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WHITE HOUSE STAFFING MEMORANDUM

DATE: 11-12-85 ACTION/CONCURRENCE/COMMENT DUE BY: 11-13-85 at Noon

SUBJECT: PRESIDENT'S REMARKS -- ARRIVAL CEREMONY IN GENEVA, 11-18-85

	ACTION FYI			ACTION FYI	
VICE PRESIDENT	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	OGLESBY	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
REGAN	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>			
MILLER	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	RYAN	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>
BUCHANAN	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	SPEAKES	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>
CHAVEZ	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	SPRINKEL	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
CHEW	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	SVAHN	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
DANIELS	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	THOMAS	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
FIELDING	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	TUTTLE	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>
HENKEL	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	ELLIOTT	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>
HICKS	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	_____	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
KINGON	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	_____	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
LACY	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	_____	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
McFARLANE	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	_____	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>

→ att 11-14
→ NONE

(Handwritten pink scribble over ELLIOTT)

REMARKS:

Please submit any comments/remarks directly to Ben Elliott by noon tomorrow. Thank you.

RESPONSE:

(Robinson/BE)
November 12, 1985
6:00 p.m. *SS*

PRESIDENTIAL REMARKS: ARRIVAL CEREMONY
GENEVA, SWITZERLAND
MONDAY, NOVEMBER 18, 1985

President Furgler, I would like to extend to you and to the Swiss people my appreciation for helping to make possible the coming meetings between representatives of the United States and the Soviet Union.

Nancy and I are delighted to be in this magnificent city on the shores of Lake Geneva to see and greet all of you, including our good friend, Ambassador Faith Whittlesey, and to say on behalf of the American people, thank you for your warm and friendly welcome.

Mr. President, it is fitting that the meetings of the next few days should take place on Swiss soil, for Switzerland has long been a leader in the search for peace and the defense of human freedom. Again and again, you have provided your territory for international meetings, and your good offices in the mediation of disputes. It was the Swiss who founded one of the great humanitarian organizations of our time, the International Red Cross; and it is Switzerland that often represents the diplomatic interests of other nations, including the United States, in lands where these nations have no formal diplomatic relations of their own.

Indeed, in your unshakeable commitment to independence, democratic government, and human rights, the Swiss Confederation in itself serves as an example to all the world. The motto of the United States, Mr. President, is "E Pluribus Unum," out of

many, one. Here in Switzerland -- a country of rich religious, cultural, and linguistic variety -- you practice just such unity in diversity.

Permit me to add that our two countries are bound together by family ties. As early as 1562, a Swiss settler appeared in Florida, and, in 1607, Bernese natives participated in the founding of Jamestown. Ever since, Americans of Swiss descent have pioneered and led the development of our Nation. Today Swiss-Americans number in the millions, and I would be remiss if I failed to express their affection for you, their Swiss cousins.

Indeed, just last month, the goodwill of the American people toward the Swiss was formally expressed in a joint resolution of the Congress of the United States.

Recently, Mr. President, Boston University awarded you an honorary Doctorate of Laws. In your acceptance address, you stressed the obligations incumbent upon the West to defend its values and way of life. "It is," you said, "part of the definition and vocation of the human being to be free...."

Mr. President, each in its own way, our two nations stand at the forefront of this struggle for liberty. Each stands determined to defend the freedoms of its own people and to advance the cause of freedom throughout the world. And each rests confident in the knowledge that freedom will endure, and prevail.

It is to make certain that this great work on behalf of human freedom can go forward in peace that I have come here today. As I stated last month before the United Nations, I am

convinced that American-Soviet relations need a fresh start -- a genuine give-and-take on regional conflicts like the war in Afghanistan, on human rights, and on the reduction of arms.

American and Soviet differences on these matters run deep. Mr. Gorbachev and I cannot surmount them in only 2 days. But I am here in the fervent hope that -- on behalf of all the people of the world -- we can at least make a start.

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(Robinson) *BSE*
November 12, 1985
4:30 p.m.

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Peter - Please take guests from circulation + refer to it at end of speech
I'd like to see the draft quote we need to be used in the book or memo.
(Robinson)
November 12, 1985
2:30 p.m.

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GENEVA, SWITZERLAND
MONDAY, NOVEMBER 18, 1985

*outward
Whitless
fair*

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[Handwritten scribbles]

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INSERT II

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~~01 937 5980.~~

~~3.24.52 seconds.~~

INSERT I.

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INSERT II

STBT Mr. President, just last month, the goodwill of the American people toward ~~the Swiss was given~~ the Swiss achieved formal expression in the Congress of the United States. Permit me to read to you from their joint resolution of the Congress: insert the quotation.

