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(Peter/Barbara)

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BARB

(ROBINSON)

12-8-87 - 4 P.M.

**GENERAL SECRETARY GORBACHEV
STATE DINNER TOAST**

TUESDAY, DECEMBER 8, 1987

**MR. GENERAL SECRETARY AND
MRS. GORBACHEV, FOREIGN MINISTER
SHEVARDNADZE, HONORED GUESTS: IN OUR PUBLIC
STATEMENTS AND IN OUR MEETINGS TOGETHER,
MR. GENERAL SECRETARY, WE HAVE ALWAYS PAID
EACH OTHER THE COMPLIMENT OF CANDOR.
LET US CONTINUE TO DO SO. I AM REMINDED OF
MR. MOLOTOV'S REFLECTIONS OF PRIME MINISTER
CHURCHILL AFTER THEIR FIRST MEETING IN THE
WARTIME ALLIANCE. "A STRONG MAN, A VERY
STRONG MAN," MR. MOLOTOV WROTE OF CHURCHILL.
BUT THEN HE REFLECTED, "UNFORTUNATELY,
HE WILL NEVER MAKE A VERY GOOD COMMUNIST."**

**BY NOW, MR. GENERAL SECRETARY,
YOU MAY HAVE CONCLUDED THAT I SUFFER FROM
THE SAME FAILING.**

- 2 -

YET AS OUR TALKS TODAY SHOW, IT IS POSSIBLE,
ALL THE SAME, FOR US TO WORK TOGETHER.

AS WE COMPLETE THE FIRST FULL DAY OF
THIS HISTORIC MEETING, LET US LOOK BACK
TOGETHER AT THE DEVELOPMENTS OF THE PAST
2 YEARS AND THE SIGNIFICANCE OF WHAT IS
TAKING PLACE. FOR WE FIND OURSELVES
INVOLVED IN A DRAMATIC MARCH OF EVENTS
THAT HAS CAPTURED THE ATTENTION OF OUR TWO
PEOPLES AND THE ENTIRE WORLD.

SINCE YOU AND I FIRST MET IN GENEVA
IN NOVEMBER, 1985, MR. GENERAL SECRETARY,
OUR TWO COUNTRIES HAVE MOVED TOWARD A NEW
PERIOD IN THE HISTORY OF OUR RELATIONS.

THE HIGHLIGHT OF YOUR VISIT IS THE
SIGNING OF THE FIRST U.S.-SOVIET ARMS
CONTROL AGREEMENT IN NEARLY A DECADE --
THE FIRST EVER TO MANDATE ACTUAL REDUCTIONS
IN OUR ARSENALS OF NUCLEAR WEAPONS.

WE ARE MAKING SIGNIFICANT PROGRESS IN OTHER IMPORTANT AREAS OF ARMS REDUCTIONS, AND HAVE THE OPPORTUNITY, WITH MUTUAL COMMITMENT AND HARD WORK, TO ACHIEVE MUCH MORE IN THE COMING MONTHS.

BUT OUR RELATIONSHIP -- THE UNITED STATES AND THE SOVIET UNION -- IS NOT FOUNDED JUST ON ARMS CONTROL, BUT REACHES ACROSS A BROAD SPECTRUM OF ISSUES.

A RELATIONSHIP THAT ADDRESSES THE BASIC PROBLEMS OF SELF-DETERMINATION IN THE AREAS OF REGIONAL CONFLICTS AND HUMAN RIGHTS. THERE ARE DIFFERENCES HERE BUT ONES THAT REQUIRE FRANKNESS AND CANDOR. IN BILATERAL MATTERS, WE ALSO NEED HARD AND HONEST DEBATE.

A CENTURY-AND-A-HALF AGO, THE BRILLIANT FRENCH OBSERVER, DE TOCQUEVILLE, FORESAW THAT OUR TWO COUNTRIES WOULD BE THE MAJOR COUNTRIES OF THE WORLD.

HISTORY, GEOGRAPHY, THE BLESSINGS OF RESOURCES, AND THE HARD WORK OF OUR PEOPLES HAVE MADE IT SO. AND BETWEEN US, THERE HAS ALSO BEEN A PROFOUND COMPETITION OF POLITICAL AND ECONOMIC PHILOSOPHY, MAKING US THE PROTAGONISTS IN A DRAMA WITH THE GREATEST IMPORTANCE FOR THE FUTURE OF ALL MANKIND. MAN'S MOST FUNDAMENTAL BELIEFS ABOUT THE RELATIONSHIP OF THE CITIZEN TO THE STATE, AND OF MAN TO HIS CREATOR, LIE AT THE CORE OF THE COMPETITION BETWEEN OUR TWO COUNTRIES. HISTORY HAS INDEED ENDOWED OUR RELATIONSHIP WITH A PROFOUND MEANING.

CERTAINLY WE WILL NOT SETTLE THOSE ISSUES THIS WEEK. BUT THE TASKS BEFORE US REQUIRE A FULL AWARENESS OF THOSE ISSUES, AND OF A RESPONSIBILITY THAT IS BINDING UPON US BOTH.

