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ACTION

November 29, 1987

MEMORANDUM FOR PAUL SCHOTT STEVENS

FROM: PETER W. RODMAN *PR*
SUBJECT: Draft Remarks for the Summit

Attached at Tab I is a memorandum for you to sign and send to Tony Dolan conveying five NSC-revised documents (Tab A). At Tab II are the five documents, as sent to us by State.

Batjer, *Ermarth*, Bemis, ^{*not available*} Heiser, Linhard, Mahley and Steiner concur. *SES SES SES Steve*

RECOMMENDATION

That you sign the attached memorandum to Tony Dolan (Tab I).

Approve _____ Disapprove _____

Attachments

- Tab I Memo to Tony Dolan
- Tab A Public Statements
- Tab II Incoming Statements from State

cc: Dan Howard

*mph
4/19/13*

NATIONAL SECURITY COUNCIL
WASHINGTON, D.C. 20506

UNCLASSIFIED WITH

8717 & 8717 Add-on

MEMORANDUM FOR ANTHONY R. DOLAN

FROM: PAUL SCHOTT STEVENS

SUBJECT: Draft Remarks for the Summit

Attached at Tab A are suggested drafts of five items for the Summit, as received from the Department of State and revised by the NSC:

- December 8: Arrival Statement
- December 8: Remarks at INF Signing Ceremony
- December 8: Message to the American and Soviet Peoples
- December 8: Toast at White House State Dinner
- December 9: Toast at Soviet-hosted Return Dinner

Attachments

Tab A As stated

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CONFIDENTIAL ATTACHMENT

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4/19/13

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ARRIVAL STATEMENT - DECEMBER 8

General Secretary Gorbachev, Mrs. Gorbachev:

Welcome to America. It's taken a long time to get you here!

The two of us are serious men with serious responsibilities and without illusions. We know our two governments have major, even profound differences in how we view the burning issues of the day and the basic issues of mankind's political and moral existence. But our countries also share a heavy responsibility for the cause and the course of world peace. And that's why a meeting such as this can do enormous good for the world. I'm glad you've come.

We have an ambitious agenda.

In a few hours, we will sign an historic first agreement to rid the world of an entire class of nuclear weapons.

During our meetings, we will try to make new progress toward another historic agreement cutting our strategic nuclear arsenals in half.

We will address the issue of human rights, which touches on the most fundamental of human concerns.

We will discuss candidly the differences of strategic interests that still underlie our approaches to conflicts in many regions

of the world. We will try to find a basis for negotiated solutions which advance the rights and freedom of the peoples involved.

And, we will consider what more can be done to nurture and expand contacts between Soviet and American citizens.

Mr. General Secretary, I think we're on the right road, and that road, if we travel it together and follow the star that shows the way, will lead to a more secure peace and an expansion of human betterment.

While you're here, you'll see only a small part of our country. That's unfortunate. But you will certainly catch a glimpse of the tremendous vitality and productive dynamism and creative energy that is America. We are a free people, fiercely proud of our way of life and our heritage -- this year we celebrate the 200th year of our constitutional system -- and a people that also relishes the challenges of the future, of a new century.

During your visit you shall no doubt hear voices that may sound unfriendly to the understanding and cooperation that we seek to build. Some of these voices will speak truths that we must all listen to; others will speak less wisely. The voices you hear are called democracy. You will meet with political

leaders from both our political parties, and you will hear from all of them of the American people's hopes for a better world and for a more constructive Soviet-American relationship.

Americans have watched with great interest your efforts at reform, seeing in them hope for a better life for your people and perhaps for a new basis for relations between our countries. We wish the Soviet people well in these endeavors.

And so, let's get to work.

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PRESIDENT'S COMMENTS AT INF SIGNING

General Secretary Gorbachev and I are meeting to sign [have just signed] an agreement -- the INF Treaty -- that is historic for several reasons. Above all, for the first time in the nuclear age, we are eliminating an entire class of Soviet and American nuclear weapons. This agreement thus carries an important message of hope for all nations. It demonstrates that persistence, imagination, realism, and goodwill -- even among powerful countries that are at odds on so many things -- can achieve positive results that make the world safer.

The numbers alone demonstrate the value of this agreement. The Soviet Union will destroy all its intermediate-range missile systems, including the SS-20. The Soviet systems deployed are capable of carrying some 1,500 nuclear warheads. We will destroy our Pershing and ground-launched cruise missiles, which are capable of carrying some 400 nuclear warheads. Additional backup missiles of these types which both sides have will also be destroyed.

But the significance of the Treaty transcends the numbers alone. This Treaty embodies an objective advocated from the start by the United States and its allies. And it fits the

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White House Guidelines, Sept. 11, 2006
BY NARA 1007, DATE 4/19/13

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realities of international relations as we come to the end of this century. One of the most important of these is one which General Secretary Gorbachev and I have talked about: That is the recognition that unless all nations are secure in the nuclear age, none can be secure. The INF Treaty will strengthen the security of all. This would not have been possible without the political courage and wisdom of many leaders from Europe to Asia.

The Treaty embodies another important principle essential to overcome the mistrust and suspicion of our times -- that is, the need for greater openness in the military forces and programs of our nations. I strongly believe that if we are to establish a lasting foundation for peaceful U.S.-Soviet relations, it will have to be on the basis of a realistic understanding of each other's intentions. This can come only through greater openness. The INF Treaty contains the most stringent verification provisions in arms control history, measures that, for the first time, will allow both sides to inspect sites in each other's countries to ensure that the bargain is being fully observed. Some of these inspections will also include the territory of our NATO Allies, which have agreed to be subject to inspection with full respect for their sovereign rights, and it includes the territory of some East European states as well. This system of inspection will be new to both sides, and it would be unrealistic to expect it will be free of frictions. But I am confident that honest and full implementation will strengthen the security of both sides.

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Important as it is, the INF Treaty is just a start. General Secretary Gorbachev has described the strategic weapons of our two countries as the "root problem." I couldn't agree more. The problems ahead are many and will take hard work and creativity to overcome. But we already agree on the end result -- a fifty-percent reduction in our strategic nuclear forces. The task now is to agree on how to achieve those radical reductions in a manner that is stabilizing, effectively verifiable, and equitable, placing proper limits on the most threatening offensive forces and enabling us to move toward a safer and more stable strategic balance combining strategic defenses and deep reductions in offensive forces. We should draw confidence from the INF Treaty that such a solution can be found in this area, as in other important issues in our relations -- human rights, regional affairs, and bilateral relations.

