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WITHDRAWAL SHEET

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DOCUMENT NO. AND TYPE	SUBJECT/TITLE	DATE	RESTRICTION
1. cable (63138)	From State re: Modalities of President Reagan's November 21 Visit to NATO. (2 pp.)	11/12/85	P1
2. memo (9147)	From Jack Matlock, et al. to Robert McFarlane re: Access to Presidential area in Geneva. (1 pp.)	11/13/85	P1
3. memo	From Executive Secretary, DOS to Robert McFarlane re: Post-Geneva briefings: Geneva Participation of Senior USG Officials. (1 p.)	11/12/85	P1
4. memo (8927)	From Peter Sommer to William Martin re: Participants for Geneva Events. (1 p.)	11/13/85	P1
5. memo (8927)	From William Martin to William Henkel re: Participation in Geneva Events. (1 p.)	n.d.	P1
6. memo (8927)	copy of doc. 4. (1 p.)	11/13/85	P1
7. memo (8927)	From William Martin to William Henkel re: Participation in Geneva Events. (1 p.)	n.d.	P1
8. cable (63088)	From State re: Geneva Participation of Senior USG Officials. 2 pp.)	11/12/85	P1
COLLECTION: Coordination Office, NSC: Records, 1981-88			rs
FILE FOLDER: 156 To Geneva (11/16-21/85) File 2 (3)			11/3/95

RESTRICTION CODES

Presidential Records Act - [44 U.S.C. 2204(a)]

- P-1 National security classified information [(a)(1) of the PRA].
- P-2 Relating to appointment to Federal office [(a)(2) of the PRA].
- P-3 Release would violate a Federal statute [(a)(3) of the PRA].
- P-4 Release would disclose trade secrets or confidential commercial or financial information [(a)(4) of the PRA].
- P-5 Release would disclose confidential advice between the President and his advisors, or between such advisors [(a)(5) of the PRA].
- P-6 Release would constitute a clearly unwarranted invasion of personal privacy [(a)(6) of the PRA].

C. Closed in accordance with restrictions contained in donor's deed of gift.

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

- F-1 National security classified information [(b)(1) of the FOIA].
- F-2 Release could disclose internal personnel rules and practices of an agency [(b)(2) of the FOIA].
- F-3 Release would violate a Federal statute [(b)(3) of the FOIA].
- F-4 Release would disclose trade secrets or confidential commercial or financial information [(b)(4) of the FOIA].
- F-6 Release would constitute a clearly unwarranted invasion of personal privacy [(b)(6) of the FOIA].
- F-7 Release would disclose information compiled for law enforcement purposes [(b)(7) of the FOIA].
- F-8 Release would disclose information concerning the regulation of financial institutions [(b)(8) of the FOIA].
- F-9 Release would disclose geological or geophysical information concerning wells [(b)(9) of the FOIA].

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

PROPOSED PARTICIPANTS FOR GENEVA, SWITZERLAND EVENTS

November 16 - November 21, 1985

Saturday, 11/16/85, Official U.S Delegation for
Swiss Arrival Ceremony

THE PRESIDENT
Mrs. Reagan
Secretary Shultz
Donald Regan
Robert McFarlane
Patrick Buchanan
Larry Speakes
Dennis Thomas
Paul Nitze
Fred Ikle
Ambassador Whittlesey
Ambassador Carmen
Mrs. Carmen
Jack Matlock

Sunday, 11/17/85 (1:30 p.m.), Briefing

THE PRESIDENT
Secretary Shultz
Donald Regan
Robert McFarlane
Larry Speakes
Dennis Thomas
Kenneth Adelman
Paul Nitze
Fred Ikle
Ambassador Hartman
Assistant Secretary Ridgway
Jack Matlock
Mark Palmer
Robert Linhard

Monday, 11/18/85 (11:15 a.m.), Briefing

THE PRESIDENT
Secretary Shultz
Donald Regan
Robert McFarlane
Larry Speakes
Dennis Thomas
Paul Nitze
Edward Rowny
Fred Ikle
Ambassador Hartman

Assistant Secretary Ridgway
Jack Matlock
Mark Palmer
Robert Linhard

Monday, 11/18/85 (12:15 p.m.) Working Lunch

THE PRESIDENT
Secretary Shultz
Donald Regan
Robert McFarlane
Larry Speakes
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Paul Nitze
Edward Rowny
Fred Ikle
Ambassador Hartman
Assistant Secretary Ridgway
Jack Matlock
Mark Palmer
Robert Linhard

Monday, 11/18/85, (2:00 p.m.), Arrival Ceremony and Bilateral
Meeting with President Furgler

THE PRESIDENT
Secretary Shultz
Donald Regan
Robert McFarlane
Ambassador Whittlesey
Assistant Secretary Ridgway
Tyrus Cobb

Tuesday, 11/19/85 (9:10 a.m.), Briefing

THE PRESIDENT
Secretary Shultz
Donald Regan
Robert McFarlane
Larry Speakes
Dennis Thomas
Paul Nitze
Fred Ikle
Ambassador Hartman
William Henkel (scheduling/logistics
only)
Assistant Secretary Ridgway
Jack Matlock
Mark Palmer
Robert Linhard

