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THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

Rowena

May 18, 1988

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

FROM: C. DEAN MCGRATH, JR. *CDM*
ASSOCIATE COUNSEL TO THE PRESIDENT

SUBJECT: Presidential Remarks: Ceremony Upon Departure
for Moscow Summit

Counsel's office has reviewed the above-referenced Presidential remarks, and we have the following comments:

1. We suggest changing the reference at page 2 (fifth bullet) from "Soviet Jews" to "Jews in the Soviet Union."
2. At page 3, paragraph 1, we recommend that the reference to institutional change in the Soviet Union be revised by deleting the phrase "by being written into law." In our view, simply revising laws would not represent true institutional change.
3. We have also marked suggested changes at page 4, copy attached.

Except as noted above, we have no legal objection to the delivery of these remarks by the President.

Thank you for submitting these remarks for our review.

Attachment

cc: Rhett B. Dawson

-- The United States and the Soviet Union have signed the Geneva Accords providing for the withdrawal of all Soviet troops from Afghanistan, and have witnessed the first withdrawals.

-- We have signed an arms reduction treaty that will reduce the level of nuclear weapons for the first time in history, eliminating an entire class of medium and shorter-range missiles.

-- We have agreed on the main points of a treaty that will cut in half our arsenals of strategic offensive nuclear weapons.

-- Our new Nuclear Risk Reduction Centers are already transmitting messages that reduce the risk of conflict.

-- Our representatives have held broad-ranging discussions on human rights, and we have seen concrete steps taken: The rate at which ^{Jews in the} Soviet ^{Union} ~~Jews~~ are permitted to leave the country has risen. Some 300 political and religious prisoners have been released. A number of divided families have been reunited. The press has been permitted greater freedom. There has been a recognition of religious persecution in the past, and a pledge for a broader right to worship.

-- We have greatly expanded our people-to-people exchanges. The number of travelers between our two countries is rising sharply, with unprecedented totals expected this year.

There's more, of course, but I'd miss my plane if I went through the entire list. And yet impressive as these achievements may be, they represent only a beginning.

In my talks with General Secretary Gorbachev next week, we will be looking to the future, for there remains much to be done.

Permit me to outline the substance of our four-part agenda for those talks.

On human rights, I will press to see the positive trends I've mentioned made permanent. We certainly welcome the recent signs of Soviet progress toward greater freedom of religion, greater freedom of speech, greater freedom to emigrate. More recently there have been indications that this progress may be institutionalized, ~~by being written into law.~~ We will be doing all we can to encourage just that.

Concerning regional conflicts, I will work to move the Middle East peace process toward a comprehensive solution -- one that will guarantee the security of Israel and all the states in the region, while ensuring the legitimate rights of the Palestinian people. We will press for Soviet cooperation in the efforts of the United Nations to end the Iran-Iraq war. And we will look for ways to cooperate in reducing regional conflicts in Africa, Asia, and Central America.

Regarding arms control, we will strive to resolve the issues that still stand in the way of our agreement to cut strategic offensive nuclear weapons in half. As we make progress, our negotiators will be able to move forward in their work on the draft START treaty, which is already hundreds of pages long.

We will continue to seek ways to improve the verification procedures of two existing treaties on nuclear testing -- the Peaceful Nuclear Explosions Treaty and the Threshold Test Ban Treaty -- so that those treaties can be ratified.

leaders

And I will press the Soviets[^] for progress at the Vienna follow-up talks to the Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe. At these follow-up talks, NATO and Warsaw Pact negotiators are working on ways to strengthen the confidence and security-building measures they negotiated at Stockholm in 1986, and on a mandate for new talks on conventional forces. Success here will require the Soviets^{Union} to move ahead on human rights, for true security in Europe involves much more than military arrangements. It must be based on a solid foundation of respect for the rights of individuals.

Concerning the final portion of our four-part agenda, our bilateral relations, we will address a series of agreements -- both new agreements and renewals of existing agreements -- to extend the areas in which we cooperate. This will include everything from basic scientific research to practical matters of nuclear safety, radio navigation, and the protection of the global environment. We will seek to broaden still further our people-to-people contacts -- and especially, to give more of our young people the opportunity to participate in such exchanges.

So as you see from that outline of the agenda, there will be plenty of work for Mr. Gorbachev and me in Moscow next week. I do not expect it to be easy. We have many serious differences -- deep differences, moral differences. But we are still fellow human beings. We can still work together to keep the peace. And in working with the Soviet Union, the United States can still remain true to its mission of expanding liberty throughout the world.

Re

WHITE HOUSE STAFFING MEMORANDUM

DATE: 05/17/88 ACTION/CONCURRENCE/COMMENT DUE BY: C.O.B. Wednesday 05/18

SUBJECT: PRESIDENTIAL REMARKS: CEREMONY UPON DEPARTURE FOR MOSCOW SUMMIT
(05/17 6:00 p.m. draft)

	ACTION FYI			ACTION FYI	
VICE PRESIDENT	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	HOBBS	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
BAKER	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	HOOLEY	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>
DUBERSTEIN	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	KRANOWITZ	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
MILLER - OMB	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	POWELL	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
BAUER	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	RANGE	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
CRIBB	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	RISQUE	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
CRIPPEN	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	RYAN	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
CULVAHOUSE	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	SPRINKEL	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
DAWSON	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	TUTTLE	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
DONATELLI	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	DOLAN	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>
FITZWATER	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	COURTEMANCHE	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>
GRISCOM	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>		<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>

REMARKS: Please provide any comments/recommendations to Tony Dolan by close of business on Wednesday, May 18th, with an info copy to my office. Thanks.