We never could have accomplished these goals without hard work on both sides. I would like to express my thanks to the United States INF delegation -- and especially Ambassador Mike Glitman -- and to the Soviet delegation, led by Ambassadors Medvedev and Obukhov. Had it not been for the dedication, skill, and determination of the men and women on these delegations, we would not be having this ceremony today. To all of you, I want to say: You have served your countries well. And I am going to propose to General Secretary Gorbachev that we issue one last instruction to you: Get some well-deserved rest.

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Our thanks are due also to Secretary Shultz and Foreign Minister Shevardnadze. When it appeared that the obstacles to an agreement might be too much to overcome, they helped cut through the thickets. And now that they have helped bring the INF Treaty to its conclusion, the General Secretary and I agree that they should bring the full force of their remarkable energy and wisdom to bear on the work in front of us, an agreement to reduce by half the strategic offensive arsenals of both sides. In other words, the instructions I just suggested for the INF delegations doesn't apply to you two.

In sum, I believe that the INF Treaty brings with it clear possibilities for dramatic further progress. We have set lofty goals. Our challenge is to meet them. Any new strategic arms treaty will have to meet exacting standards, as did the INF Treaty. But a first step has been taken, and I am determined that we pursue the quest for a stronger peace. The INF Treaty must be a beginning, not an end. Our goal is a safer, more stable strategic balance over the long term, that protects us and our friends and allies, and the peace of the world. The work has only begun.

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MESSAGE TO THE AMERICAN AND SOVIET PEOPLES

Good Evening:

Today in Washington, General Secretary Gorbachev and I began meetings with two purposes in mind: first, to sign the agreement we have reached eliminating an entire class of US and Soviet intermediate-range nuclear missiles; and second, to discuss openly and honestly the broad range of other issues that confront our two nations.

I would like to reflect for a moment on how far we have come and where we have yet to go.

The people of my generation have seen an amazing parade of changes in our lifetime. Airplanes -- once held together with thin metal wire -- have given way to huge, graceful ships of the air which can carry hundreds of people in comfort. Great space-ships have spanned the solar system and taken brave astronauts to the moon. As I speak, the tiny Voyager spacecraft carries America's global message to distant galaxies while Soviet cosmonauts set new standards of human endurance.

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BY NARA MN, DATE 4/19/13

When you reach my age, you have seen so much change that nothing seems outside the realm of possibility -- given the will of the human spirit to move forward.

The people of my generation have also seen changes for the worse. The human species has applied its technical and innovative energy to waging conflict and enforcing tyranny as well. Wars are raging right now in distant lands -- Afghanistan, Nicaragua, Angola, Cambodia. The violence and horror increase with each passing year. While babies starve in Ethiopia, the very food that would save their lives is destroyed by misguided policies and continuing strife.

Indeed, the capacity for destruction now spans the globe. Must we accept this state of affairs indefinitely?

Surely we can do better. Surely we can be equally creative in finding ways to safeguard our future and improve our lives. I think we can. I think we must.

The United States and the Soviet Union have very different histories and political philosophies. We have profound political and moral disagreements that are not changed by the signing of any agreement. But we are all members of that remarkable, talented species: humankind. Our common heritage includes the

poetry of Pushkin and Walt Whitman, the music of Tchaikovsky and Gershwin, the dance artistry of Nijinsky and Martha Graham. The same creative energy that produced this heritage is able to find ways of preserving it.

When the General Secretary and I signed our names, committing our nations to comply with the terms of the Treaty on Intermediate-range Nuclear Forces, we took a step in this direction.

We signed an historic agreement to eliminate an entire class of Soviet and American nuclear missiles. This agreement is the first in human history that actually reduces the nuclear threat. All the agreements of the past decades -- well-intentioned as they were -- were flawed because, without exception, they simply limited or channeled in other directions, increases in nuclear weaponry. This approach did not stop the arms buildup; it did not reduce the threat. More and more weapons were deployed and the threat grew larger. And, to be frank, serious concerns are raised by Soviet non-compliance with some of the provisions of those agreements. A more constructive approach is needed.

No agreement does everything. But we have now embarked in what I hope will be a new direction. In addition to signing that Treaty, General Secretary Gorbachev and I have pointed the way to the vital task that must follow -- deep, stabilizing, and effectively verifiable reductions in the enormous strategic offensive nuclear arsenals that could destroy life on this planet.

And we Americans believe strongly that one way to build a safer world is through increasing reliance on defenses, which threaten no one, rather than on the threat of offensive retaliation. And that is why we are investigating the feasibility of effective strategic defenses, in the research and development program known as the Strategic Defense Initiative. The world knows that the Soviet Union itself is deeply engaged in its own strategic defense programs, so there is absolutely no reason why we should not work together to move toward a system of deterrence based more and more on defenses.

At the same time, we must not lose sight of why arms reductions are important -- that is, to reduce the risk of not just nuclear war, but all war. So while we search for ways to diminish the threat, we must also address the real causes of tension.

That is why General Secretary Gorbachev and I will also be reviewing the entire, broad spectrum of U.S.-Soviet relations. Many issues are on the agenda in addition to arms reduction, and on some of them, unfortunately, we have not made as much progress as we would like. Our relationship needs greater trust and cooperation across the board in order to improve. Only deeds will dispel the distrust.

So we will talk about human rights: issues such as the freedom to speak and worship and travel and emigrate; about regional conflicts: Afghanistan, Iran-Iraq, southern Africa and

Cambodia; and about our bilateral relations: exchanges of people and cultural values. We will also take time to discuss the world in a broader sense: the global developments that are transforming economic, political and security relations as we approach the next century. I plan to convey to the General Secretary the sincere goodwill of the American people toward the many nationalities and peoples of the Soviet Union.

The task before us will require determination and patience. We have many years of history to learn from. I do not suggest that that history be forgotten: it is instructive. There will no doubt be some setbacks along the way. But with realism and a Soviet commitment, I am confident we can make the world a better place.

Thank you and God bless you.

PRESIDENT REAGAN'S DRAFT TOAST
DECEMBER 8 WHITE HOUSE STATE DINNER
FOR GENERAL SECRETARY GORBACHEV

Mr. General Secretary and Mrs. Gorbachev, Foreign Minister and Mrs. Shevardnadze, honored guests:

As we complete the first full day of this historic meeting, it's appropriate to look back for a moment at the extraordinary developments of the past two years, and at the extraordinary significance of what is taking place. For we find ourselves today in the vanguard of a dramatic march of events which has captured the attention of our two peoples and the entire world.