Tuesday, 11/19/85 (10:20 a.m.), Plenary Meeting with
General Secretary Gorbachev

THE PRESIDENT
Secretary Shultz
Donald Regan
Robert McFarlane
Ambassador Hartman
Assistant Secretary Ridgway
Jack Matlock
Mark Palmer (2nd notetaker - not seated
at table)
Interpreter

Tuesday, 11/19/85 (12:40 p.m.), Working Lunch

THE PRESIDENT
Secretary Shultz
Donald Regan
Robert McFarlane
Larry Speakes
Dennis Thomas
Kenneth Adelman
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Interpreter

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Ambassador Hartman
Assistant Secretary Ridgway
Jack Matlock
Mark Palmer/Robert Linhard (second
notetaker not seated at table)
Interpreter

Wednesday, 11/20/85 (8:15 p.m.), U.S. Hosted Dinner

THE PRESIDENT
Mrs. Reagan
Secretary Shultz
Donald Regan
Robert McFarlane
Ambassador Hartman

Thursday, 11/21/85, Departure Ceremony

THE PRESIDENT
Mrs. Reagan
Secretary Shultz
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Robert McFarlane
Patrick Buchanan
Larry Speakes
Dennis Thomas
Fred Ikle
Paul Nitze
Ambassador Whittlesey
Ambassador Carmen
Mrs. Carmen
Assistant Secretary Ridgway
Jack Matlock

AGENDA

I. Events that Contained Unanswered Questions

- November 14 TV address
- November 18 Presidential Press Appearance (Speakes/Buchanan)
- November 21 Geneva Presidential Schedule (Matlock)
(Remarks, Joint Appearance, Signing Ceremonies)
- Joint Session Speech (Status, Drafter, State Input)
- Gorbechev Activities?
- Post Geneva Thoughts for Activities

II. Geneva/Brussels Update

III. Items that Should be Referred to Regan/McFarlane

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Public Diplomacy Strategy Post Geneva

The immediate followup to the Geneva meeting will be as important as the preparations in shaping public perceptions of the event. Despite the inevitable decline in press and media interest following weeks of intensive coverage, we should maintain the momentum of our public diplomacy effort to ensure that our interpretation of the results is understood and accepted.

Whatever our explanations about the purpose of the meeting, the media will focus on outcomes, and on whether there is demonstrable progress in key areas of the US-Soviet relationship, particularly arms control. The Soviets have attempted to focus attention exclusively on the threat of nuclear war in order to make the case that progress in arms control is the only progress that matters. They have been preparing to lay the blame for lack of results at the US door, citing SDI as the main obstacle to arms reductions, dismissing the President's regional initiative, and muting criticism of their human rights practices by minimal gestures and hints of further movement.

Our approach therefore should be to focus on all four areas of the relationship, repeat the positive proposals we have made, discuss the importance of the process of reducing mistrust and narrowing differences -- which the Geneva meeting gave momentum to, and continue to stress that results of the meeting will be measured by what happens in the months and years to come.

The President will address our key audiences following the Geneva meeting:

- a stopover in Brussels to report on the Geneva meeting and consult with our allies;
- a major televised address to a joint session of Congress;
- and
- a Radio address one week after the meeting.

After the President has delivered the definitive interpretation of the meeting, the momentum can be maintained through renewed efforts by senior and mid-level Administration spokesman to reach allied, Congressional and domestic audiences, and with selected events to highlight each of the broad areas of our agenda:

Allies: The Allies will be kept informed of developments through the regular NATO/NAC consultation process, following the special post-Geneva briefings in capitals.

Congressional: In addition to the President's address, the leadership and key committees will undoubtedly want briefings and/or plan to hold hearings, especially on arms control. Coordinating the appearances and statements of Administration spokesmen will be even more important post Geneva.

3. Domestic: A number of events already planned will keep the focus on the four areas of the Geneva agenda -

-- The President's remarks to students at a Maryland high school will develop the people-to-people contacts;

-- Human Rights Day (December 10) has traditionally featured Presidential participation and a proclamation, which this year could be used to assess the progress made to date or to acknowledge improvements in Soviet practice;

-- Round Four of the Geneva Nuclear and Space Arms negotiations is to open in early January. A public diplomacy gameplan built around the new directions or instructions to the negotiators could be highlighted by a series of backgrounders, meetings with editorial writers, and/or speech by a senior spokesman (McFarlane, Shultz, or McFarlane).

-- We need a public diplomacy event focussing on regional issues post-Geneva.

Themes are attached.

11/13/85
11/8/85

AGENDA

I. Events that Contained Unanswered Questions

- ~~November 12 slot: Former National Security Advisors~~
- ~~November 16 Departure (Guest List, Setting, Other)~~
- ~~November 14 TV Address~~
- November 18 Presidential Press Appearance (Speakes/Buchanan)
~~(Anchors interview or TV speech from meeting site?)~~
- November 21 Geneva Presidential Schedule (Matlock/Buchanan)
~~(Joint Communique, Joint Appearance, Signing Ceremonies)~~
Remarks
- Joint Session Speech (Status, Drafter, State Input)
- ~~Gorbachev Activities?~~
- Post Geneva Thoughts for Activities

II. Geneva/Brussels Update

- Arrival Ceremony
- Meetings
- Dinners
- Mrs. Reagan's Schedule
- Gag Order?
- Departure from Geneva
- NATO Visit

