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**Collection:** Speechwriting, White House Office of:  
Research Office, 1981-1989

**Folder Title:** 12/09/1987 Attend Dinner at Soviet  
Embassy (John/Teresa)

**Box:** 357

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# WITHDRAWAL SHEET

## Ronald Reagan Library

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

**Withdrawer**

MJD 6/2/2006

**File Folder** ATTEND DINNER SOVIET EMBASSY, 12/09/1987

**FOIA**

F03-0038/01

**Box Number** OA 18110

HOWELL

4

DOC NO	Doc Type	Document Description	No of Pages	Doc Date	Restrictions
1	SCHEDULE	OF THE PRESIDENT (PARTIAL)	1	12/8/1987	B7(C)
2	CHARTS	RE SOVIET EMBASSY	2	12/9/1987	B2 B7(E)

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

B-1 National security classified information [(b)(1) of the FOIA]

B-2 Release would disclose internal personnel rules and practices of an agency [(b)(2) of the FOIA]

B-3 Release would violate a Federal statute [(b)(3) of the FOIA]

B-4 Release would disclose trade secrets or confidential or financial information [(b)(4) of the FOIA]

B-6 Release would constitute a clearly unwarranted invasion of personal privacy [(b)(6) of the FOIA]

B-7 Release would disclose information compiled for law enforcement purposes [(b)(7) of the FOIA]

B-8 Release would disclose information concerning the regulation of financial institutions [(b)(8) of the FOIA]

B-9 Release would disclose geological or geophysical information concerning wells [(b)(9) of the FOIA]

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

T.R.

(Gilder/ARD)  
December 4, 1987  
1:30 p.m. 35

PRESIDENTIAL REMARKS: ATTEND DINNER AT THE SOVIET EMBASSY  
WEDNESDAY, DECEMBER 9, 1987

Mr. General Secretary and Mrs. Gorbachev, Foreign Minister  
and Mrs. Shevardnadze, Ambassador and Mrs. Dubinin, ladies and  
gentlemen:

We are coming to the end of ~~the~~ second full day of your  
visit to our land. It has been an eventful 2 days. But now that  
you've seen our Nation's capital, Mr. General Secretary, I only  
wish you could have a chance to meet the people who normally work  
and do business here. Unfortunately, they're all in Iowa and  
New Hampshire.

As everyone in the United States knows, I have a weakness  
for anecdotes, so if I may, I'd like to begin with a story I was  
so moved by recently that I mentioned it in my address to the  
Russian people. It's an account of one of our diplomats, a young  
man then, stationed in our embassy in Moscow during World War II.  
He was there when news of V.E. day reached that city and he said  
Red Square erupted in a spontaneous demonstration of thankfulness  
and joy. Our embassy's chancery was just across from the  
Kremlin, and many of the Americans stationed there in those days  
were still in uniform. When they walked outside to join in the  
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diplomat said he was even more moved by the words of one Red Army  
major standing near him in the crowd, words filled with new-found  
hope: "Now it's time to live," he said.

State  
Dept.

Schedule

primaries

next  
5/11/85  
Rohit  
Tuckers

1945

the

Mr. General Secretary, we have accomplished much in this summit -- a pathbreaking agreement that for the first time will eliminate an entire class of nuclear weapons. But I am convinced that history will ultimately judge this summit and its participants not on missile count -- but on how far we moved together to the fulfillment of that soldier's hopes.

We have prided ourselves, Mr. General Secretary, on our realism, that we have come to this summit without illusions, with no attempts to gloss over the deep differences that divide us, differences that reach to the core values upon which our political systems are based. But we said, even so, we can make progress, even so we can find areas of agreement and cooperation.

But perhaps in this Christmas season, we should look at an even deeper and more enduring realism. It is a reality that precedes states and governments, that precedes and surpasses the temporary realities of ideology and politics. It is the reality that binds each of us as individual souls -- the bond that united Soviets and Americans in exultation and thanksgiving on that day of peace, 42 years ago.

General Secretary Gorbachev: You have begun in your own country a movement based on glasnost, on openness, and the world watches expectantly, and with great hopes, to see this promise fulfilled -- for in talking of openness, and promising truth, you have called on the deepest hungers of the human heart, hungers shared by all, whether they be Soviet or American, or the citizens of any nation on Earth.

INF  
Chernobyl  
NPT Treaty  
12/4/87

December  
Calendar

1987

AD  
12/4/87

X



*Barlett's P. 387*  
Thomas Jefferson, <sup>one of</sup> our Nation's great founder<sup>s</sup> and philosopher<sup>s</sup>, once said, "The God who gave us life, gave us liberty as well." He meant that we are born to freedom, and that the need for liberty is as basic, as built-in as the need for food; and he, as the great revolutionary he was, also knew there could never be a true and lasting peace when individual souls are starved for the freedom they crave. *X*

*Schubert*  
We have accomplished much these last 2 days, but I think we all know that progress can only endure if strengthened by progress in other areas. There must be movement in bringing to a close the destructive and wasteful regional conflicts that beset so many parts of our globe; and the cry of the people for their God-given human rights must be answered.

*4-part discussion SC*  
*12/16/87*  
*12/13/87*  
*12/14/87*  
*P. A. H.*  
What better time than in this Christmas and Hanukkah season, a season whose spirit you recently spoke to, Mr. General Secretary, when you noted the millennium of Christianity in your land, as a season of peace, of the fulfillment of the hopes of your people for a better life. What better way than to give the people of all religions the freedom they crave to worship their Maker. As one of the great <sup>saints</sup> saviors of Russia, Alexander Nevsky, said -- perhaps I am hazarding too much, but I shall try to quote it in Russian: (Nyeh vseal yah Bogg ah vprav dah) "Nye v seelyeh Bog, ah v Pravdye," the spirit of the Lord is not in might, but in truth. *X*

*Lesia Jemison 3912*  
There is an old Russian saying -- and this time I won't attempt it in the original: "Everyman is the blacksmith of his own happiness," and, like all folk sayings, it contains a

*Am. Matlock*  
*Russian folk saying*

profound understanding of the human condition. We can, with our free will, shape our future; we can make it what that Soviet soldier saw in his vision of a better world, a vision of peace and freedom welling up after so many years of suffering.

In memory of that day in Red Square when Soviet citizens carried American soldiers on their shoulders; in memory of that day when the Red Army major embraced a new world of hope, I raise my glass.