Since you and I first met in Geneva in November, 1985, Mr. General Secretary, our two countries have moved steadily into a new period in the history of our relations.

-- The highlight of your visit is the signing of the first U.S.-Soviet arms control agreement in nearly a decade -- the first ever to mandate actual and radical reductions in our arsenals of nuclear weapons. We are making significant progress in other important areas of arms control, and have the opportunity, with mutual commitment and hard work, to achieve much more in the coming months.

-- In the field of human rights, our dialogue has improved considerably, and we acknowledge concrete steps taken in that area. These are matters of deep concern and conviction to

Americans. Continuing progress in human rights will add immeasurably to the depth and closeness of our political relations.

-- Our recent discussions of regional conflicts have confirmed serious differences of policy and strategic interest. Yet in some areas there is potential common ground in the recognition that political solutions are preferable to fruitless continued war. Our own dialogue will continue, because of the importance to our relations of achieving progress in this area.

-- American and Soviet citizens, official and unofficial, young and old, are seeing more of each other than ever before. We hope this will contribute to a broader understanding of our very different societies and political systems. The differences between us, of course, go deeper than personal misunderstandings; however, I hope to leave a legacy of expanding people-to-people exchanges, particularly among young people, to help a new generation build a foundation for more constructive relations.

A century and a half ago, the brilliant French observer Tocqueville foresaw that someday our two countries would become the major countries of the world. (CHECK QUOTE.) History, geography, the blessings of resources, and the hard work of our peoples have made it so. And between us there has also been a profound competition of political philosophy, making us the

protagonists of an age-old human drama. Mankind's ancient and most fundamental beliefs about the relationship of the citizen to the state, and of man to his Creator, are at the core of today's very contemporary competition between our two very modern countries. History has indeed endowed our relationship with a profound significance.

Certainly we will not settle those issues here. But the tasks before us require a full awareness of the relevance and seriousness of those issues, as well as of the other, more immediate issues at stake. And we can fulfill our responsibility for the survival of the planet by constructively addressing our present agenda.

Already, by virtue of hard work and hard bargaining, we have accomplished a lot. Our negotiators deserve great credit. But we cannot afford to rest. There is still much work to be done. Time and history are marching on. Our relations must keep pace with new challenges.

In that spirit, I offer a toast -- a commitment, on behalf of the American people, of seriousness, goodwill, and hope for the future.

General Secretary and Mrs. Gorbachev, to your health!

Nah zdah-ROHV-yeh!

PRESIDENT REAGAN'S DRAFT TOAST
DECEMBER 9 SOVIET RETURN DINNER

Mr. General Secretary and Mrs. Gorbachev, Foreign Minister and Mrs. Shevardnadze, Ambassador and Mrs. Dubinin, ladies and gentlemen!

At the end of our second full day, in a visit which has witnessed the signing of an historic arms reduction treaty, we have reason to be pleased at what we have accomplished. But we can never really afford to become satisfied or complacent over the state of our relationship.

Just now, we can be pleased that our relations are moving forward at an impressive pace. But as we look ahead to the future, it is important to ask ourselves how can we best avoid the fluctuations, the ups and downs that have marked our relations in the past. How, in other words, can we put this relationship on a more durable footing?

Realism, confidence, dialogue -- these principles should be our compass.

On too many issues, we have fundamental differences. This is a reality, and should never be forgotten. But our basic differences do not rule out mutually advantageous and constructive dealings between our two great countries and our talented

peoples. We must be realistic about what is possible between us. Attempts to disregard or downplay the differences only heighten the danger of miscalculation, a danger which has in the past taken a heavy toll on our relations. But we can afford to be optimistic as well as realistic.

In the past, some of the unexpected and unwanted disruptions in our relations have stemmed from events in the developing world where our policies or interests or allies came into conflict. Experience teaches us that a sense of responsibility, and restraint, in the international arena will help provide a more durable basis for our relations. As I often say, we don't mistrust each other because we're armed; we're armed because we mistrust each other. And a major source of mistrust and tension lies in these geopolitical conflicts.

To achieve this realism and this restraint, it is essential for us to maintain our frank dialogue on these matters. We must not shirk from topics which might be painful to discuss. We must never believe it is better to ignore difficult subjects in order to avoid disagreement.

Over the past couple of years, we have built an impressive record of contacts on the entire range of issues which interest us both. The INF treaty is but one highly visible result of that dialogue. Now, as we move forward toward further progress in arms reduction, we should redouble our search for more enduring understandings and progress in ending the world's regional

conflicts. Similarly, as I said last night, progress in human rights would add a new depth and closeness to our relationship. Experience has shown that these problems can derail our relations, including our vital efforts for arms reduction.

