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# WITHDRAWAL SHEET

## Ronald Reagan Library

**Collection Name** SPEECHWRITING, OFFICE OF: RESEARCH OFFICE RECORDS

**Withdrawer**

MJD 7/26/2007

**File Folder** TAPING: MESSAGE TO GORBACHEV, 12/18/1987

**FOIA**

F03-0038/01

**Box Number** 358

HOWELL

206

DOC NO	Doc Type	Document Description	No of Pages	Doc Date	Restrictions
1	MEMO	CHRISTOPHE COX TO ANTHONY DOLAN RE DRAFT MESSAGE	2	12/18/1987	
THE ABOVE DOCUMENT IS PENDING REVIEW IN ACCORDANCE WITH E.O. 13233					

*Open  
4/13/09  
gno*

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

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- B-2 Release would disclose internal personnel rules and practices of an agency [(b)(2) of the FOIA]
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- B-4 Release would disclose trade secrets or confidential or financial information [(b)(4) of the FOIA]
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(Judge/ARD)  
December 17, 1987  
6:30 p.m.

RO

SS

PRESIDENTIAL TAPING: PRESIDENT'S NEW YEAR'S MESSAGE TO  
THE U.S.S.R.  
FRIDAY, DECEMBER 18, 1987

✓ ✓

Good evening. This is Ronald Reagan, President of the United States. For the ~~third~~ <sup>second</sup> year now, I am speaking to you, the peoples of the Soviet Union, on the occasion of the new year.

I know that in the Soviet Union, as it is all around the world, this is a season of hope and expectation, a time for family to gather, and a time for prayer. That's true in America, too. At this time of year, Americans travel across the country -- in their cars, by train, or by airplane -- to be together with their families. Many Americans, of course, came to the United States from other countries and, at this time of year, they look forward to hosting friends and family from their homelands.

Most of us celebrate Christmas or Hanukkah. And as part of those celebrations, we go to church or synagogue, then gather around the family dinner table and, after giving thanks for our blessings, share a traditional meal of goose, turkey, ham, or roast beef, and exchange gifts.

On New Year's Eve we gather again and, like you, we raise our glasses in a toast to the year to come, to our hopes for ourselves, for our families and, yes, for our Nation and the world.

This year, the future of those last two -- the Nation and the world -- is particularly on our minds. We are thinking of our Nation, because in the year ahead we Americans will choose

our next President. Every adult citizen has a role to play in the making of this decision. Most of us will take that role very seriously. Some of us will help one candidate or another. All of us will listen to what the candidates say. We will debate their views and our own. And, in November, we will vote. I'll still be President next year, but the year after that, the man or woman who addresses you in this New Year's message will be the one the American people pick in November.

As I said, we Americans will also be thinking about the future of the world this year -- for the same reasons that you will be thinking of it, too.

↓ ↓ ↓  
In June, General Secretary Gorbachev and I hope to meet once again, this time in Moscow. Last month in Washington, of course, we signed the Intermediate Nuclear Force Treaty, in which we agreed to eliminate an entire class of U.S. and Soviet nuclear weapons. It was a history-making first step towards reducing the nuclear arms of both sides.

Now in Geneva, Soviet and American representatives are discussing a 50-percent reduction in strategic nuclear weapons. Perhaps we can have a treaty ready to sign by our meeting in June. The world prays that we will. For our part, we on the American side are determined to try.

You see, we have a vision of a world safe from the threat of nuclear war, and, indeed, all war. Such a world will have far fewer missiles. And both America and the Soviet Union will possess a strategic defense against ballistic missiles. That way, neither side will be tempted to use the missiles it still

7  
6

has, and both sides can be protected in case of an accidental launch or if some other nation ruled by a madman -- someone like Hitler -- ever gets control of those missiles. Secretary Gorbachev has acknowledged that both our nations are developing strategic defense technology. He and I discussed strategic defense at the White House, and I am looking forward to continuing that discussion in the Kremlin in June. For the sake of world peace, our countries must go forward and develop, test, and deploy this life-saving science.

In June, the General Secretary and I also anticipate continuing our talks about other issues of deep concern to our peoples -- for example, the expansion of contact between our peoples and more information flowing across our borders.

And, as you know, we Americans are concerned about human rights questions, including restrictions on freedom of travel and the right to speak, publish, and worship. We will never forget that a wise man has said that, "violence does not live alone and is not capable of living alone: It is necessarily interwoven with falsehood." We will never refrain from speaking the truth about these issues.

We Americans are also concerned, as I know you are, about regional conflicts. Surely in recent years, too many mothers, including Soviet mothers, have wept over the graves of their fallen sons. True peace means not only preventing a big war, but ending smaller ones as well. I look forward to continuing my talks with the General Secretary on this matter as well.

*Solomon  
plus  
Nobel  
Lamer  
8-24-78*

There is no such thing as inevitability in history. We can choose to make the world safer -- and freer -- if we have courage. But then courage is something neither of our peoples have ever lacked. We have been allies in a terrible war, a war in which the Soviet peoples gave the ages an enduring testament to courage. Let us consecrate this year to showing, not courage for war, but courage for peace. We owe this to mankind. We owe it to our children, and their children, and generations to come.

Happy New Year, thank you, and God bless you.

NATIONAL SECURITY COUNCIL  
WASHINGTON, D.C. 20508

RO

9340

MEMORANDUM FOR RHETT DAWSON

December 18, 1987

FROM: PAUL SCHOTT STEVENS *WHE*  
SUBJECT: President's New Year's Message to the U.S.S.R

The NSC has reviewed the attached draft of the President's New Year's Message to the Soviet people. We find it short, to the point, and, in two words--just right. We have indicated a few minor and perfunctory changes.

Please thank Clark Judge for the very excellent as well as immediate turnaround on this message.

