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THE WHITE HOUSE

Office of the Press Secretary

For Immediate Release

November 23, 1985

RADIO ADDRESS  
OF THE PRESIDENT  
TO THE NATION

The Oval Office

12:06 P.M. EST

THE PRESIDENT: My fellow Americans, this has been a busy and eventful week for Nancy and me. Now that the summit in Geneva is behind us, we need to look ahead and ask, where do we go from here?

As I told Congress, we've made a fresh start in U.S.-Soviet relations. Every issue was on the table, and our 15 hours of discussions were tough and lively throughout. I got a better perspective from listening to General Secretary Gorbachev, and I think he went home with a lot to think about, too.

I plan to meet with Mr. Gorbachev again next year in Washington, but between now and then, we have much work to do. Opportunities to address important problems of Soviet-American relations should not be squandered. We must always be realistic about our deep and abiding differences, but we should be working for progress wherever possible.

On arms control, the Soviets, after several years of resisting talks, have now agreed that each side should cut nuclear arms by 50 percent in appropriate categories. And in our joint statement, we called for early progress on this, directing the emphasis of the talks toward what has been the chief U.S. goal all along -- deep, equitable, fully-verifiable reductions in offensive weapons. If there's a real interest on the Soviet side, there's a chance the talks can begin to make headway.

Mr. Gorbachev and I discussed our work on S.D.I. -- America's Strategic Defense Initiative. I told him that we are investigating non-nuclear defensive systems designed to destroy offensive missiles and protect people. Although reluctant to acknowledge it, the Soviets have been carrying forward a research program far more extensive than ours on their own version of S.D.I.

I think it's fair to point out that the Soviets' main aim at Geneva was to force us to drop S.D.I. I think I can also say that after Geneva, Mr. Gorbachev understands we have no intention of doing so. Far from it, we want to make strategic defense a strong protector of the peace.

A research and testing program that may one day provide a peace shield to protect against nuclear attack is a deeply hopeful vision. And we should all be cooperating to bring that vision of peace alive for the entire world.

Regional conflicts were prominent in our discussions, and we'll be watching very closely for any change in Soviet activities in the Third World. Another resounding vote of the U.N. General Assembly has just called for Soviet withdrawal from Afghanistan. Next month, a new round of talks on this question takes place, also under United Nation auspices. If these talks are to succeed, the Soviets must provide a timetable for getting out, and recognize that the freedom fighters will not be conquered.

MORE

On bilateral and human rights questions, there were some small, encouraging steps before the summit, and in the agreements we reached there, to promote people-to-people contacts. In both areas, we're hoping greater steps will follow. As I also told the Congress, human rights is a true peace issue.

If there is one conclusion to draw from our Fireside Summit, it's that American policies are working. In a real sense, preparations for the summit started 5 years ago when, with the help of Congress, we began strengthening our economy, restoring our national will, and rebuilding our defense and alliances.

America is strong again and American strength has caught the Soviets' attention. They recognize that the United States is no longer just reacting to world events; we are in the forefront of a powerful, historic tide for freedom and opportunity, for progress and peace.

There's never been a greater need for courage and steadiness than now. Our strategic modernization program is an incentive for the Soviets to negotiate in earnest. But if Congress fails to support the vital defense efforts needed, then the Soviets will conclude that America's patience and will are paper thin, and the world will become more dangerous again.

Courage and steadiness are all important for freedom fighters too. I made it clear in Geneva that America embraces all those who resist tyranny and struggle for freedom. Breaking faith with freedom fighters would signal that aggression carries no risk. And this we will not allow.

My fellow Americans, we are entering a season of hope. If we remain resolute for freedom and peace, if we keep faith with God. Then our American family, 238 million strong, will even more -- be even more to be thankful for next year.

Again it's wonderful to be home; so until next week, thanks for listening and God bless you.

END

12:11 P.M. EST

13  
11/23/85

KT

(Elliott)  
November 22, 1985  
4:30 p.m.