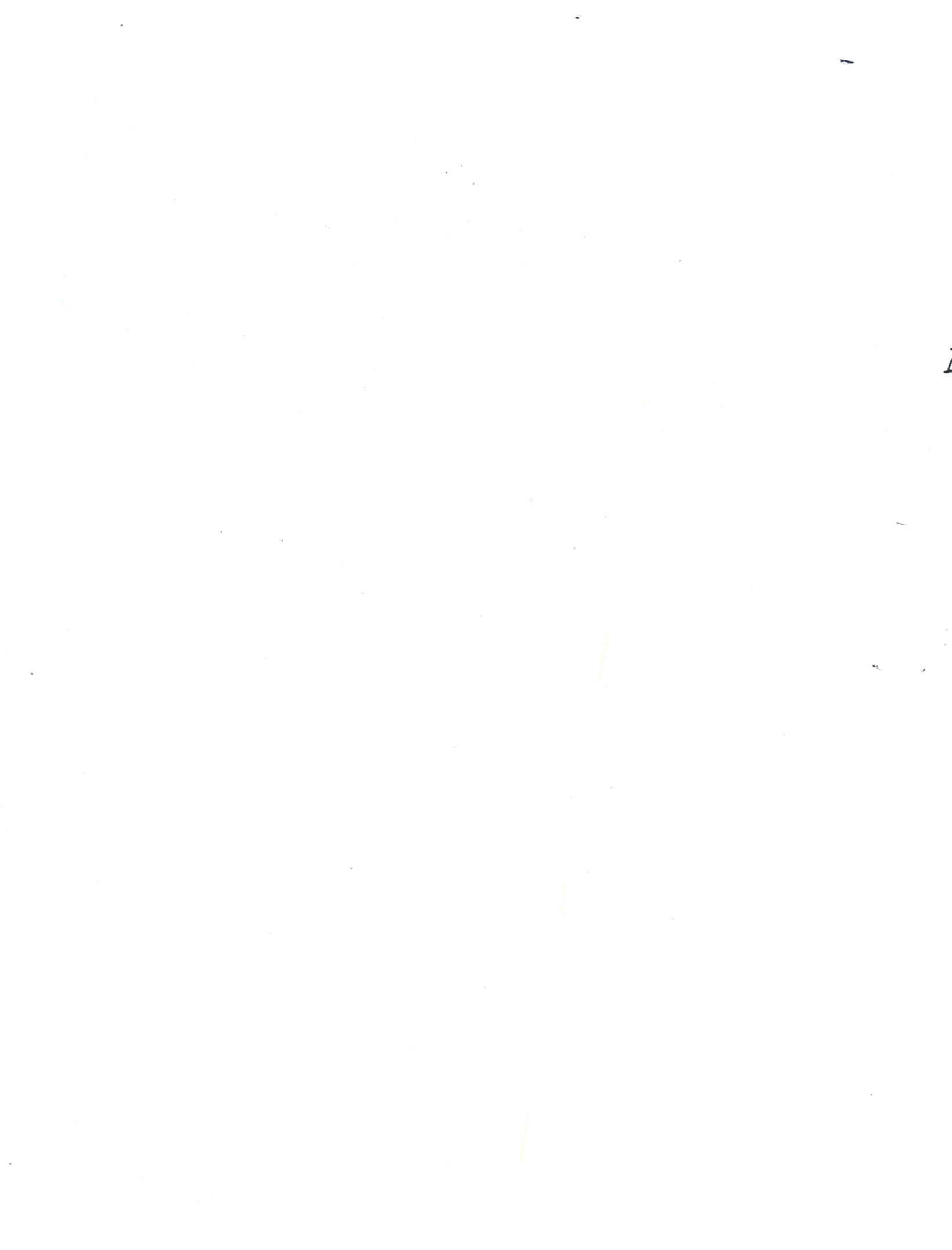
As we look to the future, let us always remember that our responsibility to our own peoples, to each other, and to the world as a whole, dictates a determined effort to improve all dimensions of our relationship. That is my heartfelt goal.

Mr. General Secretary and Mrs. Gorbachev! Foreign Minister and Mrs. Shevardnadze! Ambassador and Mrs. Dubinin!

Thank you for your hospitality this evening!

To your health!

Nah zdah-ROHV-yeh!





November 24, 1987

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MEMORANDUM FOR MR. FRANK C. CARLUCCI
THE WHITE HOUSE

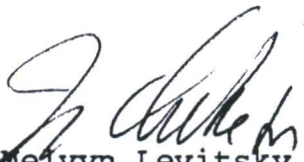
Subject: Transmittal of Public Statements for the Summit

Attached are the requested draft public remarks for the President's use during the December summit.

- December 8: Arrival Statement
- December 8: Remarks at INF Signing Ceremony } *superseded by 8717 add-on*
- December 8: Toast for State Dinner
- December 9: Toast for Reciprocal Dinner

The President's Message to the American and Soviet Peoples will be transmitted under separate cover on November 25.

The Annotated Agenda for the Summit will be provided on Friday, November 27, after we have had a chance to firm up dates and schedules following the Geneva Ministerial.


Melvyn Levitsky
Executive Secretary

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Dept. of State Guidelines, July 21, 1997
BY MN NARA, DATE 4/19/13

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DECL: OADR

Superseded
by 8717 2/11/77

ARRIVAL STATEMENT - DECEMBER 8

I am pleased to welcome you, Mr. General Secretary, to the White House. It has taken a long time to get you here, but then again, I have never expected U.S.-Soviet relations to be easy. We have lots of differences -- some going back for decades -- that require steady work and lots of attention. I believe there's an old Russian proverb that says "go a little slower and get a little farther." (TEE-sheh YED-ish, DAHL-sheh BOO-desh) Well, Mr. General Secretary, you may not have realized it, but this has been my philosophy about U.S.-Soviet relations for a long time.

Your visit marks the third time that we have met; when I visit you in Moscow next spring, that will be the fourth. My objective at these meetings, and I think it is yours also, is to tackle the full-range of issues before our two countries in a straightforward, businesslike and systematic fashion. More than two years ago in Geneva, we established a four-part dialogue on human rights, arms reductions, regional conflicts, and bilateral affairs. The solid achievements we have registered since then -- including the INF Treaty we will sign tomorrow -- testify to the soundness of this approach.

What is needed now is to continue this process in order to find further ways to address the sources of mistrust and tension that have characterized East-West relations for most of this century. As I have already said, I never expected this to be easy. But I think we are on the right path.

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(5225M)

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Exposed by
8717 11/1/71

PRESIDENT'S COMMENTS AT INF SIGNING

Today, General Secretary Gorbachev and I are meeting to sign an historic agreement -- the INF Treaty.

Although only our two countries -- the United States and the Soviet Union -- are parties to this agreement, it carries an important message of hope for all nations. For the first time ever, the two leading nuclear powers have agreed to reduce their levels of nuclear weapons.

In 1981, I established an ambitious goal for these negotiations, which our NATO allies strongly endorsed. Previous arms control agreements had simply established the ground rules for a continued build-up in nuclear weapons. I proposed instead reductions of INF missile systems to zero -- the elimination, for the first time ever, of an entire class of nuclear weapons.

We have achieved that goal -- and more -- difficult as it sounded then.

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Dept. of State Guidelines, July 21, 1997
BY 177 NARA, DATE 4/19/12

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Under this Treaty, the Soviet Union will destroy its intermediate-range missile systems, including the SS-20, as well as its shorter-range missile systems, which together are today capable of delivering over 1500 nuclear warheads. We will destroy our Pershing II and ground-launched cruise missiles, capable of delivering over 400 nuclear warheads. Both sides are also destroying their non-deployed missiles and launchers.

The West will be more secure after these reductions, which were achieved without compromising the standards we set for any such agreement more than five years ago.

- The treaty provides for U.S. - Soviet equality.
- It relates only to our systems and those of the Soviet Union, but not to the independent nuclear forces of our allies or our established programs of cooperation with them;
- It does not affect NATO's conventional forces;

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-- It provides for global reductions, so that the INF missile threat would not simply be transferred from one part of our planet to another; and

-- It provides for effective verification.

It took a long time, and some hard negotiating, but we met each of those standards.

Some of our most difficult negotiations involved the issue of effective verification. But in the end, we achieved the most stringent verification regime in history -- including on-site inspection and short-notice visits to sites suspected of illegal activity. As a result, neither side will be able to covertly maintain a militarily effective INF force. It's a tough regime, but we wouldn't settle for anything less.