I SPEAK OF A RESPONSIBILITY WE DARE NOT
COMPROMISE OR SHIRK. I SPEAK OF THE
RESPONSIBILITY TO SETTLE OUR DIFFERENCES --
IN PEACE.

ALREADY, BY VIRTUE OF HARD WORK AND
HARD BARGAINING, WE HAVE ACCOMPLISHED MUCH.
OUR NEGOTIATORS DESERVE GREAT CREDIT.
BUT WE CANNOT AFFORD TO REST. THERE IS WORK
TO BE DONE. TIME AND HISTORY ARE MARCHING
ON.

SO I OFFER A TOAST -- A COMMITMENT,
ON BEHALF OF THE AMERICAN PEOPLE,
OF SERIOUSNESS, GOODWILL, AND HOPE FOR
THE FUTURE.

GENERAL SECRETARY AND MRS. GORBACHEV,
TO YOUR HEALTH. [ZAH-VASHA ZDAH-ROHV-YUH].

#

PETER

(ROBINSON)

12-7-87 - 11 A.M.

GENERAL SECRETARY GORBACHEV
STATE DINNER TOAST

TUESDAY, DECEMBER 8, 1987

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LET US CONTINUE TO DO SO.

BY NOW, MR. GENERAL SECRETARY,
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FUNDAMENTAL DISAGREEMENTS ABOUT HOW HUMAN
COMMUNITIES SHOULD GOVERN THEMSELVES,
IT IS POSSIBLE, ALL THE SAME, FOR US TO
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GENERAL SECRETARY AND MRS. GORBACHEV,
TO YOUR HEALTH. (NAH ZDAH-ROHV-YEH).

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Barb
new pg toast

- 5 -

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GENERAL SECRETARY AND MRS. GORBACHEV,
TO YOUR HEALTH. (ZAH-VASHA ZDAH-ROHV-YUH).

###

(Robinson/ARD/RR)
December 7, 1987
12:00 Noon

Barb

PRESIDENTIAL REMARKS: GENERAL SECRETARY GORBACHEV
STATE DINNER TOAST
TUESDAY, DECEMBER 8, 1987

Mr. General Secretary and Mrs. Gorbachev, Foreign Minister Shevardnadze, honored guests: In our public statements and in our meetings together, Mr. General Secretary, we have always paid each other the compliment of candor. Let us continue to do so.

By now, Mr. General Secretary, you may have concluded that, while we have fundamental disagreements about how human communities should govern themselves, it is possible, all the same, for us to work together.

As we complete the first full day of this historic meeting, let us look back together at the developments of the past 2 years and the significance of what is taking place. For we find ourselves involved in a dramatic march of events that has captured the attention of our two peoples and the entire world.

Since you and I first met in Geneva in November, 1985, Mr. General Secretary, our two countries have moved toward a new period in the history of our relations.

The highlight of your visit is the signing of the first U.S.-Soviet arms control agreement in nearly a decade -- the first ever to mandate actual reductions in our arsenals of nuclear weapons. We are making significant progress in other important areas of arms reductions, and have the opportunity, with mutual commitment and hard work, to achieve much more in the coming months.

But our relationship -- the United States and the Soviet Union -- is not founded just on arms control, but reaches across a broad spectrum of issues. A relationship that addresses the basic problems of self-determination in the areas of regional conflicts and human rights. There are differences here but ones that require frankness and candor. In bilateral matters, we also need hard and honest debate.

A century-and-a-half ago, the brilliant French observer, de Tocqueville, foresaw that our two countries would be the major countries of the world. History, geography, the blessings of resources, and the hard work of our peoples have made it so. And between us, there has also been a profound competition of political and economic philosophy, making us the protagonists in a drama with the greatest importance for the future of all mankind. Man's most fundamental beliefs about the relationship of the citizen to the state, and of man to his Creator, lie at the core of the competition between our two countries. History has indeed endowed our relationship with a profound meaning.

Certainly we will not settle those issues this week. But the tasks before us require a full awareness of those issues, and of a responsibility that is binding upon us both. I speak of a responsibility we dare not compromise or shirk. I speak of the responsibility to settle our differences -- in peace.

Already, by virtue of hard work and hard bargaining, we have accomplished much. Our negotiators deserve great credit. But we cannot afford to rest. There is work to be done. Time and history are marching on.

So I offer a toast -- a commitment, on behalf of the American people, of seriousness, goodwill, and hope for the future.

General Secretary and Mrs. Gorbachev, to your health.
[Nah zdah-ROHV-yeh].

WHITE HOUSE STAFFING MEMORANDUM

DATE: 12/05/87

ACTION/CONCURRENCE/COMMENT DUE BY: _____

SUBJECT: PRESIDENTIAL REMARKS: GENERAL SECRETARY GORBACHEV

STATE DINNER TOAST

(12/04 6:00 p.m. draft)

ACTION FYI			ACTION FYI		
VICE PRESIDENT	☐	☒	FITZWATER	☐	☒
BAKER	☐	☒	GRISCOM	☐	☒
DUBERSTEIN	☐	☒	HOBBS	☐	☐
MILLER - OMB	☐	☐	HOOLEY	☐	☒
BALL	☐	☒	KING	☐	☐
BAUER	☐	☐	RANGE	☐	☐
 POWELL	☐	☒	RISQUE	☐	☐
CRIBB	☐	☐	RYAN	☐	☐
CRIPPEN	☐	☐	SPRINKEL	☐	☐
CULVAHOUSE	☐	☒	TUTTLE	☐	☐
DAWSON	☐	☒	DOLAN	☐	☒
DONATELLI	☐	☐	COURTEMANCHE	☐	☒
			FAULKNER		☒

REMARKS:

The attached has been forwarded to the President.