RK

PRESIDENTIAL RADIO TALK: GENEVA SUMMIT  
SATURDAY, NOVEMBER 23, 1985

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Courage and steadiness are all important for freedom fighters too. I made it clear in Geneva that America's heart and commitment embrace all those who bravely resist tyranny and struggle for freedom. [ Breaking faith with freedom fighters would not only be morally wrong, it would signal that aggression carries no risk. ] This we cannot and will not allow.

My fellow Americans, we are entering a season of hope. If we remain resolute for freedom and peace, if we keep faith with the God whose Divine mercy has showered us with such blessings of

abundance and love, then our American family, 238 million strong, will have even more to be thankful for next year.

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KCA

(Elliott)  
November 22, 1985  
4:00 p.m. R-11

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# NATIONAL SECURITY COUNCIL EXECUTIVE SECRETARY REFERRAL

TIME STAMP

85 NOV 22 11:22

SYSTEM I LOG NUMBER: 9411

ACTION OFFICER: SESTANOVICH

DUE: ASAP  
**URGENT**

- Prepare Memo Martin to Chew
- Prepare Memo Martin to Elliott
- Prepare Memo \_\_\_\_\_ to \_\_\_\_\_

\*\*\* PUT RESPECTIVE STAFF OFFICER'S NAME IN MARGIN BESIDE CHANGES.

CONCURRENCES/COMMENTS\*

DUE: ASAP

\*PHONE to action officer at ext. 3854

- |   |  |  |
|---|--|--|
| <input type="checkbox"/> Burghardt          | <input type="checkbox"/> Lehman                      | <input type="checkbox"/> Sable                 |
| <input type="checkbox"/> Cannistraro        | <input checked="" type="checkbox"/> Lenczowski (FYI) | <input type="checkbox"/> Sachs                 |
| <input type="checkbox"/> Childress          | <input type="checkbox"/> Levine                      | <input type="checkbox"/> Sestanovich           |
| <input 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 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 checked="" type="checkbox"/> Fortier | <input 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 checked="" 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: 11/22/85 ACTION/CONCURRENCE/COMMENT DUE BY: 12:30 p.m. TODAY

SUBJECT: RADIO TALK: GENEVA SUMMIT

	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 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 give your recommendations/edits directly to Ben Elliott, with an info copy to my office by 12:30 p.m. today. Thanks.

RESPONSE:

David L. Chew  
Staff Secretary  
Ext. 2702

(Elliott)  
November 22, 1985  
11:00 a.m.

PRESIDENTIAL RADIO TALK: GENEVA SUMMIT  
SATURDAY, NOVEMBER 23, 1985

My fellow Americans, this has been a busy and eventful week for Nancy and me. Now that the summit in Geneva is behind us, we need to look ahead and ask, where do we go from here?

As I told the Congress Thursday evening, I hope to meet Mr. Gorbachev again next summer. <sup>in Washington but</sup> Between now and then, we have much work to do. The opportunity to address important problems of Soviet-American relations should not be squandered. We must always be realistic about our deep and abiding differences, but we should be working for progress wherever possible.

~~\_\_\_\_\_~~  
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frugh and lively throughout I got a better respect for listening to Gorbachev

and I think he went home with a lot to think about, too.

<sup>continuing</sup> On the question of arms control, after several years of ~~blocked talks~~ <sup>we and have DCW</sup> ~~stonewalling~~, the Soviets have now agreed to negotiate on the terms we've urged from the outset -- deep, equitable and fully verifiable cuts in offensive weapons. ~~We~~ <sup>we</sup> agreed that each side should cut ~~offensive~~ nuclear arms by 50 percent in appropriate categories. And in our joint statement, we called for early progress on this, directing the emphasis of the talks toward ~~our~~ <sup>what has been</sup> the ~~chief~~ <sup>US all along -- deep, equitable, fully-verifiable</sup> goal of <sup>weapons</sup> offensive reductions. If there is real interest on the Soviet side, there's a chance the talks can <sup>begin to</sup> make headway.