(Robinson)
November 12, 1985
2:30 p.m.

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MONDAY, NOVEMBER 18, 1985

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Mr. President, it is fitting that these meetings should take place on Swiss soil, for Switzerland has long been a leader in the search for peace and the defense of human freedom. Again and again, you have provided your territory for international meetings and your good offices in the mediation of disputes. It was the Swiss who founded one of the great humanitarian organizations of our time, the International Red Cross; and it is Switzerland that often represents the diplomatic interests of other nations, including the United States, in lands where these nations have no formal diplomatic relations of their own.

Indeed, in your unshakeable commitment to independence, democratic government, and human rights, the Confederation of Switzerland in itself serves as an example to all the world. The motto of the United States, Mr. President, is "E Pluribus Unum," out of many, one. Here in Switzerland -- a country of rich religious, cultural, and linguistic variety -- you practice just such unity in diversity. ~~A~~ Permit me to add that our two countries are bound not only by ideals, but family ties. As early as 1562,

X

a Swiss settler appeared in Florida, and, in 1607, Bernese natives participated in the founding of Jamestown. Ever since, Americans of Swiss descent have been central to the development of our Nation. Today, they number in the millions, and I would be remiss if I failed to express the affection which they feel for you, their Swiss cousins. X

Recently, Mr. President, Boston University awarded you an honorary Doctorate of Laws. In your acceptance address, you stressed the obligations incumbent upon the West to defend its values and way of life. "It is," you said, "part of the definition and vocation of the human being to be free...."

Mr. President, each in its own way, our two nations stand at the forefront of this struggle for liberty. Each stands determined to defend the freedoms of its own people and to advance the cause of freedom throughout the world. And each rests confident in the knowledge that freedom will endure, and prevail.

It is to make certain that this great work on behalf of human freedom cannot ~~only go forward, but~~ go forward in peace that I have come here today. As I stated last month before the United Nations, I am ^{in need} ~~confident~~ that American-Soviet relations need a fresh start -- a genuine give-and-take on regional conflicts like the war in Afghanistan, on human rights, and on the reduction of arms. X

American and Soviet differences on these matters run deep. Mr. Gorbachev and I cannot surmount them in only 3 days. But I

am here in the fervent hope that -- on behalf of all the people of the world -- we can at least make a start.

President Furgler, ~~once again, to you and to the people of Switzerland, our deepest gratitude and respect.~~

→ Permit me to conclude by reading from a resolution passed by the Congress of the United States just last month:

Whereas the United States and Switzerland share a common heritage, ~~based on a commitment to political and religious freedom of expression, on our shared legacy of a constitutional and Federal Government, on our commitment to human rights and the dignity of the individual, and on our firm belief that a free enterprise economy provides the greatest prosperity for the greatest number of people.~~ [It is] X
Resolved...that ...as an expression of the warm gratitude of the American people for the strong bonds of friendship which have long existed between our two great democracies, the people and nation of Switzerland are to be commended for all they have done throughout this century in the search for freedom, international peace, and understanding. ■

~~Thank you.~~

President Furgler, once again, to you and the people of Switzerland, our friendship and deepest gratitude. Thank you.

Geneva Arrival Statement

Document: Furgler

Diskette: Peter2

President Furgler, permit me to extend to you and to the Swiss people my appreciation for helping to make possible the coming meetings ^g/_h between representatives of the United States and the Soviet Union. Nancy and I are delighted to be in this magnificent city on the shores of Lake Geneva, and on behalf of the American people, we thank you for your hospitality. ~~STRT~~

Mr. President, it is fitting that these meetings should take place on Swiss soil, for Switzerland has long been a leader in the search for peace and the defense of human freedom. Again and again, you have provided ~~your services~~ ^{and your good offices} in the mediation of disputes, ~~and your territory~~ for international meetings. It was Swiss who founded one of the great humanitarian organizations of our time, the International Red Cross; and it is Switzerland that often represents the diplomatic interests of other nations, including the United States, in lands where these nations have no formal diplomatic relations of their own.

