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THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

May 17, 1988

MEMORANDUM FOR TONY DOLAN ✓
PAUL STEVENS
TOM GRISCOM

FROM: Rhett Dawson M

SUBJECT: Presidential Remarks for Moscow Summit Trip

Attached is a schedule for preparation, circulation, and Presidential review of remarks associated with the President's upcoming trip to Helsinki, Moscow, and London. Please make this schedule available to the appropriate people on your staff. Our aim in preparing this package is to ensure that all those who are involved have a clear picture of our time frame for reviewing the President's remarks.

For each set of remarks, the attached schedule contains the date of the event, the date a draft is expected for staffing, and the date a draft is due to the President for his approval. Please review it and let me know if you have any problems, so we can prepare accordingly.

cc: Nancy Roberts

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

REMARKS FOR MOSCOW SUMMIT TRIP

	<u>Event</u>	<u>Date</u>	<u>Staff</u>	<u>To RR</u>	<u>Cards/Tele</u>
1.	Radio Talk - 5/28	5/23	5/18	5/19	None
2.	South Lawn Departure	5/25	5/18	5/23	5/24
3.	East-West Relations/ Helsinki	5/27	5/9	5/23	5/26
4.	Kremlin Arrival	5/29	5/18	5/23	5/28
5.	Meeting w/Monks	5/30	5/16	5/23	5/29
6.	Meeting w/Dissidents	5/30	5/16	5/23	5/29
7.	Dinner Toast - Kremlin	5/30	5/19	5/23	5/29
8.	Luncheon w/Writers	5/31	5/18	5/23	5/30
9.	Moscow State Univ.	5/31	5/9	5/23	5/30
10.	Dinner Toast - Spaso House	5/31	5/18	5/23	5/30
11.	Signing Ceremony	Prepare on road if necessary			
12.	News Conference	6/1	Write on road		5/31
13.	Moscow - Embassy Personnel	6/2	5/18	5/23	6/1
14.	Kremlin Departure	6/2	5/18	5/23	6/1
15.	London - Foreign Affairs	6/3	5/16	5/23	6/2
16.	Andrews Arrival	6/3	Write on road		6/2
17.	Radio Talk	6/4	5/31	6/1	None
18.	World Gas Conference	6/6	5/31	6/1	6/5
19.	Regional Press Briefing	6/8	6/3	6/6	6/7

JD

(Dolan)
May 23, 1988
1:30 p.m. KR

PRESIDENTIAL TOAST: OFFICIAL DINNER WITH THE GORBACHEVS
HALL OF FACETS, THE KREMLIN
MOSCOW, USSR
MONDAY, MAY 30, 1988

Mr. General Secretary, I want to thank you again for the hospitality we have encountered this evening and at every turn since our arrival in Moscow. We appreciate deeply the personal effort you, Mrs. Gorbachev and all of your associates have expended on our behalf.

Today has been a busy day. I want to thank you for the opportunity to meet with so many divergent members of Soviet society. As you know, I traveled to Danilov and met there with the clergy at that ancient monastery and later in the day had most interesting exchanges with other members of Soviet society at Spaso House.

These meetings only confirmed, Mr. General Secretary, the feelings of admiration and warmth Americans harbor toward the peoples of the Soviet Union. As wartime allies, we came to know you in a special way, but in a broader sense the American people, like the rest of the world, admire the saga of the peoples of the Soviet Union: the clearing of the forest, the liberation from the barbarian, the evolution into a modern state, and the struggle against Hitler's armies.

There are other ways too that we know you.

"Happy or sad, my beloved, you are beautiful" says one of your folk songs, "as beautiful as a Russian song, as beautiful as a Russian soul."

As expressed in the great music, architecture, art -- we need only look about us this evening -- and literature that over many centuries you have given the world, we have beheld the beauty and majesty of your people's experience. And without belittling the serious business before us or the fundamental issues that separate our governments, I hope you will permit me tonight to say that in the eyes of the American people your people truly are, as the folk song suggests, a people of heart and mind, a people -- to use our vernacular -- "with soul."

And that is why we believe there is common ground between our two peoples and why it is our duty to find common ground for our two governments. Over the next 3 days, General Secretary Gorbachev and I will review what has been accomplished over the past 3 years, and what our two nations might accomplish together in the months to come. We have a great deal to discuss on both accounts.