Mr. Gorbachev and I discussed our work on S.D.I. -- America's Strategic Defense Initiative. I told him that we are investigating non-nuclear defensive systems designed to destroy offensive missiles, and protect people. Although they <sup>are reluctant to</sup> ~~have not~~ ~~so publicly~~ acknowledge it, the Soviets have been carrying

forward a research program far more extensive than ours on their own version of S.D.I.

I think it's fair to point out that the Soviets' main <sup>aim</sup> intention at Geneva was to <sup>force us to drop</sup> ~~kill~~ S.D.I. <sup>I think I can also say that after Geneva</sup> ~~in its crib. I'm pleased~~ Mr Gorbachev <sup>understands we have no intention of doing so. Far from it,</sup> ~~to report the baby escaped unharmed, indeed, untouched, and we~~ <sup>to make strategic defense</sup> ~~plan to nourish and help him grow and develop into~~ a strong protector of the peace.

As I said to Mr. Gorbachev, a research and testing program that may one day provide a peace shield to protect against nuclear attack is a deeply hopeful vision. And we should be cooperating to make that vision of peace real for the entire world.

One issue we will address in the near future is the Soviet Union's record of ~~non~~-compliance <sup>with</sup> ~~on~~ arms control agreements, including SALT II. I brought this problem to Mr. Gorbachev's attention to convey our concern. Let me simply say here that the Soviet Union's record will influence our decision on whether we continue, as we have faithfully done till now, to abide by the provisions of SALT I.

Regional conflicts were a prominent part of our discussions in Geneva, and we'll be watching <sup>very closely</sup> for any change in Soviet activities in the Third World. <sup>this question</sup> Next month, a new round of talks <sup>also</sup> on ~~Afghanistan~~ take place, under U.N. auspices. Another resounding vote of the U.N. General Assembly has just called for Soviet withdrawal <sup>from Afghanistan</sup>. If these talks are to succeed, the Soviets must provide a timetable for getting out, and recognize that the freedom fighters will not be conquered.

On bilateral and human rights questions, there have been some small, encouraging steps forward, and we're hoping greater steps will follow. *As I also told the Congress, human rights is a true peace issue.*

If there is one conclusion to draw from this Fireside Summit, it's that American policies are working. In a real sense, preparations for the summit started 5 years ago when, with the help of Congress, we began strengthening our economy, restoring our national will, and rebuilding our defenses and alliances.

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*before the summit and in the agreements we reached here to promote people-to-people contacts*  
~~in both areas~~  
*In both areas*



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VCT

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November 22, 1985  
11:00 a.m. SS

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ok  
p. 2  
backup  
next yr.

On the question of arms control, after several years of stonewalling, the Soviets have now agreed to negotiate on the terms we've urged from the outset -- deep, equitable and fully verifiable cuts in offensive weapons. We agreed that each side should cut offensive nuclear arms by 50 percent in appropriate categories. And in our joint statement, we called for early progress on this, directing the emphasis of the talks toward our chief goal, offensive reductions. If there is real interest on the Soviet side, there's a chance the talks can make headway.

50% - OK  
appropriate  
categories  
backup  
p. 4

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non-  
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systems  
back-up  
p. 5

Steve  
Skostonovich  
NSC

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Steve  
Skostonovich  
NSC  
Delete

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Steve  
Skostonovich  
NSC  
Dec. 16

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2:00 p.m.

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As I said to Mr. Gorbachev, a research and testing program that may one day provide a peace shield to protect against nuclear attack is a deeply hopeful vision. And we should all be cooperating to bring that vision of peace alive for the entire world.

One issue we will address in the near future is the Soviet Union's record of non-compliance on arms control agreements, including SALT II. I brought this problem to Mr. Gorbachev's attention to convey our concern. Let me simply say here that the Soviet Union's record will influence our decision on whether we continue, as we have faithfully done till now, to abide by the provisions of SALT II.

Regional conflicts were a prominent part of our discussions in Geneva, and we'll be watching for any change in Soviet activities in the Third World. Next month, a new round of talks on Afghanistan take place under U.N. auspices. Another resounding vote of the U.N. General Assembly has just called for Soviet withdrawal. If these talks are to succeed, the Soviets must provide a timetable for getting out, and recognize that the freedom fighters will not be conquered.

