace in Ethiopia, and no peace in Nicaragua. These wars have claimed hundreds of thousands of lives and threaten to spill across national frontiers.

That is why we have proposed a way to end these conflicts, a regional peace plan that calls for -- ceasefires, negotiations among the warring parties, withdrawal of foreign troops, democratic reconciliation and economic assistance.

The Soviet Union faces an historic crossroads in Geneva: to show the world by its deeds; to help us stop the killing; to make a lasting contribution to U.S.- Soviet relations.

This would be a true Geneva breakthrough. But we can do more, and I'm determined to try. I intend to offer the Soviets a comprehensive proposal to reduce secrecy, lessen distrust and bring forth a more "Open World."

I will propose to Mr. Gorbachev that we exchange thousands of our citizens from different fraternal, religious, educational and cultural groups.

These people-to-people contacts can do much to bring our nations together. We are going to suggest the exchange of at least 5,000 undergraduates each year for two semesters of study, and a youth exchange involving at least 5,000 secondary school students who would live with a host family and attend schools or summer camps. We also look to increase scholarship programs, improve language studies, develop new sister city relationships, establish cultural centers and libraries and increase athletic and sporting competitions.

In science and technology we seek to inaugurate more joint space flights and establish joint medical research projects and institutes in each of our countries. In communications, we would like to see more appearances by representatives of both our countries in the other's mass media.

If Soviet spokesmen and commentators are free to appear on American television, and to be published and read routinely in the American press, are not American officials entitled to at least some access to the Soviet press?

While these proposals will not bridge our differences, people-to-people contact can build constituencies for peace in both our countries.

The conversations Mr. Gorbachev and I will have can help allay the suspicions that now exist. You can be sure I will reaffirm in Geneva what the Soviet leadership already knows: the United States is not an aggressor; we will never strike first against a foreign adversary. As Prime Minister Mulroney of Canada put it recently when told the United States was an

imperialist Nation -- and I'm using the Prime Minister's words -- "What the hell [devil] do you mean 'imperialist nation?'. We have a 4,000 mile border with them and for 172 years there hasn't been a shot fired in anger."

A great danger in the past has been the failure by our adversaries to remember that while the American people love peace, we love freedom more -- and always stand ready to sacrifice for it. The only way major war can ever break out between our two countries is through this sort of miscalculation. By the way, our first meeting will be on the anniversary of the address at Gettysburg, where Mr. Lincoln reminded the world that "government by the people for the people and of the people shall not perish from the earth."

Both Nancy and I are proud and grateful for the chance you have given us to serve this Nation and the trust you have placed in us. And I know how deep the hope of peace is in her heart, as it is in the heart of every American mother.

Recently, we saw together a moving new film, the story of Eleni, a woman caught in the Greek civil war at the end of World War II, a mother who because she smuggled her children out to safety in America was tried, tortured and shot by a firing squad.

It is also the story of her son, Nicholas Gage, who grew up to become a reporter with the New York Times and who secretly vowed to return to Greece someday to take vengeance on the man who sent his mother to her death. But at the dramatic end of the story, Nick Gage finds he cannot extract the vengeance he has promised himself. To do so, Mr. Gage writes, might have relieved

the pain that had filled him for so many years but it would also have broken the one bridge still connecting him to his mother and the part of him most like her. As he tells it: "her final cry... was not a curse on her killers but an invocation of what she died for, a declaration of love: 'my children.'"

How that cry has echoed down through the centuries, a cry for the children of the world, for peace, for love of fellowman.

Here then is what Geneva is really about; the hope of heeding such words, spoken so often in many different places -- in a desert journey to a promised land, by a carpenter beside the Sea of Galilee -- words calling all men to be brothers and all nations to be one.

Here is the central truth of our time, of any time; a truth to which I have tried to bear witness in this office. When I first accepted the nomination of my party for the presidency I asked the American people to join with me in prayer for our Nation and for the world. I deeply believe there is far more power in the simple prayers of people like yourselves than in the hands of all the great statesmen or armies of the world.

And so, Thanksgiving approaches and I ask each of you to join me again in thanking God for all his blessings to this Nation and ask Him to guide us in Geneva. Let us work and pray that the cause of peace and freedom will be advanced and all of humanity served.

Thank you, God bless you and good night.

## WHITE HOUSE STAFFING MEMORANDUM

DATE: 11/12/85 ACTION/CONCURRENCE/COMMENT DUE BY: 5:00 p.m. TODAY

SUBJECT: REMARKS: Toast at Dinner Hosted by the Soviets  
Geneva, Switzerland  
(11/2/85 3:00 p.m. draft)

	ACTION FYI			ACTION FYI	
VICE PRESIDENT	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	OGLESBY	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
REGAN	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>			
MILLER	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	RYAN	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
BUCHANAN	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	SPEAKES	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
CHAVEZ	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	SPRINKEL	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
CHEW	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	SVAHN	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
DANIELS	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	THOMAS	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
FIELDING	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	TUTTLE	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
HENKEL	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<u>ELLIOTT</u>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>
HICKS	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	_____	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
KINGON	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	_____	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
LACY	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	_____	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
McFARLANE	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	_____	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>

REMARKS: Please give your comments/edits directly to Ben Elliott, with an info copy to my office by 5:00 p.m. today. Thanks.

