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WITHDRAWAL SHEET

Ronald Reagan Library

DOCUMENT NO. AND TYPE	SUBJECT/TITLE	DATE	RESTRICTION
1. memo (8999)	From Johnathan Miller to Robert McFarlane re: Proposed US Participants for Geneva. (2 pp.)	11/6/85	P1/P5
2. memo (8927)	From Peter Sommer to Robert McFarlane re: Proposed Participants for Geneva Events. (2 pp.)	11/5/85	P1/P5
COLLECTION: Coordination Office, NSC: Records, 1981-88			rs
FILE FOLDER: 156 To Geneva (11/16-21/85) File 2 (6) [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].
- 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].

Miller:

Document No. 8974 add-on

WHITE HOUSE STAFFING MEMORANDUM

DATE: 11/7/85 ACTION/CONCURRENCE/COMMENT DUE BY: --

SUBJECT: RADIO TALK: ADDRESS TO THE SOVIET PEOPLE - VOA
(November 7 - 6:30 pm 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 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"/>	SVAHN	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
DANIELS	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	THOMAS	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
FIELDING	<input checked="" 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:

The attached has been forwarded to the President.

RESPONSE:

David L. Chew
Staff Secretary
Ext. 2702

(NSC/Elliott)
November 7, 1985
6:30 p.m.

RECEIVED
NOV -7 PM 6:48
PRESIDENTIAL RADIO TALK: ADDRESS TO THE SOVIET PEOPLE
VOICE OF AMERICA
SATURDAY, NOVEMBER 9, 1985

My fellow Americans, we're expanding the format of our radio broadcast today. During the next 10 minutes, I'll be speaking to the Russian people over the Voice of America about the upcoming Geneva Summit. My words will be directed to them, but I want you to hear what I say.

Good evening, this is Ronald Reagan, President of the United States, speaking to you from Washington. I'd like to speak about my upcoming meeting with General Secretary Gorbachev in Geneva and my hopes for a better relationship between our two governments.

Your leaders can freely appear on American radio and television, and be interviewed by our magazines and newspapers. So I was grateful for my recent and -- as you know -- rare opportunity to speak with representatives of your press -- the first time in 24 years such an interview has taken place. But the interview was published only in *Izvestia*, and unfortunately there were serious omissions.

So I wish to speak to you personally, not only as President and proud citizen of America, but also as a husband, father, and grandfather who shares your deepest hopes -- that all our children can live and prosper in a world of peace.

I grew up in a small town in America's heartland, where values of faith in God, freedom, family, friends, and concern for one's neighbors were shared by all, values you also share. My

family was not wealthy and I worked as a lifeguard and in construction labor. Then I became a radio broadcaster, before going to Hollywood where I was elected head of our professional actors guild. I've always been proud to say I'm the only American President who was also president of a labor union.

Back then, I had no intention of engaging in national politics. But America is a great country filled with opportunities for people to follow their dreams. In all those years that followed, including my years as Governor of California, and as President, I have not forgotten the values I learned as a boy. Nor have my fellow Americans.

Now, I know that much has been written in your press about America's hostile intentions toward you. I reject these distortions. Americans are a peace-loving people; we do not threaten your nation and never will. The American people are tolerant, slow to anger, but staunch in defense of their liberties and, like you, their country.

More than once, we have joined to oppose a common enemy. During our war for independence, Russia provided assistance to the distant American colonists. A century-and-a-half later, we joined together to defeat the common enemy of Fascism.

Even before we entered that war, America was supplying massive quantities of food and equipment to those fighting the Nazis. We provided 14,795 aircraft to your forces, 7,056 tanks, more than half a million vehicles, and more than 6 million tons of food and other staples. I'm told one can still see some old Studebakers in Russian streets.

Americans will never forget the valor, pain, and, at last, the joy of victory that our peoples shared. I remember President Roosevelt's praise for the Russian people's heroism. How can any of us alive then forget that terrible year of 1941 when the Nazis were repulsed at the gates of Moscow, the courage of Leningraders during the 870-day siege, the victory at Stalingrad, or our historic meeting on the Elbe in 1945?

Americans fought for 4 years on all fronts and many lie buried in Northern Africa, Europe, Burma, China, the Pacific islands, and at the bottom of the sea. Some are buried on Soviet soil -- in the Hero City of Murmansk, where they had brought precious supplies through the treacherous convoy route.

Yet, after that victory, Americans gave generously to help rebuild wartorn countries, even to former enemies, because we had made war on a vicious ideology, not on a people. And we demonstrated our desire for peace by rapidly demobilizing. At the end of 1945, we had an armed force of almost 12 million; by 1948, we had reduced that number to less than 1.5 million.

Immediately after World War II, when we were the only country with nuclear weapons, we proposed giving those weapons up altogether to an international authority so that no country would have such destructive power at its disposal. What a pity this idea was not accepted.

Today, we must both face the challenge of eliminating nuclear weapons. I have said many times, and will say again to you: a nuclear war cannot be won and must never be fought. I

pray God that we can rid the world of these dangerous weapons, in part by finding a reliable defense against them.

Our negotiators in Geneva are working hard to reach a break-through. I am pleased that the Soviet Union finally responded to our original proposals. We studied the response carefully and replied quickly. These are complicated negotiations and satisfactory results will take long, hard work.

Let me be clear about our research and testing program on strategic defense technologies. Our goal is to make the world safer through development of non-nuclear security shields that would protect people by preventing weapons from reaching their targets and, hopefully, render nuclear weapons obsolete. You should be aware that your own government has been conducting long-standing and extensive programs on its own defensive systems, including advanced research.

For our part, the United States is just beginning a long process of investigating defenses. Another President will have to make the decision on whether to deploy. But if it were me, and our research and testing were successful, I would try to convince the Soviet Union to join us in taking a great step forward -- toward defenses that would offer the entire world an insurance policy and threaten no one.

We must live together in peace. America's whole history has been a search for peace and opportunity by pioneers seeking freedom, many from the old European order. We are proud of the Russians, the Ukrainians, the Jews, the Armenians, and many others who sailed by our Statue of Liberty and reached our shores.

Diversity is one of our great strengths. That is partly why we are confusing to outsiders. Our government is elected by the people; it is not above the people or above the law.

We believe that truth is found through debate and discussion. "Truth does not burn in the fire, or drown in the water." Our system is often uncomfortable for elected officials, because one of our proudest institutions is a free press. The press criticizes me, and sometimes it hurts, but that is their role -- to raise difficult questions and keep officials accountable to the people. But no one should mistake our freedoms for weakness.

We favor free and open dialogue not just for Americans, but for all peoples. We believe freedom of the individual, freedom of speech, freedom of the press are, as our Declaration of Independence says: unalienable rights of all men.