On bilateral and human rights questions, there have been some small, encouraging steps forward, and we're hoping greater steps will follow.

If there is one conclusion to draw from this Fireside Summit, it's that American policies are working. In a real sense, preparations for the summit started 5 years ago when, with the help of Congress, we began strengthening our economy, restoring our national will, and rebuilding our defenses and alliances.

America is strong again and American strength has caught the Soviet's attention. They recognize that the United States is no longer just reacting to world events; we are in the forefront of a powerful, historic tide for freedom and opportunity, for progress and peace.

There's never been a greater need for courage and steadiness than now. Our strategic modernization program is an incentive for the Soviets to negotiate in earnest. But if our commitment weakens, if Congress fails to support the vital defense efforts needed, then the Soviets will conclude that America's patience and will are paper thin, and the world will become a more dangerous place.

Courage and steadiness are all important for freedom fighters too. I made it clear in Geneva that America's heart and commitment embrace all those who bravely resist tyranny and struggle for freedom. Breaking faith with freedom fighters would signal that the price of aggression is cheap and carries no risk. This we cannot and will not allow.



My fellow Americans, we are entering the season of hope. If we remain resolute in our commitment to freedom and peace, if we keep faith with the God who, in His Divine mercy has showered us with His blessings of abundance and love, then our American families, 237 million strong, will have even more to be thankful for next year.

It's wonderful to be home; so until next week, thanks for listening and God bless you.

Thank you ladies and gentlemen.

Mr. Speaker, Mr. President, Members of the Congress, distinguished guests, my fellow Americans:

It's great to be home. Nancy and I thank you for this wonderful homecoming. And before I go on I want to say a personal thank you to Nancy. She was an outstanding ambassador of good will for all of us. Thanks, partner.

Mr. Speaker, Senator Dole, I want you to know your statements of support were and are greatly appreciated. You can't imagine how much it means in dealing with the Soviets to have the Congress, the allies, and the American people firmly behind me.

As you know, I have just come from Geneva and talks with General Secretary Gorbachev. In the past few days, we spent over 15 hours in various meetings with the General Secretary and the members of his official party. Approximately 5 of those hours were talks between Mr. Gorbachev and myself, one on one. That was the best part -- Our fireside summit.

There will be, I know, a great deal of commentary and opinion as to what the meetings produced and what they were like. There were over 3,000 reporters in Geneva, so it's possible there will be 3,000 opinions on what happened. Maybe it's the old broadcaster in me but I decided to file my own report directly to you.

We met, as we had to meet. I had called for a fresh start -- and we made that start. I can't claim we had a meeting

of the minds on such fundamentals as ideology or national purpose -- but we understand each other better. That's key to peace. I gained a better perspective; I feel he did, too.

It was a constructive meeting. So constructive, in fact, that I look forward to welcoming Mr. Gorbachev to the United States next year. And I have accepted his invitation to go to Moscow the following year.

I found Mr. Gorbachev to be an energetic defender of Soviet policy. He was an eloquent speaker, and a good listener. Our subject matter was shaped by the facts of this century.

These past 40 years have not been an easy time for the West or the world. You know the facts; there is no need to recite the historical record. Suffice it to say that the United States cannot afford illusions about the nature of the U.S.S.R. We cannot assume that their ideology and purpose will change. This implies enduring competition. Our task is to assure that this competition remains peaceful. With all that divides us, we cannot afford to let confusion complicate things further. We must be clear with each other, and direct. We must pay each other the tribute of candor.

When I took the oath of office for the first time, we began dealing with the Soviet Union in a way that was more realistic than in the recent past. And so, in a very real sense, preparations for the summit started not months ago but 5 years ago when -- with the help of Congress -- we began strengthening our economy, restoring our national will, and rebuilding our defenses and alliances. America is once again strong -- and our

strength has given us the ability to speak with confidence and see that no true opportunity to advance freedom and peace is lost. We must not now abandon policies that work. I need your continued support to keep America strong.