RESPONSE:

David L. Chew  
 Staff Secretary  
 Ext. 2702

(Rohrabacher edit/BE)  
November 12, 1985  
3:00 p.m.

PRESIDENTIAL REMARKS: TOAST AT DINNER HOSTED BY THE SOVIETS  
GENEVA, SWITZERLAND  
TUESDAY, NOVEMBER 19, 1985

Received 3:11  
NOV 12 PM 3:11

Mr. General Secretary, Mr. Foreign Minister, honored guests. Speaking for the entire delegation, let me say how pleased we are to be here in Geneva with you. If there is one message I hope will be underscored by our meetings in the next few days, it is that the United States wants to live in peace with the Soviet Union. This does not belittle or trivialize the fundamental differences between our two societies. Yet differences, no matter how basic, need not lead to discord and conflict.

President Theodore Roosevelt once said, "The true end of every great and free people should be self-respecting peace." President Teddy Roosevelt was a man much beloved by his people. He was a leader who spoke often of national strength, yet he was a recipient of a Nobel Peace Prize -- the first American to win this coveted award. I might add, it was given to him for his personal role in ending the Russo-Japanese war.

Like Teddy Roosevelt, we, Mr. General Secretary, believe our countries should be strong. Yet this need not keep us, as leaders, from making it our personal commitment to make this a more peaceful world. That is why I have come to Geneva, Mr. Gorbachev. I hope that is why you have come.

Our meetings will not be an end in themselves, but they can, if we let them, be a beginning. We have come ready to discuss practical and forward-looking steps in all areas of the U.S.-Soviet agenda. In the area of arms control, I believe our



bilateral strategic relationship must provide security, stability, and confidence. I also believe that technology is opening new doors, new opportunities, to leave behind for all of mankind the threat of nuclear holocaust. Our goal is not just a more secure America, but a more secure world, and for this we must have a sustainable balance of peace. I have brought to Geneva proposals which reflect our commitment to that goal.

But weapons and the resources we spend on them are not the source of the problems that plague the Soviet Union and the United States. There are issues of importance that need our attention because they reflect matters that may well be closer to the root cause of the friction between our societies. Issues concerning human rights and the way we conduct ourselves with other countries require our attention. Nor should we neglect examining an agenda that could free up social, cultural, and economic contact between our peoples, contacts that could be a foundation upon which future progress can be based. I know that our peoples would, if government and politics didn't get in the way, be friends...good friends.

In the meantime, we must look for avenues to maintain peace and avert conflict because that is in the interest of both our countries. Will Rogers, an American humorist and folk philosopher, once said, "The thing that really makes two nations a little more sympathetic toward each other is the fact that they may be able to use each other." Well, there is no question that better bilateral relations, especially if that would permit us to spend less on weapons, are in our interest and the interest of

the world. Thus, in a way, we've come here to use each other in the cause of peace. Let us do a good job of it.

History is not predetermined. It is in our hands. We can make a more peaceful and tranquil world and live in mutual respect. And to that end, let us now drink a toast.

# WHITE HOUSE STAFFING MEMORANDUM

DATE: 11-12-85 ACTION/CONCURRENCE/COMMENT DUE BY: 11-13-85 at Noon

SUBJECT: PRESIDENT'S REMARKS -- ARRIVAL CEREMONY IN GENEVA, 11-18-85

	ACTION FYI			ACTION FYI	
VICE PRESIDENT	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	OGLESBY	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
REGAN	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>			
MILLER	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	RYAN	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>
BUCHANAN	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	SPEAKES	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>
CHAVEZ	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	SPRINKEL	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
CHEW	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	SS VAHN	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
DANIELS	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	THOMAS	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
FIELDING	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	TUTTLE	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
HENKEL	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<u>ELLIOTT</u>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>
HICKS	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	_____	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
KINGON	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	_____	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
LACY	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	_____	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
McFARLANE	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	_____	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>

REMARKS:

Please submit any comments/remarks directly to Ben Elliott by noon tomorrow. Thank you.

RESPONSE:

David L. Chew  
Staff Secretary  
Ext. 2702

(Robinson/BE)  
November 12, 1985  
6:00 p.m.

Received SS

PRESIDENTIAL REMARKS: ARRIVAL CEREMONY 12 PM 6:37  
GENEVA, SWITZERLAND  
MONDAY, NOVEMBER 18, 1985

President Furgler, I would like to extend to you and to the Swiss people my appreciation for helping to make possible the coming meetings between representatives of the United States and the Soviet Union.

Nancy and I are delighted to be in this magnificent city on the shores of Lake Geneva to see and greet all of you, including our good friend, Ambassador Faith Whittlesey, and to say on behalf of the American people, thank you for your warm and friendly welcome.

Mr. President, it is fitting that the meetings of the next few days should take place on Swiss soil, for Switzerland has long been a leader in the search for peace and the defense of human freedom. Again and again, you have provided your territory for international meetings, and your good offices in the mediation of disputes. It was the Swiss who founded one of the great humanitarian organizations of our time, the International Red Cross; and it is Switzerland that often represents the diplomatic interests of other nations, including the United States, in lands where these nations have no formal diplomatic relations of their own.