RESPONSE:

cc: PWR, FWE, REL, MB, RB, SID, LRJ, SES, PSS, WHC, CLP, JDN,
D HOWARD, NSC/S

Bill to stay's AS

(Robinson/ARD)
December 4, 1987
6:00 p.m.

PRESIDENTIAL REMARKS: GENERAL SECRETARY GORBACHEV
STATE DINNER TOAST - 4 00 13
TUESDAY, DECEMBER 8, 1987

Mr. General Secretary and Mrs. Gorbachev, Foreign Minister Shevardnadze, honored guests: In our public statements and in our meetings together, Mr. General Secretary, we have always paid each other the compliment of candor. Let us continue to do so.

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So I offer a toast -- a commitment, on behalf of the American people, of seriousness, goodwill, and hope for the future.

General Secretary and Mrs. Gorbachev, to your health.
[Nah zdah-ROHV-yeh].

(Robinson/ARD)
December 4, 1987
6:00 p.m. *RR*

Barbara

PRESIDENTIAL REMARKS: GENERAL SECRETARY GORBACHEV
STATE DINNER TOAST
TUESDAY, DECEMBER 8, 1987

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General Secretary and Mrs. Gorbachev, to your health.
[Nah zdah-ROHV-yeh].

(Robinson/ARD)
December 3, 1987
5:00 p.m.

Barbara

SS

PRESIDENTIAL REMARKS: GENERAL SECRETARY GORBACHEV
STATE DINNER TOAST
TUESDAY, DECEMBER 8, 1987

OR
Kathy
Fenton
Serial
Office
7064

Mr. General Secretary and Mrs. Gorbachev, Foreign Minister
~~and Mrs.~~ Shevardnadze, honored guests: In our public statements
and in our meetings together, Mr. General Secretary, we have
always paid each other the compliment of candor. Let us continue
to do so. I am reminded of Mr. Molotov's reflections of Prime
Minister Churchill after their first meeting in the wartime
alliance. "A strong man, a very strong man," Mr. Molotov wrote
of Churchill. But then he reflected, "Unfortunately, he will
never make a very good Communist."

By now, Mr. General Secretary, you may have concluded that I
suffer from the same failing. Yet as our talks today show, it is
possible, all the same, for us to work together.

As we complete the first full day of this historic meeting,
let us look back together at the developments of the past 2 years
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Since you and I first met in Geneva in November, 1985,
Mr. General Secretary, our two countries have moved steadily into
a new period in the history of our relations.

The highlight of your visit is the signing of the first
U.S.-Soviet arms control agreement in nearly a decade -- the
first ever to mandate actual and radical reductions in our
arsenals of nuclear weapons. We are making significant progress

draft
schedule -
INF
signing
12-8-87
Korbaichev
arrives
Monday
night
12-9-87

Pres Doc
11-21-85

OR
Stone
Steine
NSC
5697

in other important areas of arms reductions, and have the opportunity, with mutual commitment and hard work, to achieve much more in the coming months.

In the field of human rights, our dialogue has improved considerably, and we acknowledge concrete steps taken in that area. But I must be frank: More -- much more -- needs to be done. For human rights is a matter of the deepest concern and conviction to Americans. Continuing progress in human rights will add immeasurably to the depth and closeness of our political relations.

Our discussions of regional conflicts have confirmed serious differences of policy. Yet in some areas there is potential common ground in the recognition that political solutions are preferable to fruitless continued war. Our own dialogue will continue, because of the importance to our relations of achieving progress in this area -- and because of the importance to us, as Americans, of working to see that, one day, all men shall be free.

American and Soviet citizens, official and unofficial, young and old, are seeing more of each other than ever before. We hope this will contribute to a broader understanding of our very different societies and political systems. The differences between us, of course, go deeper than personal misunderstandings; yet, I hope we can leave a legacy of expanding people-to-people exchanges, particularly among our young people, to help a new generation build a foundation for more constructive relations.

"Democracy in America" Part I published in 1835 A century-and-a-half ago, the brilliant French observer, de Tocqueville, foresaw that ~~someday~~ our two countries would ~~become~~ the major countries of the world. History, geography, the blessings of resources, and the hard work of our peoples have made it so. And between us, there has also been a profound competition of political philosophy, making us the protagonists in a drama with the greatest importance for the future of all mankind. Man's most fundamental beliefs about the relationship of the citizen to the state, and of man to his Creator, lie at the core of the competition between our two countries. History has indeed endowed our relationship with a profound meaning.

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[Nah zdah-ROHV-yeh].

Barbara

Document No.