Attachment  
Tab A Draft speech w/revisions

X 6534

(Judge/ARD)  
December 17, 1987  
6:30 p.m.

SS

PRESIDENTIAL TAPING: PRESIDENT'S NEW YEAR'S MESSAGE TO  
THE U.S.S.R.  
FRIDAY, DECEMBER 18, 1987

*9 p.m.*  
Good evening. This is Ronald Reagan, President of the  
United States. ~~For the third year now,~~ I am speaking to you, the  
peoples of the Soviet Union, on the occasion of the new year.

I know that in the Soviet Union, as it is all around the  
world, this is a season of hope and expectation, a time for  
family to gather, and a time <sup>to think about peace.</sup> ~~for prayer.~~ That's true in America,  
too. At this time of year, Americans travel across the  
country -- in their cars, by train, or by airplane -- to be  
together with their families. Many Americans, of course, came to  
the United States from other countries and, at this time of year,  
they look forward to hosting friends and family from their  
homelands.

Most of us celebrate Christmas or Hanukkah. And as part of  
those celebrations, we go to church or synagogue, then gather  
around the family dinner table, ~~and~~ after giving thanks for our  
blessings, <sup>we</sup> share a traditional <sup>holiday</sup> meal ~~[of goose, turkey, ham, or~~  
~~roast beef.]~~ and exchange gifts.

On New Year's Eve we gather again and, like you, we raise  
our glasses in a toast to the year to come, to our hopes for  
ourselves, for our families and, yes, for our Nation and the  
world.

This year, the future <sup>of</sup> ~~[of those last two]~~ the Nation and  
the world ~~is~~ <sup>are</sup> particularly on our minds. We are thinking of  
our Nation, because in the year ahead we Americans will choose



our next President. Every adult citizen has a role to play in the making of this decision. Most of us will take that role very seriously. Some of us will help one candidate or another. All of us will listen to what the candidates say. We will debate their views and our own. And, in November, we will vote. I'll still be President next ~~year~~, but, <sup>January 1<sup>st</sup>,</sup> ~~the year~~ <sup>soon</sup> after that, the man or woman <sup>leading our country</sup> ~~who addresses you in this New Year's message~~ will be the one the American people pick <sup>next</sup> ~~in~~ November.

As I said, we Americans will also be thinking about the future of the world this year -- for the same reasons that you will be thinking of it, too.

<sup>In the first half of this New Year,</sup>  
~~In June,~~ General Secretary Gorbachev and I hope to meet once again, this time in Moscow. Last month in Washington, of course, we signed the Intermediate Nuclear Force<sup>s</sup> Treaty, in which we agreed to eliminate an entire class of U.S. and Soviet nuclear weapons. It was a history-making ~~first~~ step towards reducing the nuclear arms of both sides. <sup>But it was just a beginning.</sup>

Now in Geneva, Soviet and American representatives are <sup>moving</sup> ~~discussing~~ toward an even greater undertaking -- a 50-percent reduction in strategic nuclear weapons. Perhaps we can have a treaty ready to sign by our meeting in June. The world prays that we will. For our part, we on the American side are determined to try.

You see, we have a vision of a world safe from the threat of nuclear war, and, indeed, all war. Such a world will have far fewer missiles, <sup>and other weapons.</sup> ~~And~~ Both America and the Soviet Union <sup>will</sup> ~~possess a strategic defense against ballistic missiles. That~~ <sup>have an</sup> opportunity to direct their energies toward creating defenses that threaten no one. For the sake of a safer peace, I am ~~way, neither side will be tempted to use the missiles it still~~

Committed to pursuing the possibilities that technology has, and both sides can be protected in case of an accidental launch or if some other nation ruled by a madman -- someone like Hitler -- ever gets control of those missiles. Secretary Gorbachev has acknowledged that both our nations are developing strategic defense technology. He and I discussed strategic defense at the White House, and I am looking forward to continuing that discussion in the Kremlin in June. For the sake of world peace, our countries must go forward and develop, test, and deploy this life-saving science.

In June, the General Secretary and I also anticipate continuing our talks about other issues of deep concern to our peoples -- for example, <sup>breaking down barriers to greater</sup> ~~the expansion of~~ contacts between our peoples and <sup>enabling</sup> ~~more~~ information <sup>to</sup> flowing across ~~our~~ borders.

And, as you know, we Americans are <sup>deeply</sup> concerned about <sup>respect for</sup> human rights, ~~questions~~ including restrictions <sup>the</sup> ~~on~~ freedom <sup>s</sup> of <sup>speech, press,</sup> travel <sup>and</sup> ~~and~~ <sup>the right to travel.</sup> ~~the right to speak, publish, and worship.~~ ~~We will never forget~~ As a nation committed to human rights at home and abroad, that a wise man has said that, "violence does not live alone and we will always speak out on behalf of human dignity. ~~is not capable of living alone. It is necessarily interwoven~~ with falsehood." ~~We will never refrain from speaking the truth about these issues.~~

We Americans are also concerned, as I know you are, about ~~senseless~~ <sup>in a number of regions.</sup> ~~regional~~ conflicts, ~~surely in recent years,~~ too many mothers, including Soviet mothers, have wept over the graves of their fallen sons. True peace means not only preventing ~~a~~ big war<sup>s</sup>, but ending smaller ones as well. <sup>This is why we support efforts to find</sup> ~~I look forward to continuing my~~ just, negotiated solutions acceptable to the peoples who are suffering in ~~talks with the General Secretary on this matter as well.~~ regional wars.

→ In some instances, regimes backed by foreign military power are oppressing their own peoples, giving rise to popular resistance and the spread of fighting beyond borders.

There is no such thing as inevitability in history. We can choose to make the world safer -- and freer -- if we have courage. But then courage is something neither of our peoples have ever lacked. We have been allies in a terrible war, a war in which the Soviet peoples gave the ages an enduring testament to courage. Let us consecrate this year to showing, not courage for war, but courage for <sup>lasting</sup> peace. We owe this to mankind. We owe it to our children, and their children, and generations to come.