Mr. General Secretary and Mrs. Gorbachev, Foreign Minister and Mrs. Shevardnadze, Ambassador and Mrs. Dubinin, thank you for your hospitality this evening. And for my last attempt at

Russian: [Nah-zdah-Rohv-yeh]

[Naz da rov yeh]

John  
Dy?  
S. Smith  
L. J. J.  
J. J. J.  
39/2

# WHITE HOUSE STAFFING MEMORANDUM

DATE: 12/4/87 ACTION/CONCURRENCE/COMMENT DUE BY: 2:00 pm 12/7/87

SUBJECT: PRESIDENTIAL REMARKS: ATTEND DINNER AT THE SOVIET EMBASSY

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

REMARKS:

Please provide any comments directly to Tony Dolan by 2:00 Monday afternoon, December 7th, with an info copy to my office. Thanks.

RESPONSE:

*see edits / TB*

Rhett Dawson  
Ext. 2702

(Gilder/ARD)  
December 4, 1987  
1:30 p.m.

PRESIDENTIAL REMARKS: ATTEND DINNER AT THE SOVIET EMBASSY  
WEDNESDAY, DECEMBER 9, 1987

Mr. General Secretary and Mrs. Gorbachev, Foreign Minister and Mrs. Shevardnadze, Ambassador and Mrs. Dubinin, ladies and gentlemen:

We are coming to the end of our second full day of your visit to our land. It has been an eventful 2 days. But now that you've seen our Nation's capital, Mr. General Secretary, I only wish you could have a chance to meet the people who normally work and do business here. Unfortunately, they're all in Iowa and New Hampshire.

As everyone in the United States knows, I have a weakness for anecdotes, so if I may, I'd like to begin with a story I was so moved by recently that I mentioned it in my address to the Russian people. It's an account of one of our diplomats, a young man then, stationed in our embassy in Moscow during World War II. He was there when news of V.E. day reached that city and he said Red Square erupted in a spontaneous demonstration of thankfulness and joy. Our embassy's chancery was just across from the Kremlin, and many of the Americans stationed there in those days were still in uniform. When they walked outside to join in the celebration, the crowd spotted them, lifted them onto their shoulders, and carried them on to Red Square. But the young diplomat said he was even more moved by the words of one Red Army major standing near him in the crowd, words filled with new-found hope: "Now it's time to live," he said.

Mr. General Secretary, we have accomplished much <sup>so far</sup> in this summit -- a pathbreaking agreement that for the first time will eliminate an entire class of nuclear weapons. But I am convinced that history will ultimately judge this summit and its participants not on missile count -- but on how far we moved together to the fulfillment of that soldier's hopes.

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But perhaps in this Christmas season, we should look at an even deeper and more enduring realism. It is a reality that precedes states and governments, that precedes and surpasses the temporary realities of ideology and politics. It is the reality that binds each of us as individual souls -- the bond that united Soviets and Americans in exultation and thanksgiving on that day of peace, 42 years ago.

General Secretary Gorbachev: You have begun in your own country a movement based on glasnost, on openness, and the world watches expectantly, and with great hopes, to see this promise fulfilled -- for in talking of openness, and promising truth, you have called on the deepest hungers of the human heart, hungers shared by all, whether they be Soviet or American, or the citizens of any nation on Earth.

Thomas Jefferson, our Nation's great founder and philosopher, once said, "The God who gave us life, gave us liberty as well." He meant that we are born to freedom, and that the need for liberty is as basic, as built-in as the need for food; and he, as the great revolutionary he was, also knew there could never be a true and lasting peace when individual souls are starved for the freedom they crave.

We have accomplished much these last 2 days, but I think we all know that progress can only endure if strengthened by progress in other areas. There must be movement in bringing to a close the destructive and wasteful regional conflicts that beset so many parts of our globe; and the cry of the people for their God-given human rights must be answered.

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There is an old Russian saying -- and this time I won't attempt it in the original: "Everyman is the blacksmith of his own happiness," and, like all folk sayings, it contains a

profound understanding of the human condition. We can, with our free will, shape our future; we can make it what that Soviet soldier saw in his vision of a better world, a vision of peace and freedom, ~~rising up after so many years of suffering~~.

In memory of that day in Red Square when Soviet citizens carried American soldiers on their shoulders; in memory of that day when the Red Army major embraced a new world of hope, I raise my glass.

Mr. General Secretary and Mrs. Gorbachev, Foreign Minister and Mrs. Shevardnadze, Ambassador and Mrs. Dubinin, thank you for your hospitality this evening. And for my last attempt at Russian: [Nah-zdah-Rohv-yeh].

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	ACTION FYI			ACTION FYI	
VICE PRESIDENT	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	FITZWATER	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>
BAKER	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	GRISCOM	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
DUBERSTEIN	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	HOBBS	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
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CARLUCCI	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	RISQUE	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
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CRIPPEN	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	SPRINKEL	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
CULVAHOUSE	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	TUTTLE	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
DAWSON	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	DOLAN	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>
DONATELLI	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	COURTEMANCHE	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>

## REMARKS:

Please provide any comments directly to Tony Dolan by 2:00 Monday afternoon, December 7th, with an info copy to my office. Thanks.

## RESPONSE:

December 4, 1987

TO: Tony Dolan

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

*Paul Schott Stevens*  
Paul Schott Stevens  
Executive Secretary

Rhett Dawson  
Ext. 2702

cc: Rhett Dawson



(Gilder/ARD)  
December 4, 1987  
1:30 p.m.

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hope: "Now it's time to live," he said.

Mr. General Secretary, we have accomplished much in this summit -- a pathbreaking agreement that for the first time will eliminate an entire class of <sup>US and Soviet</sup> nuclear weapons. But I am convinced that history will ultimately judge this summit and its participants not on missile count -- but on how far we moved together to the fulfillment of that soldier's hopes. ✓

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General Secretary Gorbachev: You have begun in your own country a <sup>process of reform</sup> ~~movement~~ based on glasnost, on openness, and the world watches expectantly, and with great hopes, to see this promise fulfilled -- for in talking of openness, and promising truth, you have called on the deepest hungers of the human heart, hungers shared by all, whether they be Soviet or American, or the citizens of any nation on Earth.

From  
p. 3 →

Thomas Jefferson, our Nation's great founder and philosopher, once said, "The God who gave us life, gave us liberty as well." [He meant that we are born to freedom, and that the need for liberty is as basic, as built-in as the need for food; and he, as the great revolutionary he was, also knew there could never be a true and lasting peace when individual souls are starved for the freedom they crave.]

A bit  
provocative

We have accomplished much these last 2 days, but I think we all know that progress can only endure if strengthened by progress in other areas. There must be movement in bringing to a close the destructive and wasteful regional conflicts that beset so many parts of our globe; and the cry of the people for their God-given human rights must be answered.