We never could have accomplished these goals without hard work on both sides. I would like to express my thanks to the United States INF delegation -- and especially Ambassador

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Mike Glitman -- and to the Soviet delegation, led by Ambassadors Medvedev and Obukhov. Had it not been for their dedication, skill, and determination, we would not be having this ceremony today.

Our thanks are due also to Secretary Shultz and Foreign Minister Shevardnadze. At those times when it appeared that the obstacles to an agreement might be too much to overcome, their personal involvement and perseverance made all the difference. Now that they have seen the INF Treaty successfully to its conclusion, General Secretary Gorbachev and I agree that they should now bring the full force of their energies to bear on achieving an agreement to reduce by half the strategic nuclear arsenals of both sides.

I believe that the INF Treaty brings with it clear possibilities for further progress in reducing the levels of U.S. and Soviet offensive nuclear weapons. We have set ambitious goals that will require long and difficult negotiations. Any new strategic arms treaty will have to meet exacting standards, as did the INF Treaty. But a first step

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has been taken, and I am determined that we should not give up our quest for even greater security now. Above all else, the INF Treaty stands as a symbol to the people of the United States, the Soviet Union, Europe and the rest of the world that, with hard work, patience and unity, security-enhancing and effectively verifiable arms control agreements can be reached.

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(5217M)

PRESIDENT REAGAN'S DRAFT TOAST
DECEMBER 8 WHITE HOUSE STATE DINNER
FOR GENERAL SECRETARY GORBACHEV

Mr. General Secretary and Mrs. Gorbachev, Foreign Minister
and Mrs. Shevardnadze, honored guests:

As we complete the first full day of this historic meeting,
~~I think it would be~~ ^{it's} appropriate to look back for a moment at
the extraordinary developments of the past two years, ^{and at the} ~~even as we~~
~~set our sights on the prospects for the coming months.~~ ^{extraordinary significance of what is taking place.} For we
find ourselves today ⁱⁿ ~~at~~ the ^{vanguard} ~~center~~ of a dramatic march of
events which has captured the attention of our two peoples and
the entire world.

Since you and I first met in Geneva in November, 1985, Mr.
General Secretary, our two countries have moved steadily into a
~~Qualitatively~~ new period in the history of our relations!

-- The highlight of your visit is the signing of the first
U.S.-Soviet arms control agreement in nearly a decade --
the first ever to mandate actual ^{and radical} reductions in our arsenals
of nuclear weapons. We ^{are making} ~~have made~~ significant progress in
other important areas of arms control, and have the
opportunity, with mutual commitment and hard work, to
achieve much more in the coming months.

In the field of human rights, our dialogue has improved considerably, and we acknowledge concrete steps taken in your country of a new attitude, a new approach toward human rights issues. These are matters of deep concern and conviction to Americans. Continuing progress in human rights will add immeasurably to the depth and closeness of our political relations. We have begun a broad two-way dialogue on these questions and look forward to its continuation.

Our recent discussions of regional ^{conflicts have} ~~issues~~ confirmed serious differences of policy and strategic interest. Yet in some areas ~~has been unprecedented.~~ This has afforded us a better understanding of one another's positions, and holds forth ~~are preferable to fruitless continued war.~~ ^{There is potential common ground in the recognition that political solutions} Our own dialogue will continue, because of the importance to our relations of achieving ~~at resolving these conflicts around the globe.~~ ^{the promise, however fragile, of genuine cooperation aimed} progress in this area.

American and Soviet citizens, official and unofficial, young and old, are seeing more of each other than ever before. ^{We hope this will contribute} ~~contributing~~ to a broader understanding of our very different societies and ^{political systems.} ~~lifestyles, while discovering that~~ ^{The differences between us, of course,} ~~go deeper than personal misunderstandings; however, I hope to leave a~~ ^{legacy of expanding} ~~in some important areas, we really have a lot in common.~~ ^{particularly among young} ~~people, to help a new generation build a foundation for more constructive~~ ^{will grow and} ~~prosper in the future.~~ ^{relaxms.}

A century and a half ago, the brilliant French observer Tocqueville foresaw that someday our two countries would become the major countries of the world. [check quote.] History, geography, the blessings of resources, the hard work of our peoples have made it so. And between us there has also been a profound competition of political philosophy, making us the protagonists of an age-old human drama. Mankind's ancient and most fundamental beliefs about the relationship of the citizen to the state, and of man to his Creator, are at the core of today's very contemporary

competition between our two very modern countries. History has indeed endowed our relationship with a profound significance.

Certainly we will not settle these issues here. But the tasks before us require a full awareness of the relevance and seriousness of these issues, ~~for~~ as well as of the other, more immediate issues at stake. And we can fulfill our responsibility for the survival of a planet by constructively addressing our present agenda.

④ ~~Already, we have~~, by virtue of hard work and hard bargaining, we have accomplished a lot. Our negotiators deserve great credit. But we cannot afford to rest, ~~on our laurels~~ → There is still much work to be done, ~~on the many issues that define our complex relationship~~. Time and history are marching on. Our relationship ~~ship~~ must keep pace with ^{new} ~~the~~ challenges.

In that spirit, I ~~will end my remarks, so that this dinner~~ ^{offer a toast - a commitment, on behalf of the} American people, of seriousness, goodwill, and hope for the future. ~~in your honor can move forward.~~

General Secretary and Mrs. Gorbachev, to your health!

Nah zdah-ROH ^{V-yeh!} ~~yes-ya!~~

(5218M)

PRESIDENT REAGAN'S DRAFT TOAST
DECEMBER 9 SOVIET RETURN DINNER

Mr. General Secretary and Mrs. Gorbachev, Foreign Minister and Mrs. Shevardnadze, Ambassador and Mrs. Dubinin, ladies and gentlemen!

^{At}
~~(As we come to~~ the end of ^{our} ~~your~~ second full day, ~~in~~
~~Washington,~~ in a visit which has witnessed the signing of an
historic ^{arms reduction} ~~treaty, to do away with an entire class of nuclear~~
~~weapons,~~ we have reason to be pleased at what we have
accomplished. But ~~as I noted in my remarks last night,~~ we can
never really afford to become satisfied or complacent over the
state of our relationship. ~~It is too important.~~

Just now, we can be pleased that ^{our} ~~relations between our two~~
~~countries~~ are moving forward at an impressive pace. But as we
look ahead to the future, ~~I think~~ it is important to ask
ourselves how can we best avoid the fluctuations, the ups and
downs ^{that} ~~which~~ have ^{marked our} ~~characterized~~ U.S. Soviet relations in the
past. How, in other words, can we put this relationship on a
~~steadier,~~ more durable footing?