RESPONSE: *see edits / changes TD*

(Robinson/ARD)
May 17, 1988
6:00 p.m.

PRESIDENTIAL REMARKS: CEREMONY UPON DEPARTURE FOR
MOSCOW SUMMIT
SOUTH LAWN
WEDNESDAY, MAY 25, 1988

Received
1988 MAY 17 PM 7:23

My fellow Americans:

On the eve of my first meeting with General Secretary Gorbachev in 1985, I told you that my mission, simply stated, was a mission for freedom and peace. I wanted to sit down across the table from Mr. Gorbachev and try to set out with him a basis for peaceful discourse and cooperation between our two countries, at the same time working to advance the cause and frontiers of human freedom.

As I approached that first meeting in Geneva, I wanted to establish a better working relationship with the Soviet Union -- one no longer subject to the dangerous highs and lows of the past; a working relationship that would be based on realities, not merely on a seeming relaxation of tensions between our two countries that could quickly disappear. To accomplish that, the United States needed to see solid and steady progress in four major areas: Human rights, regional conflicts, arms control, and bilateral people-to-people exchanges.

We have come a long way since then.

Now, as I depart on this trip to Moscow -- fulfilling the agreement I made with General Secretary Gorbachev back in 1985 that we would visit each other's countries -- I can point to achievements we can all be proud of, in each of the areas of our four-part agenda.

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Regarding arms ^{reductions} ~~control~~, we will strive to resolve the issues that still stand in the way of our agreement to cut strategic offensive nuclear weapons in half. As we make progress, our negotiators will be able to move forward in their work on the draft START treaty, ~~which is already hundreds of pages long.~~ ^{state I say arms reduction}

We will continue to seek ways to improve the verification procedures of two existing treaties on nuclear testing -- the Peaceful Nuclear Explosions Treaty and the Threshold Test Ban Treaty -- so that those treaties can be ratified.

And I will ^{urge} ~~press~~ the Soviets ^{to move ahead} ~~for progress~~ at the Vienna follow-up talks to the Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe. At these ^{discussion} ~~follow-up talks~~, NATO and Warsaw Pact negotiators are working on ways to strengthen the confidence and security-building measures they negotiated at Stockholm in 1986, and on a mandate for new talks on conventional forces. Success here ^{means} ~~will require~~ the Soviets ^{must} ~~to move ahead~~ ^{make continued progress} on human rights, for true security in Europe involves much more than military arrangements. It must be based on a solid foundation of respect for the rights of individuals.

Concerning the final portion of our four-part agenda, our bilateral relations, we will address ~~a series of agreements~~ both new agreements and renewals of existing agreements -- to extend the areas in which we cooperate. This will include everything from basic scientific research to practical matters of nuclear safety, radio navigation, and the protection of the global environment. We will seek to broaden still further our people-to-people contacts -- and especially, to give more of our young people the opportunity to participate in such exchanges.

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Since my first meeting with Mr. Gorbachev, our two nations have, as I said, come a long way. My task this week will be to go still farther. Farther in the interests of peace. Farther toward a universal respect for fundamental human rights. Farther toward world freedom. *Farther toward a safer world for all people.* ☺

And now as I embark upon this great task, I ask for your prayers.

Thank you, and God bless you all.

Ro

(Robinson/ARD)
May 17, 1988
6:00 p.m. SS

PRESIDENTIAL REMARKS: CEREMONY UPON DEPARTURE FOR
MOSCOW SUMMIT
SOUTH LAWN
WEDNESDAY, MAY 25, 1988

My fellow Americans:

Address to the Nation
11-14-85

On the eve of my first meeting with General Secretary Gorbachev in 1985, I told you that my mission, simply stated, was a mission for freedom and peace. I wanted to sit down across the table from Mr. Gorbachev and try to set out with him a basis for peaceful discourse and cooperation between our two countries, at the same time working to advance the cause and frontiers of human freedom.

As I approached that first meeting in Geneva, I wanted to establish a better working relationship with the Soviet Union -- one no longer subject to the dangerous highs and lows of the past; a working relationship that would be based on realities, not merely on a seeming relaxation of tensions between our two countries that could quickly disappear. To accomplish that, the United States needed to see solid and steady progress in four major areas: Human rights, regional conflicts, arms control, and bilateral people-to-people exchanges.

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V.N. - Mediated Afghan
Accords signed in Geneva
4/14/88 Facts on File 1988

The United States and the Soviet Union have signed the Geneva Accords providing for the withdrawal of all Soviet troops from Afghanistan, and have witnessed the first withdrawals.

Soviet Start
Afghan
Pullback,
WPost 5/11/88

-- We have signed an arms reduction treaty that will reduce the level of nuclear weapons for the first time in history, eliminating an entire class of medium and shorter-range missiles.