Indeed, in ~~its~~ ^{your} unshakeable commitment to independence, democratic government, and human rights, the Confederation of Switzerland in itself serves as an example to all the world. The motto of the United States, Mr. President, is "E Pluribus Unum," ~~out of many, one.~~ Here in Switzerland -- a country of rich religious, cultural, and linguistic variety -- you practice just such ² ~~respect for the rights of others, just such~~ unity in diversity. ~~Mr. President, it is our common heritage to glory in and defend our fierce belief that God made man for freedom.~~

~~tolerant and democratic systems of government which are based upon the one fierce belief in the God-given right of all men to be free.~~

Switzerland has

INSERT. I

Permit me to

~~I might~~ add that our two countries
are bound ^{not only by ideals, but} ~~as well~~ by family ties. As early

as 1562, a Swiss settler appeared in

Florida, ~~and~~ In 1607, Bernese natives

participated in the founding of Jamestown.

Ever since, Americans of Swiss

descent have been central to the
Today, they ~~and no~~ number in the millions, and
development of our nation. I

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would be remiss, if I failed to

express
~~mention~~ the affection which these

~~many Americans~~
~~millions of my countrymen~~ feel for
feel for you,
their Swiss cousins.

Mr. President,

~~President Furgler~~, recently [≡] Boston University awarded you an honorary Doctorate of Laws. In your acceptance address, you stressed the obligations incumbent upon the West to defend its values and way of life. "It is," you said, "part of the definition and vocation of the human being to be free, ^{to} ~~safeguard his basic rights, and to develop talents as an individual, within the family circle, the economy, and the arts, as well as within the political community.~~ Like the individual, a nation is also called to liberty and longs for a life of peace in freedom."

Mr. President, each in its own way, our two nations stand at the forefront of this struggle for liberty. Each stands determined to defend the freedoms of its own people and to advance the cause of freedom throughout the world. ^{And} Each rests confident in the knowledge that freedom will endure, and prevail.

It is to make certain that this great work ^{on behalf of human freedom} can not only go forward, but go forward in peace, that I have come here today. ~~I am convinced that,~~ as I stated last month before the United Nations, ^{I am convinced that} American-Soviet relations need a fresh start -- a genuine give-and-take on regional conflicts like the war in Afghanistan, on human rights, and on the reduction of arms.

American and Soviet differences on these matters run deep. Mr. Gorbachev and I cannot surmount them in only three days. But I am here in the fervent hope that ^{-- on behalf of all the people of the world --} we can at least make a start.

President Furgler, once again, ^{to} you and ^{to} the people of ^{Switzerland,} ~~this~~ nation ^{our} have my deepest gratitude and respect. **INSERT II.**

#

INSERT II

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~~Resolved by the Senate and House of Representatives~~
~~of the United States of America in Congress assembled,~~
3 ~~That it is the sense of the Congress that, in recognition of~~
4 ~~their many contributions and as an expression of the warm~~
5 gratitude of the American people for the strong bonds of
6 friendship which have long existed between our two
7 great democracies, the people and nation of Switzerland are
8 to be commended for all they have done throughout this cen-
9 tury in the search for freedom, international peace, and
10 understanding.

4 Thank you.



THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

11/4/85

PR

MEMORANDUM

TO: ROBERT MCFARLANE

FROM: FREDERICK J. RYAN, JR. *FJR*

SUBJECT: APPROVED PRESIDENTIAL ACTIVITY

Time reserved for Pre-Geneva events:

MEETING: 11/7/85 - 12:00 m - 60 min - Lunch - Cabinet Room

DATE: 11/14/85 - 1:00 pm - 30 min - Meeting - Cabinet Room
11/16/85 - approx. 8:20 am - 10 min - Departure
Event - East Room

TIME: **Time TBD - Arrival Event - Geneva**

DURATION:

LOCATION:

REMARKS REQUIRED: Yes, for departure and arrival events

MEDIA COVERAGE: Coordinate with Press Office

FIRST LADY PARTICIPATION: Yes, in departure and arrival events

NOTE: PROJECT OFFICER, SEE ATTACHED CHECKLIST

cc: K. Barun
P. Buchanan
D. Chew
E. Crispen
M. Daniels
T. Dawson
B. Elliott
J. Erkenbeck
L. Faulkner
M. Friedersdorf
C. Fuller
W. Henkel
E. Hickey
C. Hicks

J. Hooley
A. Kingon
J. Kuhn
C. McCain
B. Oglesby
J. Rosebush
R. Scouten
R. Shaddick
B. Shaddix
L. Speakes
WHCA Audio/Visual
WHCA Operations
N. Yates
W. Martin

Peter

President Reagan's Arrival Statement

Geneva

November 18, 1985

President Furgler, ^{permit me to} may I extend to you and the Swiss people ^{to} my deep appreciation for helping ^{to} make possible ^{coming} these meetings ^{representatives of} between the United States and ^{of} the Soviet Union. Nancy and I are delighted to be ~~here~~ ^{in this magnificent city on the shores of Lake Geneva, and on behalf of the} and we thank you for your ~~warm~~ ^{American people,} hospitality.