Indeed, in your unshakeable commitment to independence, democratic government, and human rights, the Swiss Confederation in itself serves as an example to all the world. The motto of the United States, Mr. President, is "E Pluribus Unum," out of

many, one. Here in Switzerland -- a country of rich religious, cultural, and linguistic variety -- you practice just such unity in diversity.

Permit me to add that our two countries are bound together by family ties. As early as 1562, a Swiss settler appeared in Florida, and, in 1607, Bernese natives participated in the founding of Jamestown. Ever since, Americans of Swiss descent have pioneered and led the development of our Nation. Today Swiss-Americans number in the millions, and I would be remiss if I failed to express their affection for you, their Swiss cousins.

Indeed, just last month, the goodwill of the American people toward the Swiss was formally expressed in a joint resolution of the Congress of the United States.

Recently, Mr. President, Boston University awarded you an honorary Doctorate of Laws. In your acceptance address, you stressed the obligations incumbent upon the West to defend its values and way of life. "It is," you said, "part of the definition and vocation of the human being to be free...."

Mr. President, each in its own way, our two nations stand at the forefront of this struggle for liberty. Each stands determined to defend the freedoms of its own people and to advance the cause of freedom throughout the world. And each rests confident in the knowledge that freedom will endure, and prevail.

It is to make certain that this great work on behalf of human freedom can go forward in peace that I have come here today. As I stated last month before the United Nations, I am

convinced that American-Soviet relations need a fresh start -- a genuine give-and-take on regional conflicts like the war in Afghanistan, on human rights, and on the reduction of arms.

American and Soviet differences on these matters run deep. Mr. Gorbachev and I cannot surmount them in only 2 days. But I am here in the fervent hope that -- on behalf of all the people of the world -- we can at least make a start.

President Furgler, once again, to you and the people of Switzerland, our friendship and deepest gratitude.

# WHITE HOUSE STAFFING MEMORANDUM

DATE: 11-12-85 ACTION/CONCURRENCE/COMMENT DUE BY: 11-13-85 at Noon

SUBJECT: PRESIDENT'S TOAST AT DINNER HOSTED BY U.S. IN GENEVA (11-20-85)

	ACTION FYI			ACTION FYI	
VICE PRESIDENT	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	OGLESBY	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
REGAN	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>			
MILLER	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	RYAN	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>
BUCHANAN	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	SPEAKES	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>
CHAVEZ	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	SPRINKEL	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
CHEW	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	SS	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
DANIELS	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	THOMAS	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
FIELDING	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	TUTTLE	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>
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HICKS	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	_____	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
KINGON	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	_____	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
LACY	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	_____	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
McFARLANE	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	_____	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>

REMARKS: Please submit any comments/remarks directly to Ben Elliott by noon tomorrow. Thank you.

RESPONSE:

David L. Chew  
Staff Secretary  
Ext. 2702

(Dolan/BE)  
November 12, 1985  
7:00 p.m.

Received 9:0

1985 NOV 12 PM 7:24

**PRESIDENTIAL REMARKS: TOAST AT DINNER HOSTED BY U.S.  
GENEVA, SWITZERLAND  
WEDNESDAY, NOVEMBER 20, 1985**

Mr. General Secretary, Mr. Foreign Minister, Mr. Secretary,  
honored guests.

Before our arrival here, Mr. General Secretary, you and I  
both felt it our duty to sound a note of realism, to caution our  
countrymen and the world about false hopes and expectations  
arising from these talks. It is in this realistic vein, we have  
conducted two days of intensive discussions.

We have considered some of the most vital problems facing  
the world today -- above all, the need for peace and freedom. On  
some we have made progress. On others we have identified work  
for the future. We have acknowledged the serious differences  
between us; at the same time, we both have acknowledged our grave  
responsibility to work together to keep the peace.

Mr. General Secretary, as you know, we in the United States  
are an optimistic people who believe in the capacity of the human  
race to accomplish good, to cause sweeping change. One of those  
most responsible for our national independence, Thomas Paine,  
said once -- and it is a favorite of mine -- "we have it in our  
hands to make the world over again." We Americans still believe  
the peoples of the world can better their own and others' lives  
if only they have the chance to live in peace and in freedom.  
But they look to us now to act responsibly; they know, as do we,  
that history has placed in our hands means of destruction so



terrible, so awesome, that their use could endanger the existence of all humanity.

The awesome power of modern weapons makes us answerable not only to our own, but to all peoples. Old dogmas and tired formulas cannot help. To stir passion or feed suspicion will only hinder. We must look beyond the narrow interests of the moment and confront the deeper, truer realities. If our discussions have helped this process, then I shall return to my country satisfied.

Mr. General Secretary, American presidents have met with the leaders of your country on many occasions -- in alliance against a common enemy, and less happily, in times of great tension in the world. Every meeting has stirred hopes among the peoples of the world that we will have the wisdom and courage to pursue peace vigorously and consistently.

It is difficult to move toward this goal in two short days. But I hope that our talks have been a step toward building a better, a more peaceful relationship, and thus I would consider them successful.

Here in Geneva we have planted seeds of hope for the future. The part of our work that begins tomorrow, when we leave Geneva, is as important as what we have achieved over the past two days. It is our job, and that of our associates, to ensure that these seeds grow and flourish, and that no opportunity for progress be lost.

