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WITHDRAWAL SHEET

Ronald Reagan Library

DOCUMENT NO. AND TYPE	SUBJECT/TITLE	DATE	RESTRICTION
1. agenda	Agenda. (1 p.)	11/7/85	P1
2. memo (8223)	From Jack Matlock to Robert McFarlane re: Appointment Request: Women for a Meaningful Summit. (1 p.)	11/7/85	P1/P5
COLLECTION: Coordination Office, NSC: Records, 1981-88			rs
FILE FOLDER: 156 To Geneva (11/16-21/85) File 2 (5) [Box 90538]			11/3/95

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].
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- 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].

RONALD W. REAGAN LIBRARY

THIS FORM MARKS THE FILE LOCATION OF ITEM NUMBER 1 LISTED ON THE
WITHDRAWAL SHEET AT THE FRONT OF THIS FOLDER.

SUNDAY	MONDAY	TUESDAY	WEDNESDAY	THURSDAY	FRIDAY	SATURDAY
<p>★ = President T = Tentative</p>					<p>1 End of Soviet INF Moratorium</p> <p>Dutch INF Deployment Decision</p> <p>End Third Round NST</p> <p>McFarlane Speech to Swiss-Americans</p>	<p>2</p>
3	<p>4 McFarlane CSTS Conf. Weinberger Speech at N.Y. Foreign Policy Association</p>	<p>5 Third Round of Geneva Talks Ends</p> <p>★T President Interview with U.S. Wires</p>	<p>6 ★ President Meets with Soviet Experts</p> <p>Weinberger Speech at NSM Conference</p>	<p>7 ★ Interview with <i>US News & World Report</i></p> <p>★T SDI Event</p> <p>68th Anniversary Russian Revolution ★ Meeting w/Soviet ExpertsWeinberger/A brahamson Brief CoAmAmb.</p>	<p>8 ★ Meeting w/GOP Congressional Leaders</p> <p>★ Lunch with Religious Leaders</p> <p>Matlock Briefing for TV Moderator</p>	<p>9 ★ Radio Talk: to Soviet People via VOA</p>
<p>10 Shultz on Face the Nation</p>	<p>11 Veterans Day</p> <p>★ Remarks at Arlington</p> <p>T McFarlane Briefs WH Press</p>	<p>12 ★ President Meets with BiPart Congress Leaders</p> <p>★T President's Interview with Selected Press</p> <p>Matlock brief, NPC</p>	<p>13 ★ Meeting with Congress Leaders</p> <p>Shultz Speaks to E. Europe via VOA</p> <p>NSC: Geneva</p> <p>Nitz Briefing at FPC</p>	<p>14 ★ Meeting w/Arms Negotiators</p> <p>★T President's Address to the Nation</p> <p>NSC: Geneva</p> <p>Shultz on World Net & WH Press</p>	<p>15 DoD Report on Interim Restraint</p> <p>NSC: Geneva</p> <p>Ridgeway Briefing at FPC</p>	<p>16 ★ Depart for Geneva</p> <p>★ President's Departur Statement</p>
<p>17 ★ Travel to Geneva</p> <p>T Shultz and McFarlane on Talk Shows</p>	<p>18 ★ Geneva</p> <p>★ President meets with Swiss President</p>	<p>19 ★ Meeting with Gorbachev in Geneva</p> <p>First Lady's Program</p>	<p>20 ★ Meeting in Geneva with Gorbachev</p> <p>First Lady's Program</p> <p>Briefing Teams Depart</p>	<p>21 ★ Consultations with Allies in Brussels</p> <p>★ Return to Wash.</p> <p>★ Presidential Address US-Soviet Maritime Talks</p>	<p>22 House Adjourns</p>	<p>23 ★ President's Radio Address</p>
<p>24 T Shultz on VOA</p> <p>T Sunday Talk Shows (Reagan, Shultz, McFarland)</p>	<p>25 McFarlane on World Net</p>	<p>26</p>	<p>27 Shultz Meets with Canadian FM Clark</p>	<p>28 Thanksgiving Day</p>	<p>29</p>	<p>30 Radio Talk</p>

DECLASSIFIED
E.O. 12356, Sec. 3.4(h)
White House Guidelines, Feb. 24, 1989
BY  , NARA, Date 8/16/95

November 5, 1985

West European and Other Attitudes on the November 19-20 Geneva Meeting:
October 30 - November 5, 1985

This briefing paper summarizes judgments from overseas USIS posts on public opinion and foreign media commentary/news analyses on the upcoming Geneva meeting. The Posts surveyed for this report were London, Paris, Bonn, Rome, Brussels, The Hague, Geneva, Oslo, Ottawa, Tokyo, New Delhi, and Tel Aviv.

EUROPEANS SEE THE PRESIDENT AS FORTHCOMING ON ARMS CONTROL

By announcing in his weekly radio broadcast that he would accept the idea of a 50% cut in comparable strategic offensive weapons, President Reagan has given substance to the tone of personal commitment to arms control which he set last week with his BBC interview. Reports pegged to Saturday's radio broadcast dominated Monday's papers in West Europe. TASS's initial negative response to the President's statement was dismissed by the West European media, including the leftist press, as too quick and facile to be a meaningful expression of Soviet reaction.

IZVESTIA INTERVIEW SEEN AS A POSITIVE EVENT, NOT A SHOW-STOPPER

The European press reported comprehensively this morning on the President's Izvestia interview, noting its historical importance and the fact that Izvestia had deleted parts of what the President had to say. However, the interview was not the lead story in any capital and treatment did not assign special significance to the President's statement on the timing of SDI deployment and the destruction of offensive nuclear missiles. Posts expect European journalists to fasten onto this aspect of the interview only if it becomes an important issue in the U.S. domestic press. However, European skepticism of a nuclear-free future is very widespread and would come to the fore quickly, if prodded.

INTERNATIONAL MEDIA INTENSIFY ATTENTION TO THE GENEVA MEETING

The major West European press continued their daily focus on various aspects of pre-meeting maneuvering by both sides. The U.S. was generally seen as having secured "firm" Allied support at the NATO Brussels meeting. Since last Friday, there has been a noticeable positive shift in media commentary toward the U.S. The U.S. arms proposal is viewed with approval as a signal to negotiate seriously. Although some British papers today said that Soviet press attacks on President Reagan's Izvestia interview cast gloom over the meeting, most of the press elsewhere remain cautiously optimistic about a positive outcome in Geneva later this month.