Ten years ago, the United States and the Soviet Union along with 35 other countries signed the Helsinki Accords. We all pledged to respect human rights, permit our citizens freedom of speech and travel, and to improve communication among the peoples of the signatory nations. America asks the world's leaders to abide by what they have committed themselves to. We ask no more of them than we do of ourselves.

As the world's two strongest nations, we owe it to the rest of humanity not only to keep our word, but to help find peaceful settlements to local and regional conflicts -- in Afghanistan, Africa, Latin America, and elsewhere.

We must also join forces against terrorism. There is no place in a civilized world for assassinations, terrorist bombings, and other mindless violence. I strongly urge you and your government to join us in combatting terrorism and ensuring that no country will offer succor or comfort to terrorists.

We have much to learn from each other. Americans have long been enriched by your cultural giants. The works of Tolstoy, Dostoevsky, Turgenev, Gorky, Pasternak, and Chingis Aitmatov are taught in many American universities. Just as American authors from James Fenimore Cooper, Mark Twain and Jack London, to Ernest Hemingway and William Faulkner are popular in your country.

I am an enthusiast for expanded contacts between our two great societies, wherever there is mutual interest. I am particularly interested in increasing exchanges among our young people for they are our future. We should open a dialogue between our nations, so leaders of each country would have the same chance to communicate to the people of the other through the medium of television. If more of your citizens visited us, you would understand that our people want peace as fervently as you do, for it is better to see something once than hear about it a hundred times.

I hope my discussions with Mr. Gorbachev in Geneva will be fruitful and will lead to future meetings. We seek peace not only for ourselves, but for all those who inhabit this small planet.

I am reminded that we share borders with three countries -- Mexico, Canada, and the Soviet Union. We pride ourselves on our

friendly relations and open borders with our two North American neighbors. And I hope the day will come when that narrow chain of islands stretching from Alaska to the eastern shore of Siberia will symbolize the ties between our two great peoples, not the distance between us.

Everything has a season. Let us hope as we near Christmas and the New Year that this will be the season for peace. Thank you for welcoming me into your homes.

God bless you.

SECRET/ SENSITIVE

ANNOTATED AGENDA FOR PRESIDENT REAGAN
GENEVA, NOVEMBER 16 - 21, 1985

Saturday, November 16

- 8:¹⁰~~20~~ AM Departure remarks from East Room. Emphasis on realistic hopes for meeting.
- 8:⁴⁰~~30~~ AM Depart the White House for Andrews Air Force Base
- 8:³⁵~~45~~ AM Depart Andrews Air Force Base
- 10:25 PM Arrive Geneva. Met by Swiss President Furgler at planeside.
(4:25 PM E.S.T.)
- 10:30 PM Arrival remarks. Praise for US-Swiss ties and common values. Emphasis on desire to work for areas of common interests with Gorbachev in the meetings.
- 10:35 PM President and Mrs. Reagan proceed directly to their residence -- Maison de Saussure

Sunday, November 17

- AM Private time
- 1:30 PM President meets with senior advisors at residence
- 1:45 PM Walk with advisors to Pometta residence for briefing. Meeting provides opportunity to review general strategy for the meeting.
- 2:30 PM Briefing concludes. Returns to Maison de Saussure.
- 2:45 PM Optional. President and Mrs. Reagan go for walk in the garden.
- 3:20 PM President (and Mrs. Reagan) depart for Fleur d'Eau. There they tour meeting facilities and grounds. Purpose is to familiarize himself with site and plans for U.S.-hosted meetings with Soviets.

Private time

Monday, November 18

AM Private time

SECRET/ SENSITIVE
DECL: OADR

DECLASSIFIED
E.O. 12356, Sec. 2.4(b)
White House Guidelines, Feb. 24, 1993
BY RP, NARA, Date 8/16/95

- 11:15 AM Meet with Senior Advisors at Pometta Residence. Emphasis should be on arms control issues and likely approaches of Gorbachev to the issues.
- 12:15 PM Working Lunch with Senior Advisors at Pometta Residence. Continue discussion, also reviewing regional, bilateral, and human rights points.
- 1:55 PM Depart residence en route to Swiss arrival ceremony
- 2:00 PM Formal arrival ceremony on grounds of Le Reposoir. US-Swiss event with military honors and national anthems. No public remarks by President.
- 2:20 PM Meeting inside Le Reposoir with President Furgler. To dramatize special quality of U.S.-Swiss relations in contrast to Soviet-Swiss relations, President Reagan presents President Furgler with Joint Congressional Resolution (photo op) expressing U.S. appreciation to Switzerland for its contributions to United States and world (ICRC, political refugees, democracy, religion, center for negotiators). General discussion of U.S.-Swiss relations and upcoming meeting with Gorbachev.
- Note: Mrs. Reagan will have tea with Mrs. Furgler in adjacent room. Secretary Shultz and Foreign Minister Aubert will be in for first part of meeting then break off for a separate session in another room.
- 3:00 PM Return to residence. Free time.

Tuesday, November 19

- 9:10 AM Meet with Senior Advisors at Pometta Residence. Emphasis on upcoming tete-a-tete and overview discussion. How to set the appropriate tone and handle Gorbachev's emphasis on NST issues.
- 9:50 AM President departs Pometta en route Fleur d'Eau.
- 10:00 AM Gorbachev arrives Fleur d'Eau. President descends front steps for first handshake and photo op.

President escorts Gorbachev to Salle a Manger for tete-a-tete. President should set the tone for two days' meetings, reiterate willingness to get down to concrete work, and reaffirm understanding on order in which issues will be addressed. Remaining members of the two delegations will have coffee and move to the Living Room for the plenary session.

- 10:15 AM Tete-a-tete concludes. Two leaders move to plenary room, each introduces the other to members of his delegation and get seated.
- 10:20 AM Plenary meeting begins. Seven on each side including notetaker. Meeting participants for the U.S.: President, Secretary Shultz, Regan, McFarlane, Ridgway or Nitze, Hartman, and Matlock. Simultaneous interpretations. As host, President will chair. The main theme will be the views of both sides on the overall relationship. They will discuss the principal issues in US-Soviet relations, the situation in the world at large, and how to place the relationship on a more constructive course. In his initial presentation, Gorbachev also is likely to get into nuclear arms control issues, particularly their opposition to SDI.
- 12:15 PM Plenary concludes, President sees off Gorbachev and returns to residence.
- 12:35 PM Working lunch at Palmetta with Senior Advisors. Review the morning session and discuss the arms control items -- primarily NST issues -- on the afternoon agenda. .
- 1:15 PM Private time.
- 2:20 PM Depart residence for Fleur d'Eau.
- 2:25 PM Arrive Fleur d'Eau.
- 2:30 PM Gorbachev arrives and President greets him again.