Mr. General Secretary, our nations are our peoples; they are the ones who gain if we have done our work well. It is fitting,

then, to conclude this occasion by joining in a toast to the Soviet and American peoples, those living and those yet unborn. May they live in peace and freedom.

President's Television Address  
Pre-Geneva November 1985  
Thematic Outline

Why I Am Going to Geneva

-- In a few days, will be meeting with General Secretary Gorbachev in Geneva.

-- My purpose is to renew a dialogue with the Soviet leader on the most important question of our time: what we must do to build a better, safer world for both our peoples and mankind as a whole.

-- It is my fervent hope that the two of us can begin a process which our successors and our peoples can continue: a process of facing our differences frankly and openly so that we can begin to narrow and resolve them; a process of communicating effectively so that our actions and intentions are not misunderstood; a process of building bridges between us and cooperating wherever possible for the greater good of all.

-- I see our meeting as a stepping stone to the kind of future both our peoples want:

o to reduce and eventually eliminate the danger of nuclear destruction;

o to relax regional tensions which can spread and engulf both our countries in conflict;

o to respect the dignity of each human being;

o to build bridges between our peoples.

-- Historic opportunity to set a steady course through the 21st century.

-- We have prepared carefully and extensively for this moment: want to share my thoughts and vision of the future that I will present to Gorbachev.

A Historic Opportunity

-- Americans have reason to be satisfied: economy flourishing, alliances strong, military might second to none, and we enjoy individual freedoms about which much of the world can only dream.

o Our strategy of deterrence has worked: since I have been President not one inch of free territory has fallen to communist subjugation. Indeed, the number of free countries calling themselves democracies has grown by ( 4? ).

-- But what about the future?

-- US-Soviet relationship holds key to world's future: progress in solving mankind's problems depends on what we do in coming months and years.

-- Differences between us are profound -- our history, economic systems, and the amount of freedom our citizens enjoy.

o But we also have a history of cooperation: World War II alliance to defeat fascism. In the two major wars of this century we have been on the same side.

-- We have a common interest -- and mankind has an interest -- in dealing with our differences peacefully, and finding ways to cooperate wherever possible.

-- The most important task for General Secretary Gorbachev and me is to chart a course for the future:

- o not just to avoid war, but to strengthen peace;
- o not just to prevent confrontation, but to remove the sources of tension;
- o not just to paper over differences but to address them;
- o not just to talk about what our citizens want, but to let them talk to each other.

### Peace is Indivisible

-- History has shown that peace is indivisible. Ensuring a safe future requires addressing the complex of problems we see, not just focusing on one or two issues, important as they may be. Thus our agenda for Geneva includes:

### Putting the Nuclear Genie Back...

-- Since the dawn of the nuclear age, every American President has sought to limit and end the dangerous competition in nuclear arms. I have no higher priority than to finally realize that dream.

-- We have gone the extra mile in arms control:

(Recap US arms control proposals for deep reductions, greater strategic stability, effective verification of agreements.)

-- Wouldn't it be better for both our countries and for the world for us to concentrate on reducing the weapons that exist today?

-- And wouldn't the world benefit if we could mutually find a way to render nuclear ballistic missiles obsolete and useless?

-- Wouldn't it be better if Mr. Gorbachev and I could discuss this, without artificial preconceptions and pretense?

-- Our discussions will be an opportunity to inject new momentum into the Geneva Nuclear and Space Talks, and will have consequences long beyond our November meeting.

### Sources of Tension

-- Reducing the levels of nuclear arms is not the whole answer: since World War II, about twenty million people have died in regional wars, not one involving nuclear weapons.

-- Soviet Union's use of force or threat of force to intervene directly or through proxies in in Afganistan, Poland, Angola, Nicaragua has made world more dangerous.

-- We cannot isolate these activities from other aspects of our relationship. The Soviet invasion of Afghanistan killed any hope of SALT II ratification.

-- That is why I proposed a plan for resolving regional conflicts that have taken such a heavy toll on the people involved, which threaten to engulf their neighbors and draw in outside powers which includes:

(Recap regional initiative)

### Peace Depends on People

-- Freedom and democracy are the best guarantors of peace: people who enjoy freedom and human rights will not encourage their governments to commit aggression against others. History has shown that democractic nations do not start wars.

-- Respect for the individual and the rule of law is as fundamental to peace as arms control. A government which does not respect its citizens' rights and its international commitments to protect those rights is not likely to respect its other international undertakings.

-- We hold these beliefs deeply, but are not trying to impose them on others. We do ask, however, that countries live up to their freely undertaken international commitments.

### Building Bridges

-- Finally, enduring peace requires openness, honest communications and oportunites for our peoples to get to know one another directly.

-- This applies to all aspects of our relationship, whether it be negotiating arms control agreements, reducing regional tensions and in the day to day business between our two governments.

o Imagine if Joe Smith in Poughkeepsie could meet and visit Sergci Ivanov in Sverdlovsk, if Sergei's son or daughter could spend a year, or even three months living with the Smith family, going to summer camp or classes at Poughkeepsie High, while Smith's son or daughter went to school in Sverdlovsk? Soviet young people could learn first hand what spirit of freedom rules our land, and that we do not wish the peoples of the Soviet Union any harm. Our young people would get first hand knowledge of life in the USSR.

o Imagine if people in Minneapolis could see the Kirov ballet live, while citizens in Mkhatchkala could see an American play or hear Duke Ellington's band? And how about Soviet children watching Sesame Street?