Coverage in selected major countries outside of Europe continued at a higher level. Indian newspapers carried straight news reports, and editorials/news analyses expressed the hope that the two countries would reach an agreement on nuclear arms control. The general tone of the Japanese media remained cautiously upbeat while being sensitive to the perceived public relations plays of both participants. Israeli press coverage and commentary are increasing. Front page stories were primarily wire service reports on the impact the Geneva meeting will have on Middle East peace prospects, Jewish emigration and the possibility of a renewal of Soviet-Israeli ties.

NATIONAL SECURITY COUNCIL
WASHINGTON, D.C. 20506

Miller May
File

9003

November 7, 1985

ACTION

MEMORANDUM TO WILLIAM F. MARTIN

FROM: STEVE SESTANOVICH

SUBJECT: Public Remarks for President's Meeting with
General Secretary Gorbachev

We have received -- and revised -- State Department drafts of the following Presidential statements associated with his Geneva trip: departure statement from Andrews, arrival in Geneva, and the dinner toasts.

These should now be forwarded to Chew. I will provide copies informally to speechwriters.

Steiner, Cobb, Miller, Mandel, Linhard and Matlock concur.

RECOMMENDATION

That you sign the attached memo to David Chew.

Approve _____ Disapprove _____

ATTACHMENTS:

- TAB I Memo to Chew
 - TAB A Departure Statement
 - TAB B Arrival Statement
 - TAB C Toast No. 1
 - TAB D Toast No. 2
- TAB II State's (2) Memoranda dated November 6, 1985

NATIONAL SECURITY COUNCIL
WASHINGTON, D.C. 20506

9003

MEMORANDUM TO DAVID L. CHEW

FROM: WILLIAM F. MARTIN

SUBJECT: Public Remarks for President's Meeting with
General Secretary Gorbachev

Attached are NSC staff drafts of four Presidential statements associated with the Geneva trip.

We are providing them informally to the speechwriters.

ATTACHMENTS:

TAB A Departure Statement
TAB B Arrival Statement
TAB C Toast No. 1
TAB D Toast No. 2

TAB

A

President Reagan's Departure Statement

Andrews Air Force Base - November 16, 1985

Thank you for coming out to see us off on our mission to Geneva.

When I spoke to the Nation on Thursday, I said that I leave for my meeting with Mr. Gorbachev with peace and freedom on my mind. These are the goals to which all Americans -- and the peoples of the Soviet Union themselves -- subscribe. They will be my guiding star in Geneva and beyond.

Despite deep differences I believe it is possible for the United States and the Soviet Union to build more productive relations. I have no illusions that we will be able to resolve all or even most of our differences in a short set of meetings in Geneva. But we must make a start. General Secretary Gorbachev and I should aim to develop a specific work program on a range of issues that affect peace and freedom in the world -- arms control, regional conflicts, human rights, and people-to-people contacts.

We intend to give the Geneva meeting our best shot. We will be firm in defending our interests. We will leave no stone unturned in our search for peace and freedom. Above all, we will be patient. With your prayers and support I am sure we will succeed. Thank you very much and God bless you all.

TAE
B

President Reagan's Arrival Statement

Geneva

November 18, 1985

President Furgler, may I extend to you and the Swiss people my deep appreciation for helping make possible these meetings between the United States and the Soviet Union. Nancy and I are delighted to be here and we thank you for your warm hospitality.

It is fitting that this meeting should take place on Swiss soil. Switzerland has been a leader in the search for international peace and has generously provided her territory for international conferences and organizations and her services for the arbitration and mediation of disputes. The United States and Switzerland share the values of a common Western heritage -- a commitment to democracy, freedom of the individual, human rights, national independence and the peaceful resolution of disputes.

Thirty years ago, President Eisenhower met with Soviet leaders here. The cordial atmosphere of that meeting gave rise to the "Spirit of Geneva." As one shrewd observer noted, that "spirit" evaporated when exposed to the "clear, dry air of reality." Today we know that the world needs more from us than smiles and spirit. As President Eisenhower himself said, "Our talk of peace has little meaning if we perpetuate conditions endangering the peace."

I believe that U.S.-Soviet relations need the "fresh start" that I called for recently before the United Nations General Assembly. We seek a real give-and-take discussion about peace in all its aspects -- about arms control, about regional issues, human rights, and free contacts between peoples.

The differences dividing us are deep. We will not overcome them in a few days or even a few weeks. Our interest is not in reaching agreements that will paper-over our differences, but in finding ways to reach concrete solutions to real problems.

If we are successful here in Geneva, we can make a new beginning that will provide hope to all our peoples. We are ready to get down to work.

Thank you.

TAB
C

President's Dinner Toast

(First Night)

Mr. General Secretary, Mr. Foreign Minister, Honored Guests:

For the entire U.S. delegation let me say how pleased we are to be here in Geneva with you. We have been looking forward to this meeting, and believe we have an unusual opportunity to advance the U.S.-Soviet relationship. No other relationship between countries has such immense importance for world peace as our own. So let us seize the chance to chart a peaceful and more cooperative course for the future.

Mr. General Secretary, as I told you today, we have come ready for practical and forward-looking steps in all areas of the U.S.-Soviet agenda. In the area of arms control, I believe the strategic relationship between our two countries must provide security, stability and confidence for both sides. Can we not turn away from the threat of mass death and destruction? America seeks no unilateral advantage, but a sustainable balance of peace. The proposals I have brought to Geneva reflect our commitment to this goal.

Controlling and reducing the weapons we possess will not, of course, resolve our fundamental political differences. And in the long run keeping the peace does not depend only on weapons, or on how our governments get along with each other. It depends on how we treat other nations, on how we treat our own peoples, and on free contacts that allow them to know and understand each other. A leader responsible for progress of this kind would truly earn the title, peacemaker.

Mr. General Secretary, the U.S.-Soviet relationship falls short of what we would like it to be. Forty years ago our peoples celebrated the end to the most terrible war in human history. On May 8 in Times Square and on May 9 on Red Square, our peoples expressed their joy in victory and hope for a better world. The world of the past forty years has not been all that we hoped. Let us now fulfill the dreams expressed then.