-- We have agreed on the main points of a treaty that will cut in half our arsenals of strategic offensive nuclear weapons.

Statement by Asst.
Press Sec. re est.
of Risk
Reduction
Center 3/22/88

-- Our new Nuclear Risk Reduction Centers are already transmitting messages that reduce the risk of conflict.

-- Our representatives have held broad-ranging discussions on human rights, and we have seen concrete steps taken: The rate at which Soviet Jews are permitted to leave the country has risen. ~~Some~~ Over the past 3 years 300 political and religious prisoners have been released. A number of divided families have been reunited. The press has been permitted greater freedom. There has been a recognition of religious persecution in the past, and a pledge for a broader right to worship.

Lisa Jameson
NSE #3912
divided
families,
Helsinki -
23 Semiannual
Report
4/1/87 -
10/1/87

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Guraff

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Draft Concerning regional ~~conflicts~~, ^{Issues, more needs to be done to defuse} I will work to move the Middle East peace process toward a comprehensive solution -- one that will guarantee the security of Israel and all the states in the region, while ensuring the legitimate rights of the Palestinian people. We will press for Soviet cooperation in the efforts of the United Nations to end the Iran-Iraq war. And we will look for ways to cooperate in reducing regional conflicts in Africa, Asia, and Central America. ^{work to see how we might move the}

Draft Regarding arms control, we will strive to resolve the issues that still stand in the way of our agreement to cut strategic offensive nuclear weapons in half. As we make progress, our negotiators will be able to move forward in their work on the draft START treaty, which is already hundreds of pages long.

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Statement by
Asst Press
Secretary
on Soviet-
U.S. Nuclear
and Space Arms
Negotiations
2/12/88

And I will press the Soviets for progress at the Vienna follow-up talks to the Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe. At these follow-up talks, NATO and Warsaw Pact negotiators are working on ways to strengthen the confidence and security-building measures they negotiated at Stockholm in 1986, and on a mandate for new talks on conventional forces. Success here will require the Soviets to move ahead on human rights, for true security in Europe involves much more than military arrangements. It must be based on a solid foundation of respect for the rights of individuals.

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Thank you, and God bless you all.

RO

WHITE HOUSE STAFFING MEMORANDUM

DATE: 05/17/88 ACTION/CONCURRENCE/COMMENT DUE BY: C.O.B. Wednesday 05/18

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(05/17 6:00 p.m. draft)

	ACTION FYI			ACTION FYI	
VICE PRESIDENT	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	HOBBS	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
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CRIBB	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	RISQUE	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
CRIPPEN	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	RYAN	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
CULVAHOUSE	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	SPRINKEL	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
DAWSON	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	TUTTLE	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
DONATELLI	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	DOLAN	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>
FITZWATER	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	COURTEMANCHE	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>
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*See Comments
See*

RESPONSE:

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

May 18, 1988

COMMENTS ON REMARKS: DEPARTURE FOR MOSCOW SUMMIT

P. 2:

Too positive. While the Soviet Union has begun to take some steps in the right direction, they still have a long way to go in fulfilling their human rights obligations and in granting freedom of religion, freedom of the press, and the right to emigrate. The list of improvements on page 2, although is not inaccurate, needs to be more balanced to reflect that much more is expected of the Soviets.

P. 3, ¶ 2:

Wrong flavor. Should be re-written to read:

"Concerning regional issues, more needs to be done to defuse dangerous conflicts. The Middle East stands out in this regard. We must work to see how we might move the Middle East peace process toward a comprehensive solution -- one that will"

/

(Robinson/ARD)
May 17, 1988
6:00 p.m.

Received 00
1988 MAY 17 PM 7:20

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SOUTH LAWN
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NEWS / OPINION

WASHINGTON POST

11 MAY 1988

Pg. 1

Soviets Start Afghan Pullback

New Troops Reinforce Evacuation Routes

By Richard M. Weintraub
Washington Post Foreign Service

KABUL, Afghanistan, May 11—Soviet forces are being pulled back from forward posts in strategic areas in the east and south of Afghanistan in preparation for the scheduled start of Moscow's military withdrawal from the country, according to diplomats who have been monitoring the situation closely.

At the same time, major evacuation routes from those regions have been heavily reinforced and there has been an extraordinary increase in air activity in apparent support of ground operations, the diplomats said. The reinforcements may include the introduction of as many as 15,000 new troops to assist in the evacuation, indicating nervousness over the attitude of anti-Soviet resistance forces, or *mujaheddin*, toward the pullout.

"The mujaheddin are in position ... to make significant attacks. What they do will say something about the future. Even the Soviet diplomats in Kabul are asking, 'what do you think they will do?'" said one diplomat.

The Soviet forces are expected to begin their withdrawal on Sunday, the date that accords signed last month in Geneva take effect. While the accords commit the Soviets to removing only half their troops in the first 90 days, they are expected to move quickly to get their troops out of the country.

Eastern European diplomats reportedly have said that as many as 30,000 troops will pull out in the first two weeks, before the Moscow summit meeting between President Reagan and Soviet leader Mikhail Gorbachev.

That would be one-quarter of the estimated 115,000 to 120,000 Soviet troops in Afghanistan, and would leave the remainder in much

more vulnerable positions.