Happy New Year, thank you, and God bless you.

150

clark :

some general comments:

1) as you may know, the general secretary disagreed that he ever said in the brokaw interview that he acknowledged the soviets were building an SDI. Therefore, there needs to be some revision.

2) The SDI section should reflect that my proposal is to provide a defensive shield; emphasize what SDI accomplishes and what it hopefully prevents.

3) I think in the next section on page 3, you should put in the fact that while there are domestic problems both in the U.S. and Soviet Union; what I mean is that both countries face domestic decisions that influence certain policy decisions. Then use that as a springboard to get into the various freedoms.

TG

12/18/87

**WHITE HOUSE STAFFING MEMORANDUM**

DATE: 12/17/87 ACTION/CONCURRENCE/COMMENT DUE BY: 10:00 A.M. Friday 12/18

SUBJECT: PRESIDENTIAL TAPING; PRESIDENT'S NEW YEAR'S MESSAGE TO THE U.S.S.R.

	ACTION FYI			ACTION FYI	
VICE PRESIDENT	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	FITZWATER	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>
BAKER	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	GRISCOM	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
DUBERSTEIN	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	HOBBS	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
MILLER - OMB	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	HOOLEY	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>
BALL	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	KING	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
BAUER	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	RANGE	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
<span style="background-color: black; color: black;">██████████</span> POWELL	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	RISQUE	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
CRIBB	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	RYAN	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
CRIPPEN	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	SPRINKEL	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
CULVAHOUSE	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	TUTTLE	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
DAWSON	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	DOLAN	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>
DONATELLI	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	BOARD	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>

REMARKS:

Please provide any comments/recommendations directly to Tony Dolan by 10:00 a.m. on Friday, December 18th, with an info copy to my office. Thanks.

RESPONSE:

→ I would like to see the next version of this / TB

(Judge/ARD)  
December 17, 1987  
6:30 p.m.

PRESIDENTIAL TAPING: PRESIDENT'S NEW YEAR'S MESSAGE TO  
THE U.S.S.R.  
FRIDAY, DECEMBER 18, 1987

Good evening. This is Ronald Reagan, President of the United States. For the third year now, I am speaking to you, the peoples of the Soviet Union, on the occasion of the new year.

I know that in the Soviet Union, as it is all around the world, this is a season of hope and expectation, a time for family to gather, and a time for prayer. That's true in America, too. At this time of year, Americans travel across the country -- in their cars, by train, or by airplane -- to be together with their families. Many Americans, of course, came to the United States from other countries and, at this time of year, they look forward to hosting friends and family from their homelands.

Most of us celebrate Christmas or Hanukkah. And as part of those celebrations, we go to church or synagogue, then gather around the family dinner table and, after giving thanks for our blessings, share a traditional meal of goose, turkey, ham, or roast beef, and exchange gifts.

On New Year's Eve we gather again and, like you, we raise our glasses in a toast to the year to come, to our hopes for ourselves, for our families and, yes, for our Nation and the world.

This year, the future of those last two -- the Nation and the world -- is particularly on our minds. We are thinking of our Nation, because in the year ahead we Americans will choose


our next President. Every adult citizen has a role to play in the making of this decision. Most of us will take that role very seriously. Some of us will help one candidate or another. All of us will listen to what the candidates say. We will debate their views and our own. And, in November, we will vote. I'll still be President next year, but the year after that, the man or woman who addresses you in this New Year's message will be the one the American people pick in November.

As I said, we Americans will also be thinking about the future of the world this year -- for the same reasons that you will be thinking of it, too.

~~In June,~~ <sup>In a few months</sup> General Secretary Gorbachev and I hope to meet once again, this time in Moscow. Last month in Washington, of course, we signed the Intermediate Nuclear Force Treaty, in which we agreed to eliminate an entire class of U.S. and Soviet nuclear weapons. It was a history-making first step towards reducing the nuclear arms of both sides.

Now in Geneva, Soviet and American representatives are discussing a 50-percent reduction in strategic nuclear weapons. Perhaps we can have a treaty ready to sign by our meeting in ~~June~~ <sup>Spring</sup>. The world prays that we will. For our part, we on the American side are determined to try.

You see, we have a vision of a world safe from the threat of nuclear war, and, indeed, all war. Such a world will have far fewer missiles. And both America and the Soviet Union will possess a strategic defense against ballistic missiles. That way, neither side will be tempted to use the missiles it still

has, and both sides can be protected in case of an accidental launch or if some other nation ruled by a madman ~~someone like Hitler~~ ever gets control of those missiles. Secretary Gorbachev ~~has acknowledged that both our nations are developing strategic defense technology.~~ We and I discussed strategic defense at the White House, and I am looking forward to continuing that discussion, ~~in the Kremlin in June.~~ For the sake of world peace, <sup>the strategic defense initiative</sup> ~~our countries~~ must go forward and develop, test, <sup>when it is ready</sup> and deploy this life-saving ~~science, technology~~ <sup>science, technology</sup> 

~~In June,~~ the General Secretary and I also anticipate continuing our talks about other issues of deep concern to our peoples -- for example, the expansion of contact between our peoples and more information flowing across our borders.

<sup>-just as you are - with domestic</sup>  
And, as you know, we Americans are concerned about human rights questions, including restrictions on freedom of travel and the right to speak, publish, and worship. We will never forget that a wise man has said that, "violence does not live alone and is not capable of living alone: It is necessarily interwoven with falsehood." We will never refrain from speaking the truth about these issues.

We Americans are also concerned, as I know you are, about regional conflicts. Surely in recent years, too many mothers, including Soviet mothers, have wept over the graves of their fallen sons. True peace means not only preventing a big war, but ending smaller ones as well. I look forward to continuing my talks with the General Secretary on this matter as well.