~~[What better time than in this Christmas and Hanukkah season, a season whose spirit you recently spoke to, Mr. General Secretary, when you noted the millennium of Christianity in your land, as a season of peace, of the fulfillment of the hopes of your people for a better life. What better way than to give the people of all religions the freedom they crave to worship their~~ ~~Maker.]~~ As one of the great saviors of Russia, Alexander Nevsky, said -- perhaps I am hazarding too much, but I shall try to quote it in Russian: "Nye v seelyeh Bog, ah v Pravdye," the spirit of the Lord is not in might, but in truth.

Too  
much

Fits well  
with theme  
of  
"truth"

Top. 2

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profound understanding of the human condition. We can, with our free will, shape our future; we can make it what that Soviet soldier saw in his vision of a better world, a vision of peace and freedom welling up after so many years of suffering.

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Burb

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

December 7, 1987

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

FROM: C. CHRISTOPHER COX  
C. DEAN MCGRATH, JR. *See*  
*Wing*  
SUBJECT: Presidential Remarks: Dinner at the Soviet Embassy

Counsel's office has reviewed the above-referenced Presidential remarks. We have the following comments.

- (1) References to the Soviet Union's "Great Patriotic War" will likely be used by the Soviets -- as they regularly have been in the past -- to reinforce their position that the Soviet Union is under constant threat of attack, thus justifying its massive armed forces. In addition, recycling the World War II story from the President's television address evidences a lack of originality.
- (2) References to the "Soviet people", as Human Rights at State has urged in the past, should be avoided throughout.
- (3) The passage referring to glasnost at the bottom of page 2 lacks the realism that has typified the President's previous statements on this subject. While the very polite tone and upbeat note is appropriate for a State dinner, the President should not concede that glasnost is, in fact, more than public relations. Suggested edits, preserving the tone you have struck, are noted on the attached copy.
- (4) We have also noted, for your consideration, a few other minor editorial suggestions. These suggestions are marked on the attached copy of the proposed remarks.

Except as noted, we have no legal objection or other comment. Thank you for submitting the draft remarks for our review.

Attachment

cc: Rhett Dawson

# WHITE HOUSE STAFFING MEMORANDUM

DATE: 12/4/87 ACTION/CONCURRENCE/COMMENT DUE BY: 2:00 pm 12/7/87

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Rhett Dawson  
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*Substitute similar anecdote*

Mr. General Secretary, we have accomplished much in this summit -- a pathbreaking agreement that for the first time will eliminate an entire class of nuclear weapons. But I am convinced that history will ultimately judge this summit and its participants not on missile count -- but on how far we moved together to the fulfillment of that [soldier's hopes.]

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General Secretary Gorbachev: You have <sup>declared that</sup> begun in your own <sup>there is a need for greater</sup> country ~~a movement based on~~ glasnost, <sup>or</sup> openness, and the world watches expectantly, and with great hopes, to see <sup>whether</sup> this promise will be fulfilled -- for in talking of openness, and promising truth, you have called on the deepest hungers of the human heart, hungers shared by all, <sup>people in the</sup> whether they be Soviet or American, or the citizens of any nation on Earth. <sup>Union,</sup>

in  
deeds,  
not  
just  
words



Thomas Jefferson, <sup>one of</sup> our Nation's ~~great~~ founders and a great philosopher, once said, "The God who gave us life, gave us liberty as well." He meant that we are born to freedom, and that the need for liberty is as basic, <sup>and</sup> as built-in as the need for food; and he, as the great revolutionary he was, also knew there could never be a true and lasting peace when individuals, ~~souls~~ are starved for the freedom they crave.

We have accomplished much these last 2 days, but I think we all know that progress can only endure if strengthened by progress in other areas. There must be movement in bringing to a close the destructive and wasteful regional conflicts that beset so many parts of our globe; and the cry of the people for their God-given human rights must be answered.

What better time than in this Christmas and Hanukkah season, — a season <sup>of peace</sup> whose spirit you recently spoke to, Mr. General Secretary, when you noted the millennium of Christianity in your land, ~~as a season of peace, of the fulfillment of~~ <sup>to</sup> the hopes of your people for a better life. What better way than to give the people of all religions the freedom they crave to worship their Maker. As one of the great saviors of Russia, Alexander Nevsky, said -- perhaps I am hazarding too much, but I shall try to quote it in Russian: "Nye v seelyeh Bog, ah v Pravdye," the spirit of the Lord is not in might, but in truth.

There is an old Russian saying -- and this time I won't attempt it in the original: "Everyman is the blacksmith of his own happiness," and, like all folk sayings, it contains a

profound understanding of the human condition. We can, with our free will, shape our future; we can make it what that [Soviet soldier] saw in his vision of a better world, a vision of peace and freedom welling up after so many years of suffering.

[In memory of that day in Red Square when Soviet citizens carried American soldiers on their shoulders; in memory of that day when the Red Army major embraced a new world of hope,] I raise my glass.

Mr. General Secretary and Mrs. Gorbachev, Foreign Minister and Mrs. Shevardnadze, Ambassador and Mrs. Dubinin, thank you for your hospitality this evening. And for my last attempt at Russian: [Nah-zdah-Rohv-yeh].

PRESIDENT REAGAN'S DRAFT TOAST  
DECEMBER 9 SOVIET RETURN DINNER

PA  
Re:

Mr. General Secretary and Mrs. Gorbachev, Foreign Minister and Mrs. Shevardnadze, Ambassador and Mrs. Dubinin, ladies and gentlemen!

At the end of our second full day, in a visit which has witnessed the signing of an historic arms reduction treaty, we have reason to be pleased at what we have accomplished. But we can never really afford to become satisfied or complacent over the state of our relationship.

Just now, we can be pleased that our relations are moving forward at an impressive pace. But as we look ahead to the future, it is important to ask ourselves how can we best avoid the fluctuations, the ups and downs that have marked our relations in the past. How, in other words, can we put this relationship on a more durable footing?

Realism, confidence, dialogue -- these principles should be our compass.

On too many issues, we have fundamental differences. This is a reality, and should never be forgotten. But our basic differences do not rule out mutually advantageous and constructive dealings between our two great countries and our talented

peoples. We must be realistic about what is possible between us. Attempts to disregard or downplay the differences only heighten the danger of miscalculation, a danger which has in the past taken a heavy toll on our relations. But we can afford to be optimistic as well as realistic.

In the past, some of the unexpected and unwanted disruptions in our relations have stemmed from events in the developing world where our policies or interests or allies came into conflict. Experience teaches us that a sense of responsibility, and restraint, in the international arena will help provide a more durable basis for our relations. As I often say, we don't mistrust each other because we're armed; we're armed because we mistrust each other. And a major source of mistrust and tension lies in these geopolitical conflicts.

To achieve this realism and this restraint, it is essential for us to maintain our frank dialogue on these matters. We must not shirk from topics which might be painful to discuss. We must never believe it is better to ignore difficult subjects in order to avoid disagreement.