In contrast to the United States experience in Vietnam, a high percentage of the Soviet forces in Afghanistan are combat troops, not support units that could be pulled out without affecting short-term combat effectiveness.

In addition to the withdrawal of military forces, Moscow also is expected to reduce rapidly its roster of civilian advisers here.

Dependents already have started leaving, and departure dates are being given to personnel, according to a Soviet source.

The consolidation of Soviet forces is taking place near Jalalabad in Nangahar Province, Kandahar in Kandahar Province and in Paktia and Paktika provinces, all areas close to mujaheddin bases in the Pakistan border region.

The reinforcements sent out

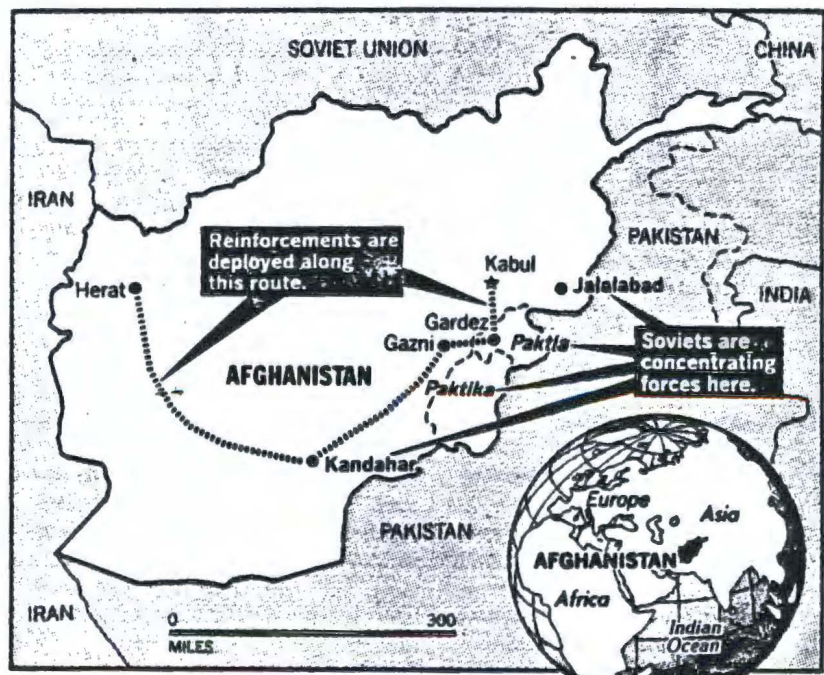
from Kabul are primarily along a route leading from Kabul south to Gardez, west to Gazni, south along the country's perimeter highway to Kandahar and then north again to Herat and the Soviet border.

This would protect routes out of the country both to the west via Herat and to the east via Kabul and the Salang tunnel.

The areas from which Soviet forces are withdrawing are expected to come rapidly under the control of the Afghan resistance.

At least 10 district centers have fallen to the mujaheddin in the past two or three weeks, some in areas in the center and north of the country but others near Jalalabad and especially Kandahar. The Indian Embassy, which closed its Jalalabad consulate last month, was reported to have closed its Kandahar consulate last week.

While the ground movements have been taking place over the past two or three weeks, there also are reports of a major increase in Soviet military traffic at the Kabul airport, including flights by a num-



BY DAVE COOK—THE WASHINGTON POST

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PULLBACK...CONTINUED

MIAMI HERALD

8 MAY 1988

Pg. C-1

Soviet influence in Latin America

By BOB GRAHAM

ber of Su25 ground support planes now stationed at the capital's airport.

In addition, diplomats report a doubling of the number of flights into Kabul by Soviet heavy transport planes, indicating a last-minute buildup of supplies for the Soviet-backed Afghan government of President Najibullah.

As many as 76 flights a week have been reported since the accords were signed in Geneva on April 14.

This would match a major buildup of supplies by the United States and others in support of the guerrilla forces fighting out of the Pakistan border region.

Under the Geneva accords, "outside interference" in Afghan affairs is to stop on Sunday, although the United States has said it will continue to supply the resistance if Moscow continues to supply Kabul.

Meanwhile, a major rocket attack by resistance forces earlier this week has left the Afghan capital shaken.

The barrage of as many as 17 rockets struck in all parts of the capital, indicating that they were fired from a number of locations around Kabul.

"This would take coordination by several groups, possibly from more than one resistance group," said one diplomat. Casualties from the attacks, many of them civilians, now are placed by diplomats at as many as 25 dead and a large number of wounded. The rockets also hit areas of the city where a large number of diplomats and other foreigners live and work. Those areas had not been attacked in more than a year and a half.

The rocket attacks have led to an undercurrent of nervousness among Kabul residents, who had grown used to occasional rocket attacks or car bombs. One merchant, who in the past has indicated no concern about such attacks, said yesterday when asked about the atmosphere in the city, "Well, there were all those rockets yesterday."

[The United Nations named Sadruddin Aga Khan, 55, a former U.N. high commissioner for refugees, as coordinator of U.N. economic and humanitarian programs to help implement the peace settlement in Afghanistan, Reuter reported.]