There is no such thing as inevitability in history. We can choose to make the world safer -- and freer -- if we have courage. But then courage is something neither of our peoples have ever lacked. We have been allies in a terrible war, a war in which the Soviet peoples gave the ages an enduring testament to courage. Let us consecrate this year to showing, not courage for war, but courage for peace. We owe this to mankind. We owe it to our children, and their children, and generations to come.

Happy New Year, thank you, and God bless you.

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## SOLZHENITSYN'S PLEA

August 24, 1972

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Russian novelist Aleksandr I. Solzhenitsyn was awarded the 1970 Nobel Prize for Literature for what the Swedish Academy called "the ethical force with which he has pursued the indispensable renditions of Russian literature." In Russia, however, the author is officially dishonored. Solzhenitsyn's works may not be published in his homeland, by order of the government he has criticized for its repression of human freedoms. Although he served as a Russian Army artillery officer in World War II, he was imprisoned from 1945 to 1953 on unspecified political charges. He was expelled in 1969 from the Soviet Writers' Union, which called the 1970 Nobel award "deplorable."

Solzhenitsyn feared that if he traveled to Stockholm to receive the Nobel prize, he would not be permitted to return to Russia. An attempt was made to present the award at a private ceremony in Moscow in April 1972, but that arrangement had to be canceled when the Soviet government denied a visa to Dr. Karl Ragnar Gierow, permanent secretary of the Swedish Academy which selects the annual literature laureate. Not until Aug. 24, 1972, was the Nobel lecture, prepared by Solzhenitsyn for delivery in Stockholm, published in *Les Prix Nobel*, the yearbook of the Nobel Foundation. In that lecture, Solzhenitsyn appealed to the writers of the world to make war, peaceful war, on falsehood and violence. "Woe to that nation whose literature is disturbed by the intervention of power," he wrote. World literature, he asserted, condenses the human experience and can prevent one nation from repeating the mistakes of another.

Solzhenitsyn, now 54, first became known to the Western world through the publication in 1962 of his first work, an account of life in a

takes. And perhaps under such conditions we artists will be able to cultivate within ourselves a field of vision to embrace the whole world: in the center observing like any other human being that which lies nearby, at the edges we shall begin to draw in that which is happening in the rest of the world. And we shall correlate, and we shall observe world proportions.

And who, if not writers, are to pass judgment—not only on their unsuccessful governments (in some states this is the easiest way to earn one's bread, the occupation of any man who is not lazy)—but also on the people themselves, in their cowardly humiliation or self-satisfied weakness? Who is to pass judgment on the lightweight sprints of youth, and on the young pirates brandishing their knives?

We shall be told: What can literature possibly do against the ruthless onslaught of open violence? But let us not forget that violence does not live alone and is not capable of living alone: It is necessarily interwoven with falsehood. Between them lies the most intimate, the deepest of natural bonds. Any man who has once acclaimed violence as his method must inexorably choose falsehood as his principle. At its birth, violence acts openly and even with pride. But no sooner does it become strong, firmly established, than it senses the rarefaction of the air around it and it cannot continue to exist without descending into a fog of lies, clothing them in sweet talk. It does not always, not necessarily, openly throttle the throat; more often it demands from its subjects only an oath of allegiance to falsehood, only complicity in falsehood.

And the simple step of a simple, courageous man is not to partake in falsehood. Not to support false actions. Let that enter the world, let it even reign in the world—but not with my help. But writers and artists can achieve more: They can conquer falsehood. In the struggle with falsehood art always did win and it always does win: openly, irrefutably, for everyone. Falsehood can hold out against much in this world, but not against art.

And no sooner will falsehood be dispersed than the nakedness of violence will be revealed in all its ugliness—and violence, decrepit, will fall.

That is why, my friends, I believe that we are able to help the world in its white-hot hour. Not by making the excuse of possessing no weapons, and not by giving ourselves over to a frivolous life—but by going to war.

Proverbs about truth are well-loved in Russian. They give steady and sometimes striking expression to the not inconsiderable harsh national experience:

One word of truth shall outweigh the whole world.


And it is here, on an imaginary fantasy, a breach of the principle of the conservation of mass and energy, that I base both my own activity and my appeal to the writers of the whole world.

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

December 18, 1987

MEMORANDUM FOR ANTHONY R. DOLAN  
DEPUTY ASSISTANT TO THE PRESIDENT AND  
DIRECTOR OF SPEECHWRITING

FROM: C. CHRISTOPHER COX   
SENIOR ASSOCIATE COUNSEL TO THE PRESIDENT

SUBJECT: Draft Presidential New Year's Message to the  
U.S.S.R.

As requested, this office has reviewed the draft message to be taped on Tuesday, December 22. Our comments are noted on the attached copy.

During his recent visit, Gorbachev was a master at using religion--in particular Christian imagery and references--for propaganda purposes. This was so despite the fact that he is an atheist, and (as official U.S.S.R. statistics would have it) so are the vast majority of Soviet citizens. The President should counter Gorbachev's cynical use of Christianity at Christmastime, so clearly packaged for an American audience, by keeping in mind who will be his audience. The addition of a reference to Islam in the third paragraph is suggested, therefore, both to avoid the impression that America is not religiously diverse, and to appeal to the emotions of the millions of people of Islamic faith within the Soviet Union. It is these people who are among the most directly affected by the war in Afghanistan and the ongoing efforts at Russification of the population of the Soviet Union. Moreover, according to the CIA's 1987 statistics, there are three times as many Muslims in the Soviet Union as Jews, Protestants, Roman Catholics and Georgian Orthodox members combined. As revised, the third paragraph on the first page would read as follows:

Most of us celebrate Christmas or Hannukkah, or other religious holidays such as Maulid Annabi--in Islam, the "Birth of the Prophet." And as part of those celebrations, we go to church, or synagogue, or mosque, then gather around the family dinner table and, after giving thanks for our blessings, share a traditional meal and exchange gifts.