-- We have had educational and cultural exchanges for 25 years, and are now close to completing a new agreement. But I feel the time is ripe for us to take bold new steps to open the way for our peoples to participate in an unprecedented way in the building of peace. That is why I have proposed to the Soviet government:

1) To encourage our young people to get to know one another - reciprocal exchange of thousands of undergraduate students, and thousands of high school students; Soviet-American scholarship program.

2) To use the resources of technology for better communications - elimination of jamming, mutual satellite transmissions, exchanges in computer educational materials. We welcome the free competition of ideas and respect the right to hold different views.

3) To pool scientific talent - cooperative research and space programs where there is something to be learned on both sides. Important past accomplishments include Apollo-Soyuz, mechanical heart. How much more could be done by working together?

4) To bring cultural achievements closer - establishment of cultural centers, increased publication and distribution of books, possibly a book store in each country, increased language study. We have much to learn from one another.

5) To channel competition into healthy athletic outlets - increased sports exchanges, joint events. If we must compete, let it be in the athletic arena, rather than arms factories, in sweatsuits rather than military uniforms.

-- Our open society is our greatest strength, believe the only way to break down barriers of mistrust is through more information, communication and contact between our people. That is part of my vision of the future, and what I want to discuss further with Soviet leader Gorbachev in Geneva.

-- Differences between our two countries are substantial, but now is time to get programs like these underway. They will not solve our problems overnight, but can move us in the right direction.

### Not An Impossible Dream

-- It is not an impossible dream that we can begin to reduce nuclear arsenals, reduce the risk of war and build a solid foundation for peace. It is not an impossible dream that our children and grandchildren can some day travel freely back and forth between America and the Soviet Union, visit each other's homes, work and study together, enjoy and discuss plays, music, television, and even root for each other's soccer teams.

-- The American people are ready for this. I have confidence in their ability to sift fact from fiction, propaganda from honest proposals. The people of the Soviet Union should have the same opportunity.

-- But governments can only do so much: once they get the ball rolling, they should step out of the way and let people get together to share, enjoy, help, listen and learn from each other, especially young people.

-- Peace involves everyone. It is built on the daily actions of citizens, especially in a democracy.

-- History has shown us that peace is indivisible. Addressing all the problems we face together is the only way to develop a healthy, sound relationship based on equality, mutual trust and fairness:

- o no matter how good an arms control agreement may be, its chances of being approved are diminished if Soviet behavior in other areas is unacceptable;

- o similarly, the prospects for more trade and other bilateral exchanges are improved when governments treat their people with respect;

- o and the chances for reaching an arms control agreement are improved if the barriers between people are lowered, and regional tensions not exploited.

-- That is the dream I am taking to Geneva. It is not an impossible dream. Our relationship will continue to be competitive in many ways, but, just as we have cooperated in the past to defeat a common enemy, we can do so again to defeat today's enemies: hunger, disease, poverty, illiteracy.

-- Our peoples want nothing so much as peace, a better life for themselves and their children. We can have a more cooperative relationship with the Soviet Union only if the Soviet leaders also want it.

-- As the poet Robert Frost said "... and many miles to go before we sleep."

-- But our meeting in Geneva need not be an end: it could be the beginning of a renewed commitment to working together to shape a safer future for both our countries and the world. History will not forgive us if we do not make a start.



## WHITE HOUSE STAFFING MEMORANDUM

DATE: 11-09-85 ACTION/CONCURRENCE/COMMENT DUE BY: 11-11-85 by 10:30 a.m.

SUBJECT: BUCHANAN REWRITE OF PRESIDENT'S TELEVISION ADDRESS TO THE NATION

	ACTION FYI			ACTION FYI	
VICE PRESIDENT	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	OGLESBY	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
REGAN	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>			
MILLER	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	RYAN	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
BUCHANAN	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	SPEAKES	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
CHAVEZ	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	SPRINKEL	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
CHEW	<input type="checkbox"/> P	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> SS	SVAHN	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
DANIELS	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	THOMAS	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
FIELDING	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	TUTTLE	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
HENKEL	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<u>ELLIOTT</u>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
HICKS	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	_____	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
KINGON	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	_____	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
LACY	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	_____	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
McFARLANE	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	_____	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>

**REMARKS:** Attached is Pat Buchanan's rewrite of the President's Nov. 14th television address. If you have major problems with the speech, please contact Pat immediately. Minor changes can be submitted to Pat on Monday morning. Our hope is to get the speech to the President Monday afternoon.

**RESPONSE:**

David L. Chew  
Staff Secretary  
Ext. 2702

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

November 9, 1985

MEMORANDUM FOR ROBERT C. McFARLANE

FROM:

PAT BUCHANAN



Have incorporated the President's, Wirthlin's, Mandel's and most of your recommended changes (which just arrived), while cutting the speech to 18 plus minutes. One change I have not made; that pertains to your suggestion to expand dramatically the people-to-people part. Matlock recommended at Friday's meeting that this section be reduced -- as we want to maintain some "surprise" announcements at the summit. If we go in, chatting up these exchanges they will be blah by the time they are accepted and announced. But, if you -- after speaking with him, etc., want this expanded, we can get it done Sunday.