498 284

WHITE HOUSE STAFFING MEMORANDUM

DATE: 12/03/87

ACTION/CONCURRENCE/COMMENT DUE BY: 2:00 p.m. Friday 12/04

SUBJECT: PRESIDENTIAL REMARKS: GENERAL SECRETARY GORBACHEV

STATE DINNER TOAST

(12/03 5:00 p.m. draft)

	ACTION FYI			ACTION FYI	
VICE PRESIDENT	☐	☒	FITZWATER	☐	☒
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DAWSON	☐	☒	DOLAN	☐	☒
DONATELLI	☐	☐	COURTEMANCHE	☒	☐
			FAULKNER	☒	☐

REMARKS:

Please provide any comments/recommendations to Tony Dolan by 2:00 p.m. on Friday, 12/04, with an info copy to my office. Thanks.

RESPONSE:

see edit/change TB

Rhett Dawson
Ext. 2702

(Robinson/ARD)
December 3, 1987
5:00 p.m.

PRESIDENTIAL REMARKS: GENERAL SECRETARY GORBACHEV
STATE DINNER TOAST
TUESDAY, DECEMBER 8, 1987

Mr. General Secretary and Mrs. Gorbachev, Foreign Minister and Mrs. Shevardnadze, honored guests: In our public statements and in our meetings together, Mr. General Secretary, we have always paid each other the compliment of candor. Let us continue to do so. ~~I am reminded of Mr. Molotov's reflections of Prime Minister Churchill after their first meeting in the wartime alliance. A strong man, a very strong man, Mr. Molotov wrote of Churchill. But then he reflected, "Unfortunately, he will never make a very good Communist."~~

By now, Mr. General Secretary, you may have concluded that ~~while we have fundamental disagreements about how human~~ ^{while we have fundamental disagreements about how human} ~~suffer from the same failings. Yet our talks today show~~ it is possible, all the same, for us to work together.

As we complete the first full day of this historic meeting, let us look back together at the developments of the past 2 years and the significance of what is taking place. For we find ourselves involved in a dramatic march of events that has captured the attention of our two peoples and the entire world.

Since you and I first met in Geneva in November, 1985, Mr. General Secretary, our two countries have moved ~~steadily into~~ ^{toward} a new period in the history of our relations.

The highlight of your visit is the signing of the first U.S.-Soviet arms control agreement in nearly a decade -- the first ever to mandate actual ~~and radical~~ reductions in our arsenals of nuclear weapons. We are making significant progress

Communists should govern themselves,

But our relationship - the United States and the Soviet Union - is not just founded on arms control, but reaches across a broad spectrum of issues.

in other important areas of arms reductions, and have the opportunity, with mutual commitment and hard work, to achieve much more in the coming months.

In the field of human rights, our dialogue has improved considerably, and we acknowledge concrete steps taken in that area. But I must be frank: More -- much more -- needs to be done. For human rights is a matter of the deepest concern and conviction to Americans. Continuing progress in human rights will add immeasurably to the depth and closeness of our political relations.

Our discussions of regional conflicts have confirmed serious differences of policy. Yet in some areas there is potential common ground in the recognition that political solutions are preferable to fruitless continued war. Our own dialogue will continue, because of the importance to our relations of achieving progress in this area -- and because of the importance to us, as Americans, of working to see that, one day, all men shall be free.

American and Soviet citizens, official and unofficial, young and old, are seeing more of each other than ever before. We hope this will contribute to a broader understanding of our very different societies and political systems. The differences between us, of course, go deeper than personal misunderstandings; yet, I hope we can leave a legacy of expanding people-to-people exchanges, particularly among our young people, to help a new generation build a foundation for more constructive relations.

~~like the~~

A relationship that addresses the basic problems of self-determination in the areas of regional conflicts and human rights. There are differences here but ones that require debate. In bilateral matters, we also need hard

I would suggest one paragraph to replace this whole section.

A century-and-a-half ago, the brilliant French observer, de Tocqueville, foresaw that someday our two countries would become the major countries of the world. History, geography, the blessings of resources, and the hard work of our peoples have made it so. And between us, there has also been a profound competition of political philosophy, making us the protagonists in a drama with the greatest importance for the future of all mankind. Man's most fundamental beliefs about the relationship of the citizen to the state, and of man to his Creator, lie at the core of the competition between our two countries. History has indeed endowed our relationship with a profound meaning.

Certainly we will not settle those issues this week. But the tasks before us require a full awareness of those issues, and of a responsibility that is binding upon us both. I speak of a responsibility we dare not compromise or shirk. I speak of the responsibility to settle our differences -- in peace.

Already, by virtue of hard work and hard bargaining, we have accomplished much. Our negotiators deserve great credit. But we cannot afford to rest. There is work to be done. Time and history are marching on.

So I offer a toast -- a commitment, on behalf of the American people, of seriousness, goodwill, and hope for the future.

General Secretary and Mrs. Gorbachev, to your health.
[Nah zdah-ROHV-yeh].

FILED

CC: Cathy

Document No.