Second plenary begins. President and Gorbachev turn to detailed discussion of arms control, particularly the nuclear and space talks. President will want to discuss strategic offense and defense and the importance of SDI. He will also want to emphasize the points in his recent proposal. Gorbachev will attack SDI and argue the need to limit it before steps can be taken to control offensive weapons. Other arms control issues may also be raised (CDE, MBFR, CW, Testing) if there is time.

Note: Near conclusion, if weather permits, the President might take Gorbachev for a walk down to the lake. Cabana on the shore with a large fireplace and splendid view; ideal for coffee/drinks. Restricted press pool coverage.

- 4:35 PM President sees off Gorbachev.
- 4:40 PM President returns to residence.
Private time.
- 7:50 PM President and Mrs. Reagan depart for Soviet Mission.
- 8:00 PM Gorbachevs greet President and Mrs. Reagan and U.S. delegation at Soviet Mission. There will certainly be talk of the importance of dialogue and the major issues raised during the day. The toast emphasizes the importance of the occasion, and touches on all four areas on the agenda. It concludes on the need for a better world for all mankind. President and Mrs. Reagan may also want to use this dinner, among other things, to press for our peace and people-to-people proposals, i.e., deep reductions in nuclear arms, greater exchange of young people, appearances on each other's television.
- 10:05 PM President and Mrs. Reagan depart Soviet Mission and return to residence.
- 10:15 PM Arrival at residence.

Wednesday, November 20

- 9:10 AM Meet with Senior Advisors at Pometta. Discuss regional security and bilateral issues that will be focus of morning plenary.
- 9:45 AM Depart residence for Soviet Mission.
- 9:55 AM Arrive at Soviet Mission. Gorbachev meets President at bottom of steps and escorts him up stairs to Soviet meeting area. .
- 10:10 AM Probable tete-a-tete before plenary begins. Excellent opportunity to discuss human rights issues. Plenary will focus on regional and political issues. President will want to discuss regional problems and to emphasize value of his regional initiative in dealing with some of these problems. He will also want to discuss his exchanges initiative, trade, and perhaps consulates and civil aviation issues in this meeting.
- 12:15 PM Plenary concludes. Gorbachev sees off President and President returns to his residence.

- 12:30 PM President arrives at residence.
- 12:40 PM Working lunch with Senior Advisors to prepare for final plenary with Soviets. Review issues that can be agreed upon, points that need to be restated, and our view of a working agenda for the future.
- 1:20 PM Lunch concludes.
Private time.
- 2:15 PM Depart for Soviet Mission.
- 2:25 PM Arrive at Soviet Mission, met by Gorbachev.
- 2:30 PM Final plenary begins. This is to be used to sum up and focus on an agenda for the future, including guidance for our negotiators, and further summits. Among other things, this would cover overall relationship, points for our arms control negotiators, non-proliferation statement, regularizing regional experts meetings, new bilateral agreements, a joint statement, and possible agreement on follow-on summits in Washington and Moscow. Alternatively, possible that this last session will be primarily a listing by both sides of its dissatisfaction with the other's positions and a repetition of earlier points.
- 4:30 PM Conclude plenary. Depart for residence.
Private time.
- Note: Around 5:30 PM press briefing by Speakes and meeting participants: likely to require Shultz/McFarlane level as this may be our major briefing on substance of both days' meetings.
- 6:55 PM President and Mrs. Reagan depart for Swiss-hosted reception at La Gondale.
- 7:00 PM Arrive at La Gondale. Further opportunity to talk with Gorbachev and other members of the Soviet delegation, as well as showing to Soviets, Swiss, and outside world appropriate posture reflecting outcome of the meeting.
- 7:45 PM President and Mrs. Reagan depart La Gondale before Gorbachevs to be on hand at residence to greet them.

- 8:15 PM President and Mrs. Reagan greet Gorbachevs. Important event in setting tone for the future. President's toast will depend somewhat on tone of the meetings. Current draft takes middle road, sober but noting the seeds have been planted.
- 10:15 PM President and Mrs. Reagan see off Gorbachevs.

Thursday, November 21

- 10:30 AM Joint events at Theatre of Geneva (TENTATIVE)
- 10:30 AM Sign Concluding Documents (if any)
- 10:40 AM Witness signing of bilateral agreements
- 10:55 AM Short public statements by the two leaders
- 11:15 AM Final private meeting between the two leaders
- 11:30 AM President and General Secretary bid farewell
- 12:00 PM Private lunch at the residence
- 2:00 PM Depart Geneva for Brussels
- 3:30 PM Arrive Brussels. Greeted by King Baudouin I and the Queen Fabiola of Belgium for formal arrival ceremony. Following the playing of the Belgium and United States national anthems, the President and the King review the troops.

The President and the King proceed to the airport's diplomatic reception room for a five-minute tete-a-tete, after which they are joined by Ministers for an additional five minutes. Principal topics of discussion will be the Geneva meeting and bilateral relations.

Note: After the arrival Mrs. Reagan will go to the Laeken Palace for tea with the Queen. She will then return directly to the airport.

- 3:50 PM Depart airport en route NATO Headquarters possibly accompanied by Belgian Prime Minister Wilfried Martens. The President could express appreciation for Belgium's March INF deployment decision.

4:00 PM Arrive NATO Headquarters.

4:05 PM Brief Meeting and "Family Photo" with Allied Heads of Government.

4:15 PM Special Session of the North Atlantic Council (NAC) begins. Purpose is to dramatize our commitment to close Allied consultations and to shape European perceptions of Geneva outcome. Shultz, Regan, McFarlane, Abshire, Ridgway, and NSC notetaker will accompany the President. NATO Secretary General Carrington opens with brief welcoming remarks. The President then reports on his discussions with General Secretary Gorbachev and the implications for East-West relations. Each Allied leader may then offer brief comments. At the conclusion, Carrington should propose for agreement a brief statement to characterize the session.

^{6:00}
~~5:45~~ PM Depart Brussels for Washington

³⁰
~~8:20~~ PM Arrive Andrews.
(EST)

⁴⁵
~~8:40~~ PM Arrive U.S. Capitol

approx 9:00 PM Televised Address to Joint Session of Congress

Miller

NATIONAL SECURITY COUNCIL
WASHINGTON, D.C. 20506

8955

November 6, 1985

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

SUBJECT: Travel Orders Request for Geneva Trip

Gilbert R. Callaway (P/R) was assigned to the Public Diplomacy Coordinating Team of the NSC for the period of September 19 through November 30, 1985 on a non-reimbursable basis according to my memorandum to you of September 16. Mr. Callaway will be traveling to Geneva with the Public Diplomacy Coordinating Team to assist the White House Press Office during the Reagan-Gorbachev Meetings in Geneva. His departure is scheduled for November 15 with return on November 22 (reservations have been made with the other members of the Team through CATO at State). I will appreciate your seeing that travel orders are issued covering travel (GTR), per diem and taxi fares.