III. Quick Status Report on Other Major Events

- November 9 Radio Talk
- November 11 Arlington Speech
- Congressional Meetings on November 12 and 13
- November 14 TV Address

IV. Items That Should be Referred to Regan/McFarlane

- ~~USG Contingent going to Geneva~~

11/13/85
11/8/85

AGENDA

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Remarks
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- November 14 TV Address

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- ~~USG Contingent going to Geneva~~

WASHFAX RECEIPT
DEPARTMENT OF STATE

B

S/S #

UNCLASSIFIED UPON REMOVAL
OF CLASSIFIED ENCLOSURES

MESSAGE NO 002774 CLASSIFICATION SECRET No. Pages 2
FROM: BRUNSON MCKINLEY S/S 3126 7224
(Officer name) (Office symbol) (Extension) (Room number)
MESSAGE DESCRIPTION USNATO: MODALITIES FOR PRESIDENT REAGAN'S NOVEMBER 23
VISIT TO NATO

TO (Agency)	DELIVER TO	Extension	Room No.
NSC	ROBERT PEARSON	395-3044	
NSC	EXECUTIVE SECRETARIAT		
	MARTIN		
	<u>Jonathan Miller</u>		

FOR CLEARANCE ☐ INFORMATION ☐ PER REQUEST ☐ COMMENT ☐

REMARKS: PLS PROVIDE CLEARANCE BY: COB NOV 13

S/S Officer: Bmck D. Allen

CROSSHATCH

RETURN TIME-STAMPED COVERSHEET TO S/S

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THIS FORM MARKS THE FILE LOCATION OF ITEM NUMBER 1 LISTED ON THE
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RONALD W. REAGAN LIBRARY

THIS FORM MARKS THE FILE LOCATION OF ITEM NUMBER 2-3 LISTED ON THE
WITHDRAWAL SHEET AT THE FRONT OF THIS FOLDER.

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

November 13, 1985

MEMORANDUM FOR GENEVA TRAVELLING PARTY

FROM: Christopher Hicks *CH*
SUBJECT: Geneva Briefing

The Chief of Staff has requested that all staff who will be travelling to Geneva attend a briefing on Friday, November 15 at 4:00 p.m. in Room 450, OEOB.

The briefing should last approximately one hour and will cover items such as press relations, security, logistics and secretariat operations.

This is an extremely important meeting and I emphasize the necessity for all members of the Presidential party travelling to Geneva to attend.

Thank you.

NATIONAL SECURITY COUNCIL
WASHINGTON, D.C. 20506

ACTION

November 13, 1985

MEMORANDUM FOR WILLIAM F. MARTIN

FROM: PETER R. SOMMER *PS*
SUBJECT: Participation in Belgian Events

As you know, Bud has approved the Belgian participation list, and we need to send it formally to State.

Recommendation

That you sign the Tab I memorandum to Platt.

Agree _____ Disagree _____

Johnathan Miller concurs.

Attachment

Tab I Memorandum, Martin to Platt

cc: Jack Matlock

NATIONAL SECURITY COUNCIL
WASHINGTON, D.C. 20506

MEMORANDUM FOR NICHOLAS PLATT
Executive Secretary
Department of State

SUBJECT: Participation in Brussels Events

There follows participants in various Brussels events:

Brussels, Belgium, November 21, 1985

Official US Delegation for Belgian Arrival Ceremony (3:30 pm)

The President and Mrs. Reagan
Secretary Shultz
Ambassador and Mrs. Swaebe
Ambassador and Mrs. Abshire
Ambassador and Mrs. Middendorf
Donald Regan
Robert McFarlane
Patrick Buchanan
Larry Speakes
Dennis Thomas
Assistant Secretary Ridgway
Jack Matlock

Private Meeting (3:40 p.m.)

The President
King Baudouin

Expanded Meeting (3:45 p.m.)

The President
Secretary Shultz
Donald Regan
Robert McFarlane
Assistant Secretary Ridgway
Ambassador Swaebe
Peter Sommer (notetaker)

King Baudouin
Prime Minister Martens
Foreign Minister Tindemans
(Understand Belgians may wish to add other Ministers)

NATO Consultations (4:15 p.m.)*

The President (at table)

Secretary Shultz
Donald Regan
Robert McFarlane
Ambassador Abshire
Notetaker TBD
USSS

* Understand that current arrangements are 1 + 6 for U.S. and 1 + 4 for all others. If alternative of 3 + 9 (or total of 12) is adopted, U.S. participants would be:

The President (at table)

Secretary Shultz
Donald Regan
Robert McFarlane
Ambassador Abshire
Assistant Secretary Ridgway
Paul Nitze
Jack Matlock
Peter Sommer
Deputy Chief of Mission Ledogar
Larry Speakes
USSS

William F. Martin
Executive Secretary

RONALD W. REAGAN LIBRARY

THIS FORM MARKS THE FILE LOCATION OF ITEM NUMBER 4-7 LISTED ON THE
WITHDRAWAL SHEET AT THE FRONT OF THIS FOLDER.