498 284

WHITE HOUSE STAFFING MEMORANDUM

✓ file

DATE: 12/03/87

ACTION/CONCURRENCE/COMMENT DUE BY: 2:00 p.m. Friday 12/04

SUBJECT: PRESIDENTIAL REMARKS: GENERAL SECRETARY GORBACHEV

STATE DINNER TOAST

(12/03 5:00 p.m. draft)

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VICE PRESIDENT	☐	☒	FITZWATER	☐	☒
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			FAULKNER	☒	☐

REMARKS:

Please provide any comments/recommendations to Tony Dolan by 2:00 p.m. on Friday, 12/04, with an info copy to my office. Thanks.

RESPONSE:

2 my - Mrs. Shivers & daughter not attending dinner.

Rhett Dawson
Ext. 2702

(Robinson/ARD)
December 3, 1987
5:00 p.m.

PRESIDENTIAL REMARKS: GENERAL SECRETARY GORBACHEV
STATE DINNER TOAST
TUESDAY, DECEMBER 8, 1987

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General Secretary and Mrs. Gorbachev, to your health.
[Nah zdah-ROHV-yeh].

Barbara

8937

WHITE HOUSE STAFFING MEMORANDUM

DATE: 12/03/87

ACTION/CONCURRENCE/COMMENT DUE BY: 2:00 p.m. Friday 12/04

SUBJECT: PRESIDENTIAL REMARKS: GENERAL SECRETARY GORBACHEV

STATE DINNER TOAST

(12/03 5:00 p.m. draft)

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			FAULKNER	☒	☐

REMARKS:

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RESPONSE:

December 4, 1987

TO: Tony Dolan

NSC staff concurs in the attached Presidential remarks, with changes.

Paul Schott Stevens
Executive Secretary

Rhett Dawson
Ext. 2702

cc: Rhett Dawson

(Robinson/ARD)
December 3, 1987
5:00 p.m.

PRESIDENTIAL REMARKS: GENERAL SECRETARY GORBACHEV
STATE DINNER TOAST
TUESDAY, DECEMBER 8, 1987

Received 66
DEC -3 PM 5:10

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General Secretary and Mrs. Gorbachev, to your health.

[Nah zdah-ROHV-yeh].

Alexis De Tocqueville

Democracy in America

other, it must *a fortiori* prevent the descendants of the same people from becoming aliens to one another.

The time will therefore come when one hundred and fifty million men will be living in North America,¹⁰⁰ equal in condition, all belonging to one family, owing their origin to the same cause, and preserving the same civilization, the same language, the same religion, the same habits, the same manners, and imbued with the same opinions, propagated under the same forms. The rest is uncertain, but this is certain; and it is a fact new to the world, a fact that the imagination strives in vain to grasp.

There are at the present time two great nations in the world, which started from different points, but seem to tend towards the same end. I allude to the Russians and the Americans. Both of them have grown up unnoticed; and while the attention of mankind was directed elsewhere, they have suddenly placed themselves in the front rank among the nations, and the world learned their existence and their greatness at almost the same time.

All other nations seem to have nearly reached their natural limits, and they have only to maintain their power; but these are still in the act of growth.¹⁰¹ All the others have stopped, or continue to advance with extreme difficulty; these alone are proceeding with ease and celerity along a path to which no limit can be perceived. The American struggles against the obstacles that nature opposes to him; the adversaries of the Russian are men. The former combats the wilderness and savage life; the latter, civilization with all its arms. The conquests of the American are therefore gained by the plowshare; those of the Russian by the sword. The Anglo-American relies upon personal interest to accomplish his ends and gives free scope to the unguided strength and common sense of the people; the Russian centers all the authority of society in a single arm. The principal instrument of the former is freedom; of the latter, servitude. Their starting-point is different and their courses are not the same; yet each of them seems marked out by the will of Heaven to sway the destinies of half the globe.

¹⁰⁰ This would be a population proportionate to that of Europe, taken at a mean rate of 410 inhabitants to the square league.

¹⁰¹ The population of Russia increases proportionately more rapidly than that of any other country in the Old World.

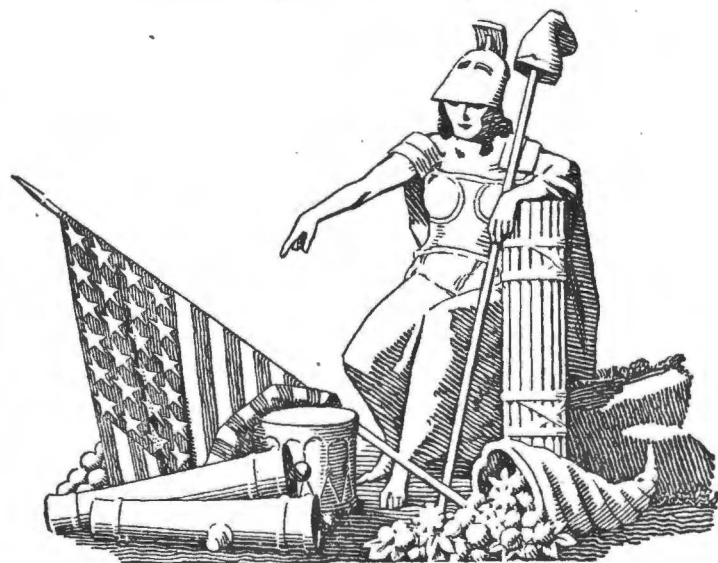
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Democracy
IN AMERICA
By ALEXIS DE TOCQUEVILLE