Over the past couple of years, we have built an impressive record of contacts on the entire range of issues which interest us both. The INF treaty is but one highly visible result of that dialogue. Now, as we move forward toward further progress in arms reduction, we should redouble our search for more enduring understandings and progress in ending the world's regional

conflicts. Similarly, as I said last night, progress in human rights would add a new depth and closeness to our relationship. Experience has shown that these problems can derail our relations, including our vital efforts for arms reduction.

As we look to the future, let us always remember that our responsibility to our own peoples, to each other, and to the world as a whole, dictates a determined effort to improve all dimensions of our relationship. That is my heartfelt goal.

Mr. General Secretary and Mrs. Gorbachev! Foreign Minister and Mrs. Shevardnadze! Ambassador and Mrs. Dubinin!

Thank you for your hospitality this evening! \*

To your health!

Nah zdah-ROHV-yeh!

CH  
(GILDER)

12/8/87 - 4 P.M.

ATTEND DINNER AT THE SOVIET EMBASSY  
WEDNESDAY, DECEMBER 9, 1987

MR. GENERAL SECRETARY AND  
MRS. GORBACHEV, FOREIGN MINISTER  
AND MRS. SHEVARDNADZE, AMBASSADOR AND  
MRS. DUBININ, LADIES AND GENTLEMEN:

WE ARE COMING TO THE END OF THE SECOND  
FULL DAY OF YOUR VISIT TO OUR LAND. IT HAS  
BEEN AN EVENTFUL 2 DAYS. BUT NOW THAT  
YOU'VE SEEN OUR NATION'S CAPITAL,  
MR. GENERAL SECRETARY, I ONLY WISH YOU COULD  
HAVE A CHANCE TO MEET THE PEOPLE WHO  
NORMALLY WORK AND DO BUSINESS HERE.  
UNFORTUNATELY, THEY'RE ALL IN IOWA AND  
NEW HAMPSHIRE CAMPAIGNING FOR MY JOB.

AS EVERYONE IN THE UNITED STATES KNOWS, I HAVE A WEAKNESS FOR ANECDOTES, SO IF I MAY, I'D LIKE TO BEGIN WITH A STORY I WAS SO MOVED BY RECENTLY THAT I MENTIONED IT IN MY ADDRESS TO THE PEOPLE OF THE SOVIET UNION. IT'S AN ACCOUNT OF ONE OF OUR DIPLOMATS, A YOUNG MAN THEN, STATIONED IN OUR EMBASSY IN MOSCOW DURING WORLD WAR II. HE WAS THERE WHEN NEWS OF V.E. DAY REACHED THAT CITY AND HE SAID RED SQUARE ERUPTED IN A SPONTANEOUS DEMONSTRATION OF THANKFULNESS AND JOY. OUR EMBASSY'S CHANCERY WAS JUST ACROSS FROM THE KREMLIN, AND MANY OF THE AMERICANS STATIONED THERE IN THOSE DAYS WERE STILL IN UNIFORM. WHEN THEY WALKED OUTSIDE TO JOIN IN THE CELEBRATION, THE CROWD SPOTTED THEM, LIFTED THEM ONTO THEIR SHOULDERS, AND CARRIED THEM ON TO RED SQUARE.

BUT THE YOUNG DIPLOMAT SAID HE WAS EVEN MORE MOVED BY THE WORDS OF ONE RED ARMY MAJOR STANDING NEAR HIM IN THE CROWD, WORDS FILLED WITH NEW-FOUND HOPE: "NOW IT'S TIME TO LIVE," HE SAID.

MR. GENERAL SECRETARY, WE HAVE ACCOMPLISHED MUCH SO FAR IN THIS SUMMIT -- A PATHBREAKING AGREEMENT THAT FOR THE FIRST TIME WILL ELIMINATE AN ENTIRE CLASS OF U.S. AND SOVIET NUCLEAR WEAPONS. BUT I AM CONVINCED THAT HISTORY WILL ULTIMATELY JUDGE THIS SUMMIT AND ITS PARTICIPANTS NOT ON MISSILE COUNT -- BUT ON HOW FAR WE MOVED TOGETHER TO THE FULFILLMENT OF THAT SOLDIER'S HOPES.



WE HAVE PRIDED OURSELVES, MR. GENERAL SECRETARY, ON OUR REALISM, THAT WE HAVE COME TO THIS SUMMIT WITHOUT ILLUSIONS, WITH NO ATTEMPTS TO GLOSS OVER THE DEEP DIFFERENCES THAT DIVIDE US, DIFFERENCES THAT REACH TO THE CORE VALUES UPON WHICH OUR POLITICAL SYSTEMS ARE BASED. BUT WE SAID, EVEN SO, WE CAN MAKE PROGRESS, EVEN SO, WE CAN FIND AREAS OF AGREEMENT AND COOPERATION.

BUT PERHAPS IN THIS CHRISTMAS SEASON, WE SHOULD LOOK AT AN EVEN DEEPER AND MORE ENDURING REALISM. IT IS A REALITY THAT PRECEDES STATES AND GOVERNMENTS, THAT PRECEDES AND SURPASSES THE TEMPORARY REALITIES OF IDEOLOGY AND POLITICS. IT IS THE REALITY THAT BINDS EACH OF US AS INDIVIDUAL SOULS -- THE BOND THAT UNITED SOVIETS AND AMERICANS IN EXULTATION AND THANKSGIVING ON THAT DAY OF PEACE, 42 YEARS AGO.

GENERAL SECRETARY GORBACHEV: YOU HAVE DECLARED THAT IN YOUR OWN COUNTRY THERE IS A NEED FOR GREATER GLASNOST, OR OPENNESS, AND THE WORLD WATCHES EXPECTANTLY, AND WITH GREAT HOPES, TO SEE THIS PROMISE FULFILLED -- FOR IN TALKING OF OPENNESS, AND PROMISING TRUTH, YOU HAVE CALLED ON THE DEEPEST HUNGERS OF THE HUMAN HEART, HUNGERS SHARED BY ALL, WHETHER THEY BE SOVIET OR AMERICAN, OR THE CITIZENS OF ANY NATION ON EARTH.

THOMAS JEFFERSON, ONE OF OUR NATION'S GREAT FOUNDERS AND PHILOSOPHERS, ONCE SAID, "THE GOD WHO GAVE US LIFE, GAVE US LIBERTY AS WELL." HE MEANT THAT WE ARE BORN TO FREEDOM, AND THAT THE NEED FOR LIBERTY IS AS BASIC AS THE NEED FOR FOOD; AND HE, AS THE GREAT REVOLUTIONARY HE WAS, ALSO KNEW THAT LASTING PEACE WOULD ONLY COME WHEN INDIVIDUAL SOULS HAVE THE FREEDOM THEY CRAVE.