Mr. General Secretary, honored guests, please join me in a toast to a better world of peace and freedom.

TAE

D

President's Dinner Toast

(Second Night)

Mr. General Secretary, Mr. Foreign Minister, Mr. Secretary,
Honored Guests.

For two days we have been engaged in intensive discussions. We have considered some of the most vital problems facing the world today -- above all, on the need for peace and freedom. On some we have made progress. On others we have identified work for the future. We have certainly made our staffs fulfill and over-fulfill their work plans.

Mr. General Secretary, in the United States we believe that there is nothing beyond the capacity of the human race to accomplish. Our peoples can better their own and others' lives if they only have the chance to live in peace and in freedom. But they look to us because 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 formulas cannot help us. Stirring up suspicion and passion cannot help us. We must look beyond narrow interests and issues of the moment and consider deeper, truer matters. 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 mistrust and bitterness. Every meeting has stirred hopes among the peoples of the world that we will have the wisdom and courage to reduce the nuclear danger and build a strong foundation for peace.

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

Here in Geneva we have planted the seeds of hope in 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, that and no opportunity for progress is lost. [Specifics to be provided.]

Mr. General Secretary, our nations have no greater treasure than our peoples. They have the most to gain if we have done our work well. It is fitting then to conclude this meal by joining in a toast to the Soviet and American peoples, those living and those yet unborn. May they live in peace and freedom.



S/S 8533048

United States Department of State

Washington, D.C. 20520

9003


November 6, 1985

UNCLASSIFIED
(with ~~Secret~~ attachments)

MEMORANDUM FOR MR. ROBERT C. MCFARLANE
THE WHITE HOUSE

SUBJECT: Public Remarks for the President's Meeting
With General Secretary Gorbachev

We are providing for the President's use a draft statement for his departure from Andrews Air Force Base on November 16 as well as draft toasts for the two dinner events.


for Nicholas Platt
Executive Secretary

UNCLASSIFIED

~~SECRET~~

President Reagan's Departure Statement

Andrews Air Force Base, November 16, 1985

As we depart for Geneva, I recall a radio broadcast which President Franklin D. Roosevelt prepared shortly before his death, but unfortunately was never able to deliver. In it, he spelled out America's hopes for the postwar world. He said that "more than an end to war, we want an end to the beginning of all wars." That is still a worthy goal to which all Americans subscribe. It will be my guiding star in Geneva and beyond.

I am convinced that, despite the real and deep differences which divide us, it is possible for the United States and the Soviet Union to work for more productive relations. I have no illusions that we will be able to resolve all or even most of our differences in a short set of meetings in Geneva. But we must make a start. I believe that General Secretary Gorbachev and I should aim to develop a specific work program to guide our ongoing efforts across a range of issues including arms control, regional issues, human rights, and bilateral matters.

For our part, we intend to give the Geneva meeting our best effort. We will be firm in defending our interests. We will leave no stone unturned in our search for peace. Above all, we will be patient. With your prayers and support I am sure we will succeed. Thank you very much and God bless you all.

DECLASSIFIED
E.O. 12356, Sec. 3.4(b)
White House Guidelines, Feb. 24, 1983

~~SECRET~~
~~DECL: OADR~~

BY RP, NARA, Date 8/16/95

~~SECRET~~

President's Dinner Toast

(First night)

Mr. General Secretary, Mr. Foreign Minister, Honored Guests:

On behalf of the entire U.S. delegation let me say how pleased we are to be here in Geneva with you. We have been looking forward to this meeting and preparing very hard for it. This is because we believe we now have an unusual opportunity to advance the U.S.-Soviet relationship. I do not think I exaggerate when I say that no other relationship between countries has such immense importance for world peace as our own.

At the same time, we must also recognize that if we fail, we have failed before all of humanity and future generations. Let us seize this chance to chart a peaceful and more cooperative course for the future. Our discussions in New York, Washington, and now in Geneva reflect, I believe, our agreement on the importance of this opportunity.

~~SECRET~~

DECLASSIFIED
E.O. 12354, Sec. 3.4(b)
White House Guidelines, Feb. 24, 1983
BY RP, NARA, Date 8/16/95

~~SECRET~~

~~-2-~~

Mr. General Secretary, as I told you today, we have come to Geneva ready to take practical and forward-looking steps in all areas of the U.S.-Soviet agenda. This is particularly true in the area of arms control. I am committed to building a strategic relationship between our two countries which provides security, stability and confidence to both sides. I want to see whether we can turn away from the threat of mass death and destruction which overhangs our peoples. We do not seek unilateral advantage in this area, but rather a sustainable balance of peace. The proposals I have brought to you today demonstrate our commitment to this goal.

Let us recognize that the levels of armaments which have accumulated over the years result from fundamental political differences. But, serious as they are, these differences are not etched in stone; they are not impervious to determined human efforts. Let us dedicate ourselves to addressing and, if possible, resolving the mistrust, misperceptions and suspicion that have clouded our relations since 1945. Let us confront the painful questions that go to the heart of our relations:

-- In many parts of the world we approach local conflicts from different points of view. Can we act to ensure these local problems do not threaten peace between our countries? I think we can. We have done so in the past.

~~SECRET~~

~~SECRET~~

-3-

-- America's fundamental political and social beliefs rest upon the freedom and dignity of the individual. The Soviet Union has said it was founded on high ideals of humanity. How can our dialogue advance these basic principles of human rights?

--Finally, we realize that normal relations include trade; and greater opportunities for contacts between peoples. We will both benefit from progress in this area. How can we best proceed?

Mr. General Secretary, the U.S.-Soviet relationship falls short of what we would like it to be. Many of our most fundamental differences cannot be solved overnight. Yet we can and must act responsibly to build a relationship of peace.

Forty years ago our peoples celebrated the end to the most terrible war in human history. On May 8 in Times Square and on May 9 on Red Square, our peoples expressed their joy in victory and hope for a better world. The world of the past forty years has not been what we hoped. Let us now fulfill the dreams expressed then. Let us dedicate ourselves to building a better world for our children and grandchildren.

Mr. General Secretary, honored guests, please join me in a toast to a better world.