That is the history behind the Geneva summit, that is the context in which it occurred. And may I add that we were especially eager that our meetings give a push to important talks already under way on reducing nuclear weapons. On this subject it would be foolish not to go the extra mile -- or in this case the extra 4,000 miles.

We discussed the great issues of our time. I made clear before the first meeting that no question would be swept aside, no issue buried, just because either side found it uncomfortable or inconvenient.

I brought these questions to the summit and put them before Mr. Gorbachev.

We discussed nuclear arms and how to reduce them. I explained our proposals for equitable, verifiable, and deep reductions. I outlined my conviction that our proposals would make not just for a world that feels safer but that really is safer.

I am pleased to report tonight that General Secretary Gorbachev and I did make a measure of progress here. While we still have a long ways to go, we're at least heading in the right direction. We moved arms control forward from where we were last January, when the Soviets returned to the table.

We are both instructing our negotiators to hasten their vital work. The world is waiting for results.

Specifically, we agreed in Geneva that ~~each side should move~~ to cut offensive nuclear arms by 50 percent in appropriate categories. In our joint statement we called for early progress on this, turning the talks toward our chief goal, offensive reductions. We called for an interim accord on intermediate-range nuclear forces, leading, I hope, to the complete elimination of this class of missiles. All this with tough verification.

We also made progress in combatting together the spread of nuclear weapons, an arms control area in which we've cooperated effectively over the years. We are also opening a dialogue on combatting the spread and use of chemical weapons, while moving to ban them altogether. Other arms control dialogues -- in Vienna on conventional forces, and in Stockholm on lessening the chances for surprise attack in Europe -- also received a boost. Finally, we agreed to begin work on risk reduction centers, a decision that should give special satisfaction to Senators Nunn and Warner who so ably promoted this idea.

I described our Strategic Defense Initiative -- our research effort that envisions the possibility of defensive systems which could ultimately protect all nations against the danger of nuclear war. This discussion produced a very direct exchange of views.

Mr. Gorbachev insisted that we might use a strategic defense system to put offensive weapons into space and establish nuclear superiority.

I made it clear that S.D.I. has nothing to do with offensive weapons; that, instead, ~~we are investigating non-nuclear defensive systems that would only threaten offensive missiles,~~ not people. If our research succeeds, it will bring much closer the safer, more stable world we seek. Nations could defend themselves against missile attack, and mankind, at long last, escape the prison of mutual terror -- this is my dream.

So I welcomed the chance to tell Mr. Gorbachev that we are a Nation that defends, rather than attacks, that our alliances are defensive, not offensive. We don't seek nuclear superiority. We do not seek a first strike advantage over the Soviet Union. Indeed, one of my fundamental arms control objectives is to get rid of first strike weapons altogether. This is why we have proposed a 50-percent reduction in the most threatening nuclear weapons, especially those that could carry out a first strike.

I went further in expressing our peaceful intentions. I described our proposal in the Geneva negotiations for a reciprocal program of open laboratories in strategic defense research. We are offering to permit Soviet experts to see first hand that S.D.I. does not involve offensive weapons. American scientists would be allowed to visit comparable facilities of the Soviet strategic defense program, which, in fact, has involved much more than research for many years.

Finally, I reassured Mr. Gorbachev on another point. I promised that if our research reveals that a defense against nuclear missiles is possible, we would sit down with our allies and the Soviet Union to see how together we could replace all strategic ballistic missiles with such a defense, which threatens no one.

We discussed threats to the peace in several regions of the world. I explained my proposals for a peace process to stop the wars in Afghanistan, Nicaragua, Ethiopia, Angola, and Cambodia, where insurgencies that speak for the people are pitted against regimes which obviously do not represent the will or the approval of the people. I tried to be very clear about where our sympathies lie; I believe I succeeded.

We discussed human rights. We Americans believe that history teaches no clearer lesson than this: Those countries which respect the rights of their own people tend, inevitably, to respect the rights of their neighbors. Human rights, therefore, is not an abstract moral issue -- it is a peace issue.

Finally, we discussed the barriers to communication between our societies, and I elaborated on my proposals for real people-to-people contacts on a wide scale.