Realism, ^{restraint,} ~~consistency,~~ dialogue -- these principles should be our compass, ~~as together we chart our future course.~~

On too many issues, we have

^ Fundamental differences, ~~characterize our two systems of government and our two societies.~~ This is a reality, and should ~~not~~ ^{never} be forgotten. But our basic differences do not rule out mutually advantageous and constructive ~~relations~~ ^{dealings} between our two great countries and our talented peoples. We must be realistic about what is possible between us. Attempts to disregard or downplay ~~our~~ ^{the} differences only heighten the danger of miscalculation, a danger which has in the past taken a heavy toll on our relations. But we can afford to be optimistic as well as realistic.

In the past, some of the unexpected and unwanted disruptions in ~~Both of us should work hard to ensure greater consistency~~ ~~our relations have stemmed from events in the developing world where our~~ ~~in our relationship. It is a good thing to see the~~ ~~politics or interests or allies come into conflict. Experience teaches us that~~ ~~relationship improving. But it is equally important that we~~ ~~a sense of responsibility, and restraint, in the international arena will help~~ ~~commit ourselves to stay the course, avoiding the zigzags which~~ ~~provide a more durable basis for our relations. As I often say, we don't~~ ~~have in the past too often characterized our dealings with one~~ ~~mistrust each other because we're armed; we're armed because we~~ ~~another. Our long term interest in stable and predictable~~ ~~mistrust each other. And a major source of mistrust and tension lies~~ ~~relations make this consistency not only possible, but~~ ~~essential.~~ ~~in these geopolitical conflicts.~~

This realism and this restraint, it is essential for
~~The way~~ To achieve such consistency and realism is through
us to maintain our
~~frank and continuing~~ dialogue on ~~the whole range of issues that~~ *these matters,*
~~concern us both.~~ We must not shirk from topics which might be
 painful to discuss. We must never believe it is better to
 ignore difficult subjects in order to avoid disagreement.

Over the past couple of years, we have built an impressive
 record of contacts on the entire range of issues which interest
 us both. The INF treaty is but one highly visible result of
 that dialogue. Now, as we move forward toward further progress
 in arms ~~control, we must continue~~ *reduction, we should redouble* our search for more enduring
 understandings and results in the ~~equally important areas of~~ *world's regional conflicts. Similarly, as I said last*
~~night, progress in human rights would add a new depth and closeness to our~~
~~human rights, regional conflicts and bilateral relations.~~
~~relationship. Experience has shown that these problems can derail our~~
~~relations, including our vital efforts for arms reduction.~~

As we look to the future, let us always remember that our
 responsibility to our own peoples, to each other, and to the
 world as a whole, dictates a ~~realistic and consistent approach~~ *determined effort to improve all*
~~to our dialogue.~~ *dimensions of our relationship. That is my heartfelt goal.*

Mr. General Secretary and Mrs. Gorbachev! Foreign Minister
 and Mrs. Shevardnadze! Ambassador and Mrs. Dubinin!

Thank you for your hospitality this evening!

To your health!

Nah ~~Zdah Roh Vee Yeh~~
 zdah-ROHV-yeh!



United States Department of State

Washington, D.C. 20520 8717 add-on

November 27, 1987

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MEMORANDUM FOR COLIN L. POWELL
THE WHITE HOUSE

Subject: Revised Public Statements for the Summit

Attached are revised public remarks for the President's use at the December summit:

- The December 8 Arrival Statement
- His Remarks at the INF Signing Ceremony
- His Message to the American and Soviet Peoples

Melvyn W. Mueller
for Melvyn Levitsky
Executive Secretary

Attachments:
Public Statements and Diskette

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Dept. of State Guidelines, July 21, 1997
BY MZ NARA, DATE 4/19/13

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(5219M)

ARRIVAL STATEMENT - DECEMBER 8

General Secretary Gorbachev, Mrs. Gorbachev: Welcome to America. *It's taken a long time to get you here!*

~~The two of us are serious men with serious responsibilities and without illusions. It has been more than a year since we last met. It has been 14 years since one of your predecessors came to the United States. We have a lot of ground to cover.~~ *We know our two governments have major, even profound differences in how we view the burning issues of the day and the basic issues of mankind's political, economic, social and moral existence. But our countries also*

~~We have many differences some going back for decades that require steady work and close attention. During your visit, we will address these differences with the same candor that marked our discussions in Geneva and Reykjavik. Now, as in these two meetings, our goal will be to find the way forward.~~ *And that's why a meeting such as this can do enormous good for the world. I'm glad you've come.*

~~I hope we can do so rapidly. But I believe there's an old Russian proverb that says "go a little slower and get a little farther" (TEE-sheh YED-ish, DAHL sheh BOO desh). What truly matters is getting "a little farther", so that when progress is made, it is genuine progress that can stand the test of time.~~

We have an ambitious agenda.

In a few hours, we will sign an historic first agreement to rid the world of an entire class of nuclear weapons.

During our meetings, we will ~~consider ways to implement our~~ *try to make new progress toward another* ~~historic agreement~~ *cutting* ~~to halve~~ *our strategic nuclear arsenals* ~~in half.~~

We will address the issue of the role and rights of individuals in society.

~~We will discuss candidly the differences of strategic interest that search for common ground that could help and the skills underlie our approaches to conflicts in many regions of the world, conflicts that have brought tragedy for too long to so many peoples of the world. We will try to find a basis for negotiated solutions.~~

And, we will consider what more can be done to nurture contacts between Soviet and American citizens.

~~Mr. General Secretary, I think we're on the right road, and that road, an important aspect of your visit is if we travel it together and follow the star that shows the way, will lead to the opportunity for you to meet the American people. You will find them open, generous and eager to understand your country. While you're here, you'll see only a small part of our country, and the changes that are taking place there. From those That is unfortunate. But you will certainly catch a glimpse of the decades of involvement in American politics. I also should warn tremendous vitality and productive dynamism and creative energy that is you right now that they will speak their minds. They will tell America. We live a free people fiercely proud of our way of life and our you and show you their concerns about the Soviet Union. But I heritage -- this year we celebrate the 200th year of our Constitutional know you will also find that all Americans deeply desire a System -- and a people that also relishes the challenge of the stronger peace and better relations between us. future, of a new century.~~

~~Mr. General Secretary, let's get to work.~~

During your visit you shall no doubt hear voices that may sound unfriendly to the understanding and cooperation that we seek to build. Some of these voices will speak truths that we must all listen to; others will speak less wisely. The voices you hear are called democracy. You will meet with political leaders from both our political parties, and you will hear from all of them of the American people's hopes for a better world and for a more constructive Soviet-American relationship.