Your cooperation and continued support of the President is appreciated.



William F. Martin
Executive Secretary

November 6, 1985

MEMORANDUM FOR NICHOLAS PLATT
Executive Secretary
Department of State

SUBJECT: Travel Orders Request for Geneva Trip

Deborah Cavin from PA/Press and Ronald Harms from CA/EX/SA were assigned to the Public Diplomacy Coordinating Team of the NSC for the period of September 19 through November 30, 1985 on a non-reimbursable basis according to my memorandum to you of September 16. Mrs. Cavin and Mr. Harms will be traveling to Geneva with the Public Diplomacy Coordinating Team to assist the White House Press Office during the Reagan-Gorbachev Meetings in Geneva. Their departure is scheduled for November 15 with return on November 22 (reservations have been made through CATO). I will appreciate your seeing that travel orders are issued covering travel (GTR), per diem and taxi fares.

Your cooperation and continued support of the President is appreciated.


William F. Martin
Executive Secretary

NATIONAL SECURITY COUNCIL
WASHINGTON, D.C. 20506

8955

November 5, 1985

ACTION

MEMORANDUM FOR WILLIAM F. MARTIN

FROM: ROBERT J. KORENGOLD *W*

SUBJECT: Travel Orders for Public Diplomacy Coordinating
Team for Geneva Trip

Larry Speakes will be using three members of the Public Diplomacy Coordinating team to bolster his White House Press Office staff in Geneva. They will travel separately but require travel orders from their agencies.

Phil Brown and I will be traveling with the Press plane. Arrangements have already been made through USIA for our travel orders.

At TAB I is a memorandum from you to Nicholas Platt at State requesting travel orders for Deborah Cavin (PA/Press) and Ronald Harms (CA/EX/SA). At TAB II is a memorandum from you to C. William LaSalle at USIA requesting travel orders for Gilbert R. Callaway (P/R).

RECOMMENDATION

That you sign and forward the memoranda at TABs I and II.

Approve *WJG*

Disapprove _____

Johnathan Miller concurs. *JM*

Attachments

TAB I Memo to Platt
TAB II Memo to LaSalle

RONALD W. REAGAN LIBRARY

THIS FORM MARKS THE FILE LOCATION OF ITEM NUMBER 1-2 LISTED ON THE
WITHDRAWAL SHEET AT THE FRONT OF THIS FOLDER.

Proposed Participants for Briefings, Working Lunches,
Meetings and Dinners in Geneva, Switzerland

November 16 - November 21, 1985

SATURDAY, NOVEMBER 16

Arrival Ceremony, Cointrin Airport, Geneva, Switzerland

Official U.S. Delegation for Swiss Arrival Ceremony
(10:25 p.m.)

The President and Mrs. Reagan
Secretary Shultz
Ambassador Whittlesey
Ambassador and Mrs. Carmen
Donald Regan
Robert McFarlane
Patrick Buchanan
Larry Speakes
~~Dennis Thomas~~
Assistant Secretary Ridgway
Jack Matlock
~~Tyrus Cobb~~

-- Decision: This is pretty straightforward based on
standard White House formula. Includes both
Matlock and Cobb as this is Swiss ceremony.
Approve _____ Modify M

SUNDAY, NOVEMBER 17

Briefing with Senior Advisors at Maison de Saussure Residence
(1:30 p.m.)

The President
Secretary Shultz
Donald Regan
Robert McFarlane
Larry Speakes
Dennis Thomas
Fred Ikle
Ambassador Hartman
Assistant Secretary Ridgway
Paul Nitze
Jack Matlock
~~Ambassador Kampelman~~
Robert Linhard
Kenneth Adelman

-- Decision: This is first pre-brief. Every agency
represented (except USIA). Kampelman
also included. Approve _____ Modify M

MONDAY, NOVEMBER 18

Briefing with Senior Advisors at Pometta Residence
(11:15 a.m.)

The President
Secretary Shultz
Donald Regan
Robert McFarlane
Larry Speakes
Dennis Thomas
Fred Ikle
Ambassador Hartman
Assistant Secretary Ridgway
Paul Nitze
Jack Matlock
~~Ambassador Tower~~
Robert Linhard
Ambassador Rowny

- Decision: Includes other arms control people not previously invited (Tower and Rowny) in trade-off with Kampelman and Adelman, both of whom are included in working lunch. Glitman not included in either this pre-brief or subsequent working lunch.
Approve _____ Modify _____

Working Lunch at Pometta Residence (will also cover pre-brief for Furgler meeting)
(12:15 p.m.)

The President
Secretary Shultz
Donald Regan
Robert McFarlane
Larry Speakes
Dennis Thomas
Fred Ikle
Ambassador Hartman
Assistant Secretary Ridgway
Paul Nitze
Jack Matlock
~~Tyrus Cobb~~ *ok*
~~Ambassador Kampelman~~
~~Kenneth Adelman~~

- Decision: Slightly adjusts attendance to reflect Furgler pre-brief (President meets with Furgler following lunch) and trade-off in arms control people. Includes Nitze, Kampelman, Adelman; excludes Tower, Glitman and Rowny.
Approve _____ Modify *M*

Arrival Ceremony (2:00 p.m.) and Bilateral Meeting with Swiss President Furgler (2:20 p.m.)

The President
 Secretary Shultz
 Donald Regan
 Robert McFarlane
 Ambassador Whittlesey
 Assistant Secretary Ridgway
 Tyrus Cobb (notetaker)

-- Decision: Believe this is straightforward.
 Approve M Modify _____

TUESDAY, NOVEMBER 19

Briefing with Senior Advisors at Pometta Residence (9:10 a.m.)

The President
 Secretary Shultz
 Donald Regan
 Robert McFarlane
 Larry Speakes
 Dennis Thomas
 Fred Ikle
 Ambassador Hartman
 Assistant Secretary Ridgway
 Paul Nitze
 Jack Matlock
~~Ambassador Tower~~
~~Ambassador Glitman~~
 Robert Linhard

-- Decision: Again reflects trade-off among arms control people. Glitman invited for first time.
 Approve _____ Modify _____

Plenary Meeting with General Secretary Gorbachev at Fleur d'Eau (expect to cover broad arms control and regional issues) (10:20 a.m.)