Americans should know the people of the Soviet Union -- their hopes and fears and the facts of their lives. And citizens of the Soviet Union need to know of America's deep desire for peace and our unwavering attachment to freedom.

As you can see, our talks were wide ranging. Let me at this point tell you what we agreed upon and what we didn't.

We remain far apart on a number of issues, as had to be expected. However, we reached agreement on a number of matters, and, as I mentioned, we agreed to continue meeting and this is important and very good. There's always room for movement, action, and progress when people are talking to each other instead of about each other.

We have concluded a new agreement designed to bring the best of America's artists and academics to the Soviet Union. The exhibits that will be included in this exchange are one of the most effective ways for the average Soviet citizen to learn about our way of life. This agreement will also expand the opportunities for Americans to experience the Soviet people's rich cultural heritage -- because their artists and academics will be coming here.

We have also decided to go forward with a number of people-to-people initiatives that will go beyond greater contact not only between the political leaders of our two countries but our respective students, teachers, and others as well. We have emphasized youth exchanges. This will help break down stereotypes, build friendships, and, frankly, provide an alternative to propaganda.

We have agreed to establish a new Soviet Consulate in New York and a new American Consulate in Kiev. This will bring a permanent U.S. presence to the Ukraine for the first time in decades.

We have also, together with the government of Japan, concluded a Pacific Air Safety Agreement with the Soviet Union.



This is designed to set up cooperative measures to improve civil air safety in that region. What happened before must never be allowed to happen again.

As a potential way of dealing with the energy needs of the world of the future, we have also advocated international cooperation to explore the feasibility of developing fusion energy.

All of these steps are part of a long-term effort to build a more stable relationship with the Soviet Union. No one ever said it would be easy. But we've come a long way.

As for Soviet expansionism in a number of regions of the world -- while there is little chance of immediate change, we will continue to support the heroic efforts of those who fight for freedom. But we have also agreed to continue -- and to intensify -- our meetings with the Soviets on this and other regional conflicts and to work toward political solutions.

We know the limits as well as the promise of summit meetings. This is, after all, the eleventh summit of the post-war era -- and still the differences endure. But we believe continued meetings between the leaders of the United States and the Soviet Union can help bridge those differences.

The fact is, every new day begins with possibilities; it's up to us to fill it with the things that move us toward progress and peace. Hope, therefore, is a realistic attitude -- and despair an uninteresting little vice.

And so: was our journey worthwhile?

Thirty years ago, when he too had just returned from a summit in Geneva, President Eisenhower said, "...the wide gulf that separates so far East and West... (is)... wide and deep." Today, three decades later, that is still true.

But, yes, this meeting was worthwhile for both sides. A new realism spawned the summit; the summit itself was a good start; and now our byword must be: Steady as we go.

I am, as you are, impatient for results. But goodwill and good hopes do not always yield lasting results. Quick fixes don't fix big problems.

Just as we must avoid illusions on our side, so we must dispel them on the Soviet side. I have made it clear to Mr. Gorbachev that we must reduce the mistrust and suspicions between us if we are to do such things as reduce arms, and this will take deeds, not words alone. I believe he is in agreement.

Where do we go from here? Well, our desire for improved relations is strong. We're ready and eager for step-by-step progress. We know that peace is not just the absence of war. We don't want a phony peace or a frail peace; we did not go in pursuit of some kind of illusory detente. We can't be satisfied with cosmetic improvements that won't stand the test of time. We want real peace.

As I flew back this evening, I had many thoughts. In just a few days families across America will gather to celebrate Thanksgiving. And again, as our forefathers who voyaged to America, we travelled to Geneva with peace as our goal and freedom as our guide. For there can be no greater good than the

quest for peace -- nor no finer purpose than the preservation of freedom.

It is 350 years since the first Thanksgiving, when Pilgrims and Indians huddled together on the edge of an unknown continent. And now here we are gathered together on the edge of an unknown future -- but, like our forefathers, really not so much afraid, but full of hope, and trusting in God, as ever.

Thank you for allowing me to talk to you this evening. And God bless you all.