~~SECRET~~

President's Dinner Toast

(second night)

Mr. General Secretary, Mr. Foreign Minister, Mr. Secretary,
Honored Guests:

For two days we have been engaged in intensive and productive discussions. We have considered an immense range of issues, including some of the most vital problems facing the world today. On some issues we have made progress. On others we have noted areas on which we can work in the future. In the process we have certainly made our staffs fulfill and overfulfill their work plans.

Mr. General Secretary, in the United States we believe that there is nothing beyond the capacity of the human race to accomplish. We can and must better the lives of our peoples. We should be able to cooperate to benefit the entire world. At the same time, we recognize that history has placed in our hands means of destruction so terrible, so awesome, that their use could endanger the existence of humanity, indeed life as we know it on our planet.

~~SECRET~~

~~SECRET~~

-2-

You and I, Mr. General Secretary, have been made the temporary custodians of this awesome power. Our responsibility must therefore encompass not only the national interests of our respective countries, but the basic questions of life and death for all people. Old dogmas and formulas cannot help us. Stirring up suspicion and passion cannot help us. We must look beyond the interests and issues of the moment and consider deeper, truer matters. If our discussions have helped this process, than I shall return to my country satisfied.

American presidents have met with Soviet leaders on many occasions -- in alliance against a common enemy; when victory was at hand; and, less happily, in times of mistrust and bitterness. Yet every meeting has stirred hopes among the peoples of the world that we shall find the wisdom and courage to find the road away from war to peace.

Can we build a relationship strong and stable enough to avoid the cycles of euphoria and disillusionment that have marked it since 1945? I think so. We have moved toward this goal during the last two days. Our talks have been a step toward building a firmer, more durable relationship, and thus I

~~SECRET~~

~~SECRET~~

-3-

would consider them successful. But they are only one step on a road that began in 1933 and stretches indefinitely into the future. The part of the journey that begins tomorrow, when we leave Geneva, is as important as that we have taken over the past two days.

Here in Geneva we have planted the seeds of hope in the future. We have set for our negotiators the task of addressing our nuclear arsenals; discussing regional conflicts over which we differ; finding ways of advancing basic principles of human dignity; and finding agreements that can bring our peoples closer together.[specifics to be provided]

Mr. General Secretary, our nations have no greater treasure than our peoples. It is in their interest that we have met and negotiated here in Geneva. Certainly there is no more appropriate way to conclude this meal together than joining together in a toast to the Soviet and American peoples, those living and those yet unborn. May they grow, live and love in peace.

~~SECRET~~

1352P

Drafted: EUR/ SOV/ MULTI:EEDELMAN ^{EE}
11/6/85 x9806 1414P

Cleared: EUR/ SOV: JTefft ^{JTE}
EUR/ SOV: BLPasco ^{BP}
EUR: WWoessner ^{WW}

137



S/S 8532972
United States Department of State

Washington, D.C. 20520

9003

November 6, 1985

MEMORANDUM FOR ROBERT C. MCFARLANE
THE WHITE HOUSE

Subject: Draft Statement for the President's Arrival in
Geneva, November 16, 1985

We have attached, per request, draft remarks for the
President's use in Geneva.

Nicholas Platt
Nicholas Platt
Executive Secretary

~~SECRET~~

President Reagan's Arrival Statement

Geneva, November 18, 1985

President Furgler, may I extend to you and the Swiss people my deep appreciation for helping make possible these meetings between the United States and the Soviet Union. It is particularly fitting that this meeting should take place on Swiss soil. Switzerland has long been a leader in the search for international peace and has generously provided her territory for international conferences and organizations and her services for the arbitration and mediation of disputes. The United States and Switzerland share many fundamental values -- a commitment to democracy, freedom of the individual, human rights, and the peaceful resolution of disputes. Nancy and I are delighted to be here and we thank you for your warm hospitality.

A little more than thirty years ago, President Eisenhower met with Soviet leaders here. The cordial atmosphere at that meeting gave rise to the "Spirit of Geneva." As more than one shrewd observer has noted, that "spirit," unfortunately evaporated when exposed to the "clear, dry air of reality." Today we know from bitter experience that the world needs more from us than smiles and spirit.

We have based our dealings with the Soviet Union on realism and strength and will continue to do so. As Thomas Jefferson

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DECL. OADR

DECLASSIFIED
E.O. 12958, Sec. 3.4(h)
White House Guidelines, Feb. 24, 1983

PP , FOIA, Date 8/16/95

said, "we confide in our strength, without boasting of it; we respect that of others, without fearing it." We want to make our dialogue with the Soviet Union more productive. I believe this requires the "fresh start" in our relations which I called for recently before the United Nations General Assembly. We seek a real give-and-take discussion on arms control, regional issues, human rights, and bilateral matters.

The differences which divide us are deep. We will not overcome them in a few days or even a few weeks. As I said more than a year ago, we share a common interest in avoiding war and reducing the level of arms. With that in mind we will make every effort here to identify areas of common interest and build upon them. Our interest is not in reaching agreements that will paper over our differences, but in finding ways to reach concrete solutions to real problems.

Reinhold Niebuhr once wrote that "nothing worth doing is completed in our lifetime; therefore, we must be saved by hope." If we are successful here in Geneva, we can make a new beginning which will provide that hope to all our people. We are ready to get down to work.

1402P

11/7

Peter:

F&I. Late last night,
I drafted this memo to
Bud as an option to your
proposal. Bill Martin suggested
that I try to get the flavor
of the Henkel approach.

Both your memo and
mine went to Bud with
an explanation from Martin
that my proposal tried to
address the problem before we
left Washington and that your
(lover)

proposal that addresses the
problem if the officials
get to Geneva. Both
Bill and I see the
two memoranda as a
package and not
contradictory.

John

RONALD W. REAGAN LIBRARY

THIS FORM MARKS THE FILE LOCATION OF ITEM NUMBER 2 LISTED ON THE
WITHDRAWAL SHEET AT THE FRONT OF THIS FOLDER.

I

NATIONAL SECURITY COUNCIL
WASHINGTON, D.C. 20506

MEMORANDUM FOR FREDERICK J. RYAN

FROM: WILLIAM F. MARTIN

SUBJECT: Appointment Request: Women for a Meaningful Summit

NSC has reviewed the request from Women for a Meaningful Summit for a meeting with the President. Although this appears to be a serious group, it is the NSC's view that the press of events between now and the Geneva meeting rules out a meeting with the President or high-level administration official.