Under Mikhail Gorbachev, the Soviet Union has increased its foreign policy interest in Latin America. The Soviets are chary of pouring unlimited amounts of money into Third World nations in our hemisphere — in Cuba they've learned some hard lessons about the cost of keeping surrogates. But they continue to take advantage of unrest in Central America and Panama while focusing renewed attention on the economic powerhouses of Latin America — Brazil, Mexico and Argentina. We would do well to carefully evaluate the Soviets' long-term strategic goals and the tactics they are using to achieve those goals so that we can develop ways to counter Soviet influence.

During my recent trip to Russia I met with Petr Demichev, the deputy chairman of the U.S.S.R.'s Supreme Soviet, and asked him if the Soviets intended to continue to supply military support to the Sandinista government in Nicaragua. The answer was a loquacious, qualified "yes." He said:

"The Soviet Union has given its consent, in the event that a political decision on a cease-fire is reached, to consider restricting its military aid to 'non-offensive' weapons."

Deputy Chairman Demichev defined "non-offensive weapons" as "rifles."

Since the Guatemala Peace Accords last August, the Soviets have poured an additional \$200 million in military aid into Nicaragua. The tonnage of military supplies sent to Nicaragua was higher for the first quarter of this year than it was for the same time period in 1987.

The Soviets are not shy about their desire to maintain Communist governments in Cuba and Nicaragua. But they have modulated their adventurism with pragmatism — a pragmatism defined more by economic and geopolitical interests than solely by ideological compatibility.

That pragmatism recently has been on prominent display. Last



Soviet leader Mikhail Gorbachev reportedly plans a visit to Latin America.

year, Soviet Foreign Minister Eduard Shevardnadze became the highest Soviet official to visit South America, touching diplomatic bases in Brazil, Argentina, Uruguay and Cuba. The year before he visited Mexico. Gorbachev himself is reportedly planning to visit Latin America in the next year.

The purpose of this heightened interest is two-fold: to develop stronger economic ties with a potentially rich economic market while at the same time exerting influence globally — a role that the Soviets see as befitting a world power.

This shading of commitment — a move away from unlimited financial support for surrogates to a pragmatic effort to reach out to the new large-market democracies in the hemisphere — has been reflected in several actions:

- Aid to Cuba has shifted from general support to the government to specific and monitored projects.
- In early 1987 Soviet aid to Cuba began to decline, the first such reversal of that economic relationship since 1960.
- In Nicaragua, Soviet and Eastern bloc economic aid was reduced by about 10 percent in 1987 over previous years.
- In January the Soviets and Sandinistas agreed

INFLUENCE...CONTINUED

upon an economic plan of \$330 million a year through 1990. This was actually a reduction of previous Soviet levels of support.

● The Sandinista mission in Moscow in March was seeking a more expansive economic aid program. They got political agreements but no new money.

The Soviet government has offset its diminished financial investment in its surrogates by effective tactical use of propaganda, targeted diplomatic, cultural and economic agreements, an upgraded diplomatic corps and a renewed focus on the importance of developing long-term economic ties with the region.

The Soviets have particularly focused on Brazil, the world's eighth largest economy, and Argentina, which already has strong economic links with the Soviet Union. Gorbachev continues to expand longstanding relations with countries such as Peru and Uruguay, the first South American country to establish relations with the Soviet Union in 1926.

In Peru the Soviets recently renegotiated repayment of Peru's debt — only about \$600 million of its \$15 billion debt, but symbolically important nevertheless. The message is clear — we, the Soviets, are willing to be flexible on debt; the United States is not. In addition to the propaganda coup, the Soviets received important fishing fleet concessions.

Uruguay is the focus of renewed attention. Uruguay's president visited the Soviet Union in March, when the doubling of trade between Uruguay and the U.S.S.R. was announced. There are current negotiations on three Uruguay/Soviet treaties: Aero-float service to Montevideo; Soviet ships' access to Uruguayan ports; the right of Soviet trawlers to fish Uruguayan waters.

The Soviets also never miss a chance to portray the United States as a heavy-handed imperialist. They have criticized our use of economic sanctions against the Noriega government in Panama and are quick to point out that our economic diplomacy hurts poor Panamanians at the same time that it undercuts the ability of Noriega's rogue government to function.

Scholarships are a relatively inexpensive investment with long-term big dividends. The Soviet Union has beefed up its scholarship money, particularly in key nations such as Panama, to train young Central and Latin American students in the Soviet Union. That is a policy that could pay off down the road in strong friendships with future Latin academic, professional and government leaders. Our own attempts to train Latin American students in American universities lag woefully behind the Russians' commitment.

We need to nationalize the InterAmerican Scholarship program to afford more deserving Latin students the chance to study here. Congress has recognized the need for additional scholarships and has begun the process of expanding Florida's model. Under the program, financially disadvantaged, deserving students matriculate in Florida's universities in fields that will help development in their countries.

The Florida scholarship program is a cooperative venture of private sector and state resources. A national version of that could add significant federal resources to a concept Florida has successfully tested.