WHAT BETTER TIME THAN IN THIS CHRISTMAS AND HANUKKAH SEASON, A SEASON WHOSE SPIRIT YOU RECENTLY SPOKE TO, MR. GENERAL SECRETARY, WHEN YOU NOTED THE MILLENNIUM OF CHRISTIANITY IN YOUR LAND AND SPOKE OF THE HOPES OF YOUR PEOPLE FOR A BETTER LIFE IN A WORLD AT PEACE. THESE ARE HOPES SHARED BY THE PEOPLE OF EVERY NATION -- HOPES FOR AN END TO WAR, HOPES, ESPECIALLY IN THIS SEASON, FOR THE RIGHT TO WORSHIP ACCORDING TO THE DICTATES OF CONSCIENCE.

THERE IS AN OLD RUSSIAN SAYING, "EVERY MAN IS THE BLACKSMITH OF HIS OWN HAPPINESS," AND, LIKE ALL FOLK SAYINGS, IT CONTAINS A PROFOUND UNDERSTANDING OF THE HUMAN CONDITION. WE CAN, WITH OUR FREE WILL, SHAPE OUR FUTURE; WE CAN MAKE IT WHAT THAT SOVIET SOLDIER SAW IN HIS VISION OF A BETTER WORLD, A VISION OF PEACE AND FREEDOM.

- 7 -

IN MEMORY OF THAT DAY IN RED SQUARE  
WHEN SOVIET CITIZENS CARRIED AMERICAN  
SOLDIERS ON THEIR SHOULDERS; IN MEMORY OF  
THAT DAY WHEN THE RED ARMY MAJOR EMBRACED  
A NEW WORLD OF HOPE, I RAISE MY GLASS.

MR. GENERAL SECRETARY AND  
MRS. GORBACHEV, FOREIGN MINISTER  
AND MRS. SHEVARDNADZE, AMBASSADOR AND  
MRS. DUBININ, THANK YOU FOR YOUR HOSPITALITY  
THIS EVENING. AND FOR MY LAST ATTEMPT AT  
RUSSIAN: (ZAH-VASHA ZDAH-ROHV-YUH).

# # #

# WITHDRAWAL SHEET

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1 SCHEDULE

1 12/8/1987 B7(C)

OF THE PRESIDENT (PARTIAL)

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

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Carol

THE WHITE HOUSE  
WASHINGTON

SCHEDULE OF THE PRESIDENT  
FOR

WEDNESDAY, DECEMBER 9, 1987

EVENT: ATTEND RECIPROCAL DINNER AT THE SOVIET EMBASSY HOSTED  
BY GENERAL SECRETARY AND MRS. MIKHAIL GORBACHEV

THE PRESIDENT'S PARTICIPATION

Dinner Attendee  
\* Receiving Line  
\* Toast Remarks  
\* Entertainment

WEATHER

Mostly Cloudy  
Upper 40's-Low 50's  
Slight Chance of Rain

DRESS

Men's Business Suit  
Ladies' Informal Dress

ADVANCE

RICK AHFARN  
JOE BRENNAN

ROGER FREE  
MAJ. STEVE CHEALANDER  
KIM O'BRIEN

LEAD  
PRESS  
USSS  
WHCA  
MILITARY AIDE  
TRIP COORDINATOR

CONTACT

Presidential Advance Office: 202/456-7565  
JAMES L. HOOLFY  
KIM O'BRIEN

12/08/87 3:30 p.m.

GUEST AND STAFF INSTRUCTIONS

6:55 p.m. Proceed to motorcade for boarding.

MOTORCADE ASSIGNMENTSLeadSpare

M. Fitzwater  
J. Kuhn

Limo

THE PRESIDENT  
Mrs. Reagan

Follow-upControl

J. Hooley  
Dr. Hutton  
Mil. Aide

Support

G. Terry  
Ofcl. Photographer  
Medic

WHCAPress Van I

M. Weinberg

Press Van II

G. Foster

AmbulanceTail

THE PRESIDENT and Mrs. Reagan proceed to motorcade for boarding.

7:05 p.m. THE PRESIDENT and Mrs. Reagan depart The White House en route the Soviet Embassy.

Drive Time: 5 mins.

7:10 p.m. THE PRESIDENT and Mrs. Reagan arrive the Soviet Embassy, 1125 16th Street, NW.

See TAB A for diagram.

Met outside by:

General Secretary Mikhail Gorbachev  
Mrs. Gorbachev (Paisa)

OFFICIAL PHOTOGRAPHERS ONLY

12/08/87 3:30 p.m.

THE PRESIDENT and Mrs. Reagan, escorted by General Secretary and Mrs. Gorbachev, proceed inside and upstairs to 2nd Floor Foyer via stairs.

See TARS A & B for diagrams.

GUEST AND STAFF INSTRUCTIONS

The following only to accompany THE PRESIDENT and Mrs. Reagan upstairs:

M. Fitzwater  
J. Kuhn  
R. Ahearn

All other staff hold in First Floor Foyer until THE PRESIDENT and Mrs. Reagan enter the Gold Room.

THE PRESIDENT and Mrs. Reagan, escorted by General Secretary and Mrs. Gorbachev, arrive 2nd Floor foyer and proceed into Red Room for brief hold.

See TAB B for diagram.

OFFICIAL PHOTOGRAPHERS ONLY

THE PRESIDENT and Mrs. Reagan and General Secretary and Mrs. Gorbachev proceed to Foyer and take positions for receiving line.

See TAB B for diagram.

THE PRESIDENT and Mrs. Reagan and General Secretary and Mrs. Gorbachev receive dinner guests.

PRESS POOL COVERAGE

NOTE: Dinner guests proceed into Gold Room and take seats after greeting THE PRESIDENT and Mrs. Reagan and General Secretary and Mrs. Gorbachev.

THE PRESIDENT and Mrs. Reagan and General Secretary and Mrs. Gorbachev proceed into Gold Room via Red Room and are seated.

See TABS B & C for diagrams.



GUEST AND STAFF INSTRUCTIONS

Staff should proceed upstairs to Drawing Room to hold.

7:25 p.m. Dinner begins.

8:30 p.m. Dinner concludes and toasts begin.

General Secretary Gorbachev stands at his place and makes toast.

NOTE: Printed Text Interpretation.

PRESS POOL COVERAGE

THE PRESIDENT proceeds to lectern and returns toast.

NOTE: Printed Text Interpretation.

PRESS POOL COVERAGE

THE PRESIDENT returns to head table and takes seat.

8:45 p.m. Entertainment begins.