Attached also is explanation to Mandel for PJB changes made.

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

November 9, 1985

MEMORANDUM FOR JUDITH MANDEL

FROM: PAT BUCHANAN *PJB*

Herewith the latest draft. It was done pursuant to the President's comment to move "more quickly" into the text. Have cut two full pages. At 11½ pages, this is probably an 18-minute speech, which seems exactly right. Here is how the changes went.

- 1) As per your request, the "football" is out, as is the more apocalyptic rhetoric on nuclear war.
- 2) The point you wanted inserted, that was in the previous draft about the criterion of success at Geneva, and the four agenda items has been moved to the back of the speech (page 9) for the reasons the President gave: i.e. get "into it" quicker.
- 3) Redundancy inside paragraphs has been reduced, in moving paragraphs around a bit in the beginning, whole paragraphs have also been dropped.
- 4) On page 3 we have theologically satisfied both your folks -- i.e. the problem is Soviet "behavior," -- and my folks -- i.e. the problem is Communist ideology, out of which the behavior flows. The final argument beginning there on page 3, "We Americans...etc.," was inserted at Wirthlin's request as it got the "strongest response" of virtually any line at the UN other than the one about "a nuclear war can never be won..." (The UN quote is included because RR uses it now at every meeting.) The phrase "prison of mutual terror" which also got tremendous response was re-included for the same reason.
- 5) The new close is done at the President's request. There are no other significant or substantive changes.

(Dolan/Buchanan/Elliott)  
November 9, 1985  
5:00 p.m.

PRESIDENTIAL ADDRESS TO THE NATION: GENEVA SUMMIT  
THURSDAY, NOVEMBER 14, 1985

My fellow Americans. Good evening. In 48 hours, I will be leaving for the first summit meeting between an American President and a Soviet Party Secretary in more than six years. So, tonight, I want to share with you my hopes and tell you why I am going to Geneva.

My mission, stated simply, is a mission for peace. It is to engage the new Soviet leader in a dialogue for <sup>an enduring</sup> peace that I hope ~~will endure as long as my Presidency -- and beyond.~~ It is to sit down across from Mr. Gorbachev and <sup>explore whether we can</sup> ~~try to map out, together, a~~ common <sup>course that will bring us to a level of greater understanding & trust.</sup> ~~causeway over the no-man's land of mistrust and hostility that separates our two nations.~~

*short -*  
~~I do not -- and you my fellow Americans should not --~~ <sup>realism of the past.</sup> ~~exaggerate the prospects for a great success at the Geneva summit.~~ The history of American-Soviet relations does not argue well for euphoria. Eight of my predecessors -- each in his own way and in his own time -- sought to achieve a more stable and peaceful relationship with the Soviet Union. None fully succeeded. <sup>But we should not be blinded by the past -- rather we should be guided by it.</sup> So I do not underestimate the difficulty of the task ahead. But that sad record does not relieve me of the obligation to use my years as President, and the capacities God has given me, to try to make ours a safer world. For our children, our grandchildren, for all mankind -- I intend to make the effort.

This, then, is why I go to Geneva. For peace. In the hope of never having to face the terrible alternative of either

submitting to nuclear blackmail or responding with a call to arms. In the hope of never again having to phone the parents or wives of an American serviceman killed in action or cut down in some terrorist attack.

When we speak of peace, however, we Americans do not mean the artificial peace of a permanent Cold War. We believe true peace must rest upon the pillars of individual freedom, human rights, national self-determination and respect for the rule of law. Nations that have broken one solemn compact after another -- whether on nuclear arms or chemical weapons or human rights -- should expect to be treated with skepticism when they insist that a new disarmament treaty is the sum of their international ambitions. Superpowers that launch wars of imperial occupation against defenseless neighbors to their south are not persuasive when they profess their intentions to be only benign toward better-armed neighbors to their West.

This, then, is the second-reason I go to Geneva. For freedom. To speak for the right of every people and every nation to choose their own future, for the right of human beings everywhere to determine their own destiny.

In advancing freedom we Americans carry a special burden. A belief in the dignity and worth of every individual in the sight of God gave birth to this country. It is central to our being. As Thomas Jefferson wrote: "Men were not born to wear saddles on their backs." Freedom is America's core. We must never deny it, nor forsake it. Should the day come when we remain silent in the face of armed aggression then the cause of America -- the cause

of freedom -- will have been lost, and the great heart of this country will have been broken.

Not only is this affirmation of freedom our responsibility as Americans, it is essential for success at Geneva. If history has shown there is any key to dealing successfully with the Soviets it is this: The Soviets must realize that while we are prepared to negotiate, we harbor no illusions about their ultimate intentions. The Soviet mind is not the mirror image of the American and Western mind. The Soviets have a very different view of the world. They believe a great struggle is underway for the future of mankind and that true peace will only be attained with the final triumph of Communist power. They believe the march of history is embodied in the Soviet state, and that the democracies of the West are the last impediments to the final triumph of that state.