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

PROPOSED PARTICIPANTS FOR GENEVA, SWITZERLAND EVENTS

November 16 - November 21, 1985

Saturday, 11/16/85, Official U.S Delegation for
Swiss Arrival Ceremony

THE PRESIDENT

Mrs. Reagan
Secretary Shultz
Donald Regan
Robert McFarlane
Patrick Buchanan
Larry Speakes
Dennis Thomas
Paul Nitze
Fred Ikle
Ambassador Whittlesey
Ambassador Carmen
Mrs. Carmen
Jack Matlock

Sunday, 11/17/85 (1:30 p.m.), Briefing

THE PRESIDENT

Secretary Shultz
Donald Regan
Robert McFarlane
Larry Speakes
Dennis Thomas
Kenneth Adelman
Paul Nitze
Fred Ikle
Ambassador Hartman
Assistant Secretary Ridgway
Jack Matlock
Mark Palmer
Robert Linhard

Monday, 11/18/85 (11:15 a.m.), Briefing

THE PRESIDENT

Secretary Shultz
Donald Regan
Robert McFarlane
Larry Speakes
Dennis Thomas
Paul Nitze
Edward Rowny
Fred Ikle
Ambassador Hartman

SENSITIVE

11/13/85 11:30 a.m.

Assistant Secretary Ridgway
Jack Matlock
Mark Palmer
Robert Linhard

Monday, 11/18/85 (12:15 p.m.) Working Lunch

THE PRESIDENT
Secretary Shultz
Donald Regan
Robert McFarlane
Larry Speakes
Dennis Thomas
Paul Nitze
Edward Rowny
Fred Ikle
Ambassador Hartman
Assistant Secretary Ridgway
Jack Matlock
Mark Palmer
Robert Linhard

Monday, 11/18/85, (2:00 p.m.), Arrival Ceremony and Bilateral
Meeting with President Furgler

THE PRESIDENT
Secretary Shultz
Donald Regan
Robert McFarlane
Ambassador Whittlesey
Assistant Secretary Ridgway
Tyrus Cobb

Tuesday, 11/19/85 (9:10 a.m.), Briefing

THE PRESIDENT
Secretary Shultz
Donald Regan
Robert McFarlane
Larry Speakes
Dennis Thomas
Paul Nitze
Fred Ikle
Ambassador Hartman
William Henkel (scheduling/logistics
only)
Assistant Secretary Ridgway
Jack Matlock
Mark Palmer
Robert Linhard

Tuesday, 11/19/85 (10:20 a.m.), Plenary Meeting with
General Secretary Gorbachev

THE PRESIDENT
Secretary Shultz
Donald Regan
Robert McFarlane
Ambassador Hartman
Assistant Secretary Ridgway
Jack Matlock
Mark Palmer (2nd notetaker - not seated
at table)
Interpreter

Tuesday, 11/19/85 (12:40 p.m.), Working Lunch

THE PRESIDENT
Secretary Shultz
Donald Regan
Robert McFarlane
Larry Speakes
Dennis Thomas
Kenneth Adelman
Paul Nitze
Edward Rowny
Fred Ikle
Ambassador Hartman
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Tuesday, 11/19/85 (8:00 p.m.), Soviet Hosted Dinner

THE PRESIDENT
Mrs. Reagan
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Donald Regan
Robert McFarlane
Ambassador Hartman

Wednesday, 11/20/85 (9:10 a.m.), Briefing

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Ambassador Hartman
Assistant Secretary Ridgway
Jack Matlock
Mark Palmer/Robert Linhard (second
notetaker not seated at table)
Interpreter

Wednesday, 11/20/85 (8:15 p.m.), U.S. Hosted Dinner

THE PRESIDENT
Mrs. Reagan
Secretary Shultz
Donald Regan
Robert McFarlane
Ambassador Hartman

Thursday, 11/21/85, Departure Ceremony

THE PRESIDENT
Mrs. Reagan
Secretary Shultz
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Robert McFarlane
Patrick Buchanan
Larry Speakes
Dennis Thomas
Fred Ikle
Paul Nitze
Ambassador Whittlesey
Ambassador Carmen
Mrs. Carmen
Assistant Secretary Ridgway
Jack Matlock

cc to Mary W
9019
add-on

NATIONAL SECURITY COUNCIL
WASHINGTON, D.C. 20506

ACTION

November 13, 1985

MEMORANDUM FOR WILLIAM F. MARTIN

FROM: PETER R. SOMMER *PR*
SUBJECT: Participation in Belgian Events

As you know, Bud has approved the Belgian participation list, and we need to send it formally to State.

Recommendation

That you sign the Tab I memorandum to Platt.

Agree _____ Disagree _____

Johnathan Miller concurs.

Attachment

Tab I Memorandum, Martin to Platt

cc: Jack Matlock

NATIONAL SECURITY COUNCIL
WASHINGTON, D.C. 20506

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Executive Secretary
Department of State

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Foreign Minister Tindemans
(Understand Belgians may wish to add other Ministers)

NATO Consultations (4:15 p.m.)

The President and Secretary Shultz (at table)

Donald Regan
Robert McFarlane
Ambassador Abshire
Assistant Secretary Ridgway
Jack Matlock
USSS

William F. Martin
Executive Secretary

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

November 13, 1985

MEMORANDUM FOR GENEVA TRAVELLING PARTY

FROM: Christopher Hicks *CH*
SUBJECT: Geneva Briefing

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The briefing should last approximately one hour and will cover items such as press relations, security, logistics and secretariat operations.