The President
 Secretary Shultz
 Donald Regan
 Robert McFarlane
~~Fred Ikle~~
 Ambassador Hartman
 Assistant Secretary Ridgway/~~Paul Nitze~~
 Jack Matlock (notetaker)
 Mark Palmer (second notetaker--not seated at table)
 Interpreter

-- Decisions: First meeting with Soviets.
 -- Reflects inclusion of Ikle and Palmer as second notetaker (Soviets asked for two).
 OK _____ No _____
 -- Has Roz and Nitze sharing space.
 OK _____ Include Both _____
 -- Includes none of arms control "specialists," except Nitze.
 OK _____ No _____

Working Lunch at Pometta Residence (expect focus to be arms control) (12:40 p.m.)

The President
 Secretary Shultz
 Donald Regan
 Robert McFarlane
 Fred Ikle
 Ambassador Hartmann
 Paul Nitze
 Jack Matlock
~~Ambassador Kampelman~~
~~Ambassador Tower~~
~~Ambassador Glitman~~
 Robert Linhard
 Kenneth Adelman
 Ambassador Rowny

- Decision: Includes all the arms control people since this is focus of afternoon session. This means dropping Speakes and Thomas.

Approve _____

Modify m

Plenary Meeting with General Secretary Gorbachev (detailed discussion of arms control) (2:30 p.m.)

The President
 Secretary Shultz
 Donald Regan
 Robert McFarlane
~~Fred Ikle~~
 Ambassador Hartman
 Jack Matlock (notetaker)
 Paul Nitze
 Robert Linhard (second notetaker--not seated at table)
 Interpreter

- Decisions: This session is expected to be detailed discussion of arms control. None of negotiators included.

Ikle:	OK _____	NO _____
Nitze:	OK _____	NO _____
Matlock (notetaker):	OK _____	NO _____
Linhard (second notetaker):	OK _____	NO _____

Small Dinner Hosted by Soviets at Soviet Mission (8:00 p.m.)

The President and Mrs. Reagan
 Secretary Shultz
 Donald Regan
 Robert McFarlane
 Ambassador Hartman

Should Soviets invite more than 6:

Fred Ikle
 Ambassador Matlock
 Assistant Secretary Ridgway
 Paul Nitze

-- Decision: This reflects inclusion of Mrs. Reagan and limited invitations of 6.

Approve M Modify _____

WEDNESDAY, NOVEMBER 20

Briefing with Senior Advisors at Residence (9:10 a.m.)

The President
 Secretary Shultz
 Donald Regan
 Robert McFarlane
 Fred Ikle
 Larry Speakes
 Patrick Buchanan
 Dennis Thomas
 William Henkel
 Ambassador Hartman
 Assistant Secretary Ridgway
 Jack Matlock

-- Decision: This reflects fact that immediately following session with Soviets is to cover regional issues; hence arms control people not invited. Still room for two to meet maximum of 14.

Approve M Modify _____

Plenary Meeting with General Secretary Gorbachev at Soviet Mission (expect focus to be on regional issues) (10:00 a.m.)

The President
 Secretary Shultz
 Donald Regan
 Robert McFarlane
~~Fred Ikle~~
 Ambassador Hartman
 Jack Matlock (notetaker)
 Assistant Secretary Ridgway
 Mark Palmer (second notetaker)
 Interpreter

-- Decision: List reflects expected focus on regional issues. Approve _____ Modify M

Working Lunch at Pometta Residence (12:40 p.m.)

The President
 Secretary Shultz
 Donald Regan
 Robert McFarlane
 Patrick Buchanan
 Dennis Thomas
 Fred Ikle
 Ambassador Hartman
 Jack Matlock
 Assistant Secretary Ridgway
 Director Wick
~~Paul Nitze~~
~~Robert Linhard~~
~~Kenneth Adelman~~

- Decision: List tries to include all agencies because of wrap-up and bilateral discussions in afternoon. Wick included for first time.
 Approve _____ Modify m

Plenary Meeting with General Secretary Gorbachev at Soviet Mission (expect to cover bilateral agreements and wrap-up) (2:30 p.m.)

The President
 Secretary Shultz
 Donald Regan
 Robert McFarlane
~~Fred Ikle~~
 Ambassador Hartman
 Jack Matlock
 Assistant Secretary Ridgway
 Mark Palmer/Robert Linhard (second notetaker--not seated at table)
 Interpreter

- Decision: List reflects topics to be covered. Wick is not included, but he could be invited to any signing ceremonies that may take place on Thursday morning. Have Palmer and Linhard trading off as second notetaker. Approve _____ Modify _____

Small Dinner Hosted by U.S. at Maison de Saussure (8:15 p.m.)

The President and Mrs. Reagan
 Secretary Shultz
 Donald Regan
 Robert McFarlane
 Ambassador Hartman

Should Soviets invite more than 6:
 Fred Ikle
 Jack Matlock
 Assistant Secretary Ridgway
 Paul Nitze

- Decision: This is same list as for Tuesday's dinner.
 Approve WA Modify _____

THURSDAY, NOVEMBER 21

Participants at formal departure ceremony will be same as for arrival.

**NATIONAL SECURITY COUNCIL
EXECUTIVE SECRETARY REFERRAL**

TIME STAMP

05 NOV 6 1:47

SYSTEM I LOG NUMBER: 8975

ACTION OFFICER: Sommer

DUE: ASAP
URGENT

- Prepare Memo Martin to Chew
- Prepare Memo Martin to Elliott
- Prepare Memo _____ NAME to _____