This ideology, and the international conduct that flows naturally from it, is at the heart of the quarrel between us. It is the Soviets' declared intention to impose their Communist system upon unwilling peoples -- from Afghanistan to Angola, from Southeast Asia to Central America -- that is the cause of the crises and confrontations that have erupted between us in the post-war era. As I said at the United Nations, nations do not distrust each other because they are armed. They are armed because they distrust each other.

We Americans will never accept such rules of international behavior, nor will we accommodate ourselves to the use of

subversion and force by one nation to impose its will and ideology upon another.

So, I must also be blunt tonight. I go to Geneva for peace with freedom, but I go without illusions. The fact of this summit conference does not mean the Soviets have forsaken their long-term goals. President Eisenhower's somber farewell warning to his countrymen, a quarter century ago, unfortunately still rings true: "We face a hostile ideology -- global in scope, atheistic in character, ruthless in purpose and insidious in method."

And, yet, despite these deep and abiding differences we can and must manage this historic conflict between us peacefully. We can and must prevent our international competition from spilling over into violence. And we can find undiscovered avenues, where American and Soviet citizens can co-operate, fruitfully, for the benefit of all mankind. This, too, is why I am going to Geneva.

While our relationship with the Soviet Union remains adversarial, we have co-operated in the past. In World Wars I and II, Americans and Russians fought on separate fronts against a common enemy. Near the City of Murmansk sons of our own nation are buried, heroes who died of wounds sustained on the treacherous North Atlantic and North Sea convoys that carried to Russia the indispensable tools of survival and victory.

So, I do not mean to sound pessimistic, only realistic. While it would be utopian to think a single summit can establish permanent peace, this conference can begin a dialogue for peace.

My fellow Americans, there is cause for hope -- hope that freedom will not only survive but triumph, perhaps sooner than any of us dares to imagine.

How could this be? Because this same 20th century that gave birth to nuclear weapons and police states, that has witnessed so much bloodshed and suffering, is now moving inexorably toward mankind's age-old dream for human dignity and self-determination.

We see the dream alive in Latin America where 90 percent of the people are now living under governments that are democratic -- a dramatic reversal from a decade ago.

We see the dream stirring in Asia, where Singapore, South Korea, Taiwan and China are vaulting ahead with stunning success.

We see the flame rising in places like Afghanistan and Angola where brave people risk their lives for the same liberty we Americans have always enjoyed. We see the dream flickering in the captive nations of Central Europe. In Poland, men and women of great faith and spirit -- the members of Solidarity, the faithful of the Catholic Church -- rise up again and again for better lives and a future of hope for their children.

A powerful tide is surging. The world is moving toward more open and democratic societies. And what is the driving force behind it?

It is faith -- faith in a loving God who, despite all the ordeals of the 20th century, has raised up the smallest believer to stand taller than the most powerful state. It is faith in the individual. And it is freedom -- freedom for people to dream, to reap the rewards of their own unique abilities to excel.



We've seen what restoration of those values and our renewed belief in the moral worth of an open society have meant to America: A Nation <sup>that has</sup> rediscovering its destiny, <sup>+ is prepared to maintain it</sup> poised ~~for~~ greatness.

The health and vitality of the American economy -- with 9 million new jobs -- has helped lift up the world economy, holding out to the family of nations the vision of growth .

The re-building of America's military might and overseas alliances has rekindled world respect for United States' power, confidence and resolve.

And, now comes a new idea filled with promise that may prove vital to peace. As most of you know, the United States and the Soviet Union have for decades used massive nuclear arsenals to hold each other hostage in a kind of mutual terror -- with the threat of wholesale destruction hanging over us both.

It's called the doctrine of mutual assured destruction; M-A-D or MAD as the arms control experts call it. But with our Strategic Defense Initiative the United States is now determined to repeal that dreadful doctrine, to lead mankind out of this prison of mutual terror, to discover, through research and testing, a new system -- a non-nuclear defense that would destroy weapons not people; a defense that could provide a survival shield for our entire planet from ballistic missiles launched by design or mistake.

America today has a foreign policy that not only speaks out for peace and freedom, but works for them as well. In five years, not one square inch of real estate has been lost to

communist aggression; and, Grenada has been liberated and set free.

So we look to the future with optimism, and we go to Geneva with confidence. While the differences between the United States and the Soviet Union are profound and enduring, we are committed to dealing with them peacefully.

Ensuring a safer future however, requires that we address every threat to peace and every disruption of peace.

Since the dawn of the nuclear age, every American President has sought to limit the build-up in nuclear arms. We have gone the extra mile, but our efforts have not always been welcomed.

In 1977, and again in 1981 the United States proposed to the Soviet Union deep reciprocal cuts in strategic forces. These offers were rejected, out-of-hand. The following year, we proposed the complete elimination of a whole category of intermediate range nuclear forces. This offer, too, was rejected. Two years later, we-proposed a global ban on chemical weapons. This proposal received the same negative response. And in 1983, the Soviet negotiators got up and walked out of Geneva altogether.

While this is not a record to inspire hope, I am pleased with the interest expressed in reducing offensive weapons by the new Soviet leadership. Let me repeat tonight what I announced last week: The United States is prepared to reduce nuclear weapons by over 50 percent, provided both sides make reductions that result in a stable balance between us -- with no first strike capability on either side -- and no cheating.