This is an extremely important meeting and I emphasize the necessity for all members of the Presidential party travelling to Geneva to attend.

Thank you.

NATIONAL SECURITY COUNCIL
WASHINGTON, D.C. 20506

ACTION

November 13, 1985

MEMORANDUM FOR WILLIAM F. MARTIN

FROM:

PETER R. SOMMER 

SUBJECT:

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Agree _____

Disagree _____

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USSS

William F. Martin
Executive Secretary

WASHFAX RECEIPT
DEPARTMENT OF STATE

B

S/S #

12 05 41

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MESSAGE NO. _____ CLASSIFICATION ~~LIMITED OFFICIAL USE~~ No. Pages 1

FROM: BMCKinley S/S 632-3126 7224
(Officer name) (Office symbol) (Extension) (Room number)

MESSAGE DESCRIPTION _____

<u>TO (Agency)</u>	<u>DELIVER TO</u>	<u>Extension</u>	<u>Room No.</u>
<u>NSC</u>	<u>Mr. Jonathan Miller</u>	<u>395-3440</u>	
	<u>MARTIN</u>		

FOR CLEARANCE ☐ INFORMATION ☐ PER REQUEST ☐ COMMENT ☐

REMARKS: _____

S/S Officer: BMCKinley *APR for D. Miller*

DEPARTMENT OF STATE
EXECUTIVE SECRETARIAT

12 Nov

NSC - Mr J. Miller

Jonathan,

To confirm our conversation
earlier today, Secretary
Shultz definitely wants to
ride with the President on
Marine One Saturday morning
from the White House to
Andrews. See you tomorrow!

Brownson

(NSC redraft)
November 12, 1985
5:30 p.m.

PRESIDENTIAL ADDRESS TO THE NATION ON THE GENEVA SUMMIT
THURSDAY, NOVEMBER 14, 1985

My fellow Americans. Good evening. In 48 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 to that meeting with high hopes, so tonight I want to share with you my hopes and to 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 dialogue for peace that endures as long as my Presidency -- and beyond. 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: a process of facing our differences frankly and openly and beginning to narrow and resolve them; a process of communicating effectively so that our actions and intentions are not misunderstood; a process of building bridges between us and cooperating wherever possible for the greater good of all.

Our meeting will be a historic opportunity to set a steady, more constructive course through 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 do not underestimate the difficulty of the task ahead. But these sad chapters do not relieve me of the obligation to use my years as President, and the capacities God has given me, to try to make ours a safer, better world. For our children, our grandchildren, for all mankind -- I intend to make the effort. And it is with your prayers, and God's guidance, that 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, however, we do not mean just the absence of war. We mean the true peace that rests on the pillars of individual freedom, human rights, national self-determination, and respect for the rule of law. History has shown us that peace is indivisible. Building a safer future requires that we address candidly all the issues which divide us, and not just to focus on one or two issues, important as they may be. Thus, when we meet in Geneva, our agenda will seek:

- not just to avoid war, but to strengthen peace;
- not just to prevent confrontation, but to remove the sources of tension;
- not just to paper over differences, but to address them;

-- not just to talk about what our citizens want, but to let them talk to each other.

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, and will say again, a nuclear war cannot be won and must never be fought.

We have gone the extra mile in arms control, but our offers have not always been welcome.

In 1977, and again in 1981, the United States proposed to the Soviet Union deep reciprocal cuts in strategic forces. These offers were rejected, out-of-hand. The following year, we proposed the complete elimination of a whole category of intermediate range nuclear forces. Two 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 arms control negotiations altogether.

I am pleased, 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 weapons by 50 percent. We seek reductions that would result in a stable balance between us -- with no first strike capability -- and 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 find a way to abandon these weapons altogether and move to non-nuclear defensive systems which threaten no one.

But nuclear arms control is not of itself a final answer. As I reminded the editors of Pravda and Izvestia 2 weeks ago: nations do not distrust each other because they are armed. They are armed because they distrust each other. It is the use of force, subversion, and terror that has made the world a more dangerous place.

Thus, today, there is no peace in Afghanistan; no peace in Cambodia; no peace in Angola; no peace in Ethiopia; and no peace in Nicaragua. These wars have claimed hundreds of thousands of lives and threaten to spill over national frontiers.

That is why in my address to the United Nations I proposed a way to end these conflicts, a regional peace plan that calls for -- ceasefires, negotiations among the warring parties, withdrawal of all foreign troops, democratic reconciliation, and economic assistance.

I made that proposal in the hope of never again having to phone the parents of American servicemen killed in action or cut down in some terrorist attack -- in the hope of never having to face the terrible alternative of submitting to blackmail or responding with a call to arms.

Four times in this century our soldiers have been sent overseas to fight in foreign lands. Their remains can be found from Flanders Fields to the islands of the Western Pacific. Not once were these soldiers 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, as we have done four times in my lifetime.

In advancing freedom we Americans carry a special burden. A belief in the dignity of man in the sight of God gave birth to this country. It is central to our being. "The mass of mankind has not been with born with saddles on their backs," Thomas Jefferson told the world a century-and-a-half ago. 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 is essential for success at Geneva.

Freedom and democracy are the best guarantors of peace. History has shown that democratic nations do not start wars. Respect for the individual and the rule of law is 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.