Americans have watched with great interest your efforts at reform, seeing in them hope for a better life for your people and perhaps for a new basis for relations between our countries. We wish the Soviet people well in these endeavors.

And so, let's get to work.

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(5225M)

PRESIDENT'S COMMENTS AT INF SIGNING

General Secretary Gorbachev and I are meeting to sign [have just signed] an agreement -- the INF Treaty -- that is historic for several reasons. Above all, for the first time in the nuclear age, we are ^{eliminating} ~~renouncing~~ an entire class of ^{Soviet and American} nuclear weapons. This agreement thus carries an important message of hope for all nations. It demonstrates that ^{persistence, hard work,} ~~imaginativ, realism, and goodwill -- even among powerful countries that are at odds~~ ^{creativity, and persistence can bring agreements that benefit on so many things -- can achieve positive results that make the world safer.} ~~all, even though many basic differences between our two countries endure.~~

The numbers alone demonstrate the value of this agreement. The Soviet Union will destroy all its intermediate-range missile systems, including the SS-20. These ^{Soviet} ~~SS-20~~ ^{deployed} systems ~~are~~ ^(counting all of them, not just those currently deployed) are capable of carrying some ¹⁵⁰⁰ ~~3,000~~ nuclear warheads. We will destroy our Pershing and ground-launched cruise missiles, which ~~(again counting all of them)~~ are capable of carrying some ⁸⁰⁰ ~~800~~ nuclear warheads. *These Pershing and ground-launched cruise missiles will also be destroyed.*

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States and
allies. A
it fit.

But the significance of the Treaty transcends the numbers alone. This Treaty embodies ^{an objective advocated from the start by the United States} ~~concepts that fit~~ the realities of international relations as we come to the end of this century. One of the most important of these is one which General Secretary Gorbachev ^{and I have} ~~has~~ talked about; ~~and one with which I heartily agree~~. That is the recognition that unless all nations are secure in the nuclear age, none can be secure. The INF Treaty will strengthen the security of all. This would not have been possible without the political courage and wisdom of ^{many} leaders, from Europe to Asia. ~~Indeed, I have a message to our~~ ^{friends and} ~~NATO Allies~~ ^{in Europe and Asia:} ~~This is your agreement, too, as it fulfills a goal toward which we have all worked long and hard not together.~~

The Treaty embodies another important principle essential to overcome the mistrust and suspicion of our times -- that is, the need for greater openness in the military forces and programs of our nations. I strongly believe ~~and I think~~ ~~General Secretary Gorbachev does too~~ that if we are to establish a lasting foundation for peaceful U.S.-Soviet relations, it will have to be on the basis of a realistic understanding of each other's intentions. This can come only through greater openness. The INF Treaty contains ^{the most stringent} ~~measures~~ ^{Verification provision in arms control history, measures} that, for the first time, will allow both sides to ~~visit and~~ inspect sites in each other's countries to ensure that the bargain is being fully observed. Some of these inspections will also include the territory of ^{our} ~~the United States~~ NATO

and it includes the territory of the East European States as well.

Allies, which have agreed to be subject to inspection with full respect for their sovereign rights, This openness will be new to both sides and it would be unrealistic to expect it will be free of frictions. But I am confident that honest and full implementation will strengthen the security of both sides.

Important as it is, the INF Treaty is just a start. General Secretary Gorbachev has described the strategic weapons of our two countries as the "root problem." I couldn't agree more. The problems ahead are many and will take hard work and creativity to overcome. But we already agree on the end result -- a fifty-percent reduction in our strategic nuclear forces. ~~and~~ The task now is to agree on how to achieve those ^{radical} 50% reductions in a manner that is stabilizing, ^{effectively} verifiable, and equitable, We should draw confidence from the INF Treaty that such a solution can be found in this area, as in other important issues in our relations -- human rights, regional affairs, and bilateral relations.

Placing proper limits on the threatening strategic forces and enabling us to move toward a stable strategic balance combining strategic defenses and deep reductions in offensive forces.

We never could have accomplished these goals without hard work on both sides. I would like to express my thanks to the United States INF delegation -- and especially Ambassador Mike Glitman -- and to the Soviet delegation, led by Ambassadors Medvedev and Obukhov. Had it not been for the dedication, skill, and determination of the men and women on these

delegations, we would not be having this ceremony today. To all of you, I want to say: You have served your countries well. And I am going to propose to General Secretary Gorbachev that we issue one last instruction to you: Get some rest.

Our thanks are due also to Secretary Shultz and Foreign Minister Shevardnadze. When it appeared that the obstacles to an agreement might be too much to overcome, they cut through the thickets -- and made all the difference. And now that they have ^{helped bring} ~~seen~~ the INF Treaty to its conclusion, ^{the} General Secretary ~~(Gorbachev)~~ and I agree that they should bring the full force of their remarkable energy and wisdom to bear on ^{the work in front of us,} ~~achieving~~ an agreement to reduce by half the strategic ^{offensive} nuclear arsenals of both sides. In other words, the instructions I just suggested for the INF delegations doesn't apply to you two.

In sum, I believe that the INF Treaty brings with it clear possibilities for ^{dramatic} further progress. ~~in reducing the levels of U.S. and Soviet offensive nuclear weapons.~~ We have set lofty goals. Our challenge is to meet them. Any new strategic arms treaty will have to meet exacting standards, as did the INF Treaty. But a first step has been taken, and I am determined that we pursue the quest for a stronger peace. The INF Treaty must be a beginning, not an end. ^{Our goal is a safer, more stable strategic balance over the long term, that protects us and our friends and allies,} The work has only begun.

and the peace of the world.

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(5216M)

MESSAGE TO THE AMERICAN AND SOVIET PEOPLES

Good Evening:

Today in Washington, General Secretary Gorbachev and I began meetings with two purposes in mind: ^{first,} to sign the agreement we have reached eliminating ^{an entire class of US and Soviet} intermediate-range nuclear missiles; ^{second,} and to discuss ^{openly and honestly} the broad range of other issues that ^{confront} face our two nations.

I would like to reflect for a moment on how far we have come and where we have yet to go.