THE HENRY REEVE TEXT
AS REVISED BY FRANCIS BOWEN
NOW FURTHER CORRECTED AND EDITED
WITH INTRODUCTION, EDITORIAL NOTES,
AND BIBLIOGRAPHIES BY
PHILLIPS BRADLEY

Foreword by HAROLD J. LASKI



Volume I

1945 ALFRED A. KNOFF NEW YORK

W.H. INFORMATION CENTER

United States-Soviet Summit in Geneva

Joint Statement. November 21, 1985

By mutual agreement, President of the United States Ronald Reagan and General Secretary of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union Mikhail Gorbachev met in Geneva November 19-21. Attending the meeting on the U.S. side were Secretary of State George Shultz; Chief of Staff Donald Regan; Assistant to the President Robert McFarlane; Ambassador to the USSR Arthur Hartman; Special Advisor to the President and the Secretary of State for Arms Control Paul H. Nitze; Assistant Secretary of State for European Affairs Rozanne Ridgway; Special Assistant to the President for National Security Affairs Jack Matlock. Attending on the Soviet side were Member of the Politburo of the Central Committee of the CPSU, Minister of Foreign Affairs E. A. Shevardnadze; First Deputy Foreign Minister G. M. Korniyenko; Ambassador to the United States A. F. Dobrynin; Head of the Department of Propaganda of the Central Committee of the CPSU, A. N. Yakovlev; Head of the Department of International Information of the Central Committee of the CPSU L. M. Zamyatin; Assistant to the General Secretary of the Central Committee of the CPSU, A. M. Aleksandrov.

These comprehensive discussions covered the basic questions of U.S.-Soviet relations and the current international situation. The meetings were frank and useful. Serious differences remain on a number of critical issues.

While acknowledging the differences in their systems and approaches to international issues, some greater understanding of each side's view was achieved by the two leaders. They agreed about the need to improve U.S.-Soviet relations and the international situation as a whole.

In this connection the two sides have confirmed the importance of an ongoing dialogue, reflecting their strong desire to seek common ground on existing problems.

They agreed to meet again in the nearest future. The General Secretary accepted an invitation by the President of the United States to visit the United States of America

and the President of the United States accepted an invitation by the General Secretary of the Central Committee of the CPSU to visit the Soviet Union. Arrangements for and timing of the visits will be agreed upon through diplomatic channels.

In their meetings, agreement was reached on a number of specific issues. Areas of agreement are registered on the following pages.

SECURITY

The sides, having discussed key security issues, and conscious of the special responsibility of the USSR and the U.S. for maintaining peace, have agreed that a nuclear war cannot be won and must never be fought. Recognizing that any conflict between the USSR and the U.S. could have catastrophic consequences, they emphasized the importance of preventing any war between them, whether nuclear or conventional. They will not seek to achieve military superiority.

NUCLEAR AND SPACE TALKS

The President and the General Secretary discussed the negotiations on nuclear and space arms.

They agreed to accelerate the work at these negotiations, with a view to accomplishing the tasks set down in the Joint U.S.-Soviet Agreement of January 8, 1985, namely to prevent an arms race in space and to terminate it on earth, to limit and reduce nuclear arms and enhance strategic stability.

Noting the proposals recently tabled by the U.S. and the Soviet Union, they called for early progress, in particular in areas where there is common ground, including the principle of 50% reductions in the nuclear arms of the U.S. and the USSR appropriately applied, as well as the idea of an interim INF agreement.

During the negotiation of these agreements, effective measures for verification of compliance with obligations assumed will be agreed upon.

RISK REDUCTION CENTERS

The sides agreed to study the question at the expert level of centers to reduce nuclear risk taking into account the issues and developments in the Geneva negotiations. They took satisfaction in such recent steps

in this direction as the modernization of the Soviet-U.S. hotline.

NUCLEAR NON-PROLIFERATION

General Secretary Gorbachev and President Reagan reaffirmed the commitment of the USSR and the U.S. to the Treaty on the Non-Proliferation of Nuclear Weapons and their interest in strengthening together with other countries the non-proliferation regime, and in further enhancing the effectiveness of the Treaty, *inter alia* by enlarging its membership.

They note with satisfaction the overall positive results of the recent Review Conference of the Treaty on the Non-Proliferation of Nuclear Weapons.

The USSR and the U.S. reaffirm their commitment, assumed by them under the Treaty on the Non-Proliferation of Nuclear Weapons, to pursue negotiations in good faith on matters of nuclear arms limitation and disarmament in accordance with Article VI of the Treaty.

The two sides plan to continue to promote the strengthening of the International Atomic Energy Agency and to support the activities of the Agency in implementing safeguards as well as in promoting the peaceful uses of nuclear energy.

They view positively the practice of regular Soviet-U.S. consultations, on non-proliferation of nuclear weapons, which have been businesslike and constructive and express their intent to continue this practice in the future.