What we have achieved is a good beginning. We have taken the first step toward deep reductions of our nuclear arsenals. We have taken the first step toward dealing with the reality that much of the tension and mistrust between our two countries arises from very different concepts of the fundamental rights and role of the individual in society. We have taken the first step to build that network of personal relationships and understanding between societies -- between people -- that are crucial to dispelling dangerous misconceptions and stereotypes.

These are good first steps, Mr. General Secretary. We both can take pride in them. But, as I said, they are just a start.

Nuclear arsenals remain too large. The fighting continues needlessly, tragically, in too many regions of the globe. The vision of freedom and cooperation enshrined in the Helsinki Final Act remains unrealized. The American and Soviet peoples are getting to know each other better, but not well enough.

Mr. General Secretary, you and I are meeting now for the fourth time in 3 years -- a good deal more often than our predecessors. This has allowed our relationship to differ from theirs in more than a quantitative sense. We have established the kind of working relationship I think we both had in mind when we first met in Geneva. We have been candid about our differences, but sincere in sharing a common objective and working hard together to draw closer to it. It is easy to disagree and much harder to find areas where we can agree. We and our two governments have both gotten into the habit of looking for those areas. We have found more than many expected.

I intend to pursue the search for common ground during the months left to me as President. When I pass the job on to my successor, I intend to tell him it is a search that must be continued. Based on the achievements of the last few years, I will also tell him it is a search that can succeed.

Once again, Mr. General Secretary, I want to extend my thanks for your hospitality. I also hope you will permit me to mention that, as you have been a gracious host, we have tried to be gracious guests by bringing along some small expressions of our gratitude. There is one gift, in particular, that I wanted to mention not only in view of my own former profession but

because it has, I think, something important to say to us about what is underway this week in Moscow.

It is a film. Not as well-known as some. But an American classic. It is a powerfully acted and directed story of family and romantic love, of devotion to the land and dedication to higher principle. It is also fun; it has humor; it has pathos. There is a renegade goose, a mischievous young boy, a noisy neighbor, a lovestruck teenager in love with a gallant soldier, an adolescent struggling for manhood, a loving, highly principled wife, and a gentle but strong father. It is about the good and sometimes difficult things that happen between man and wife and parent and child.

The film also has sweep and majesty and power. For, you see, it takes place against the backdrop of our American epic -- the Civil War. And because the family is of the Quaker religion and renounces violence, each of its characters must, in his or her own way, face this war and the moral dilemma it poses. The film shows not just the tragedy of war but the problems of pacifism and the nobility of patriotism.

I promise not to spoil its outcome for you but I hope you will permit me to describe one scene. Just as the invading armies come into Pennsylvania, the Quaker farmer is approached by two of his neighbors. One is also a Quaker who, earlier in the story when times are peaceful, denounces violence and vows never to lift his hand in anger. But now that the enemy has burned his barn he is on his way to battle and criticizes his fellow Quaker for not joining him in renouncing his religious beliefs. The

other visitor, also on his way to battle, is the intruding but friendly neighbor; yet it is this neighbor, although a non-believer, who says he is proud of the Quaker farmer's decision not to fight. In the face of the tragedy of war, he says he's glad "somebody's holding out for a better way of settling things."

It seems to me, Mr. General Secretary, that in pursuing these summit meetings, we too have been "holding out for a better way of settling things." And, by the way, the film's title is more than a little appropriate. It's called, "Friendly Persuasion."

So, Mr. General Secretary, allow me to raise a glass to the work that has been done, the work that remains to be done; and let me also raise a glass to the art of friendly persuasion and the hope of "holding out for a better way of settling things."

Thank you and God bless you.

JD

(Dolan)
May 24, 1988
11:30 a.m.

RR

PRESIDENTIAL TOAST: OFFICIAL DINNER WITH THE GORBACHEVS
HALL OF FACETS, THE KREMLIN
MOSCOW, USSR
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Thank you and God bless you.

1ST DOCUMENT of Level 2 printed in FULL format.

Public Papers of the Presidents

New Year's Message

Remarks to the People of the Soviet Union.

22 Weekly Comp. Pres. Doc. 1681

December 31, 1986

LENGTH: 1565 words

Good evening, and s novym godom [Happy New Year]. This is Ronald Reagan, President of the United States of America. And I come to you this evening with a New Year's message from the people of America to the peoples of the Soviet Union.

I had hoped to address you by way of television, and to have General Secretary Gorbachev address the American people on United States television, as was done last year. Unfortunately, your government officials declined our offer to have such an exchange of greetings. I regret that we were not able to take full advantage of this opportunity to continue to build mutual trust, which is so important to building enduring peace. As I have quoted to the General Secretary in our past personal meetings: Weapons don't build trust, mistrust builds weapons.