Entertainment concludes.

GUEST AND STAFF INSTRUCTIONS

8:55 p.m. Staff should proceed to motorcade for boarding.

MOTORCADE ASSIGNMENTS

Same as upon arrival.

THE PRESIDENT and Mrs. Reagan, escorted by General Secretary and Mrs. Gorbachev, proceed downstairs to motorcade for boarding.

See TABS A & B for diagrams.

THE PRESIDENT and Mrs. Reagan, escorted by General Secretary and Mrs. Gorbachev, arrive motorcade.

See TAB A for diagram.

9:05 p.m. THE PRESIDENT and Mrs. Reagan bid farewell to General Secretary and Mrs. Gorbachev and depart the Soviet Embassy en route The White House.

Drive Time: 5 mins.

9:10 p.m. THE PRESIDENT and Mrs. Reagan arrive The White House and proceed inside.

# WITHDRAWAL SHEET

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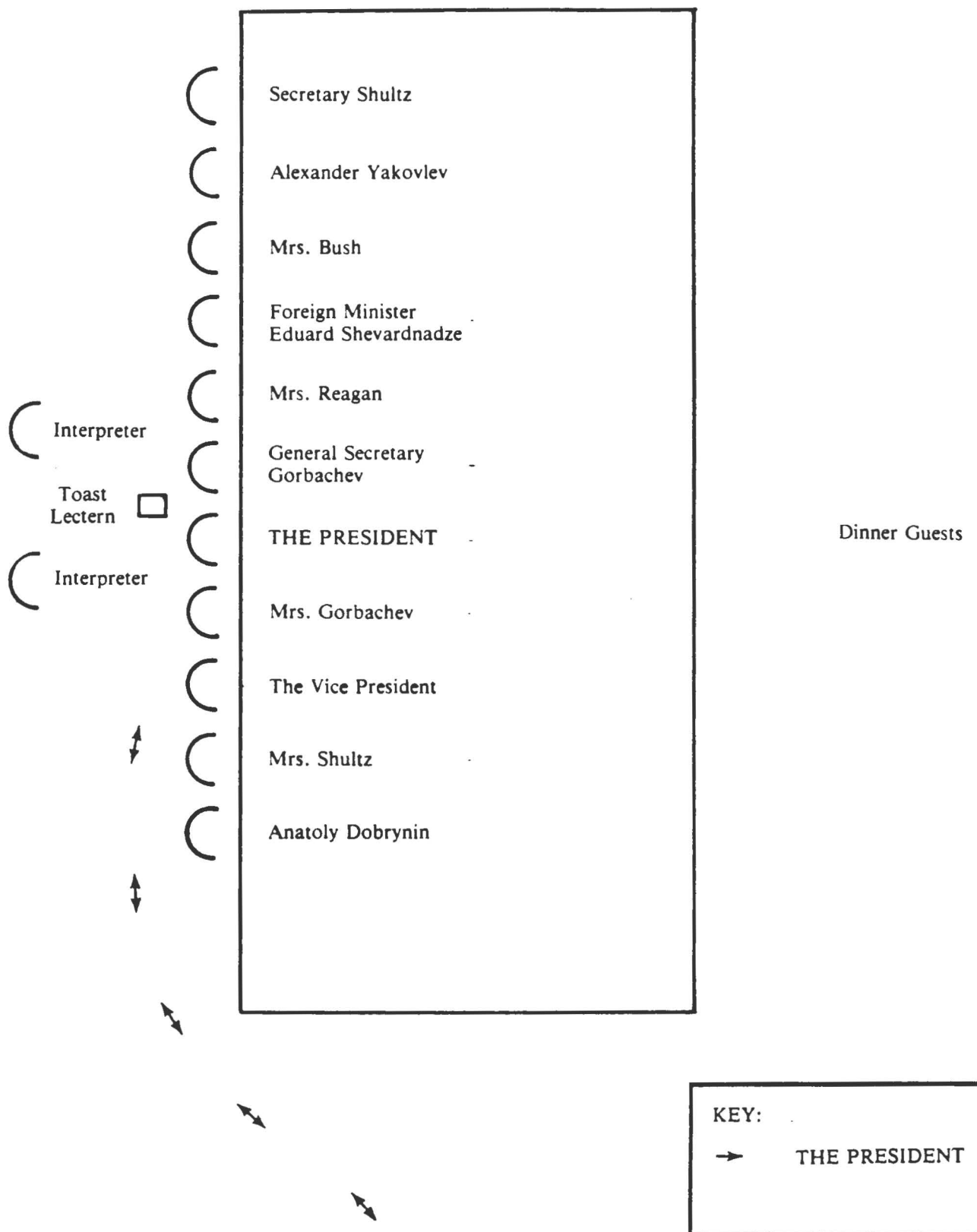
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**TAB C**  
**SOVIET EMBASSY**  
 Reciprocal Dinner  
 Head Table Diagram  
 Wednesday, December 9, 1987



C. H.

(Gilder/ARD)  
December 7, 1987  
7:00 p.m. RR

PRESIDENTIAL REMARKS: ATTEND DINNER AT THE SOVIET EMBASSY  
WEDNESDAY, DECEMBER 9, 1987

Mr. General Secretary and Mrs. Gorbachev, Foreign Minister and Mrs. Shevardnadze, Ambassador and Mrs. Dubinin, ladies and gentlemen:

We are coming to the end of the second full day of your visit to our land. It has been an eventful 2 days. But now that you've seen our Nation's capital, Mr. General Secretary, I only wish you could have a chance to meet the people who normally work and do business here. Unfortunately, they're all in Iowa and New Hampshire campaigning for my job.

As everyone in the United States knows, I have a weakness for anecdotes, so if I may, I'd like to begin with a story I was so moved by recently that I mentioned it in my address to the Russian people. It's an account of one of our diplomats, a young man then, stationed in our embassy in Moscow during World War II. He was there when news of V.E. day reached that city and he said Red Square erupted in a spontaneous demonstration of thankfulness and joy. Our embassy's chancery was just across from the Kremlin, and many of the Americans stationed there in those days were still in uniform. When they walked outside to join in the celebration, the crowd spotted them, lifted them onto their shoulders, and carried them on to Red Square. But the young diplomat said he was even more moved by the words of one Red Army major standing near him in the crowd, words filled with new-found hope: "Now it's time to live," he said.

Mr. General Secretary, we have accomplished much so far in this summit -- a pathbreaking agreement that for the first time will eliminate an entire class of U.S. and Soviet nuclear weapons. But I am convinced that history will ultimately judge this summit and its participants not on missile count -- but on how far we moved together to the fulfillment of that soldier's hopes.