That is 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 had 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 manage this historic conflict peacefully. 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 am going to Geneva.

Enduring peace requires openness, honest communications, and opportunities for our peoples to get to know one another directly.

The U.S. 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:

"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."

And I'm determined to try to lessen the distrust between us, to reduce the levels of secrecy, to bring forth a more "Open World."

Imagine if Joe Smith in Poughkeepsie could meet and visit Sergei Ivanov in Sverdlovsk, if Sergei's son or daughter could spend a year, or even 3 months, living with the Smith family, going to summer camp or classes at Poughkeepsie High, while Smith's son or daughter went to school in Sverdlovsk? Soviet young people could learn first-hand what spirit of freedom rules our land, and that we do not wish the peoples of the Soviet Union any harm. Our young people would get first-hand knowledge of life in the U.S.S.R., and perhaps a greater appreciation of our own.

Imagine if people in Minneapolis could see the Kirov Ballet live, while citizens in Mkhatchkala could see an American play or hear Duke Ellington's band? And how about Soviet children watching Sesame Street?

We have 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. That is why I intend to propose to Mr. Gorbachev at Geneva that we exchange thousands of our citizens from fraternal, religious, educational, and cultural groups.

We are going to suggest the exchange of thousands of undergraduates each year, and high school students who would live with a host family and attend schools or summer camps. We also look to increase scholarship programs, improve language studies,

develop new sister cities, establish libraries and cultural center, and increase athletic competitions.

People of both our nations love sports. If we must compete, let it be on the football fields and not the battlefields.

In science and technology we propose to launch new joint space flights and establish joint medical research projects. In communications, we would 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 peoples have the same right to see, hear, and read what we Americans have to say?

These proposals will not bridge our differences, but people-to-people contacts can build genuine constituencies for peace in both countries.

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 go without illusion, but with hope -- hope that progress can be made on our entire agenda.

Again, the elements of that agenda are these:

First, we believe the advance of human rights is the only certain guarantee of peaceful relations between states. Free and

democratic peoples do not go to war against one another in the 20th century.

Second, we believe that progress can be made in resolving the regional conflicts burning now on three continents -- including in this hemisphere. The regional plan we enunciated at the United Nations will be raised again at Geneva.

Third, we are proposing the broadest people-to-people exchanges in the history of American-Soviet relations, exchanges in sports and culture, in education and the arts. Such exchanges can build in our societies thousands of coalitions for cooperation and peace. If high school and college students from Moscow and Minsk, from Tashkent and Kiev, can visit America every summer, they will not go home thinking we are a militaristic people. If thousands of American high school students can spend their summers in Russia and Lithuania, Estonia, and the Ukraine, they will convey a message about the American people and nation many people Soviet citizens never hear.

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.

Fourth, 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 even root for each other's soccer teams.

These, then, are the indispensable elements of a true peace: the steady expansion of human rights for all the world's peoples, cooperation between the superpowers in bringing to resolution those regional 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. Lastly, the steady reduction of these awesome nuclear arsenals -- until they no longer threaten the world we must both 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.

So, while it would be naive to think a single summit can establish a permanent peace, this conference can begin a dialogue for peace.

My fellow Americans, there is cause for hope -- hope that freedom will not only survive but triumph, perhaps sooner than any of us dares to imagine.

How could this be? Because this same 20th century that gave birth to nuclear weapons and police states, that has witnessed so much bloodshed and suffering, is now moving inexorably toward mankind's age-old dream for human dignity and self-determination.

We see the dream alive in Latin America where 90 percent of the people are now living under governments that are democratic or moving in that direction -- a dramatic reversal from a decade ago.

We see the dream stirring in Asia, where Singapore, South Korea, Taiwan, and China are vaulting ahead with stunning success.

We see the flame flickering in Afghanistan and Angola where brave people risk their lives for the same liberty we Americans have always enjoyed. We see the dream still stirring in the captive nations of Central Europe. In Poland, men and women of great faith and spirit -- the members of Solidarity, the faithful of the Catholic Church -- rise up again and again for better lives and a future of hope for their children.

A powerful tide is surging. And what is the driving force behind it?

It is faith -- faith in a loving God who, despite all the ordeals of the 20th century, has raised up the smallest believer to stand taller than the most powerful state. It is faith in the individual. And it is the desire for freedom -- freedom for people to dream, to reap the rewards of their own unique abilities to excel.

We've seen what a restoration of faith and a renewed belief in the moral worth of an open society have meant to America: a nation that has rediscovered its destiny, and prepared to maintain its greatness.

The restored vitality of the American economy has helped lift up the world economy, holding out to the family of nations the vision of growth.

The rebuilding of America's military might and overseas alliances has rekindled world respect for United States' power, confidence, and resolve.

America today has a foreign policy that not only speaks out for human rights, but works for them as well. In 5 years, not a single square inch of territory has been lost to communist aggression; and, Grenada has been liberated and set free. It is the tide of freedom that has again begun to rise.

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 have given us to serve this nation and the trust you have 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.

Recently, we saw together a moving new film, the story of Eleni, a woman caught in the Greek civil war at the end of World War II, a mother who because she smuggled her children out to safety in America was tried, tortured and shot by a firing squad.