*** PUT RESPECTIVE STAFF OFFICER'S ~~INITIALS~~ IN MARGIN BESIDE CHANGES.

CONCURRENCES/COMMENTS*

DUE: ASAP

*PHONE to action officer at ext. 5732

- | | | |
|--|---|---|
| <input type="checkbox"/> Burghardt | <input type="checkbox"/> Lehman | <input type="checkbox"/> Sable |
| <input type="checkbox"/> Cannistraro | <input type="checkbox"/> Lenczowski | <input type="checkbox"/> Sachs |
| <input type="checkbox"/> Childress | <input type="checkbox"/> Levine | <input type="checkbox"/> Sestanovich |
| <input type="checkbox"/> Cobb | <input type="checkbox"/> Linhard | <input type="checkbox"/> Sigur |
| <input type="checkbox"/> Covey | <input type="checkbox"/> Mahley | <input checked="" type="checkbox"/> Small |
| <input type="checkbox"/> Danzansky | <input type="checkbox"/> Major | <input type="checkbox"/> Sommer |
| <input type="checkbox"/> deGraffenreid | <input checked="" type="checkbox"/> Mandel | <input type="checkbox"/> Soos |
| <input type="checkbox"/> Djerejian | <input checked="" type="checkbox"/> Matlock | <input type="checkbox"/> Stark |
| <input type="checkbox"/> Dobriansky | <input type="checkbox"/> May | <input type="checkbox"/> Steiner |
| <input type="checkbox"/> Donley | <input type="checkbox"/> McDaniel | <input type="checkbox"/> Tahir-Kheli |
| <input type="checkbox"/> Douglass | <input type="checkbox"/> Menges | <input type="checkbox"/> Teicher |
| <input type="checkbox"/> Fortier | <input checked="" type="checkbox"/> Miller | <input type="checkbox"/> Thompson |
| <input type="checkbox"/> Grimes | <input type="checkbox"/> North | <input type="checkbox"/> Tillman |
| <input type="checkbox"/> Hughes | <input type="checkbox"/> Platt | <input type="checkbox"/> Wigg |
| <input type="checkbox"/> Korengold | <input type="checkbox"/> Raymond | <input type="checkbox"/> Wright |
| <input type="checkbox"/> Kraemer | <input type="checkbox"/> Reger | <input type="checkbox"/> _____ |
| <input type="checkbox"/> Laux | <input type="checkbox"/> Ringdahl | <input type="checkbox"/> _____ |

INFORMATION

- Martin
- Pearson
- Secretariat

WHITE HOUSE STAFFING MEMORANDUM URGENT

DATE: 11/6/85 ACTION/CONCURRENCE/COMMENT DUE BY: 5:00 p.m. TODAY

SUBJECT: REMARKS: Dinner with Prince Charles and Princess Diana - State
Dinner Toast
(11/6/85 1:00 p.m. draft)

	ACTION FYI			ACTION FYI	
VICE PRESIDENT	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	OGLESBY	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
REGAN	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>			
MILLER	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	RYAN	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input 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"/>	SVAHN		<input type="checkbox"/>
DANIELS	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	THOMAS	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
FIELDING	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	TUTTLE	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
HENKEL	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	ELLIOTT	<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"/>
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

Received 8:5
15 NOV -6 PM 1:00

(Robinson/BE)
November 6, 1985
1:00 p.m.

PRESIDENTIAL REMARKS: DINNER WITH PRINCE CHARLES
AND PRINCESS DIANA
STATE DINNER TOAST
SATURDAY, NOVEMBER 9, 1985

Your Royal Highnesses, Sir Oliver and Lady Wright, ladies and gentlemen: Mrs. Reagan and I are deeply honored to welcome the Prince and Princess of Wales to this grand old American home, the White House. By the way, quite recently portions of the White House were repainted -- and I'm afraid that when we removed the old paint, we found scorch marks from the British burning of the house back in 1814. Now you've returned, and all Washington is once again ablaze.

You may recall that in his 1941 address before a joint session of the Congress, Prime Minister Churchill remarked, "I cannot help thinking that if my father had been American and my mother British, instead of the other way around, I might have got here on my own." Your Royal Highnesses, the reception you have been accorded by my countrymen has made it quite clear that, if you had been American, you might well have made it to this house on your own.

Your Royal Highnesses, your kingdom and our Republic are bound together by innumerable ties of ancient history and present friendship. Our language, our law, our democratic system of Government, our fierce belief in the God-given right of men to be free -- all these the United States owes to your island. We have traded with each other, to our mutual benefit, in all the decades since ~~my country~~ ^{The United States} was founded. We have stood together through two

great world conflicts. Today, we go on shoulder-to-shoulder in an alliance formed to protect the democracies which, just 40 years ago, so many gave their lives on the beaches of Normandy to defend.

This evening we have gathered on a happy occasion -- a celebration of "The Treasure Houses of Britain," perhaps the most magnificent exhibition ever mounted. The exhibition presents five centuries of British achievement -- five centuries of elegance, beauty, and charm. ~~I should add wit. When Nancy and I saw the exhibition the other day, we learned to our surprise that one enormous silver wine cooler had regularly been used by its owners to give their dog its baths.~~

"The Treasure Houses of Britain" richly details the cultural life of your kingdom, the land which in turn provided the foundations of our own cultural life. Truly, it is a great gift -- a gift from the houses' owners, from the British people, and from you, the exhibition's patrons. I speak on behalf of the American people when I extend to you our gratitude.

Your Royal Highnesses, in the eyes of my countrymen, you and your family hold a place of high honor. By setting an unfailing model of dignity and grace, you serve the American people as surely as you serve your own. Your devotion to duty commands our esteem. Your self-evident love for your kingdom and its commonwealth inspires us. Certainly the American people join the British in looking upon you with affection and respect.

In his 1941 address, Prime Minister Churchill looked forward to our times. "It is not given to us," he said, "to peer into

the future. Still I avow my hope and faith, sure and inviolate, that in the days to come the British and American people will for their own safety and for the good of all walk together in majesty, in justice, and in peace."

Today that noble hope remains a glorious reality.

Please join me in a toast: Her Majesty the Queen.

WHITE HOUSE STAFFING MEMORANDUM

URGENT

DATE: 11/6/85 ACTION/CONCURRENCE/COMMENT DUE BY: 5:00 p.m. TODAY

SUBJECT: REMARKS: Dinner with Prince Charles and Princess Diana
Entertainment Thank You
(11/6/85 1:00 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"/> P	<input type="checkbox"/> SS	SVAHN	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
DANIELS	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	THOMAS <i>OK</i>	<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 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 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

Received 03
NOV -6 11:03

(Robinson)
November 6, 1985
1:00 p.m.

PRESIDENTIAL REMARKS: DINNER WITH PRINCE CHARLES
AND PRINCESS DIANA
ENTERTAINMENT THANK YOU

Leontyne Price, for more than three decades your glorious voice has enriched the artistic life of our Nation. Born in a small town in Mississippi, you rose to perform the great roles in the capitals of the world. But you proudly retained your distinctly American character, and you have always included in your repertoire not just Verdi, Puccini, and Strauss, but Stephen Foster, Aaron Copland, and the gospel songs and sprituals that you heard and performed as a child. (Possible mention of music Leontyne will be singing at the dinner).

Never have you performed more beautifully than you have tonight, and on behalf of everyone here, Leontyne, I thank you.

NATIONAL SECURITY COUNCIL
WASHINGTON, D.C. 20506

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

ACTION

November 6, 1985

MEMORANDUM FOR WILLIAM F. MARTIN

FROM: TY COBB *TC*

SUBJECT: Coordination with USIA for Speech to the Soviet People

Attached at Tab I is a memorandum from you to your counterpart at USIA formally requesting their assistance in broadcasting the President's November 9th radio address to the Soviet Union. Greg Guroff and I have informally coordinated with USIA and VOA, but we need to ensure that there is one central point of contact there.