^{Mr. President,} ^{there} It is fitting that ^{altogether} these meetings should take place on Swiss soil. Switzerland has been a leader in the search for international peace and has generously provided her territory for international conferences and organizations and her services for the arbitration and mediation of disputes. The United States and Switzerland share the values of a common Western heritage -- a commitment to democracy, freedom of the individual, human rights, national independence and the peaceful resolution of disputes.

①
② Thirty years ago, President Eisenhower met with Soviet leaders here. The cordial atmosphere of that meeting gave rise to the "Spirit of Geneva." Today we know that the world needs more from us than smiles and spirit.

③ I believe that U.S.-Soviet relations need the "fresh start" that I called for recently before the United Nations General Assembly. We need a true give-and-take discussion about peace in all its aspects -- about security and arms control, about regional conflicts, about human rights and free contacts between peoples.

④ Our differences on the matters are very deep. Mr. Gorbachev and I will not overcome them in a few days.

But I hope we can make a start. I am ready to get down to work.

Thank you.

President Furgler, on behalf of the American people, may I extend my warmest thanks to Switzerland, and to you remarkable people -- the Swiss, who have done so much to make possible this meeting between the United States and the Soviet Union.

1. It is particularly fitting that this meeting take place on Swiss soil. Switzerland has long played a leading role among nations in the search for international peace, freedom and understanding, and has very generously provided her territory and hospitable atmosphere for international organizations and conferences, and her services for arbitration and mediation of disputes. The Swiss Government has for many years courageously and ably represented the diplomatic interests of other nations, including the United States, in lands where these nations have no relations. As the founders of the International Red Cross, you have also long been world leaders in providing humanitarian assistance to those in distress all over the world.

2. The Confederation of neutral Switzerland has itself long been an example to other nations, for its firm defense of national independence, democratic government and its long tradition of protection of human rights. As you know, our motto in the United States is E Pluribus Unum, out of many, one. Here in Switzerland, you have given the world an extraordinary example of unity in diversity, of a religious, cultural and linguistic variety that enriches rather than divides ^{your} a nation.

I am proud to say that the United States and Switzerland share this long-standing heritage of political, religious and economic liberty, and constitutional government, founded upon the sanctity of the individual.

3. We are also grateful for the important contribution Switzerland and her descendants in America have made to the history of the United States, even from the very earliest days, when Albert Gallatin of Geneva became one of our most brilliant and famous statesmen, as Secretary of Treasury and then in negotiation of the settlement of the War of 1812.

4. President Furgler, you recently made a brilliant speech at Boston University, where you were awarded an honorary Doctorate of Laws from that prestigious institution. You correctly stressed the obligations which we in the democratic world must assume to maintain our way of life and our system of values, against relentless external attacks directed at its very foundations. I fully agree. Our two countries, each in its own way, are in the forefront of this struggle, to assure that the democratic principles enshrined in our respective constitutions not only survive, but prevail.

5. President Furgler, may I once again express ~~Nancy's~~ ^{our}
and ~~my~~ great pleasure in being here in your lovely
country. May I again convey our sincere greetings and
heartfelt gratitude to the great people and nation of
Switzerland for the steadfast friendship you have extended
to the people of the United States, ^{over the years} and for serving as such
gracious hosts for the important meetings which begin next
Tuesday, in this magnificent city on the shores of Lake
Geneva.

Ben

also a nice
man about

Faith by the
President upon

his own word

he greatly

appreciated

Frank

Bob Kelly

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OF THE DAY

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President, Accuracy In Academia, Inc.—Page 44

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Wayne C. Anderson
Vice President Government Relations, Nabisco Brands, Inc.—Page 57

Arnold B. McKinnon
Executive Vice President-Marketing, Norfolk Southern Corporation—Page 60

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THE BEST THOUGHT OF THE BEST MINDS ON CURRENT NATIONAL QUESTIONS

The Future

OUR COMMON CAUSE

By KURT FURGLER, *President of Switzerland*

Delivered to the World Leaders Forum, Boston University, Brookline, Massachusetts, October 4, 1985

I WISH to thank you respectfully and warmly for the high tribute you are paying me. By awarding me this honorary degree of Doctor of Laws, you have not only honored my work as Member of Parliament and member of our national government. You are conferring a particular honor upon my country, Switzerland, as well. Your magnanimous gesture touches me.