The suggested revisions at page 2 are designed to emphasize the breadth of competition in the race for President. The Soviet

Union, of course, has national elections as well. They argue that the degree of democracy within the Party is at least as vigorous as that in our two-party system. Merely stating that voters will select from two candidates in November, therefore, fails to dramatize the marked difference between real democracy and the Soviet system. As revised, beginning with the fifth sentence of the carryover paragraph at the top of page 2, the draft would read as follows:

Some of us will help one of the more than a dozen candidates who are now running for President. All of us will listen to what the candidates say. We will debate their views and our own. In primary elections beginning in just a few weeks and lasting until June, we will narrow the field. And, in November, we will vote to determine the final winner.

The extremely vague allusion to "regional conflicts" at the bottom of page 3 represents a lost opportunity to speak directly to the peoples of the Soviet Union about who is the cause of these regional conflicts. On a daily basis, Soviet television, radio and newspapers blame America for instigating the conflicts that are responsible for "Soviet mothers weeping over the graves of their fallen sons." By failing to single out Afghanistan--where the toll in Soviet lives is highest and the disagreement with Soviet policy most pronounced--the President will lose a major point in the debate. Merely mentioning Afghanistan will be sufficient. The first sentence of the last paragraph on page 3 should be amended to read as follows:

We Americans are also concerned, as I know you are, about regional conflicts--particularly in Afghanistan.

Thank you for submitting the draft for our review.

cc: Rhett B. Dawson

Attachment

(Judge/ARD)  
December 17, 1987  
6:30 p.m.

PRESIDENTIAL TAPING: PRESIDENT'S NEW YEAR'S MESSAGE TO  
THE U.S.S.R.  
FRIDAY, DECEMBER 18, 1987

Good evening. This is Ronald Reagan, President of the United States. For the third year now, I am speaking to you, the peoples of the Soviet Union, on the occasion of the new year.

I know that in the Soviet Union, as it is all around the world, this is a season of hope and expectation, a time for family to gather, and a time for prayer. That's true in America, too. At this time of year, Americans travel across the country -- in their cars, by train, or by airplane -- to be together with their families. Many Americans, of course, came to the United States from other countries and, at this time of year, they look forward to hosting friends and family from their homelands.

Most of us celebrate ~~Christmas or Hanukkah~~ <sup>for other religious holidays such as</sup> And as part of <sup>Maulid An-Nabi -- in Islam</sup> those celebrations, we go to church, or synagogue, <sup>or mosque,</sup> then gather <sup>the results of the</sup> around the family dinner table and, after giving thanks for our <sup>Victory.</sup> blessings, share a traditional meal ~~of goose, turkey, ham, or~~ ~~roast beef,~~ and exchange gifts.

On New Year's Eve we gather again and, like you, we raise our glasses in a toast to the year to come, to our hopes for ourselves, for our families and, yes, for our Nation and the world.

This year, the future of those last two -- the Nation and the world -- is particularly on our minds. We are thinking of our Nation, because in the year ahead we Americans will choose

- 2 - a few weeks and lasting until June, we will narrow the field.

our next President. Every adult citizen has a role to play in the making of this decision. Most of us will take that role very seriously. Some of us will help one <sup>of the more than a dozen</sup> candidate <sup>who are now running for</sup> or another <sup>President.</sup> All of us will listen to what the candidates say. We will debate their views and our own. <sup>to determine the final winner.</sup> And, in November, we will vote. I'll still be President next year, but the year after that, the man or woman who addresses you in this New Year's message will be the one the American people pick in November.

As I said, we Americans will also be thinking about the future of the world this year -- for the same reasons that you will be thinking of it, too.

In June, General Secretary Gorbachev and I hope to meet once again, this time in Moscow. Last month in Washington, of course, we signed the Intermediate Nuclear Force Treaty, in which we agreed to eliminate an entire class of U.S. and Soviet nuclear weapons. It was a history-making first step towards reducing the nuclear arms of both sides.

Now in Geneva, Soviet and American representatives are discussing a 50-percent reduction in strategic nuclear weapons. Perhaps we can have a treaty ready to sign by our meeting in June. The world prays that we will. For our part, we on the American side are determined to try.

You see, we have a vision of a world safe from the threat of nuclear war, and, indeed, all war. Such a world will have far fewer missiles. And both America and the Soviet Union will possess a strategic defense against ballistic missiles. That way, neither side will be tempted to use the missiles it still

has, and both sides can be protected in case of an accidental launch or if some other nation ruled by a madman -- someone like Hitler -- ever gets control of those missiles. Secretary Gorbachev has acknowledged that both our nations are developing strategic defense technology. He and I discussed strategic defense at the White House, and I am looking forward to continuing that discussion in the Kremlin in June. For the sake of world peace, our countries must go forward and develop, test, and deploy this life-saving science.

In June, the General Secretary and I also anticipate continuing our talks about other issues of deep concern to our peoples -- for example, the expansion of contact between our peoples and more information flowing across our borders.

And, as you know, we Americans are concerned about human rights questions, including restrictions on freedom of travel and the right to speak, publish, and worship. We will never forget that a wise man has said that, "violence does not live alone and is not capable of living alone: It is necessarily interwoven with falsehood." We will never refrain from speaking the truth about these issues. -- particularly in Afghanistan.

We Americans are also concerned, as I know you are, about regional conflicts. Surely in recent years, too many mothers, including Soviet mothers, have wept over the graves of their fallen sons. True peace means not only preventing a big war, but ending smaller ones as well. I look forward to continuing my talks with the General Secretary on this matter as well.