We have prided ourselves, Mr. General Secretary, on our realism, that we have come to this summit without illusions, with no attempts to gloss over the deep differences that divide us, differences that reach to the core values upon which our political systems are based. But we said, even so, we can make progress, even so, we can find areas of agreement and cooperation.

But perhaps in this Christmas season, we should look at an even deeper and more enduring realism. It is a reality that precedes states and governments, that precedes and surpasses the temporary realities of ideology and politics. It is the reality that binds each of us as individual souls -- the bond that united Soviets and Americans in exultation and thanksgiving on that day of peace, 42 years ago.

General Secretary Gorbachev: You have declared that in your own country there is a need for greater glasnost, or openness, and the world watches expectantly, and with great hopes, to see this promise fulfilled -- for in talking of openness, and promising truth, you have called on the deepest hungers of the

human heart, hungers shared by all, whether they be Soviet or American, or the citizens of any nation on Earth.

Thomas Jefferson, one of our Nation's great founders and philosophers, once said, "The God who gave us life, gave us liberty as well." He meant that we are born to freedom, and that the need for liberty is as basic as the need for food; and he, as the great revolutionary he was, also knew that lasting peace would only come when individual souls have the freedom they crave.

What better time than in this Christmas and Hanukkah season, a season whose spirit you recently spoke to, Mr. General Secretary, when you noted the millennium of Christianity in your land and spoke of the hopes of your people for a better life in a world at peace. These are hopes shared by the people of every nation -- hopes for an end to war, hopes, especially in this season, for the right to worship according to the dictates of conscience.

There is an old Russian saying, "Every man is the blacksmith of his own happiness," and, like all folk sayings, it contains a profound understanding of the human condition. We can, with our free will, shape our future; we can make it what that Soviet soldier saw in his vision of a better world, a vision of peace and freedom.

In memory of that day in Red Square when Soviet citizens carried American soldiers on their shoulders; in memory of that day when the Red Army major embraced a new world of hope, I raise my glass.

Mr. General Secretary and Mrs. Gorbachev, Foreign Minister and Mrs. Shevardnadze, Ambassador and Mrs. Dubinin, thank you for your hospitality this evening. And for my last attempt at Russian: [Naz-dah-ROV-yeh].



*Master*

(Gilder/ARD)  
December 4, 1987  
1:30 p.m. *SS*

PRESIDENTIAL REMARKS: ATTEND DINNER AT THE SOVIET EMBASSY  
WEDNESDAY, DECEMBER 9, 1987

Mr. General Secretary and Mrs. Gorbachev, Foreign Minister  
and Mrs. Shevardnadze, Ambassador and Mrs. Dubinin, ladies and  
gentlemen:

We are coming ~~to~~ *the* the end of ~~a~~ *the* second full day of your  
visit to ~~land~~ *land*. It has been an eventful 2 days. But now that  
you've seen our Nation's capital, Mr. General Secretary, I only  
wish you could have a chance to meet the people who normally work  
and do business here. Unfortunately, they're all in Iowa and  
New Hampshire.

As everyone in the United States knows, I have a weakness  
for anecdotes, so if I may, I'd like to begin with a story I was  
so moved by recently that I mentioned it in my address to the  
Russian people. It's an account of one of our diplomats, a young  
man then, stationed in our embassy in Moscow during World War II.  
He was there when news of V.E. day reached that city and he said  
Red Square erupted in a spontaneous demonstration of thankfulness  
and joy. Our embassy's chancery was just across from the  
Kremlin, and many of the Americans stationed there in those days  
were still in uniform. When they walked outside to join in the  
celebration, the crowd spotted them, lifted them onto their  
shoulders, and carried them on to Red Square. But the young  
diplomat said he was even more moved by the words of one Red Army  
major standing near him in the crowd, words filled with new-found  
hope: "Now it's time to live," he said.

Mr. General Secretary, we have accomplished much in this summit -- a pathbreaking agreement that for the first time will eliminate an entire class of nuclear weapons. But I am convinced that history will ultimately judge this summit and its participants not on missile count -- but on how far we moved together to the fulfillment of that soldier's hopes.

We have prided ourselves, Mr. General Secretary, on our realism, that we have come to this summit without illusions, with no attempts to gloss over the deep differences that divide us, differences that reach to the core values upon which our political systems are based. But we said, *even so*, we can make progress, *even so*, we can find areas of agreement and cooperation.

But perhaps in this Christmas season, we should look at an even deeper and more enduring realism. It is a reality that precedes states and governments, that precedes and surpasses the temporary realities of ideology and politics. It is the reality that binds each of us as individual souls -- the bond that united Soviets and Americans in exultation and thanksgiving on that day of peace, 42 years ago.

General Secretary Gorbachev: You have begun in your own country a movement based on glasnost, on openness, and the world watches expectantly, and with great hopes, to see this promise fulfilled -- for in talking of openness, and promising truth, you have called on the deepest hungers of the human heart, hungers shared by all, whether they be Soviet or American, or the citizens of any nation on Earth.

Thomas Jefferson, <sup>one of</sup> our Nation's great founder<sup>s</sup> and philosopher, once said, "The God who gave us life, gave us liberty as well." He meant that we are born to freedom, and that the need for liberty is as basic, as built-in as the need for food; and he, as the great revolutionary he was, also knew there could never be a true and lasting peace when individual souls are starved for the freedom they crave. X

We have accomplished much these last 2 days, but I think we all know that progress can only endure if strengthened by progress in other areas. There must be movement in bringing to a close the destructive and wasteful regional conflicts that beset so many parts of our globe; and the cry of the people for their God-given human rights must be answered.

What better time than in this Christmas and Hanukkah season, a season whose spirit you recently spoke to, Mr. General Secretary, when you noted the millennium of Christianity in your land, ~~as~~ a season of peace, of the fulfillment of the hopes of your people for a better life. What better way than to give the people of all religions the freedom they crave to worship their Maker. As one of the great <sup>saints</sup> ~~saviors~~ of Russia, Alexander Nevsky, said -- perhaps I am hazarding too much, but I shall try to quote it in Russian: [Nye v seelyeh Bog, ah v Pravdye] "Nye v seelyeh Bog, ah v Pravdye," the spirit of the Lord is not in might, but in truth. X

There is an old Russian saying -- and this time I won't attempt it in the original: "Everyman is the blacksmith of his own happiness," and, like all folk sayings, it contains a V

profound understanding of the human condition. We can, with our free will, shape our future; we can make it what that Soviet soldier saw in his vision of a better world, a vision of peace and freedom welling up after so many years of suffering.

In memory of that day in Red Square when Soviet citizens carried American soldiers on their shoulders; in memory of that day when the Red Army major embraced a new world of hope, I raise my glass.