The United States is a vital, culturally-diverse nation — a contrast to the studied homogeneity of Soviet officialdom. That diversity positions us to deal well with the variety of Caribbean, Central and Latin American peoples. Our great strategic weapon for cooperation is the large, articulate, increasingly

Freed French Hostage Faults Approach of U.S., Britain

Associated Press

PARIS, May 11—A former hostage said today that he and two other Frenchmen were freed by captors in Lebanon because the public pressured France to negotiate with Iran, and he urged Americans and Britons to do the same.

"I don't understand the Americans and the British," said journalist Jean-Paul Kauffmann. "I have the impression that they have abandoned their hostages. But these men are suffering, and what is to be done has to be done very quickly. It is urgent."

Outgoing Prime Minister Jacques Chirac thanked Iran for its help in freeing the French hostages. He said Iran had intervened to get them out of Lebanon and said diplomatic relations between France and Iran, broken last July, may be reestablished.

Nine Americans and three Britons are among the 18 foreigners still held by pro-Iranian Shiite extremists in Lebanon. The U.S. and British governments have said they will not negotiate with terrorists.

Kauffmann, speaking at a news conference, said, "There was a consensus among the French that they wanted to free their hostages, and they supported what their govern-

ment did to get us out." He and two French diplomats were freed May 4 after being held by the pro-Iranian Shiite Moslem group Islamic Jihad for three years.

Kauffmann said he believed all nine of the American hostages and the three British hostages were still alive. He refused to discuss their status, saying that could endanger them or cause them to lose the small privileges that make life bearable: the few books and cigarettes they are sometimes allowed.

Peggy Say, sister of American journalist Terry Anderson, the longest-held hostage, spoke to Kauffmann and the other two French hostages, one of whom shared a cell with Anderson.

"I have never tried to tell my government exactly what to do," said Say. "But I think that after more than three years, they could, perhaps, take some pointers from the French and follow the leads and initiatives the French government has provided."

Asked what the U.S. government was doing to secure her brother's release, Say replied, "All they tell me is that there continues to be quiet diplomacy, although I'm not sure what that means. After all this time, I have to wonder if quiet diplomacy is a code word for no diplomacy."

economically powerful Hispanic population in the United States. Hispanic Americans afford us the facility to establish and cement business and personal relations with Spanish-speaking nations in the hemisphere.

We also need to remember that we have *friends* in Central and Latin America and the Caribbean. These nations are our neighbors in more than geographic proximity. We share a common history and common goals of peace and prosperity, a common love of democracy. We operate from a position of strength in this hemisphere. It is a strength we must use to solidify associations and mutual projects and to help Latin countries develop. The heightened Soviet interest should bring both the challenge and the opportunities of the hemisphere into clearer focus. If Latin America can be viewed as the continent of the future from Moscow, how much sharper should our vision be from Washington or Miami?

U.S. Sen. Bob Graham, D-Fla., who recently visited the Soviet Union, wrote this article for *The Herald*.

Note: This is the text of identical letter addressed to Thomas P. O'Neill, Jr., Speaker of the House of Representatives, George Bush, President of the Senate, Senator Barry Goldwater, chairman of the Senate Select Committee on Intelligence, and Congressman Edward P. Boland, chairman of the House Permanent Select Committee on Intelligence.

United States-Soviet Summit in Geneva

Address to the Nation. November 14, 1985

My fellow Americans:

Good evening. In 36 hours I will be leaving for Geneva for the first meeting between an American President and a Soviet leader in 6 years. I know that you and the people of the world are looking forward to that meeting with great interest, so tonight I want to share with you my hopes and tell you why I am going to Geneva.

My mission, stated simply, is a mission for peace. It is to engage the new Soviet leader in what I hope will be a dialog for peace that endures beyond my Presidency. It is to sit down across from Mr. Gorbachev and try to map out, together, a basis for peaceful discourse even though our disagreements on fundamentals will not change.

It is my fervent hope that the two of us can begin a process which our successors and our peoples can continue—facing our differences frankly and openly and beginning to narrow and resolve them; communicating effectively so that our actions and intentions are not misunderstood; and eliminating the barriers between us and cooperating wherever possible for the greater good of all.

This meeting can be an historic opportunity to set a steady, more constructive course to the 21st century. The history of American-Soviet relations, however, does not augur well for euphoria. Eight of my predecessors—each in his own way in his own time—sought to achieve a more stable and peaceful relationship with the Soviet Union. None fully succeeded; so, I don't underestimate the difficulty of the task ahead. But these sad chapters do not relieve me of

the obligation to try to make this a safer, better world. For our children, our grandchildren, for all mankind—I intend to make the effort. And with your prayers and God's help, I hope to succeed.

Success at the summit, however, should not be measured by any short-term agreements that may be signed. Only the passage of time will tell us whether we constructed a durable bridge to a safer world. This, then, is why I go to Geneva—to build a foundation for lasting peace.

When we speak of peace, we should not mean just the absence of war. True peace rests on the pillars of individual freedom, human rights, national self-determination, and respect for the rule of law. Building a safer future requires that we address candidly all the issues which divide us and not just focus on one or two issues, important as they may be. When we meet in Geneva, our agenda will seek not just to avoid war, but to strengthen peace, prevent confrontation, and remove the sources of tension. We should seek to reduce the suspicions and mistrust that have led us to acquire mountains of strategic weapons.