Ultimately the whole world would benefit if we could mutually find a way to abandon offensive weapons and move to defensive systems. For, as I have said many times before, a nuclear war can never be won, and must never be fought.

But nuclear arms control is not of itself a final answer: Since World War II, 20 million people have died in conventional wars and not a single soldier has perished in a nuclear attack. It is the relentless use of force and subversion -- to advance Communist power -- that has made the world a dangerous place.

Look where the Soviets are pushing to consolidate and expand and what do we see? That there is no peace in Afghanistan; no peace in Cambodia; no peace in Angola; no peace in Ethiopia, and no peace in Nicaragua. These wars have claimed hundreds of thousands of lives and threaten to spill over national frontiers.

That is why in my address to the United Nations I have proposed a way to end these conflicts, a regional peace plan that calls for -- ceasefires, negotiations among the warring parties, withdrawal of all foreign troops, democratic reconciliation and economic assistance.

In Geneva the Soviet Union comes to an historic crossroads: to show the world by deeds; to help us stop the killing.

This would be a true Geneva breakthrough. We will do our part, but the Soviets must do theirs. Together, we must do more. And I'm determined to try to lessen the distrust between us, to reduce the levels of secrecy, to bring forth a more "Open World." I intend to propose to Mr. Gorbachev at Geneva that we exchange

thousands of our citizens from fraternal, religious, educational and cultural groups.

In science and technology we propose to launch new joint space flights and establish joint medical research projects. In communications, we would like to see more appearances in the other's media by representatives of both our countries.

If Soviet spokesmen are free to appear on American television, to be published and read in the American press, should not the Soviet people have the same right to see, hear and read what we American have to say?

Surely, such people-to-people contacts can build genuine peace movements in both countries.

Success at Geneva, however, should not be measured by the short-term agreements that come out of the summit. Only the passage of time will tell us if we have constructed a durable bridge to a better future. Only the months and years following Geneva will reveal whether we have made genuine progress on all four fronts of our agenda: Human rights, the termination of regional conflicts, the expansion of people-to-people contact and reduction of nuclear arms.

The conversations Mr. Gorbachev and I will have can, however, allay suspicions that may exist. You can be sure that I will reaffirm in Geneva what the Soviet leadership should already know. The United States is not an aggressor nation. America's arms will only be used -- as they have been in my lifetime -- in the defense of freedom and in answer to attack.

Four times in this century our soldiers have been sent overseas to fight in foreign lands. Their remains can be found all the way from the fields of France to forgotten islands of the Western Pacific. Not once did they go abroad in the cause of conquest. Not once did they come home claiming a single square meter of some other country as a trophy of war.

As Prime Minister Mulroney of Canada put it recently when told the United States was an imperialist Nation -- and I'm using the Prime Minister's words -- "What the hell [devil] do you mean 'imperialist nation?'. We have a 4,000 mile border between us and for 172 years there hasn't been a shot fired in anger."

If America had ever intended to erect some global empire, we would never have dismantled in a matter of months following World War II the greatest military machine the world had ever seen. Mankind knows that record -- and we Americans have a right to be proud of it.

A great danger in the past, however, has been the failure by our enemies to remember that while we Americans hate war, we love freedom -- and stand ready to sacrifice for it. The only way major war can ever break out between the United States and the Soviet Union is through a failure to recognize that truth. By the way, my first meeting with the General Secretary will be on the anniversary of the address at Gettysburg, where Mr. Lincoln reminded the world that "government by the people for the people and of the people shall not perish from the earth."

Both Nancy and I are grateful for the chance you have given us to serve this Nation and the trust you have placed in us. And

I know how deep the hope of peace is in her heart, as it is in the heart of every American mother.

Recently, we saw together a moving new film, the story of Eleni, a woman caught in the Greek civil war at the end of World War II, a mother who because she smuggled her children out to safety in America was tried, tortured and shot by a firing squad.

It is also the story of her son, Nicholas Gage, who grew up to become a reporter with the New York Times and who secretly vowed to return to Greece someday to take vengeance on the man who sent his mother to her death. But at the dramatic end of the story, Nick Gage finds he cannot extract the vengeance he has promised himself. To do so, Mr. Gage writes, might have relieved the pain that had filled him for so many years but it would also have broken the one bridge still connecting him to his mother and the part of him most like her. As he tells it: "her final cry... was not a curse on her killers but an invocation of what she died for, a declaration of love: 'my children.'"

How that cry has echoed down through the centuries, a cry for the children of the world, for peace, for love of fellowman.

Here then is what Geneva is really about; the hope of heeding such words, spoken so often in so many different places -- on a desert journey to a promised land, by a carpenter beside the Sea of Galilee -- words calling all men to be brothers and all nations to be one.

Here is the central truth of our time, of any time, a truth to which I have tried to bear witness in this office.

When I first accepted the nomination of my party, I asked you, the American people, to join with me in prayer for our Nation and the world. Six days ago, in the Cabinet Room, religious leaders from across our country -- Russian and Greek Orthodox bishops, Catholic Cardinals and Protestant pastors, Mormon elders and Jewish Rabbis, together made of me a similar request.

Tonight, I am honoring that request by asking you, my fellow Americans, to pray for God's grace and guidance at Geneva, so that the cause of true peace among men will be advanced and all of humanity thereby served.

Thank you, God bless you and good night.