Recommendation

That you send the memo at Tab I to USIA.

Approve _____ Disapprove _____

WR
Walt Raymond concurs.

Attachment

Tab I Memo to USIA

NATIONAL SECURITY COUNCIL
WASHINGTON, D.C. 20506

MEMORANDUM FOR C. WILLIAM LaSALLE
Chief of the Executive Secretariat
U.S. Information Agency

SUBJECT: President's Radio Speech to the Soviet People

The President will be delivering an address to the Soviet people Saturday, November 9, 1985 from the Oval Office. This address will be simultaneously broadcast as the President's weekly radio address.

USIA will play a critical role in this broadcast. Close coordination with the NSC is required for this historic address to be successful. In particular, translations of the President's address and logistics with respect to the simultaneous broadcasting in multiple languages present unique problems. Because networks will also broadcast this speech which is intended primarily for a Soviet audience, we also need to be alerted to any possible legal issues.

Request that USIA designate a central point of contact responsible for handling coordination and logistics associated with this broadcast. Point of contact at the NSC is Tyrus W. Cobb (395-5076).

William F. Martin
Executive Secretary

UNCLASSIFIED UPON REMOVAL
OF CLASSIFIED ENCLOSURES

RECEIVED 06 NOV 85 14

TO SESTANOVICH FROM PEARSON

DOCDATE 06 NOV 85

URGENT

KEYWORDS: USSR SPEECHES GORBACHEV, MIKHAIL S
AP

SUBJECT: PRES FIRST NIGHT DINNER TOAST DURING GENEVA MTG

ACTION: MEMO MARTIN TO ELLIOTT / CHEW DUE: 06 NOV 85 STATUS S FILES WH

FOR ACTION	FOR CONCURRENCE		FOR INFO
SESTANOVICH	MATLOCK	MANDEL	PEARSON
	COBB	MILLER	

COMMENTS

REF# LOG NSCIFID (HW)

ACTION OFFICER (S)	ASSIGNED	ACTION REQUIRED	DUE	COPIES TO
_____	_____	_____	_____	_____
_____	_____	_____	_____	_____
_____	_____	_____	_____	_____
_____	_____	_____	_____	_____

DISPATCH _____ W/ATTCH FILE _____ (C)

~~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. 12333, Sec. 3.4(h)
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 our excessive stockpiles of armaments 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 existance 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

NATIONAL SECURITY COUNCIL EXECUTIVE SECRETARY REFERRAL

TIME STAMP

03 NOV 68 AID: 38

SYSTEM I LOG NUMBER: 8933 add-on

ACTION OFFICER: MANDEL

DUE: 1 PM TODAY

URGENT

- Prepare Memo Martin to Chew
- Prepare Memo Martin to Elliott
- Prepare Memo _____ NAME to _____

Have already called changes to Mandel

*** PUT RESPECTIVE STAFF OFFICER'S NAMES IN MARGIN BESIDE CHA

CONCURRENCES/COMMENTS*

DUE: 12:3

*PHONE to action officer at ext. 3595

- | | | |
|---|--|--|
| <input type="checkbox"/> Burghardt | <input type="checkbox"/> Lehman | <input type="checkbox"/> Sable |
| <input type="checkbox"/> Cannistraro | <input type="checkbox"/> Lenczowski | <input type="checkbox"/> Sachs |
| <input type="checkbox"/> Childress | <input type="checkbox"/> Levine | <input type="checkbox"/> Sestanovich |
| <input checked="" type="checkbox"/> Cobb | <input checked="" type="checkbox"/> Linhard | <input type="checkbox"/> Sigur |
| <input type="checkbox"/> Covey | <input type="checkbox"/> Mahley | <input checked="" type="checkbox"/> Small |
| <input type="checkbox"/> Danzansky | <input type="checkbox"/> Major | <input type="checkbox"/> Sommer |
| <input type="checkbox"/> deGraffenreid | <input type="checkbox"/> Mandel | <input type="checkbox"/> Soos |
| <input type="checkbox"/> Djerejian | <input checked="" type="checkbox"/> Matlock | <input type="checkbox"/> Stark |
| <input type="checkbox"/> Dobriansky | <input type="checkbox"/> May | <input type="checkbox"/> Steiner |
| <input type="checkbox"/> Donley | <input type="checkbox"/> McDaniel | <input type="checkbox"/> Tahir-Kheli |
| <input type="checkbox"/> Douglass | <input type="checkbox"/> Menges | <input type="checkbox"/> Teicher |
| <input checked="" type="checkbox"/> Fortier | <input checked="" type="checkbox"/> Miller 372A | <input type="checkbox"/> Thompson |
| <input type="checkbox"/> Grimes | <input type="checkbox"/> North | <input type="checkbox"/> Tillman |
| <input type="checkbox"/> Hughes | <input type="checkbox"/> Platt | <input type="checkbox"/> Wigg |
| <input type="checkbox"/> Korengold | <input type="checkbox"/> Raymond | <input type="checkbox"/> Wright |
| <input type="checkbox"/> Kraemer | <input type="checkbox"/> Reger | <input checked="" type="checkbox"/> <u>RCM</u> |
| <input type="checkbox"/> Laux | <input type="checkbox"/> Ringdahl | <input checked="" type="checkbox"/> <u>JMP</u> |

INFORMATION

- Martin
- Pearson
- Secretariat

WHITE HOUSE STAFFING MEMORANDUM **URGENT**

DATE: 11/6/85 ACTION/CONCURRENCE/COMMENT DUE BY: 4:00 P.M. TODAY

REVISED

SUBJECT: ADDRESS TO THE NATION: GENEVA SUMMIT
(11/6 - 2:15 a.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 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"/>	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 type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	_____	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>

REMARKS:

please provide your comments directly to Ben Elliott by 4:00 p.m. today with an information copy to my office.

Thank you.

RESPONSE:

David L. Chew
Staff Secretary
Ext. 2702

(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. So, I 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 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.

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 relieve me of the obligation to use 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 -- 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

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 hope to 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

military conflict, then there has been peace between the United States and the Soviet Union for the seven decades of our common history.

But that, as we know, is neither an accurate nor full accounting of our relationship.

For our part, we Americans believe that true peace must rest upon the pillars of individual freedom, human rights and national self-determination. Free and democratic peoples do not go to war against one another in the twentieth century. Peace also depends upon a respect for the rule of law and the sanctity of contract. Nations that have broken one treaty 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 agreement remains the sum of their international ambitions. Great powers that wage wars of imperial aggression against defenseless neighbors to their south are not persuasive when they profess their intentions are only benign and peaceful toward better-armed neighbors to the West.