I am proud to be connected, from now on, with Boston University, a place of research, teaching, and exchange of ideas that has given, and will certainly continue to give, much to your nation and to the world. For its accomplishments, you deserve both praise and recognition.

I feel fortunate to be among you. The names "Boston," "Massachusetts," and "New England" have a particular ring in Europe. They remind us of that part of America whose thinking stands closest to ours. We hope that this region will continue to carry its leadership into the world. Faneuil Hall, the "Cradle of Liberty," and the "Freedom Trail" are not only spiritual and historical witnesses of the American past. They are also a starting point of decisive stimuli for the political configuration of your country and all countries of the world that were fortunate enough to take advantage of the political and economic opportunities of liberty. Perhaps nowhere more clearly than here in Boston were innovative powers recognized, powers evidenced by liberalism. We may recall Lowell, the first factory town founded in 1840, the merchant fleet of the three-masted Yankee Clippers that were built here, the research centers and the tremendous development of hi-tech industries in Massachusetts.

I deeply respect the accomplishment — unique in history — that millions of people achieved by settling and industrializing the immense expanses stretching from New England to California without losing either liberty or order. Unequaled flexibility and creativity has enabled your community of free men and women to come to grips with enormous societal, economic, and technological changes — changes that you have carried over to the rest of the world. The USA: stronghold of liberty, innovation and hope for the world.

From the ideas of Christian ethics, the European Enlightenment, and Anglo-Saxon tradition. America's pragmatic genius created in its Constitution a well-balanced work that has proved astonishingly vital and that has had an influence on the formation of numerous political systems, among them, the Swiss.

Whoever in the course of only two hundred years achieves this kind of importance, whoever in so short a time has been able to bring liberalism to a fruitful tradition, and whoever has made of the melting pot of ideas the true recipe for economic success has no ground for considering faint-hearted protectionist ideas.

European-American relations are of a special nature because, from the beginning, the United States was not only the country of immigration of European ideas, but also the country of emigration of liberal convictions. This is still the case today. Allow me to refer to the example of Swiss-American relations.

Swiss were involved in the settlement of North America from the outset. In 1562, a Diebold from Erlach surfaced in Florida. In 1607, Bernese natives participated in the foundation of

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Subscription Rates: \$25.00 a year. Canadian one year: \$30.00. Single copies \$1.50. Back issues, if available, within two years \$1.70 a copy, beyond two years \$2.05 each, prior to 1959 \$3.60 each. Microfilm editions \$10.00 per volume plus postage. On order under \$10.00, remittance must accompany order.

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Jamestown. In 1770, a General Haldimann held office as Commander of New York. Later, Swiss colonists founded villages and cities, to which they gave Swiss names. Many Swiss fought on the side of the North during the Civil War; from the South came word of the deeds of a solitary general, Felix Zollikofer from Altenklingen. The tragic story of General Suter, who played a role in the opening up of California, is notorious. At Harvard University (just across the river), Louis and Alexandre Agassiz, from Môtier, shone as naturalists in the nineteenth century. One of your oceanographers is called Iselin, not to mention the cultural, intellectual, and technical bridge-builders such as Ammann, Buchser, Barth, Brunner, Einstein and Jung.

We count those few names, selected among many, as ours. You count them as yours. Their bearers created more than simply relations between two countries. What happened here is a true osmosis of thinking and acting.

Governmental structures can be spoken of in similar terms. Switzerland came into being as a loose confederation about seven hundred years ago. Its goal was and still is freedom and independence. Fascinated by the example of the United States, reported on by Swiss home-owners, we Swiss introduced in 1848 a constitution similar to yours. It is still full of vitality today because it respects the public interest of the nation and the independence of the cantons, our states. Accordingly, we have copied our bicameral system from the United States. In turn, almost half the American states followed the Swiss example and prescribed, between 1898 and 1918, those fixtures of direct democracy, the referendum and the right of popular initiative. In addition, the American government emulated the idea of arbitral jurisdiction, which was formed in Switzerland in the thirteenth century, by submitting to the arbitration of the Swiss Government in the Alabama, Baltimore and Delago deals. The concepts of the rule of law and democracy are, as these examples show, contagious and easily cross the seas, regardless of the power of the State advocating them.

This osmosis has stood the test of time. And you may be sure that we Swiss are well aware that we have you to thank for some of these basic tenets. During the First as well as the Second World War, the victory began to emerge only when American troops entered Western Europe. What Roosevelt and Churchill did for the liberty of Europe remains unforgotten.