It is also the story of her son, Nicholas Gage, who grew up to become a reporter with the New York Times and who secretly vowed to return to Greece someday to take vengeance on the man who sent his mother to her death. But at the dramatic end of the story, Nick Gage finds he cannot extract the vengeance he has promised himself. To do so, Mr. Gage writes, might have relieved the pain that had filled him for so many years but it would also have broken the one bridge still connecting him to his mother and the part of him most like her. As he tells it: "her final cry... was not a curse on her killers but an invocation of what she died for, a declaration of love: 'my children.'"

How that cry has echoed down through the centuries, a cry for the children of the world, for peace, for love of fellowman.

Here is the central truth of our time, of any time, a truth to which I have 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 from across our country -- Russian and Greek Orthodox bishops, Catholic Cardinals and Protestant pastors, Mormon elders and Jewish Rabbis, together made of me a similar request.

Tonight, I am honoring that request. I am 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.

MEMORANDUM

NATIONAL SECURITY COUNCIL

November 12, 1985

NOTE FOR VICKERS BRYAN

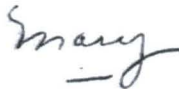
SUBJECT: Presidential Seal

Vickers,

You are right -- the First Lady does not use the Presidential Seal. Her office does not know where to get the Great Seal and will send her books forward without a seal -- unless, of course, you have an idea where I can get two.

I will now need only 22 Presidential Seals.

Many thanks.



Mary M. Wengrzynek
x3440 -- Rm 372

NATIONAL SECURITY COUNCIL
WASHINGTON, D.C. 20506ACTION

November 12, 1985

MEMORANDUM FOR ROBERT C. MCFARLANE

FROM: SVEN KRAEMER *SK*SUBJECT: Presidential Meeting with Three Chief Negotiators
to Geneva Talks

Attached for your transmission to the President is a Presidential Meeting Memorandum (Tab I) concerning the President's meeting with the three chief negotiators to the Geneva Nuclear Arms Reduction and Space talks. The meeting is scheduled for Thursday, November 14, 1985 from 1:00 p.m. to 1:30 p.m. and (per a note from Jonathan Miller) is to include, in addition to the three negotiators and the President, the Vice President, Secretary Shultz, Mr. Regan, yourself, and NSC staff.

Steve Steiner is drafting and coordinating a proposed Presidential Statement to be issued on the President's behalf by Larry Speakes following the meeting. That draft will be forwarded to you separately from this package as soon as it becomes available.

As indicated in the attached Presidential Meeting Memo, we envisage that the half-hour meeting be taken up (following the photo opportunity) by having each negotiator briefly (5 minutes) outline his views on prospects in his area of the negotiations, with the President then thanking them for their counsel and effort during the past rounds and in preparation for tabling the US proposal prior to the President's meeting with Secretary General Gorbachev. No decisions are requested and we recommend against Talking Points.

Ron Ron Lehman, *Bob* Bob Board, *Bill* Bill Wright, *Steve* Steve Steiner, and *Jon* Jonathan Miller concur.

RECOMMENDATION

That you approve the memorandum to the President at Tab I.

Approve _____

Disapprove _____

Attachment

Tab I Memo to the President

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

MEETING WITH CHIEF NEGOTIATORS TO THE GENEVA
NUCLEAR ARMS AND SPACE TALKS

DATE: November 14, 1985
LOCATION: Oval Office
TIME: 1:00-1:30 P.M.

FROM: ROBERT C. McFARLANE

I. PURPOSE

To meet with the three US Chief Negotiators to the Nuclear Arms Reduction and Space Talks prior to your departure for your meeting with Secretary General Gorbachev.

II. BACKGROUND

Your meeting with Ambassadors Max Kampelman, John Tower, and Maynard (Mike) Glitman demonstrates their personal contribution and the importance of their negotiation efforts to the arms control process. The meeting provides the negotiators an opportunity to share their views and an occasion for you to thank them for their counsel and effort.

III. PARTICIPANTS

The President, Vice President, Secretary Shultz, Mr. Regan, Mr. McFarlane, Ronald Lehman.

IV. PRESS PLAN

Photo opportunity; White House Statement.

V. SEQUENCE OF EVENTS

Following a group photo of you and the three negotiators, each negotiator could briefly summarize his views on prospects in his specific area of the negotiations. At this point you could thank them for their counsel and effort during the three negotiation rounds that have been completed and during the preparations leading to the tabling of the new US proposal. Following the meeting, Larry Speakes would issue a brief statement on your behalf. No decisions are being requested.

Prepared by:
Sven Kraemer

NATIONAL SECURITY COUNCIL
WASHINGTON, D.C. 20506

November 12, 1985

ACTION

MEMORANDUM FOR WILLIAM F. MARTIN

FROM: PETER R. SOMMER *PS*

SUBJECT: Travel Request

We have discussed my travel to Brussels in support of the President's consultations with NATO. Attached is the required paperwork. Please note that per Johnathan Miller and Bill Henkel's recommendations, I am departing on Monday evening, November 18. However, if the work schedule does not permit it, I will delay my travel until Tuesday evening, November 19, which is the latest I can leave.

RECOMMENDATION

That you approve my travel to Brussels.