Since the dawn of the nuclear age, every American President has sought to limit and end the dangerous competition in nuclear arms. I have no higher priority than to finally realize that dream. I've said before, I will say again: A nuclear war cannot be won and must never be fought. We've gone the extra mile in arms control, but our offers have not always been welcome.

In 1977 and again in 1982, the United States proposed to the Soviet Union deep reciprocal cuts in strategic forces. These offers were rejected out-of-hand. In 1981 we proposed the complete elimination of a whole category of intermediate-range nuclear forces. Three years later, we proposed a treaty for a global ban on chemical weapons. In 1983 the Soviet Union got up and walked out of the Geneva nuclear arms control negotiations altogether. They did this in protest because we and our European allies had begun to deploy nuclear weapons as a counter to Soviet SS-20's aimed at our European and other allies.

I'm pleased now, however, with the interest expressed in reducing offensive weapons by the new Soviet leadership. Let me

repeat tonight what I announced last week. The United States is prepared to reduce comparable nuclear systems by 50 percent. We seek reductions that will result in a stable balance between us with no first-strike capability and verified full compliance.

If we both reduce the weapons of war there would be no losers, only winners. And the whole world would benefit if we could both abandon these weapons altogether and move to nonnuclear defensive systems that threaten no one.

But nuclear arms control is not of itself a final answer. I told four Soviet political commentators 2 weeks ago that nations do not distrust each other because they're armed; they arm themselves because they distrust each other. The use of force, subversion, and terror has made the world a more dangerous place, and thus, today there's no peace in Afghanistan; no peace in Cambodia; no peace in Angola, Ethiopia, or Nicaragua.

These wars have claimed hundreds of thousands of lives and threaten to spill over national frontiers. That's why in my address to the United Nations, I proposed a way to end these conflicts: a regional peace plan that calls for negotiations among the warring parties—withdrawal of all foreign troops, democratic reconciliation, and economic assistance.

Four times in my lifetime, our soldiers have been sent overseas to fight in foreign lands. Their remains can be found from Flanders Field to the islands of the Pacific. Not once were those young men sent abroad in the cause of conquest. Not once did they come home claiming a single square inch of some other country as a trophy of war.

A great danger in the past, however, has been the failure by our enemies to remember that while we Americans detest war, we love freedom and stand ready to sacrifice for it. We love freedom not only because it's practical and beneficial but because it is morally right and just.

In advancing freedom, we Americans carry a special burden—a belief in the dignity of man in the sight of the God who gave birth to this country. This is central to our being.

A century and a half ago, Thomas Jefferson told the world, "The mass of mankind has not been born with saddles on their backs . . ." Freedom is America's core. We must never deny it nor forsake it. Should the day come when we Americans remain silent in the face of armed aggression, then the cause of America, the cause of freedom, will have been lost and the great heart of this country will have been broken. This affirmation of freedom is not only our duty as Americans, it's essential for success at Geneva.

Freedom and democracy are the best guarantors of peace. History has shown that democratic nations do not start wars. The rights of the individual and the rule of law are as fundamental to peace as arms control. A government which does not respect its citizens' rights and its international commitments to protect those rights is not likely to respect its other international undertakings.

And that's why we must and will speak in Geneva on behalf of those who cannot speak for themselves. We are not trying to impose our beliefs on others. We have a right to expect, however, that great states will live up to their international obligations.

Despite our deep and abiding differences, we can and must prevent our international competition from spilling over into violence. We can find, as yet undiscovered, avenues where American and Soviet citizens can cooperate fruitfully for the benefit of mankind. And this, too, is why I'm going to Geneva.

Enduring peace requires openness, honest communications, and opportunities for our peoples to get to know one another directly. The United States has always stood for openness. Thirty years ago in Geneva, President Eisenhower, preparing for his first meeting with the then Soviet leader, made his Open Skies proposal and an offer of new educational and cultural exchanges with the Soviet Union. He recognized that removing the barriers between people is at the heart of our relationship. He said: "Restrictions on communications of all kinds, including radio and travel, existing in extreme form in some places, have operated as causes of mutual distrust. In America, the

fervent belief in freedom of thought, of expression, and of movement is a vital part of our heritage."

Well, I have hopes that we can lessen the distrust between us, reduce the levels of secrecy, and bring forth a more open world. Imagine how much good we could accomplish, how the cause of peace would be served, if more individuals and families from our respective countries could come to know each other in a personal way.

For example, if Soviet youth could attend American schools and universities, they could learn firsthand what spirit of freedom rules our land and that we do not wish the Soviet people any harm. If American youth could do likewise, they could talk about their interests and values and hopes for the future with their Soviet friends. They would get firsthand knowledge of life in the U.S.S.R., but most important, they would learn that we're all God's children with much in common.

Imagine if people in our nation could see the Bolshoi Ballet again, while Soviet citizens could see American plays and hear groups like the Beach Boys. And how about Soviet children watching Sesame Street.

We've had educational and cultural exchanges for 25 years and are now close to completing a new agreement. But I feel the time is ripe for us to take bold new steps to open the way for our peoples to participate in an unprecedented way in the building of peace.