CHEMICAL WEAPONS

In the context of discussing security problems, the two sides reaffirmed that they are in favor of a general and complete prohibition of chemical weapons and the destruction of existing stockpiles of such weapons. They agreed to accelerate efforts to conclude an effective and verifiable international convention on this matter.

The two sides agreed to intensify bilateral discussions on the level of experts on all aspects of such a chemical weapons ban, including the question of verification. They agreed to initiate a dialogue on preventing the proliferation of chemical weapons.

MBFR

The two sides emphasized the importance they attach to the Vienna (MBFR) negotiations and expressed their willingness to work for positive results.

CDE

Attaching great importance to the Stockholm Conference on Confidence and Security Building Measures and Disarmament in Europe and noting the progress made there, the two sides stated their intention to facilitate, together with the other participating states, an early and successful completion of the work of the conference. To this end, they reaffirmed the need for a document which would include mutually acceptable confidence and security building measures and give concrete expression and effect to the principle of non-use of force.

PROCESS OF DIALOGUE

President Reagan and General Secretary Gorbachev agreed on the need to place on a regular basis and intensify dialogue at various levels. Along with meetings between the leaders of the two countries, this envisages regular meetings between the USSR Minister of Foreign Affairs and the U.S. Secretary of State, as well as between the heads of other Ministries and Agencies. They agree that the recent visits of the heads of Ministries and Departments in such fields as agriculture, housing and protection of the environment have been useful.

Recognizing that exchanges of views on regional issues on the expert level have proven useful, they agreed to continue such exchanges on a regular basis.

The sides intend to expand the programs of bilateral cultural, educational and scientific-technical exchanges, and also to develop trade and economic ties. The President of the United States and the General Secretary of the Central Committee of the CPSU attended the signing of the Agreement on Contacts and Exchanges in Scientific, Educational and Cultural Fields.

They agreed on the importance of resolving humanitarian cases in the spirit of cooperation.

They believe that there should be greater understanding among our peoples and that to this end they will encourage greater travel and people-to-people contact.

NORTHERN PACIFIC AIR SAFETY

The two leaders also noted with satisfaction that, in cooperation with the Govern-

ment of Japan, the United States and the Soviet Union have agreed to a set of measures to promote safety on air routes in the North Pacific and have worked out steps to implement them.

CIVIL AVIATION/CONSULATES

They acknowledged that delegations from the United States and the Soviet Union have begun negotiations aimed at resumption of air services. The two leaders expressed their desire to reach a mutually beneficial agreement at an early date. In this regard, an agreement was reached on the simultaneous opening of Consulates General in New York and Kiev.

ENVIRONMENTAL PROTECTION

Both sides agreed to contribute to the preservation of the environment—a global task—through joint research and practical measures. In accordance with the existing U.S.-Soviet agreement in this area, consultations will be held next year in Moscow and Washington on specific programs of cooperation.

EXCHANGE INITIATIVES

The two leaders agreed on the utility of broadening exchanges and contacts including some of their new forms in a number of scientific, educational, medical and sports fields (*inter alia*, cooperation in the development of educational exchanges and software for elementary and secondary school instruction; measures to promote Russian language studies in the United States and English language studies in the USSR; the annual exchange of professors to conduct special courses in history, culture and economics at the relevant departments of Soviet and American institutions of higher education; mutual allocation of scholarships for the best students in the natural sciences, technology, social sciences and humanities for the period of an academic year; holding regular meets in various sports and increased television coverage of sports events). The two sides agreed to resume cooperation in combatting cancer diseases.

The relevant agencies in each of the countries are being instructed to develop specific programs for these exchanges. The resulting programs will be reviewed by the leaders at their next meeting.

FUSION RESEARCH

The two leaders emphasized the potential importance of the work aimed at utilizing controlled thermonuclear fusion for peaceful purposes and, in this connection, advocated the widest practicable development of international cooperation in obtaining this source of energy, which is essentially inexhaustible, for the benefit for all mankind.

United States-Soviet Summit in Geneva

*Remarks on Issuing a Joint Statement.
November 21, 1985*

General Secretary Gorbachev. You've already been handed the joint statement. The President and I have done a huge amount of work. We've gone into great detail; we've really done it in depth. And we've done it totally openly and frankly. We've discussed several most important issues. The relations between our two countries and the situation in the world in general today—these are issues and problems the solving of which in the most concrete way is of concern both to our countries and to the peoples of other countries in the world.

We discussed these issues basing our discussions on both sides' determination to improve relations between the Soviet Union and the United States of America. We decided that we must help to decrease the threat of nuclear war. We must not allow the arms race to move off into space, and we must cut it down on Earth.

It goes without saying that discussions of these sort we consider to be very useful, and in its results you find a clear reflection of what the two sides have agreed together. We have to be realistic and straightforward and, therefore, the solving of the most important problems concerning the arms race and increasing hopes of peace, we didn't succeed in reaching at this meeting.

So, of course there are important disagreements on matters of principle that remain between us; however, the President and I have agreed that this work of seeking mutually acceptable decisions for these

(Robinson edits)
December 3, 1987
4:30 p.m.

PRESIDENTIAL REMARKS: GENERAL SECRETARY GORBACHEV
STATE DINNER TOAST
TUESDAY, DECEMBER 8, 1987

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opportunity, with mutual commitment and hard work, to achieve much more in the coming months.