Attachments

Tab A Ryan to Martin memo
Tab B Letter to the President from Women for a Meaningful
Summit

A

8223

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

MEMORANDUM

October 9, 1985

TO: WILLIAM MARTIN

FROM: FREDERICK J. RYAN, JR., DIRECTOR
PRESIDENTIAL APPOINTMENTS AND SCHEDULING

SUBJ: REQUEST FOR SCHEDULING RECOMMENDATION

PLEASE PROVIDE YOUR RECOMMENDATION ON THE FOLLOWING
SCHEDULING REQUEST UNDER CONSIDERATION:

EVENT: Meeting with "Women for a Meaningful Summit" an ad hoc
coalition of prominent women and women's organizations

DATE: Prior to the Summit

LOCATION: The White House

BACKGROUND: See attached

YOUR RECOMMENDATION:

Accept ___ Regret ___ Surrogate ___ Message ___ Other ___
Priority ___
Routine ___

IF RECOMMENDATION IS TO ACCEPT, PLEASE CITE REASONS:

RESPONSE DUE: OCTOBER 18¹⁸ 14, 1985

TO ANN BROCK *AB*

B

340559



September 26, 1985

President Ronald Reagan
White House
Washington, D.C. 20500

Dear Mr. President,

Women for a Meaningful Summit is an ad hoc coalition of prominent women and women's organizations which endorses the enclosed Statement regarding the upcoming Summit Meeting between yourself and USSR General Secretary Mikhail Gorbachev.

On behalf of the coalition, we are requesting a meeting, prior to your departure to Geneva for the Summit, with you and a small, representative delegation from our coalition. We would like to meet with you to express our hopes for the Summit as a most significant opportunity for the US and USSR to reverse the arms race and improve relations and cooperation between the two nations.

We applaud your efforts to meet with General Secretary Gorbachev to discuss the challenges facing both nations. The global community recognizes the importance of this critical moment in history; it looks towards the leadership of the Superpowers to seize the opportunity of the Summit and take positive, concrete steps to peacefully obtain global security. Mutual and verifiable moratoria on the testing of nuclear warheads on earth and the testing of anti-satellite weapons in space is such a step. The Summit is also an opportunity for the leaders of the US and USSR to pledge to resume, immediately upon adjournment of the Summit, negotiations with Great Britain for a Comprehensive Test Ban Treaty.

A representative of Women for a Meaningful Summit will contact your appointments secretary within the next week to arrange a meeting time. Should your schedule not permit a personal meeting with our coalition's delegation, we will be able to meet with your designee, Secretary of State George Shultz or National Security Advisor Robert McFarlane.

We have requested a meeting with Mr. Gorbachev to express to him the same concerns and hopes we are expressing to you. We look forward to meeting with you personally in this critical moment of history.

Sincerely,

Vera Kistiakowsky *Mary Dent Crisp* *Susan Herschkowitz*

Vera Kistiakowsky
Professor of Physics,
Massachusetts Institute
of Technology

Mary Dent Crisp
former Co-Chair,
Republican National
Committee

Susan Herschkowitz
Coordinator,
Women for a Meaningful
Summit



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Burr

SEP 25 1985

September 20, 1985

Mrs Ted Stevens
Us Senate Sh522
Washington, D. C. 20510

Dear Mrs Stevens:

The leaders of the Superpowers - the United States and the Soviet Union - will hold an historic Summit Meeting in Geneva, Switzerland November 19th - 20th, 1985. This Summit, the first between US President Ronald Reagan and a Soviet leader, USSR General Secretary Mikhail Gorbachev, in this decade, is a most significant opportunity for the US and USSR to reverse the arms race and improve relations and cooperation between the two nations. Both leaders will be challenged to strengthen their nations' mutual security - and the security of all nations - by immediately resuming negotiations for a Comprehensive Test Ban Treaty to end all nuclear explosions.

Prominent women and women's organizations have joined in ad hoc coalition, urging President Reagan and General Secretary Mikhail Gorbachev to seize this opportunity and take real, concrete steps to reverse the nuclear arms race. On behalf of the coalition, Women for a Meaningful Summit, we would like to invite you to join us and a national delegation of prominent women traveling to Geneva from November 17th - 21st to personally express this important message.

The delegation will convey this message to President Reagan and General Secretary Gorbachev in the following ways:

- * meetings with the Superpower leaders and/or senior members of both governments, at which time the enclosed Statement and petition, which have been endorsed internationally, will be formally presented;
- * smaller delegation visits with ambassadors of other nations which have Geneva consulates;
- * a series of issue and press briefing sessions with national and international media;
- * briefing and information exchange sessions with delegations of prominent women from other nations; and
- * the "tying" of The Ribbon at a symbolic Geneva landmark.

Women for a Meaningful Summit will be responsible for the logistics of coordinating delegation activities. As a member of the delegation, you would be responsible for:

- 1) your travel and lodging expenses to, from, and at Geneva (assistance with making those arrangements will be available);
- 2) participating in a delegation briefing session in Washington, D.C. on Saturday, November 16th; and
- 3) endorsing the enclosed Statement to be presented to both President Reagan and General Secretary Gorbachev.

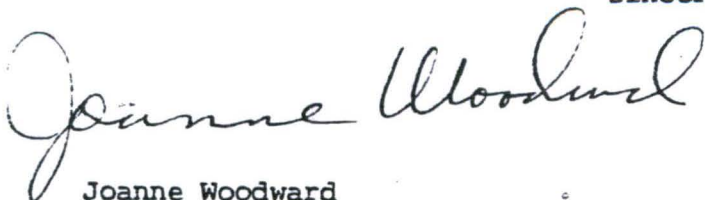
It is our intention to make the delegation a strong, substantive and important political presence during the Summit talks. Your leadership will add to the high quality and seriousness of the delegation's membership. We also appreciate your suggestions of colleagues who may be interested in joining the delegation.