In forthrightly opposing such actions 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 nor forsake it. Should the day ever come when we remain silent in the face of aggression then the cause of America -- the cause of freedom -- has been lost, and the great heart of this country will have been broken.

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. 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, ^{my me} ~~our~~ first meeting ^{with General Secretary Gorbachev} 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.

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NSC/S PROFILE

ID 8509002

RECEIVED 07 NOV 85 09

TO MCFARLANE

FROM PLATT, N

DOCDATE 06 NOV 85

URGENT

KEYWORDS USSR

SPEECHES

MEDIA

AP

CONGRESSIONAL

SUMMIT

SUBJECT: THEMES FOR PRES SPEECH TO JOINT SESSION OF CONGRESS RE GENEVA MTC

ACTION: PREPARE MEMO FOR MCFARLANE DUE: 07 NOV 85 STATUS s FILES PA

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COMMENTS *** DO NOT CLEAR W/ SPEECHWRITER YET *** ** COMMENTS DUE BY NOON TODAY ***

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United States Department of State
Washington, D.C. 20520 9002

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November 6, 1985

MEMORANDUM FOR MR. ROBERT C. MCFARLANE
THE WHITE HOUSE

SUBJECT: THEMES FOR PRESIDENTIAL SPEECH ON THE GENEVA MEETING

The White House requested a draft outline of themes for the President's speech before a Joint Session of Congress on the results of the Geneva meeting. We regard the outline as a framework, to be filled in as substantive results warrant.

Nicholas Platt
for Nicholas Platt
Executive Secretary

DECLASSIFIED
Department of State Guidelines, July 21, 1997
By MSD NARA, Date 4/1/98

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DECL: OADR

11/06/85

THEMES FOR PRESIDENTIAL SPEECH
TO JOINT SESSION OF CONGRESS
ON HIS GENEVA MEETING

I. Introduction

- o I have just returned from two days of intensive discussions with General Secretary Gorbachev.
- o Media full of speculation, commentary. Much focus on personalities, atmospherics, "expectations."
- o Let us look beyond the excitement of the moment to the larger lasting issues. Let us review where we stand, where we are going, and how my discussions contributed to this process.

II. Our Principles

- o In 1945 we ended a terrible war and the American people rose to leadership, seeking to build a peace to save mankind from another conflagration. Roosevelt April 1945 quote on putting an end to the beginning of all wars.
- o We are a great people--not in war but peace; in building; in justice and fulfillment of our ideals. We seek a world free from war, threats, terror so that we may pursue our dreams of a better world.
- o Since the end of WWII, Soviet actions have clouded our hopes. We have no illusions about the nature of the USSR; about our profound differences; about Soviet behavior and objectives. It is beyond our power to change this. We are realistic. We must and will maintain our strength; defend our interests and those of free peoples.
- o War unthinkable in nuclear age; must live together despite differences. Since 1945 every American President has met with Soviet leaders to do whatever possible to build a safer future. Any progress justifies the effort. We made some progress.

III. Our Objectives at Geneva

- o Our strength, resolve, determination beyond question. We let Soviet leaders know this. Also let them know we are ready to take constructive steps wherever and whenever they are. We discussed all issues, seeking progress, seeking foundation for future progress. Geneva was a beginning.

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DECL: OADR

Department of State Guidelines, July 21, 1997
By MCW NARA, Date 2/1/98

o Let me cover all the areas of our agenda, telling what was said on each and how we can proceed.

IV. Regional Issues

o Since 1945 underlying cause of U.S.-Soviet tension has been Soviet behavior in the world. From Eastern and Central Europe, Greece and Turkey, through Cuba to Afghanistan, Nicaragua and Southeast Asia.

o America does not seek to export its system; we need not. We do not seek to threaten legitimate Soviet security, but cannot accept threats to our own. Explained our concerns in each region of the world.

o Outlined my initiative on resolving regional conflicts. Called on Soviets to explore cooperation to reduce tensions; eliminate our rivalry in selected areas.

o Do not have great hopes that Soviet behavior will dramatically change. But they now know our determination, and our willingness to cooperate. May find it possible to explore cooperation on some regional problems in the future.

V. Arms Control

o No danger facing humanity is so great. I explained our concerns about the Soviet military buildup, and how it looked so threatening to us.

o Said I wanted to eliminate nuclear weapons. If we cannot yet agree to do this, let us reduce their levels as much as possible. I explained our proposals on how this could be done to ensure real, equal and verifiable reductions leading to stability. Gorbachev agreed that real reductions would help both sides and had suggestions.

o Still far apart. Soviets not yet met us halfway. Made some progress. We agreed to work on making more.

o Explained how defensive technologies could improve both sides' confidence and security. We must get past propaganda and agree to discuss strategic defense to ensure it threatens noone.

o Hope Soviets understood. We will see whether Soviet negotiators in Geneva are now prepared for real discussions of strategic defense.

- o Made progress on other arms control issues: nuclear nonproliferation; (chemical weapons), (other issues as appropriate).
- o (SALT I, II extension.)
- o Small steps; worth the effort if they help preserve peace.

VI. Human Rights

- o We are a moral nation. Cannot ignore people anywhere. We have and will raise human rights and democracy with friends and adversaries; raised it in Geneva.
- o Explained it is not interference in internal affairs to insist that Soviets live up to international obligations they have freely entered into. We also raised individual cases of humanitarian concern.
- o Everyone knows limits of our ability to help; but any benefit to a human being justifies our dialogue. Perhaps some individual cases can be resolved through patient ongoing discussions.

VII. Bilateral Issues

- o Nations are made of human beings. Want to bring our peoples closer together. Made specific proposals.
- o Pleased that some have reached fruition. We look forward to implementing agreements on (as appropriate).
- o Our technical discussion on civil aviation, air safety, scientific cooperation (are making progress) (have resulted in agreements) that can serve the legitimate interests of both countries. (North Pacific air safety arrangements can help prevent any repetition of the Korean Airliner catastrophe.)

VII. The Future

- o We know the limitations as well as promise of summit meetings. We have no illusions. But we are not a cynical people. We have not forgotten our hopes and dreams of peace. I will spare no efforts to build on progress made at Geneva. I ask for your help and know you will give it.
- o As you know, (I) (Gorbachev) accepted an invitation to visit (Moscow) (Washington) in 1986. We look forward.
- o Thanksgiving homily. We are thankful for another year of peace, and pray that the peace Americans enjoy will come to all people on our planet.

NOTIONAL PRESIDENTIAL SPEECH TO CONGRESS
Drafted: EUR/SOV/MULTI:DFRIED DF
11/6/85 x0821 1416P

Cleared: EUR/SOV: BLPasco
EUR: MPalmer
S/P : PROdman DF
EUR/SOV/MULTI:JTefft DF