Perhaps you are wondering whether the centuries-old commitment of Switzerland to liberty is consistent with its neutrality. The answer can again be found in history. Caught between world powers, Switzerland has only been able to survive in its strategically sensitive position by pursuing a policy of armed neutrality, a neutrality which was and still is recognized as being in the interest of the community of nations.

All Swiss serve in the military. Our militia of approximately 600,000 men who keep their weapons at home in times of peace can be mobilized at short notice. The army defends the Swiss territory against any aggressor, wherever he comes from.

Our domestic and foreign policy behavior is predictable. Our democratic order, our libertarian rule of law, and the free social market economy, in which employer and employee do their utmost for social peace — in a word, Switzerland as a federal State is a known quantity, committed to what has been proved and nevertheless open to what is new, a democratic nation rooted in political will in the heart of Europe, meeting-place for North and South, East and West, part of the West, part of a world in the throes of change seeking more justice and peace in freedom.

I have just spoken of Switzerland as a meeting ground. It is in the Swiss tradition to offer hospitality to international organizations and conferences. Acting as intermediary and searching for non-violent solutions to international conflicts is not only part of our political philosophy, but is also deeply rooted in the historical experience of our Confederation.

I am deeply gratified to have the honor of welcoming President Reagan and Secretary General Gorbachev to their summit in Geneva in the middle of November. This historical meeting represents an encouraging step towards hope for a lessening of tensions.

The will to defend liberty is the cornerstone of the European-American partnership. President Kennedy spoke about this in his famous Philadelphia address on the Fourth of July, 1962. From a western point of view, this partnership should be firmly based on two pillars: the United States and an integrated Europe.

It does not surprise me that you Americans sometimes develop a certain impatience with the sluggishness of European progress or a certain irritation with the quarrels of the old continent. Nevertheless I ask for your understanding of the fact that the historically developed diversity of Europe could not grow into unity in the same way as did this vast country of immigrants. Europe, an individualistic and idealistic conglomerate of former world powers and small states can only reach the desired combination of strength if the particular character of the individual countries that have developed over the centuries is respected. I am aware of existing weaknesses in Europe. It is nevertheless apparent that the old continent, precisely because of its diversity and in spite of all the guilt and destruction, still radiates singular energy.

This energy stems from a common source that determines our present as well as our future; it will guide us in the future provided we do not ignore the lessons of history. At the core of this energy stands the person as a unique individual. From Plato and Aristotle to Augustine and Thomas Aquinas and up to more recent times, the liberty of the thinking human being has been a central theme for thought. The individual determines the relationship with the supernatural, with the state, the community, the environment, the economy. The more we endeavor to plumb the inner depths of our souls, the more we thus experience their non-rational basis, the more urgently we resent the need of a fixed point of reference. Where do we find such a point? Augustine, like the sages of India before him, and Descartes twelve hundred years after him, finds it within each of us, that is, in what is inchoate and unformed, in uncertainty and doubt. If I can question everything, yet not question that I am in doubt, that means that I think, and that I am a thinking human being. And so for Augustine, as for Descartes, the assurance of thinking becomes the unshakeable starting point. Whoever is anchored in such a philosophy will never be able to accept the collectivization of the individual.

Nonetheless humans are social beings. In the further development of Augustinian ideas, Thomas Aquinas has thought through the basic principles of human coexistence in a way still valid today. Political order is necessary. If it is natural for a human being to live in a community, then there must also be something in the individual through which a plurality of individuals can be governed without loss of freedom. Given so large a number of humans and given also the striving of individuals for their private interests, human society would come apart at the seams if there were no one whose duty it was to look

after the public welfare of society.

"The duty of the wise is to order." The work of Thomas Aquinas comes under this motto. To order, to differentiate, to classify — to order dissimilarities according to anticipated or inherent values: Herein lies the greatness and significance of his work, which guided the intellectual evolution after him. I do not need to speak about the great philosophers of the Enlightenment and of the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, who influenced the political thinking of the American nation. You certainly know them well.

The essence of the world is humanity, and world history is not only the advancement of liberty, but also the realization of this liberty. It is part of the definition and vocation of the human being to be free, to safeguard his basic rights, and to develop talents as an individual, within the family circle, the economy and the arts, as well as within the political community. Like the individual, a nation is also called to liberty and longs for a life of peace in freedom. Regrettably, only part of them have been granted the experience of this happy condition. Yet, ultimately, liberty can neither be given nor taken away from a person, for each person has liberty within him. Herein lies our confidence.

This confidence and the trust in human genius should be a means for us to come to grips with the enormous political, social and economic changes of the present time.