Finally, we have only 59 days until the delegation leaves for Geneva. A minimum of \$100,800 in tax-deductible monies must be raised within that time to absolutely ensure the success of our momentous mission. Your tax-deductible contribution, or your help in identifying tax-deductible monies, will be so important to our success.

The incredible shortness of time in which to plan the delegation's efforts requires us to urge your very quick response to our invitation. An Endorsement & Participation Response form is enclosed (if you are unable to join us in Geneva, there are other ways in which you can participate - just note on the form what you are able to do). Please return the form by October 1, 1985. We need to have this form on file in order to publicly use your name in association with the Statement, especially in any paid advertising campaign. Directly contact Susan Herschkowitz, Coordinator of Women for a Meaningful Summit, at 202/822-7492, who will respond to any questions, ideas or concerns you may have.

An enormous task lies before us. We look forward to working with you in this moment of history.

Sincerely,



Joanne Woodward



Mary Dent Crisp

Vera Kistiakowsky

Vera Kistiakowsky

LaDonna Harris

LaDonna Harris

Pat Schroeder

Hon. Patricia Schroeder

Coretta Scott King

Coretta Scott King

Helen Caldicott

Hellen Caldicott

Betty Bumpers

Betty Bumpers

Bella Abzug

Bella Abzug

Barbara Boxer

Hon. Barbara Boxer

Jane Alexander

Jane Alexander

Frances T. Farenthold

Frances T. Farenthold

NATIONAL SECURITY COUNCIL
WASHINGTON, D.C. 20506ACTION

November 7, 1985

MEMORANDUM FOR ROBERT C. McFARLANE

FROM:

PETER R. SOMMER *Peter*

SUBJECT:

Participation in Belgian Events

In contrast to Geneva, I believe participation in Brussels events is fairly straightforward, and that we can move immediately to a Martin-Henkel memo.

Recommendation

That you review and approve the Tab I Martin-to-Henkel memo.

Agree _____

Modify as follows: _____

JSM
Johnathan Miller and Bill Martin concur

Attachment

Tab I Memorandum, Martin to Henkel

NATIONAL SECURITY COUNCIL
WASHINGTON, D.C. 20506

MEMORANDUM FOR WILLIAM HENKEL

FROM: WILLIAM F. MARTIN

SUBJECT: Participation in Brussels Events

There follows participants in various Brussels events:

Brussels, Belgium, November 21, 1985

Official US Delegation for Belgian Arrival Ceremony (3:30 pm)

The President and Mrs. Reagan
Secretary Shultz
Ambassador and Mrs. Swaebe
Ambassador and Mrs. Abshire
Ambassador and Mrs. Middendorf
Donald Regan
Robert McFarlane
Patrick Buchanan
Larry Speakes
Dennis Thomas
Assistant Secretary Ridgway
Jack Matlock
Peter Sommer

Private Meeting (3:40 p.m.)

The President
King Baudouin

Expanded Meeting (3:45 p.m.)

The President
Secretary Shultz
Donald Regan
Robert McFarlane
Assistant Secretary Ridgway
Ambassador Swaebe
Peter Sommer (notetaker)

King Baudouin
Prime Minister Martens
Foreign Minister Tindemans
(Understand Belgians may wish to add other Ministers)

NATO Consultations (4:15 p.m.)*

The President (at table)

Secretary Shultz
Donald Regan
Robert McFarlane
Ambassador Abshire
Notetaker TBD
USSS

* Understand that current arrangements are 1 + 6 for U.S. and 1 + 4 for all others. If alternative of 3 + 9 (or total of 12) is adopted, U.S. participants would be:

The President (at table)

Secretary Shultz
Donald Regan
Robert McFarlane
Ambassador Abshire
Assistant Secretary Ridgway
Paul Nitze
Jack Matlock
Peter Sommer
Deputy Chief of Mission Ledogar
Larry Speakes
USSS

NATIONAL SECURITY COUNCIL
WASHINGTON, D.C. 20506

November 7, 1985

MEMORANDUM FOR NICHOLAS PLATT
Executive Secretary
Department of State

COLONEL DAVID R. BROWN
Executive Secretary
Department of Defense

MR. WILLIAM B. STAPLES
Executive Secretary
Arms Control and Disarmament Agency

MR. C. WILLIAM LASALLE
Chief of the Executive Secretariat
United States Information Agency

SUBJECT: Travel to Geneva

Given the short time remaining before the President meets with General Secretary Gorbachev in Geneva, we need to have accurate information on prospective travel by U.S. officials to Geneva between now and November 25. Please provide by close of business November 8 a complete list of personnel whose travel is subject to the President's memorandum dated February 22, 1982, so that we may process all the travel requests expeditiously.

William F. Martin
Executive Secretary

RECEIVED 07 NOV 85 20

TO PLATT, N

FROM MARTIN

DOCDATE 07 NOV 85

KEYWORDS: USSR

SWITZERLAND

AP

SUBJECT: REQUEST FOR LIST OF PERSONNEL TRAVELING TO GENEVA RE SUMMIT
SUMMIT

ACTION: MARTIN SGD MEMO

DUE: 12 NOV 85 STATUS D FILES WH

FOR ACTION

FOR CONCURRENCE

FOR INFO

MATLOCK

MANDEL

RAYMOND

STEINER

KORENGOLD
MILLER

COMMENTS

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FILE

WH

(C) *OK*

NATIONAL SECURITY COUNCIL
WASHINGTON, D.C. 20506

November 7, 1985

MEMORANDUM FOR NICHOLAS PLATT
Executive Secretary
Department of State

COLONEL DAVID R. BROWN
Executive Secretary
Department of Defense

MR. WILLIAM B. STAPLES
Executive Secretary
Arms Control and Disarmament Agency

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William F. Martin
William F. Martin
Executive Secretary

NATIONAL SECURITY COUNCIL
WASHINGTON, D.C. 20506

~~LIMITED OFFICIAL USE~~

November 7, 1985

ACTION

MEMORANDUM FOR WILLIAM F. MARTIN

FROM: JACK F. MATLOCK *JFM*
SUBJECT: Soviet Films for the President

As I noted to you in my memo of October 30, I think it would be extremely useful for the President to see several Soviet films before his November meeting with Gorbachev. Last week I recommended that he see "Moscow Doesn't Believe in Tears." This week I suggest he watch "The Cranes are Flying", an extremely useful film for understanding Soviet perceptions of World War II.