There is no such thing as inevitability in history. We can choose to make the world safer -- and freer -- if we have courage. But then courage is something neither of our peoples have ever lacked. We have been allies in a terrible war, a war in which the Soviet peoples gave the ages an enduring testament to courage. Let us consecrate this year to showing, not courage for war, but courage for peace. We owe this to mankind. We owe it to our children, and their children, and generations to come.

Happy New Year, thank you, and God bless you.

		TAPING: RETIREMENT OF CONGRESSMAN GENE CHAPPIE	Rohrabacher	Itchon
		TAPING: DOCUMENTARY OF GIBBONS VERSUS OGDEN	Robinson	Hayes
	TAPE	TAPING: UNITED NEGRO COLLEGE FUND TELETHON	Rohrabacher	Rosenberger
	TAPE	TAPING: DR. MARTIN LUTHER KING, JR. DINNER	Gilder	Itchon
23/86	TAPE	TAPING: ELECTRIC UTILITIES INDUSTRY MEETING	Dolan	Itchon
12/23/86	RMRKS	RECEIVE REPORT ON SMALL BUSINESS CONFERENCE	Rohrabacher	Rosenberger
12/27/86	RADIO	RADIO TALK: NEW YEARS TO BE TAPED ON 12/23-TUESDAY	Rohrabacher	Hayes
12/29/86	TAPE	TAPING: NEW YEAR'S MESSAGE FOR THE SOVIET PEOPLE (audio tape) Did not go to S.U.-just VOA	Judge	Potenra
12/29/86	RMRKS	PRESENTATION OF CITIZENS MEDAL TO VOYAGER CREW	Gilder	Rosenberger
12/29/86	STMNT	CITATIONS FOR VOYAGER CREW FOR CITIZENS MEDAL	Gilder	Rosenberger

NATIONAL SECURITY COUNCIL

17-Dec-1987 10:14 EST

UNCLASSIFIED

MEMORANDUM FOR:

Lisa R. Jameson

FROM:

Lisa R. Jameson (JAMESON)

SUBJECT:

Statement to Soviet People

OUTLINE FOR NEW YEAR'S GREETING TO SOVIET PEOPLE

Happy GenSec Gorbo came to Washington. Talk about how well he and whole delegation were received by American people. Jocular comment perhaps: he has certainly mastered the art of politicking, American style: his foray into the crowd on Washington street horrified security agents but thrilled Americans. One newspaper joked afterward that Gorbo could be elected here.

highlights: INF Treaty, obviously. Now we want to move forward toward deep reductions in strategic nuclear weapons. Emphasize this is what both sides want as well as world -- so it is our mutual responsibility to reach an accord. Let's not delay possibility of this treaty by creating roadblocks on other matters like SDI. Immediate task -- 50% reductions in strategic Nukes. Then, we hope that research on feasibility of defensive systems -- SDI and Red Shield -- can progress, giving mankind chance to be protected against nuclear attack instead of prey to it.

Mention mutual view that U.S.-Soviet relationship has moved into another gear.

Talk about last time this was done (New Year's 1986) and how the U.S.-Soviet relationship has progressed since then.

Development of President's Exchange Initiative-- more people meeting people, especially young people.

This year on TV -- glasnost obviously helps, but let's see even more. President shouldn't be only U.S. official on Soviet TV. Soviet people should regularly be exposed to U.S. views and policies through guest appearances by U.S. spokesmen -- just as Soviet spokesmen appear frequently on U.S. television programs.

Summit pointed up things U.S.-Soviets have in common, but also underlined continuing differences -- things cannot wish away no matter how much might want to.

Gorbo now understands depth of our commitment to human rights. President emphasized this in Summit talks. We feel strongly that progress here is as

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important for peace as arms control.

No progress at all on regional conflicts. Stress Afghanistan and Iran-Iraq. Stress how terrible continuing Afghan war is for Soviet people -- onus we understand and hope government will bite bullet and get out soonest. Nothing less will do -- for Soviets or Afghan people.

Go back to anecdote about how Gorbo could do well politically in U.S. All kidding aside, could reverse be true. No, because USSR is still one-Party system. Communist Party runs for our highest offices, but it is the only option there. This has been our Bicentennial year and we still cherish our pluralist system. It gives our leaders clear mandate for future.

Back to good vibrations. Look forward, if all works out, to Moscow Summit in this new year.

(Judge)  
December 17, 1987  
draft

PRESIDENTIAL TAPING: NEW YEAR'S MESSAGE TO THE SOVIET PEOPLES  
FRIDAY, DECEMBER 18, 1987

Good evening. This is Ronald Reagan, President of the United States. For the <sup>3rd</sup> ~~third~~ year now, I am speaking to you, the peoples of the Soviet Union, on the occasion of the new year. ✓

I know that in the Soviet Union, as it is all around the world, this is a season of hope and expectation, a time for family to gather, and a time for prayer. That's true in America, too. At this time of year, Americans travel across the country -- in their cars, by train, or by airplane -- to be together with their families. Many Americans, of course, came to the United States from other countries, and at this time of year they look forward to hosting friends and family from their homelands.

Most of us celebrate Christmas or Hanukkah. And as part of those celebrations, we go to church or synogogue, then gather around the family dinner table and, after giving thanks for our blessings, share a traditional meal of goose, turkey, or roastbeef and exchange gifts.

On New Year's Eve we gather again and, like you, we raise our glasses in a toast to the year to come, to our hopes for ourselves, for our families and, yes, for our nation and the world.

This year the future of those last two -- the nation and the world -- is particularly on our minds. We are thinking of our nation, because in the year ahead we Americans will choose our next president. Every adult citizen has a role to play in the

making of this decision. Most of us will take that role very seriously. Some of us will help one candidate or another. All of us will listen to what the candidates say. We will debate their views and our own. And in November we will vote. I'll still be president next year, but the year after that, the man or woman who addresses you in this New Year's message will be the one the American people pick in November.

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Happy New Year, thank you, and God bless you.