The people of my generation have seen an amazing parade of changes in our lifetime. Airplanes -- once held together with thin metal wire -- have given way to huge, graceful ships of the air which can carry hundreds of people in comfort. Great spaceships have spanned the solar system and taken ^{brave} ~~some members~~ ^{astronauts} ~~of our global community~~ to the moon. As I speak, the tiny Voyager spacecraft carries ^{Americans} ~~our~~ global message to distant ^{Soviet} galaxies while ^A cosmonauts set new standards of human endurance.

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When you reach my age, you (~~find you~~) have seen so much change that nothing seems outside the realm of possibility -- given the will of the human spirit to move forward.

The people of my generation have also seen changes for the worse. The human species has applied its technical and innovative energy to ^{waging} human conflict, ^{and enforcing tyranny} as well. Wars are raging right now in distant lands -- ^{Afghanistan, Nicaragua,} Angola, Cambodia, ~~Afghanistan~~. The violence and horror increase with each passing year. While babies starve in Ethiopia, the very food that would save their lives is destroyed by ^{misguided policies} ~~internal divisions~~ and continuing strife.

Indeed, ^{the} ~~our~~ capacity ^{for destruction} ~~to destroy each other~~ now spans the globe. ~~We all live under a threat of nuclear destruction that is too terrible to contemplate and too real to ignore.~~ Must we accept this state of affairs indefinitely?

^{we can do better. Surely we can be equally creative in finding ways to safeguard our future and improve our lives.} Surely the ~~human species, which has developed these awesome weapons, can apply its intellect and collective wisdom to~~ ~~eliminating this threat.~~ I think we can. I think we must.

The United States and the Soviet Union have ^{very} different histories, ^{and political philosophies.} ~~social and legal systems, religions, and world-views.~~ We have ^{profound political and moral disagreements} ~~political differences~~ that are not changed by the signing of any agreement. ~~But in today's world, our two nations, and all others, have to learn to live together as harmoniously as we can on the one planet we share.~~

with But

We are all members of ^{that} a remarkable, talented species: humankind. Our common heritage includes the poetry of Pushkin and Walt Whitman, the music of Tchaikovsky and Gershwin, the dance artistry of Nijinsky and Martha Graham. The same creative energy that produced this heritage should be able to find ways of preserving it.

~~Our two great and talented nations together wield great power: power that can be used for constructive purposes and power that can be unleashed to destroy. Today we have agreed to put aside a small portion of the power we have to destroy. It is only a small step, but it points in the direction of further steps toward the goal of a safer and more stable world.~~

When the General Secretary and I signed our names, ~~to the TMI~~ committing our nations to comply with the terms of the Treaty on Intermediate-range Nuclear Forces, we took a step in this direction.

We signed an historic agreement to eliminate an entire class ^{Soviet and American} of nuclear missiles. This agreement is the first in human history that actually reduces the nuclear threat. All the agreements of the past decades -- well-intentioned as they were -- were flawed because, without exception, they simply limited, ^{or channeled in other directions} ~~future~~ increases in ^{nuclear weaponry,} ~~the numbers of nuclear weapons.~~

with

~~As we have seen over the decades~~ This approach ~~held little~~ ^{buildup;} ~~promise for major change.~~ It did not stop the arms ~~race;~~ it did not reduce the threat; ~~it did not make our world safer.~~ With each successive agreement, ~~more and more weapons were deployed~~ and the threat grew larger. ~~And, to be frank,~~ ^{serious concerns have} ~~raised by~~ ^{non} ~~compliance~~ with some of the provisions of those agreements. A more constructive approach is needed.

What I hope will be

No agreement does everything. But we have now embarked in a new direction. ~~Today~~ ^{In addition to signing that Treaty,} General Secretary Gorbachev and I ~~took an~~ ^{have} ~~historic~~ ^{pointed} step that points the way to the vital task that must follow -- deep, stabilizing, ^{and effectively verifiable} reductions in the enormous ~~long range~~ ^{strategic offensive} nuclear arsenals that could destroy life on this planet.

~~The Treaty on intermediate-range forces, then, is not an end, but a beginning. The United States and the Soviet Union will begin to dismantle the huge nuclear arsenals we have amassed over the last forty years -- the forty years that have gone by since we were allies in the struggle against Hitler, Fascism.~~ At the same time, we must not lose sight of why arms reductions are important -- that is, to reduce the risk of ~~nuclear~~ ^{not just nuclear war, but all war.} war. So while we search for ways to diminish the nuclear threat, we must ~~proceed in a manner which enhances stability and maintains~~ ^{also address the real causes of tension,} ~~deterrence.~~

And we Americans believe strongly that one way to build a safer world is through increasing reliance on defenses, which threaten none, rather than on the threat of offensive retaliation. And that is why we are investigating the feasibility of effective strategic defenses, in the research and development program known as the Strategic Defense Initiative. The world knows that the Soviet Union itself is deeply engaged in its own strategic defense programs, so there is absolutely no reason why we should not work together to move toward a system of deterrence based more and more on defenses.

There are many weapons, so the process will not be a rapid one. It has taken us a long time to reach the agreement we signed earlier today. There are reasons for this. A Russian proverb says, "measure seven times, but cut the cloth just once."

That is why

~~In the remaining days of his visit,~~ General Secretary Gorbachev and I will ~~also be reviewing~~ ^{also be reviewing} the entire, broad spectrum of U.S.-Soviet relations. Many issues are on the agenda in addition to arms ~~control~~ ^{reductions}, and on some of them, unfortunately, we have not made as much progress as we would like. Our relationship needs greater trust and cooperation across the board in order to improve. Only deeds will dispel the distrust.

So we will talk about human rights: issues such as the ^{speech and worship and} freedom to travel and emigrate; about regional conflicts: Afghanistan, Iran-Iraq, southern Africa and Cambodia; and about our bilateral relations: exchanges of people and cultural values. We will also take time to discuss the world in a broader sense: the global developments that are transforming economic, political and security relations as we approach the next century. ~~As President~~ I plan to convey to the General Secretary the sincere goodwill of the American people toward the many nationalities and peoples of the Soviet Union.

The task before us will require determination and patience. We have many years of history to learn from. I do not suggest that that history be forgotten: it is instructive. There will no doubt be some setbacks along the way. But with ~~unity of~~ ^{realism and a} ~~purpose and our eyes on the future,~~ ^{firm commitment,} I am confident we can make the world a better place.

God bless you.

Thank you and ~~"dah svee DAI nya vuh mosk-VIEH (see you in~~
~~Moscow)~~