I have alluded to the radiating power of Europe. It is the task of all Europeans to make use of this power. Our common legacy and congenial understanding have been the foundation of the partnership between our democracies, of the friendship between Switzerland and the United States, between the U.S.A. and Europe.

The partnership of democracies must be based on common responsibility. An evolving partnership can withstand conflicts; it may even grow through them. Europe perfectly illustrates this assertion.

What a long way, ladies and gentlemen, from the treaties of Rome to the present day, from the six to the twelve members of the European Community, but also from the Stockholm Convention establishing the European Free-Trade Association to the first meeting of the EC and EFTA-ministers in Luxemburg in the spring of 1984. Not ministers alone, but 18 governments representing 350 million free people are willing to work closer together. Yes, there is progress in European cooperation.

Europe has ambitions. A European vision of peace with freedom and justice is called for: that should be the European contribution to the new millenium.

Freedom and independence, the creativity and perserverant energy of our people, has put Switzerland into a remarkable economic position: twelfth trading nation, fourth financial center, a small state, but highly advanced in industry and technology. The lack of raw materials has at all times compelled us to be imaginative and inventive, to focus on the efficiency and innovative capacity of man.

Switzerland earns more than half of its Gross National Product abroad. The world is the sphere of the Swiss economy. Without the international market we would never reach a yearly *per capita* income of more than 16,000 dollars. We trade with just about every country in the world, supplying not only high-quality products and technology, but also know-how. Switzerland is among the leading investors, and Swiss companies provide about a million jobs abroad. A significant part of world investment capital flows through our financial system.

There are further challenges at stake. Let me just name world

trade and the open multilateral trading system, the international debt crisis and the challenge of the technological revolution.

At a time of reemergence of protectionism, President Reagan has proposed a comprehensive new round of world trade talks. The main purpose of these negotiations will be to rejuvenate the contractual world trading system and to adapt it to a changed economic world. The General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade was created in 1948. Since then, the realities of the world economy have changed fundamentally.

This changed economic environment has made trade liberalization more difficult but all the more urgent. We need to find a way out of the kind of sectoral and bilateral protectionism that was generated by this new environment and not a way back to an old system that has become obsolete.

The achievement of this goal requires American leadership. President Reagan's recently reaffirmed aggressive free trade policy — and this in a climate of protectionist pressures not seen since the thirties — gives me hope that America will assume this leadership. It is vital to the survival of a free world trade and economic system.

We need growth in order to create jobs — you Americans have created many more than we did in Europe — we have to say yes to new technologies, we have to use technological progress as a vehicle for structural adjustment which is key to growth. The Silicon Valley and Route 128 are living examples of that recipe. Thanks to your extraordinary human resources, your state has become an important center for high technology manufacturing. The 122 universities and colleges in the Boston area have helped to create hundreds of new companies and to train thousands of managers, engineers, scientists and entrepreneurs.

Innovation is the way out of protectionism. Protectionism is also a symptom of an increasing indebtedness and fragility of our national and international financial structures. We have to help the developing countries to find ways out of debt, poverty and stagnation. Helping them is not only a human duty. It is also the only cure for world economic problems, in other words, to our problems, yours and mine. The family of nations cannot afford to have outsiders.

Ladies and Gentlemen, our countries, we ourselves, on national and international levels, have to work for a system of international relations capable of ensuring human survival and the existence of a free society, without resorting to violence. Five billion people want to live — and that, in the face of this rapid social change, this constrained economic growth, and this quick succession of technological innovations. We need to look at science and technology as the source of hope, not fear. We want to be competitive in the next century.

It is important that we manage the great potential for conflict and solve these challenging, elusive problems within the context of carefully considered democratic rules. These are tasks demanding leadership. They do affect us all, and we cannot withdraw from them. They are of concern to governments, parliaments, international organizations, entrepreneurs, employers and employees, universities, yes, to each free citizen on every continent of the world. I count on our youth, on you, dear students.

We need a deepened and new understanding of realities, and we should not fear thinking in new ways. Our education must be geared to new developments. We also need to encourage the intellectual curiosity of our youth, who are "homesick for the future."

The poet Saint Exupery once said: "If you want to build a

ship, don't gather men to provide wood, to make tools and to assign the different tasks; no, just kindle the yearning for the wide-open, endless sea!"

Within each man and woman lies a not fully developed, yet infinitely valuable potential for understanding, imagination, creativity, innovation, tolerance and a sense of solidarity with others. If we understand, if we support and unleash this great

human potential, then we can also make progress politically, socially, and ecologically. People after all have to champion the cause of humanity. That is, the development of the economy, science and technology must serve people. This is the greatest potential challenge to humanity.