Mr. General Secretary and Mrs. Gorbachev, Foreign Minister and Mrs. Shevardnadze, Ambassador and Mrs. Dubinin, thank you for your hospitality this evening. And for my last attempt at

Russian: [Nah-zdah-Rohv-yeh].

[NaZ - da - ROV - yeh]

# Excerpts From the NBC N

*Following are excerpts from the NBC News Special "A Conversation with Mikhail S. Gorbachev," an interview conducted by NBC News anchorman Tom Brokaw. The English translation comes from a transcript provided by the network.*

I would like . . . first of all to say a few words of sincere greetings to all the television viewers who are watching, listening to us, and to all the American people.

I would like to address them with words of sincere greetings from the Soviet people. Before responding directly to your question, let me say that this year already I have received about 80,000 letters from Americans. . . .

And, you know, many of the thoughts of those letters are similar. They revolve around several simple and yet very important questions and problems which obviously are of concern to the American people.

Now, in those letters, I read about what—that they're worried about the situation in the world; that there's a lot of tension, a lot of alarm that regional conflicts are still ablaze, unabated.

There's a lot of concern—and that, I guess has—takes first place—a lot of concern about the state of Soviet-American relations.

And I have felt in those letters and through those letters an immense desire of the American people, a very strong desire to change the situation in the world for the better, and of course pride of place is taken by the need for a change in relations between us, between the—between our peoples. . . .

Let me just now address myself to the topic of our relationship.

I shall be going to Washington with a desire to discuss this problem, as well, and I think it's a leading problem.

How can we change relations between our peoples for the better? The Americans say, Now, why is it—now, why can't we be allies? Why can't—we were allies at one time—Why can't we be allies now? There's so many problems in the world! Can't we join our efforts, can't we join—pool the enormous might of our countries' economic, intellectual capacities to resolve all these problems?

And that is very important, very important indeed. We need mutual understanding, and I believe that we must display greater respect for each other; try and understand the history of our nations better.

The Soviet Union is a unique phenomenon. It's a whole conglomeration of over a hundred nations and nationalities, and just try and imagine that behind us, behind every one of those peoples and nationalities which now make up the Soviet Union, and next year we shall be marking the millenium of Christianity in Russia.

But even before the Kiavon-Russ existed with a dynamically developing people, an original culture and wide ties with European nations.

Or take the peoples of the trans-Caucasia of Central Asia. Their history goes way back into the depths of

and tackle these problems in practice.

## Nuclear Arms Cuts

Well, I believe that in this matter we can make up—constitute the very correct relations, there are real prospects.

We believe that it is possible to make headway on this major direction of arms control. We will act constructively with the Americans and the world at large, so that themselves that we can and we can act constructively.

## 'Star Wars'

I believe that the question of SDI negotiations. We shall be talking about offensive arms, about levels and substance, some steps that we could take to move the position halfway. And we've already shall be talking about the strict ABM treaty. That's what we're going to do.

We formulate our position in a way that we are prepared to accept a 50 percent cut in the first stage, with strict observance of the treaty.

In that degree that SDI does not violate the ABM treaty, let us—let America engage in research. Insofar as SDI is related to ABM, that is not a subject for negotiation.

If we reduce our medium-range and long-range missiles, and if we agree to make 50 percent cuts in our strategic arms, and then to go on and fully eliminate them, then the question does arise, why, what is the militarization of outer space?

So what are we going to do now in outer space? That would certainly be a question with unforeseeable consequences.

Practically, the Soviet Union is doing, and I guess the United States is doing, and I guess research, basic research, which relates to outer space, which are covered by the SDI of the United States.

But we will not build an SDI, we will not, and we will call upon the United States to do the same.

If the Americans fail to heed the Soviet response. It'll be a hundred times as much guilt will be, the blame will lie squarely on the Americans, with the U.S. administration.

## Afghanistan

This is our neighbor country. We were always good neighbors. It was one of the first to recognize Soviet power. There were kings and something had their own processes under way. When the Soviet Union opened there, we were always friendly. We try to build relations with a

must display greater respect for each other, try and understand the history of our nations better.

The Soviet Union is a unique phenomenon. It's a whole conglomeration of over a hundred nations and nationalities, and just try and imagine that behind us, behind every one of those peoples and nationalities which now make up the Soviet Union, and next year we shall be marking the millenium of Christianity in Russia.

But even before the Kiavan-Russ existed with a dynamically developing people, an original culture and wide ties with European nations.

Or take the peoples of the trans-Caucasia of Central Asia. Their history goes way back into the depths of history. A unique history, an original history belongs to the peoples of the Baltic region.

But all these nations now make up the Soviet Union. There's a lot in our history that was not simple. There's a lot of struggle. We had to fight back many invasions, starting from Genghis Khan and Batu and others in order to stand up for our independence.

And you know that leads to a forging of a national character, and our values were thus formed.

All of these people value their language, their culture. They are patriots. They have a feeling of dignity, and without all that you cannot understand us or our actions if you don't know that history.

We are dedicated to peace. And you can travel throughout the Soviet Union anywhere, and everywhere you will see and hear testimony of that.

And that's why I say that my visit next week, we regard as a very important phase in our relations.

It will be our third meeting with President Reagan, and we will be signing a treaty on medium-range and shorter-range missiles.

We will be discussing other world problems. So on the whole we will have a lot of things to talk about.

## Cutting European Forces

The Americans and the Europeans and the others should know that the Soviet Union has no intention whatsoever of attacking anybody. That's number one.

Second, . . . there is a certain asymmetry, both in forces and armaments, and we're prepared to address ourselves to that without delay. We have made our proposals, and we are awaiting a more active position, a more active response from NATO.

And therefore we are prepared to deal in practical terms. We are ready to sit down at the negotiating table

# Gorbachev Envisions

GORBACHEV, From A1

The Soviet leader said he is prepared to accept an agreement cutting U.S. and Soviet intercontinental missiles by 50 percent if both sides agree to strict compliance with the ABM treaty.

Gorbachev's expressed willingness to consent to an arms accord that would permit Reagan's "Star Wars" research program to continue, and his admission that Soviet scientists are pursuing similar work, suggested the outlines of a compromise that would allow research to proceed on both sides within the confines of the ABM treaty.

covered by the SDI of the United States," he said.

But Gorbachev insisted that Soviet program has not gone beyond research. "We will not build SDI, we will not deploy SDI, and call upon the United States to likewise," he said.

Although he said that "the question of SDI is not a subject for negotiations," he repeated the Soviet insistence that a 50 percent cut in strategic offensive weapons would be linked to "strict observance" of the ABM treaty.

"In that degree that SDI does run counter to the ABM treaty, it—let America act, let America indulge in research. Insofar as S

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