NATIONAL SECURITY COUNCIL  
WASHINGTON, D.C. 20508

*Research*

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

9260

MEMORANDUM FOR FREDERICK J. RYAN, JR.

FROM: PAUL SCHOTT STEVENS

SUBJECT: President's New Year Greeting to USSR

U.S. Embassy Moscow has proposed an exchange of New Year's greetings between President Reagan and General Secretary Gorbachev. We favor this proposal, and would like to schedule it for the President's videotaping session on Friday, December 18.

Worldwide reaction to the summit has been overwhelmingly positive, but President Reagan's rising popularity in the USSR and Eastern Europe is especially noteworthy. Now is a good time to capitalize on this phenomenon by having the President address the Soviet people.

The President and General Secretary last exchanged New Year's greetings on December 31, 1985. The Soviets refused the exchange last year. Regularizing the New Year's greetings was on our Summit agenda of information and exchange issues, but it unfortunately did not come up in USIA's meetings with the Soviets.

In addition to providing the President's videotape to the Soviets for television broadcast to the USSR, we will also have the message carried by radio on the Voice of America, in all appropriate languages throughout the USSR and Eastern Europe. Later today we will provide themes to the speechwriters for preparation of the President's remarks.

DECLASSIFIED

White House Guidelines, August 28, 1997

by WJD NARA, Date 5/1/06

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Declassify on: OADR

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## SOLZHENITSYN'S PLEA

August 24, 1972

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*Russian novelist Aleksandr I. Solzhenitsyn was awarded the 1970 Nobel Prize for Literature for what the Swedish Academy called "the ethical force with which he has pursued the indispensable renditions of Russian literature." In Russia, however, the author is officially dishonored. Solzhenitsyn's works may not be published in his homeland, by order of the government he has criticized for its repression of human freedoms. Although he served as a Russian Army artillery officer in World War II, he was imprisoned from 1945 to 1953 on unspecified political charges. He was expelled in 1969 from the Soviet Writers' Union, which called the 1970 Nobel award "deplorable."*

*Solzhenitsyn feared that if he traveled to Stockholm to receive the Nobel prize, he would not be permitted to return to Russia. An attempt was made to present the award at a private ceremony in Moscow in April 1972, but that arrangement had to be canceled when the Soviet government denied a visa to Dr. Karl Ragnar Gierow, permanent secretary of the Swedish Academy which selects the annual literature laureate. Not until Aug. 24, 1972, was the Nobel lecture, prepared by Solzhenitsyn for delivery in Stockholm, published in *Les Prix Nobel*, the yearbook of the Nobel Foundation. In that lecture, Solzhenitsyn appealed to the writers of the world to make war, peaceful war, on falsehood and violence. "Woe to that nation whose literature is disturbed by the intervention of power," he wrote. World literature, he asserted, condenses the human experience and can prevent one nation from repeating the mistakes of another.*

*Solzhenitsyn, now 54, first became known to the Western world through the publication in 1962 of his first work, an account of life in a*

*Russian political prison camp titled One Day in the Life of Ivan Denisovich. This work was published in the Soviet literary magazine Novy Mir with the explicit approval, it was reported at the time, of Premier Nikita S. Khrushchev. The novel's theme was consistent with Khrushchev's de-Stalinization campaign in its early stages. But when political pressures compelled Khrushchev to back away from his policy of liberalism in literature and art, Solzhenitsyn fell from official favor and was silenced.*

*The author later protested publication of his works in the West, fearing it would harden the official Soviet ban against publication in his homeland. His other novels are Cancer Ward, The First Circle, and August 1914. Solzhenitsyn is the third Russian to be selected for the Nobel prize in literature. Boris Pasternak refused, under pressure from his government, to accept the 1958 prize. Mikhail A. Sholokhov accepted the 1965 award.*

*Excerpts from the Nobel lecture prepared by Russian novelist Aleksandr I. Solzhenitsyn, winner of the Nobel Prize for Literature in 1970, and printed in the 1972 yearbook of the Nobel Foundation in Stockholm, Sweden:*

From time immemorial man has been made in such a way that his vision of the world, so long as it has not been instilled under hypnosis, his motivations and scale of values, his actions and intentions are determined by his personal and group experience of life. As the Russian saying goes, "Do not believe your brother, believe your own crooked eye." And that is the most sound basis for an understanding of the world around us and of human conduct in it. And during the long epochs when our world lay spread out in mystery and wilderness, before it became encroached by common lines of communication, before it was transformed into a single, convulsively pulsating lump—men, relying on experience, ruled without mishap within their limited areas, within their communities, within their societies, and finally on their national territories.

At that time it was possible for individual human beings to perceive and accept a general scale of values, to distinguish between what is considered normal, what incredible, what is cruel and what lies beyond the boundaries of wickedness, what is honesty, what deceit. And although the scattered peoples led extremely different lives and their social values were often strikingly at odds, just as their systems of weights and measures did not agree, still these discrepancies surprised only occasional travelers, were reported in journals under the name of wonders, and bore no danger to mankind which was not yet one.

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But now during the past few decades, imperceptibly, suddenly, mankind has become one—hopefully one and dangerously one—so that the concussions and inflammations of one of its parts are almost instantaneously passed on to others, sometimes lacking in any kind of necessary immunity. Mankind has become one, but not steadfastly one as communities or even nations used to be, not united through years of mutual experience, neither through possession of [a] single eye, affectionately called crooked, nor yet through a common native language, but, surpassing all barriers, through international broadcasting and printing.

An avalanche of events descends upon us—in one minute half the world hears of their splash. But the yardstick by which to measure those events and to evaluate them in accordance with the laws of unfamiliar parts of the world—this is not and cannot be conveyed via soundwaves and in newspaper columns. For these yardsticks were matured and assimilated over too many years of too specific conditions in individual countries and societies; they cannot be exchanged in mid-air. In the various parts of the world men apply their own hard-earned values to events, and they judge stubbornly, confidently, only according to their own scales of values and never according to any others.