Attached at Tab I is a Schedule Proposal requesting that the film be placed on the President's calendar for this weekend, November 9-10, for viewing at his leisure. The film runs approximately 90 minutes.

JFM
Jonathan Miller concurs.

RECOMMENDATION:

That you forward the attached Schedule Proposal to Fred Ryan.

Approve _____

Disapprove _____

Attachments:

Tab I Schedule Proposal
Tab A Synopsis Card

~~LIMITED OFFICIAL USE~~ *mjd*

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

SCHEDULE PROPOSAL

TO: FREDERICK J. RYAN, Director
Presidential Appointments and Scheduling

FROM: WILLIAM F. MARTIN

REQUEST: Soviet Film showing

PURPOSE: To assist in preparing the President for his
November meeting with Gorbachev

BACKGROUND: Several films were obtained from the Soviet
Embassy and previewed by Jack Matlock's
staff. Two were selected as useful
preparation for the November meeting with
Gorbachev. The first of these films was made
available for viewing last weekend at Camp
David. It is recommended that the second
film be shown this weekend.

DATE & TIME: November 9 or 10 at the President's leisure
DURATION: 90 minutes

LOCATION: White House

PARTICIPANTS: The President and Mrs. Reagan

OUTLINE OF EVENTS: View films

RECOMMENDED BY: Jack F. Matlock

OPPOSED BY: None

Attachment:

Tab A Film Snyposis

THE CRANES ARE FLYING

THE STORY DEPICTS WORLD WAR II'S IMPACT ON THE LIVES OF TWO YOUNG LOVERS SEPARATED BY THE CONFLICT. THE YOUNG MAN IS CALLED TO THE FRONT, AND HIS FIANCE TRIES UNSUCCESSFULLY TO REMAIN FAITHFUL DURING HIS LONG ABSENCE. IT IS A MOVING DRAMA WHICH ENDS BY CALLING ON ALL SOVIET CITIZENS TO DRAW RENEWED INSPIRATION FROM THE SACRIFICES OF THE WAR'S VICTIMS.

RP

NSC/S PROFILE

~~SECRET~~

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RECEIVED 07 NOV 85 09

TO MCFARLANE

FROM PLATT, N

DOCDATE 06 NOV 85

PLATT, N

06 NOV 85

URGENT

KEYWORDS USSR

SPEECHES

GORBACHEV, MIKHAIL

MEDIA

PUBLIC STATEMENT

SUMMIT

AP

SUBJECT: PUBLIC REMARKS RE PRES MTG W/ GORBACHEV / DRAFT STATEMENT RE PRES
ARRIVAL GENEVA 16 NOV

ACTION: MEMO MARTIN TO ELLIOTT / CHEW DUE: 07 NOV 85 STATUS S FILES DA

FOR ACTION

FOR CONCURRENCE

FOR INFO

SESTANOVICH

STEINER

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PEARSON

COBB

MATLOCK

MARTIN

MILLER

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MANDEL

COMMENTS *** COMMENTS DUE BY NOON TODAY ***

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S/S 8533048

United States Department of State

Washington, D.C. 20520

9003


November 6, 1985

UNCLASSIFIED
(with Secret attachments)

MEMORANDUM FOR MR. ROBERT C. MCFARLANE
THE WHITE HOUSE

SUBJECT: Public Remarks for the President's Meeting
With General Secretary Gorbachev

We are providing for the President's use a draft statement for his departure from Andrews Air Force Base on November 16 as well as draft toasts for the two dinner events.


for Nicholas Platt
Executive Secretary

UNCLASSIFIED

~~SECRET~~

DECLASSIFIED
E.O. 12958, Sec. 1.4(h)
1995
BY RP NARA, Date 8/16/95

President Reagan's Departure Statement
Andrews Air Force Base, November 16, 1985

As we depart for Geneva, I recall a radio broadcast which President Franklin D. Roosevelt prepared shortly before his death, but unfortunately was never able to deliver. In it, he spelled out America's hopes for the postwar world. He said that "more than an end to war, we want an end to the beginning of all wars." That is still a worthy goal to which all Americans subscribe. It will be my guiding star in Geneva and beyond.

I am convinced that, despite the real and deep differences which divide us, it is possible for the United States and the Soviet Union to work for more productive relations. I have no illusions that we will be able to resolve all or even most of our differences in a short set of meetings in Geneva. But we must make a start. I believe that General Secretary Gorbachev and I should aim to develop a specific work program to guide our ongoing efforts across a range of issues including arms control, regional issues, human rights, and bilateral matters.

For our part, we intend to give the Geneva meeting our best effort. We will be firm in defending our interests. We will leave no stone unturned in our search for peace. Above all, we will be patient. With your prayers and support I am sure we will succeed. Thank you very much and God bless you all.

~~SECRET~~
~~DECL: OADR~~

SECRET

President's Dinner Toast

(First night)

Mr. General Secretary, Mr. Foreign Minister, Honored Guests:

On behalf of the entire U.S. delegation let me say how pleased we are to be here in Geneva with you. We have been looking forward to this meeting and preparing very hard for it. This is because we believe we now have an unusual opportunity to advance the U.S.-Soviet relationship. I do not think I exaggerate when I say that no other relationship between countries has such immense importance for world peace as our own.

At the same time, we must also recognize that if we fail, we have failed before all of humanity and future generations. Let us seize this chance to chart a peaceful and more cooperative course for the future. Our discussions in New York, Washington, and now in Geneva reflect, I believe, our agreement on the importance of this opportunity.

SECRET

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-2-

Mr. General Secretary, as I told you today, we have come to Geneva ready to take practical and forward-looking steps in all areas of the U.S.-Soviet agenda. This is particularly true in the area of arms control. I am committed to building a strategic relationship between our two countries which provides security, stability and confidence to both sides. I want to see whether we can turn away from the threat of mass death and destruction which overhangs our peoples. We do not seek unilateral advantage in this area, but rather a sustainable balance of peace. The proposals I have brought to you today demonstrate our commitment to this goal.