In the field of human rights, our dialogue has improved considerably, and we acknowledge concrete steps taken in that area. But I must be frank: More -- much more -- needs to be done. For human rights is a matter of the deepest concern and conviction to Americans. Continuing progress in human rights will add immeasurably to the depth and closeness of our political relations.

Our discussions of regional conflicts have confirmed serious differences of policy. Yet in some areas there is potential common ground in the recognition that political solutions are preferable to fruitless continued war. Our own dialogue will continue, because of the importance to our relations of achieving progress in this area -- and because of the importance to us, Americans are working to see that, one day, all men shall be free.

American and Soviet citizens, official and unofficial, young and old, are seeing more of each other than ever before. We hope this will contribute to a broader understanding of our very different societies and political systems. The differences between us, of course, go deeper than personal misunderstandings; yet, I hope we can leave a legacy of expanding people-to-people exchanges, particularly among our young people, to help a new generation build a foundation for more constructive relations.

A century-and-a-half ago, the brilliant French observer, de Tocqueville, foresaw that someday our two countries would

become the major countries of the world. History, geography, the blessings of resources, and the hard work of our peoples have made it so. And between us, there has also been a profound competition of political philosophy, making us the protagonists in a drama with the greatest importance for the future of all mankind. Man's most fundamental beliefs about the relationship of the citizen to the state, and of man to his Creator, lie at the core of the competition between our two countries. History has indeed endowed our relationship with a profound meaning.

Certainly we will not settle those issues this week. But the tasks before us require a full awareness of those issues, and a recognition that is binding upon us both. I speak of a responsibility we dare not compromise or shirk. I speak of the responsibility to settle our differences in peace.

Already, by virtue of hard work and hard bargaining, we have accomplished much. Our negotiators deserve great credit. But we cannot afford to rest. There is work to be done. Time and history are marching on.

So I offer a toast -- a commitment, on behalf of the American people, of seriousness, goodwill, and hope for the future.

General Secretary and Mrs. Gorbachev, to your health!

[Nah zdah-ROHV-yeh]!

PRESIDENT REAGAN'S DRAFT TOAST
DECEMBER 8 WHITE HOUSE STATE DINNER
FOR GENERAL SECRETARY GORBACHEV

Mr. General Secretary and Mrs. Gorbachev, Foreign Minister and Mrs. Shevardnadze, honored guests:

As we complete the first full day of this historic meeting, it's appropriate to look back for a moment at the extraordinary developments of the past two years, and at the extraordinary significance of what is taking place. For we find ourselves today in the vanguard of a dramatic march of events which has captured the attention of our two peoples and the entire world.

Since you and I first met in Geneva in November, 1985, Mr. General Secretary, our two countries have moved steadily into a new period in the history of our relations.

-- The highlight of your visit is the signing of the first U.S.-Soviet arms control agreement in nearly a decade -- the first ever to mandate actual and radical reductions in our arsenals of nuclear weapons. We are making significant progress in other important areas of arms control, and have the opportunity, with mutual commitment and hard work, to achieve much more in the coming months.

-- In the field of human rights, our dialogue has improved considerably, and we acknowledge concrete steps taken in that area. These are matters of deep concern and conviction to

Americans. Continuing progress in human rights will add immeasurably to the depth and closeness of our political relations.

-- Our recent discussions of regional conflicts have confirmed serious differences of policy and strategic interest. Yet in some areas there is potential common ground in the recognition that political solutions are preferable to fruitless continued war. Our own dialogue will continue, because of the importance to our relations of achieving progress in this area.

-- American and Soviet citizens, official and unofficial, young and old, are seeing more of each other than ever before. We hope this will contribute to a broader understanding of our very different societies and political systems. The differences between us, of course, go deeper than personal misunderstandings; however, I hope to leave a legacy of expanding people-to-people exchanges, particularly among young people, to help a new generation build a foundation for more constructive relations.

A century and a half ago, the brilliant French observer Tocqueville foresaw that someday our two countries would become the major countries of the world. (CHECK QUOTE.) History, geography, the blessings of resources, and the hard work of our peoples have made it so. And between us there has also been a profound competition of political philosophy, making us the

protagonists of an age-old human drama. Mankind's ancient and most fundamental beliefs about the relationship of the citizen to the state, and of man to his Creator, are at the core of today's very contemporary competition between our two very modern countries. History has indeed endowed our relationship with a profound significance.

Certainly we will not settle those issues here. But the tasks before us require a full awareness of the relevance and seriousness of those issues, as well as of the other, more immediate issues at stake. And we can fulfill our responsibility for the survival of the planet by constructively addressing our present agenda.

Already, by virtue of hard work and hard bargaining, we have accomplished a lot. Our negotiators deserve great credit. But we cannot afford to rest. There is still much work to be done. Time and history are marching on. Our relations must keep pace with new challenges.

In that spirit, I offer a toast -- a commitment, on behalf of the American people, of seriousness, goodwill, and hope for the future.

General Secretary and Mrs. Gorbachev, to your health!

Nah zdah-ROHV-yeh!