Let us take this challenge and run with it, with united effort, beyond all frontiers. The future is our common cause!

Television Coverage of the Senate

PUBLIC SCRUTINY

By WILLIAM L. ARMSTRONG, *United States Senator from Colorado*

Delivered before the Senate Committee on Rules and Administration, Washington, D.C., September 17, 1985

MR. CHAIRMAN, it is an honor today to address the Rules Committee and the distinguished Chairman on the need to televise the proceedings of the Senate, an issue the Chairman has been so influential in bringing before the Senate.

Mr. Chairman, the irony of the situation today is inescapable. Here I sit before several television cameras pleading the case about why the full Senate should televise its debates. Yet, television coverage is prohibited if I were just a few steps away in the United States Senate. However, if I were at the other end of the corridor in the Capitol, in the U.S. House of Representatives, television cameras would record all my remarks, as well as the comments of those who agree and disagree with me.

Mr. Chairman, in my judgement, it is a shame that the television cameras are not yet able to cover Senate proceedings. As the Chairman well knows, all our debates are important to someone, no matter how small the number of people affected.

But, it is particularly in those times when the Senate is debating something of great historical significance, an issue that affects everyone and the future of his country, that one becomes most alarmed at the limited role the average citizen is allowed in the debate. The occasions that come to mind even since the advent of television is long: the Civil Rights Act in 1957 and 1964; the Voting Rights Act in 1965; the debates on the Vietnam War from 1969 to 1971; the Panama Canal Treaties; or more recently the debates on taxes, the budget, the MX missile, the nuclear freeze, El Salvador, or Nicaragua.

It is in the Senate that the views on these issues have been articulated most effectively and extensively. The Senate is capable of disseminating information and divergent viewpoints unlike any other institution in the world. Its functional brilliance can be credited to our Founding Fathers and it is truly a national treasure, yet its benefit is essentially confined to 100 Senators.

While television cameras are still prohibited in the Senate Chamber, nearly all of our state legislatures have opened their chambers to the television camera. Neither is this a uniquely American innovation. National legislatures are televised in England, France, West Germany, the Netherlands, Norway, Sweden, Austria, Denmark, Switzerland, Italy, Spain, Israel, Australia, Japan, and Canada. Even the United Nations General Assembly and Security Council is covered on a gavel-to-gavel basis by television cameras.

At issue in the effort to televise Senate proceedings is how

best the men and women of our country — those who pay the bills of the government over which the Senate presides — may freely know and discuss the issues so critical in their own day-to-day lives.

For us to deny, as we now do, the people we serve the tremendous advantage of televising Senate proceedings, in my opinion, is a great national disservice.

To correct this disservice, I introduced this session S.Res. 81, that now has 17 co-sponsors, to provide gavel-to-gavel television and radio coverage of our U.S. Senate. This, I might add, is identical to legislation sponsored by the prior majority leader, Howard Baker, and reported out favorably by this Committee. I believe this legislation is long overdue. The Senate has been studying some form of legislation to broadcast Senate proceedings by radio or television since 1922. Three years ago Senate Resolution 20 was passed, which approved gavel-to-gavel radio and television coverage, but was contingent on legislation to clarify the implementation procedure. That legislation has been studied extensively by the Committee and what I have, in fact, introduced is the product of the Committee's previous work. The Senate, however, since passage of S.Res. 20 has failed to pass the implementation legislation and, in fact, has only debated the matter once, briefly, last fall.

Mr. Chairman, I understand that the Sergeant-at-Arms does not undertake to count every visitor to the Senate galleries, but let us speculate for a moment. There are 611 seats in the Senate galleries, and several of these are usually reserved for staff and friends of Members of Congress. But let us suppose that all 611 seats were continually occupied during Senate sessions — on average 7 hours a day and 157 days a year — and people were rotated out every 15 minutes, then at most 2.7 million people would be able to see the Senate in session in one year. In other words, even if that many people could find the time and money to come to Washington, D.C., still 99 percent of the population could not catch even a brief 15 minute glimpse of the Senate in session during a typical year.

By contrast, it is estimated that 50 million people will watch the network news programs every night. If the television networks and the independent stations and the burgeoning satellite TV network industry had access to the highlights of action in this Chamber, more people would be able to see Senate debates of major legislation in 1 day than would be possible in half a century, if we limit the access to this Chamber just to the physical gallery, as we do now.

The advent of television in the last half century has changed the way Americans communicate and learn, and in some re-