Let us recognize that the levels of armaments which have accumulated over the years result from fundamental political differences. But, serious as they are, these differences are not etched in stone; they are not impervious to determined human efforts. Let us dedicate ourselves to addressing and, if possible, resolving the mistrust, misperceptions and suspicion that have clouded our relations since 1945. Let us confront the painful questions that go to the heart of our relations:

-- In many parts of the world we approach local conflicts from different points of view. Can we act to ensure these local problems do not threaten peace between our countries? I think we can. We have done so in the past.

~~SECRET~~

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-3-

-- America's fundamental political and social beliefs rest upon the freedom and dignity of the individual. The Soviet Union has said it was founded on high ideals of humanity. How can our dialogue advance these basic principles of human rights?

--Finally, we realize that normal relations include trade; and greater opportunities for contacts between peoples. We will both benefit from progress in this area. How can we best proceed?

Mr. General Secretary, the U.S.-Soviet relationship falls short of what we would like it to be. Many of our most fundamental differences cannot be solved overnight. Yet we can and must act responsibly to build a relationship of peace.

Forty years ago our peoples celebrated the end to the most terrible war in human history. On May 8 in Times Square and on May 9 on Red Square, our peoples expressed their joy in victory and hope for a better world. The world of the past forty years has not been what we hoped. Let us now fulfill the dreams expressed then. Let us dedicate ourselves to building a better world for our children and grandchildren.

Mr. General Secretary, honored guests, please join me in a toast to a better world.

~~SECRET~~

President's Dinner Toast

(second night)

Mr. General Secretary, Mr. Foreign Minister, Mr. Secretary,
Honored Guests:

For two days we have been engaged in intensive and productive discussions. We have considered an immense range of issues, including some of the most vital problems facing the world today. On some issues we have made progress. On others we have noted areas on which we can work in the future. In the process we have certainly made our staffs fulfill and overfulfill their work plans.

Mr. General Secretary, in the United States we believe that there is nothing beyond the capacity of the human race to accomplish. We can and must better the lives of our peoples. We should be able to cooperate to benefit the entire world. At the same time, we recognize that history has placed in our hands means of destruction so terrible, so awesome, that their use could endanger the existance of humanity, indeed life as we know it on our planet.

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-2-

You and I, Mr. General Secretary, have been made the temporary custodians of this awesome power. Our responsibility must therefore encompass not only the national interests of our respective countries, but the basic questions of life and death for all people. Old dogmas and formulas cannot help us. Stirring up suspicion and passion cannot help us. We must look beyond the interests and issues of the moment and consider deeper, truer matters. If our discussions have helped this process, than I shall return to my country satisfied.

American presidents have met with Soviet leaders on many occasions -- in alliance against a common enemy; when victory was at hand; and, less happily, in times of mistrust and bitterness. Yet every meeting has stirred hopes among the peoples of the world that we shall find the wisdom and courage to find the road away from war to peace.

Can we build a relationship strong and stable enough to avoid the cycles of euphoria and disillusionment that have marked it since 1945? I think so. We have moved toward this goal during the last two days. Our talks have been a step toward building a firmer, more durable relationship, and thus I

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-3-

would consider them successful. But they are only one step on a road that began in 1933 and stretches indefinitely into the future. The part of the journey that begins tomorrow, when we leave Geneva, is as important as that we have taken over the past two days.

Here in Geneva we have planted the seeds of hope in the future. We have set for our negotiators the task of addressing our nuclear arsenals; discussing regional conflicts over which we differ; finding ways of advancing basic principles of human dignity; and finding agreements that can bring our peoples closer together.[specifics to be provided]

Mr. General Secretary, our nations have no greater treasure than our peoples. It is in their interest that we have met and negotiated here in Geneva. Certainly there is no more appropriate way to conclude this meal together than joining together in a toast to the Soviet and American peoples, those living and those yet unborn. May they grow, live and love in peace.

SECRET

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EUR/ SOV: BLPasco
EUR: WWoessner

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S/S 8532972
United States Department of State
Washington, D.C. 20520 9003

November 6, 1985

MEMORANDUM FOR ROBERT C. MCFARLANE
THE WHITE HOUSE

Subject: Draft Statement for the President's Arrival in
Geneva, November 16, 1985

We have attached, per request, draft remarks for the
President's use in Geneva.

Nicholas Platt
Nicholas Platt
Executive Secretary

SECRET

President Reagan's Arrival Statement

Geneva, November 18, 1985

President Furgler, may I extend to you and the Swiss people my deep appreciation for helping make possible these meetings between the United States and the Soviet Union. It is particularly fitting that this meeting should take place on Swiss soil. Switzerland has long been a leader in the search for international peace and has generously provided her territory for international conferences and organizations and her services for the arbitration and mediation of disputes. The United States and Switzerland share many fundamental values -- a commitment to democracy, freedom of the individual, human rights, and the peaceful resolution of disputes. Nancy and I are delighted to be here and we thank you for your warm hospitality.

A little more than thirty years ago, President Eisenhower met with Soviet leaders here. The cordial atmosphere at that meeting gave rise to the "Spirit of Geneva." As more than one shrewd observer has noted, that "spirit," unfortunately evaporated when exposed to the "clear, dry air of reality." Today we know from bitter experience that the world needs more from us than smiles and spirit.

We have based our dealings with the Soviet Union on realism and strength and will continue to do so. As Thomas Jefferson

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DECL: OADR

DECLASSIFIED
E.O. 12958, Sec. 3.4(h)
White House Guidelines, Feb. 24, 1993
BY NARA, Date 8/25/95

said, "we confide in our strength, without boasting of it; we respect that of others, without fearing it." We want to make our dialogue with the Soviet Union more productive. I believe this requires the "fresh start" in our relations which I called for recently before the United Nations General Assembly. We seek a real give-and-take discussion on arms control, regional issues, human rights, and bilateral matters.

The differences which divide us are deep. We will not overcome them in a few days or even a few weeks. As I said more than a year ago, we share a common interest in avoiding war and reducing the level of arms. With that in mind we will make every effort here to identify areas of common interest and build upon them. Our interest is not in reaching agreements that will paper over our differences, but in finding ways to reach concrete solutions to real problems.

Reinhold Niebuhr once wrote that "nothing worth doing is completed in our lifetime; therefore, we must be saved by hope." If we are successful here in Geneva, we can make a new beginning which will provide that hope to all our people. We are ready to get down to work.

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