Why shouldn't I propose to Mr. Gorbachev at Geneva that we exchange many more of our citizens from fraternal, religious, educational, and cultural groups? Why not suggest the exchange of thousands of undergraduates each year, and even younger students who would live with a host family and attend schools or summer camps? We could look to increased scholarship programs, improve language studies, conduct courses in history, culture, and other subjects, develop new sister cities, establish libraries and cultural centers, and, yes, increase athletic competition.

People of both our nations love sports. If we must compete, let it be on the playing fields and not the battlefields. In science and technology, we could launch new joint space ventures and establish joint medical research projects. In communications, we'd

like to see more appearances in the other's mass media by representatives of both our countries. If Soviet spokesmen are free to appear on American television, to be published and read in the American press, shouldn't the Soviet people have the same right to see, hear, and read what we Americans have to say?

Such proposals will not bridge our differences, but people-to-people contacts can build genuine constituencies for peace in both countries. After all, people don't start wars, governments do.

Let me summarize, then, the vision and hopes that we carry with us to Geneva.

We go with an appreciation, born of experience, of the deep differences between us—between our values, our systems, our beliefs. But we also carry with us the determination not to permit those differences to erupt into confrontation or conflict. We do not threaten the Soviet people and never will. We go without illusion, but with hope, hope that progress can be made on our entire agenda.

We believe that progress can be made in resolving the regional conflicts now burning on three continents, including our own hemisphere. The regional plan we proposed at the United Nations will be raised again at Geneva.

We're proposing the broadest people-to-people exchanges in the history of American-Soviet relations, exchanges in sports and culture, in the media, education, and the arts. Such exchanges can build in our societies thousands of coalitions for cooperation and peace. Governments can only do so much. Once they get the ball rolling, they should step out of the way and let people get together to share, enjoy, help, listen, and learn from each other, especially young people.

Finally, we go to Geneva with the sober realization that nuclear weapons pose the greatest threat in human history to the survival of the human race, that the arms race must be stopped. We go determined to search out and discover common ground—where we can agree to begin the reduction, looking to the eventual elimination, of nuclear weapons from the face of the Earth.

It is not an impossible dream that we can begin to reduce nuclear arsenals, reduce

the risk of war, and build a solid foundation for peace. It is not an impossible dream that our children and grandchildren can some day travel freely back and forth between America and the Soviet Union; visit each other's homes; work and study together; enjoy and discuss plays, music, television, and root for teams when they compete.

These, then, are the indispensable elements of a true peace: the steady expansion of human rights for all the world's peoples; support for resolving conflicts in Asia, Africa, and Latin America that carry the seeds of a wider war; a broadening of people-to-people exchanges that can diminish the distrust and suspicion that separate our two peoples; and the steady reduction of these awesome nuclear arsenals until they no longer threaten the world we both must inhabit. This is our agenda for Geneva; this is our policy; this is our plan for peace.

We have cooperated in the past. In both world wars, Americans and Russians fought on separate fronts against a common enemy. Near the city of Murmansk, sons of our own nation are buried, heroes who died of wounds sustained on the treacherous North Atlantic and North Sea convoys that carried to Russia the indispensable tools of survival and victory.

While it would be naive to think a single summit can establish a permanent peace, this conference can begin a dialog for peace. So, we look to the future with optimism, and we go to Geneva with confidence.

Both Nancy and I are grateful for the chance you've given us to serve this nation and the trust you've placed in us. I know how deep the hope of peace is in her heart, as it is in the heart of every American and Russian mother.

I received a letter and picture from one such mother in Louisiana recently. She wrote, "Mr. President, how could anyone be more blessed than I? These children you see are mine, granted to me by the Lord for a short time. When you go to Geneva, please remember these faces, remember the faces of my children—of Jonathan, my son, and of my twins, Lara and Jessica. Their future depends on your actions. I will pray for guidance for you and the Soviet leaders."

Her words, "my children," read like a cry of love. And I could only think how that cry has echoed down through the centuries, a cry for all the children of the world, for peace, for love of fellow man. Here is the central truth of our time, of any time, a truth to which I've tried to bear witness in this office.

When I first accepted the nomination of my party, I asked you, the American people, to join with me in prayer for our nation and the world. Six days ago in the Cabinet Room, religious leaders—Ukrainian and Greek Orthodox bishops, Catholic church representatives, including a Lithuanian bishop, Protestant pastors, a Mormon elder, and Jewish rabbis—made me a similar request.

Well, tonight I'm honoring that request. I'm asking you, my fellow Americans, to pray for God's grace and His guidance for all of us at Geneva, so that the cause of true peace among men will be advanced and all of humanity thereby served.

Good night, and God bless you.

Note: The President spoke at 8 p.m. from the Oval Office at the White House. His address was broadcast live on nationwide radio and television.

Volcano Eruption in Colombia

*Letter to President Belisario Betancur
Cuartas of Colombia. November 14, 1985*

Dear Mr. President:

I was stunned to learn of the devastation following the eruption of the volcano Nevado Del Ruiz. The loss of life and the destruction have caused sorrow to us all. Our prayers are with you and all those who are working to rescue those who have been affected. Colombia is a great friend and ally of the United States. I want you to know in this hour of need, that we want to work with your government and be of help.

Sincerely,

Ronald Reagan

Note: As printed above, the letter follows the