And if there are not many such different scales of values in the world, there are at least several, one for evaluating events near at hand, another for events far away, aging societies possess one, young societies another, unsuccessful people another. The divergent scales of values scream in discordance, they dazzle and daze us, and so that it might not be painful we steer clear of all other values, as though from insanity, as though from illusion, and we confidently judge the whole world according to our own home values. Which is why we take for the greater, more painful and less bearable, that which lies closest to us. Everything which is further away, which does not threaten this very day to invade our threshold—with all its groans, its stifled cries, its destroyed lives, even if it involves millions of victims—this we consider on the whole to be perfectly bearable and of tolerable proportions....

Both countries and whole continents repeat each other's mistakes with time lapses which can amount to centuries. Then, one would think, it would all be so obvious. But no: That which some nations have already experienced, considered and rejected is suddenly discovered by others to be the latest word. And here again, the only substitute for an experience we ourselves have never lived through is art, literature. They possess a wonderful ability: Beyond distinctions of language, custom, social structure, they can convey the life experience of one whole nation to another. To an inexperienced nation they can convey a harsh national trial lasting many decades, at best sparing an entire nation from a superfluous, or mistaken, or even disastrous course, thereby curtailing the meanderings of human history....

And literature conveys irrefutable condensed experience in yet another invaluable direction: namely, from generation to generation. Thus it becomes the living memory of the nation. Thus it preserves and kindles within itself the flame of her spent history, in a form which is safe from deformation and slander. In this way literature, together with language, protects the soul of the nation....

But woe to that nation whose literature is disturbed by the intervention of power. Because that is not just a violation against freedom of print, it is the closing down of the heart of the nation, a slashing to pieces of its memory. The nation ceases to be mindful of itself, it is deprived of its spiritual unity and despite a supposedly common language, compatriots suddenly cease to understand one another. Silent generations grow old and die without ever having talked about themselves, either to each other or to their descendants....

World literature is no longer an abstract anthology, nor a generalization invented by literary historians; it is rather a certain common body and a common spirit, a living heartfelt unity reflecting the growing unity of mankind. State frontiers still turn crimson, heated by electric wire and bursts of machine fire; and various ministries of internal affairs still think that literature too is an internal affair falling under their jurisdiction; newspaper headlines still display: "No Right to Interfere in Our Internal Affairs." Whereas there are no internal affairs left on our crowded earth. And mankind's sole salvation lies in everyone making everything his business: in the people of the East being vitally concerned with what is thought in the West, the people of the West vitally concerned with what goes on in the East. And literature, as one of the most sensitive, responsive instruments possessed by the human creature, has been one of the first to adopt, assimilate, to catch hold of this feeling of a growing unity of mankind. And so I turn with confidence to the world literature of today—hundreds of friends whom I have never met in the flesh and whom I may never see.

Friends: Let us try to help if we are worth anything at all. Who from time immemorial has constituted the uniting, not the dividing, strength in your countries, lacerated by discordant parties, movements, casts and groups? There in its essence is the position of writers: expressers of the very earth its people occupy, and at best of its national spirit.

I believe that world literature has it in its power to help mankind, in these its troubled hours, to see itself as it really is, notwithstanding the indoctrinations of prejudiced people and parties. World literature has it in its power to convey condensed experience from one land to another so that we might cease to be split and dazzled, that the different scales of values might be made to agree, and one nation learn correctly and concisely the true history of another with such strength of recognition and painful awareness as if it had itself experienced the same, and thus might it be spared from repeating the same cruel mis-

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takes. And perhaps under such conditions we artists will be able to cultivate within ourselves a field of vision to embrace the whole world: in the center observing like any other human being that which lies nearby, at the edges we shall begin to draw in that which is happening in the rest of the world. And we shall correlate, and we shall observe world proportions.

And who, if not writers, are to pass judgment—not only on their unsuccessful governments (in some states this is the easiest way to earn one's bread, the occupation of any man who is not lazy)—but also on the people themselves, in their cowardly humiliation or self-satisfied weakness? Who is to pass judgment on the lightweight sprints of youth, and on the young pirates brandishing their knives?

We shall be told: What can literature possibly do against the ruthless onslaught of open violence? But let us not forget that violence does not live alone and is not capable of living alone: It is necessarily interwoven with falsehood. Between them lies the most intimate, the deepest of natural bonds. Any man who has once acclaimed violence as his method must inexorably choose falsehood as his principle. At its birth, violence acts openly and even with pride. But no sooner does it become strong, firmly established, than it senses the rarefaction of the air around it and it cannot continue to exist without descending into a fog of lies, clothing them in sweet talk. It does not always, not necessarily, openly throttle the throat; more often it demands from its subjects only an oath of allegiance to falsehood, only complicity in falsehood.

And the simple step of a simple, courageous man is not to partake in falsehood. Not to support false actions. Let that enter the world, let it even reign in the world—but not with my help. But writers and artists can achieve more: They can conquer falsehood. In the struggle with falsehood art always did win and it always does win: openly, irrefutably, for everyone. Falsehood can hold out against much in this world, but not against art.

And no sooner will falsehood be dispersed than the nakedness of violence will be revealed in all its ugliness—and violence, decrepit, will fall.

That is why, my friends, I believe that we are able to help the world in its white-hot hour. Not by making the excuse of possessing no weapons, and not by giving ourselves over to a frivolous life—but by going to war.

Proverbs about truth are well-loved in Russian. They give steady and sometimes striking expression to the not inconsiderable harsh national experience:

One word of truth shall outweigh the whole world.

And it is here, on an imaginary fantasy, a breach of the principle of the conservation of mass and energy, that I base both my own activity and my appeal to the writers of the whole world.