Approve _____

Disapprove _____

Johnathan Miller concurs. *js*

Attachment

NSC Staff Travel Authorization Form NSCI 742

cc: Administration Office

NSC STAFF TRAVEL AUTHORIZATIONDATE: 11-12-85

1. TRAVELER'S NAME PETER R. SOMMER
2. PURPOSE(S), EVENT(S), DATE(S): To support President's Consultations with NATO. November 18 through 23, 1985.
3. ITINERARY (Please attach copy of proposed itinerary): Washington, DC to Frankfurt to Brussels. Brussels to London to Washington, DC.

DEPARTURE DATE: 11-18-85 RETURN DATE: 11-23-85
TIME: 6:15 p.m. TIME: 5:10 p.m.
4. MODE OF TRANSPORTATION:
GOV AIR COMMERCIAL AIR X POV RAIL OTHER
5. ESTIMATED EXPENSES:
TRANSPORTATION \$1,419 PER DIEM \$475 OTHER \$100 TOTAL TRIP COST \$1,994.00
6. WHO PAYS EXPENSES: NSC X OTHER
7. IF NOT NSC, DESCRIBE SOURCE AND ARRANGEMENTS:
8. WILL FAMILY MEMBER ACCOMPANY YOU? YES NO X
9. IF SO, WHO PAYS FOR FAMILY MEMBER (If Travel Not Paid by Traveler, Describe Source and Arrangements):
10. TRAVEL ADVANCE REQUESTED: \$ \$200.00
11. REMARKS (Use This Space to Indicate Any Additional Items You Would Like to Appear on Your Travel Orders):
12. TRAVELER'S SIGNATURE:
13. APPROVALS:

GENEVA CALENDAR NOVEMBER

10:30 1/12/85

OF

SUNDAY	MONDAY	TUESDAY	WEDNESDAY	THURSDAY	FRIDAY	SATURDAY
3 CAMP DAVID THEME: PEOPLE TO PEOPLE AND ARMS CONTROL SCHEDULE HALF DAYS FOR GENEVA PREPARATIONS	4 11 VETERAN'S DAY REMARKS AT ARLINGTON	5 12 MEETING SPART CONGRESS LEADERSHIP NSC TIME INTERVIEW W/ SELECTED FOREIGN BROADCASTERS	6 INTERVIEW WITH U.S. WIVES	7 SDI EVENT MEDAL OF FREEDOM MEETING W/ SOVIET EXPERTS INTERVIEW W/US NEWS & WORLD REPORT	8 END OF SOVIET INF MORATORIUM DUTCH INF DEPLOYMENT DECISION	9 CAMP DAVID
10	11	12	13 CABINET MEETING NSC MEETING	14 NSC GENEVA MEETING W/ ARMS NEGOTIATORS PRESIDENT'S ADDRESS TO THE NATION	15 NSC GENEVA DOD REPORT ON INTERIM RESTRAINT	16 GENEVA SHORT ARRIVAL CEREMONY IN GENEVA
17 GENEVA MEET W/ SENIOR ADVISORS	18 GENEVA BRIEFING W/ SENIOR ADVISORS WORKING LUNCH MEETING W/ STRESS PRESIDENT	19 GENEVA MORNING SESSION W/ GORBACHEV WORKING LUNCH W/ ADVISORS AFTERNOON SESSION W/ GORBACHEV SOVIETS HOST DINNER	20 GENEVA MORNING SESSION W/ GORBACHEV WORKING LUNCH W/ ADVISORS AFTERNOON SESSION W/ GORBACHEV	21 GENEVA RETURN TO WASHINGTON CONSULT W/ NATO ALLIES IN BRUSSELS PRESIDENTIAL ADDRESS	22 CAMP DAVID HOUSE ADJOURNS CABINET MEETING MEETING W/ U.S. PRESS	23 CAMP DAVID RADIO TALK
24	25	26	27	28 THANKSGIVING	29	30 RADIO TALK

DECLASSIFIED

E.O. 12854, Sec. 3.4(b)

When House Guidelines, Feb. 24, 1992

BY

NABA, Date 8/6/97

SECRET//SENSITIVE

WASHFAX RECEIPT
DEPARTMENT OF STATE

B

S/S #

UNCLASSIFIED UPON REMOVAL
OF CLASSIFIED ENCLOSURES

MESSAGE NO. 002772 CLASSIFICATION CONFIDENTIAL No. Pages 2
FROM BRUNSON MCKINLEY S/S 3126 7224
(Officer name) (Office symbol) (Extension) (Room number)
MESSAGE DESCRIPTION GENEVA: GENEVA PARTICIPATION OF SENIOR USG OFFICIALS

TO (Agency)	DELIVER TO	Extension	Room No.
NSC	ROBERT PEARSON	395-3044	
NSC	EXECUTIVE SECRETARIAT		
	XXXXXXXXXX		
	<u>Johnathon Miller</u>		

FOR CLEARANCE ☒ INFORMATION ☐ PER REQUEST ☐ COMMENT ☐

REMARKS PLS PROVIDE CLEARANCE BY ~~COB 12~~

S/S Officer: Brock D. H.

CROSSHATCH

RETURN TIME-STAMPED COVERSHEET TO S/S

RONALD W. REAGAN LIBRARY

THIS FORM MARKS THE FILE LOCATION OF ITEM NUMBER 8 LISTED ON THE
WITHDRAWAL SHEET AT THE FRONT OF THIS FOLDER.