So, I come to you tonight over Voice of America. This season, in and around the New Year, is a season of love and hope; a time for reflection; a time of expectation; a time when people in America, just like people all over the world, gather with family and friends to remember in many different ways the blessings of God and to look to the future with hope. That's what I would like to do with you, the Soviet Peoples, tonight -- share our common hopes for the future, our hopes for peace on Earth, our hopes for good will among all humanity, our hopes for a better world for ourselves and our children.

Yes, there are enormous differences between our two systems, but there is also something the American and the Soviet people share -- something as universal and eternal as what a mother feels when she hears the cry of her newborn child -- and it is those common hopes.

Last New Year's Day I spoke to you of my hopes and prayers and those of the American people for lasting peace between our two countries. I said I was determined that our two governments should build on the foundations of the Geneva summit and make advances in all areas of our relations. Well, since then a lot has happened. Both governments have worked hard together. As you know, there have been setbacks and frustrations, as well as progress. I'm disappointed that we didn't accomplish more. And yet in 1986 the United States and Soviet Union took major steps toward lasting peace.

I think the most important thing is where you succeed, and we have succeeded in a lot. At the Geneva summit, our two governments agreed to accelerate negotiations in all aspects of our relationship -- including reducing nuclear stockpiles and increasing both sides' security, encouraging respect for human rights, resolving regional conflicts peacefully, and broadening contacts between our two countries.

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And so, in the months that followed the summit, our negotiators worked long and hard. Then this fall, Mr. Gorbachev and I met again in Reykjavik, Iceland, to see if we could speed up progress even further. And we did move things a good distance forward. Some have even been kind enough to say that on many issues, we made more progress in those 2 days than our diplomats made in the last 2 years.

Yes, a great deal of work remains, but both sides are closer now than ever before. At Reykjavik we agreed on the desirability of real reductions in nuclear arsenals and on the ultimate goal of eliminating all nuclear weapons. We agreed that as a start, we could eliminate all but a small number of U.S. and Soviet intermediate-range nuclear missiles. We also agreed to cut in half the number of strategic arms over a 5-year period. And we agreed that it's necessary to have effective verification of any final agreements.

We discussed as well approaches to strategic defenses, approaches that the United States believes would protect the security and interests of both sides. As part of the strategic defense discussion, I proposed the elimination of all U.S. and Soviet offensive ballistic missiles over a 10-year period. I suggested that, as we had agreed, we cut strategic offensive forces in half in the first 5 years, and then that we go on to eliminate all remaining offensive ballistic missiles of all ranges in the next 5 years. As you've heard, we did not reach an agreement on any plan for the second 5 years. We in America are ready to discuss this or other proposals for moving beyond the reduction of the first 5 years.

After our Reykjavik meeting, both sides took time to reflect on what had been accomplished and on ways to move forward again. And then the United States followed up at the Geneva negotiations with concrete proposals to implement the understandings of Reykjavik.

As we look to the new year, we in America remain ready to continue to do everything necessary to turn this hard work into verifiable agreements. Our hope is that the Soviet Union will approach negotiations with this same spirit. Peace is built not just on agreements about arms reduction but on understanding between peoples. It hasn't always made the handlines of either your newspapers or ours, but the United States and the U.S.S.R. have made progress here too by expanding exchanges and other contacts between our countries. Scientific, educational, cultural, and people-to-people exchanges, especially among our young people, have grown.

We in America would like to see more of these exchanges in all areas. The American people are deeply concerned with the fate of individual people, wherever they might be throughout the world. We believe that God gave sacred rights to every man, woman, and child on Earth. "Rights," as the founders of our country wrote, "to life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness" -- rights that include the right to speak and worship freely and the right of each of us to build a better future for ourselves and our families. Respect for those rights is the bedrock on which our system is built. But let us remember that respect for those rights, for the freedom and dignity of individuals, is also the bedrock on which any true and enduring peace between our countries must be built.

Whenever there's a restoration of those rights to a man or a woman, as has happened recently, it helps strengthen the foundations for trust and

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cooperation between our countries. And by the same token, whenever those rights are denied the foundation is seriously weakened. Much more can and should be done to strengthen that foundation. We welcome progress in this area as much as we welcome it in the effort to secure nuclear arms reduction. In fact, progress here and in all key areas of our relationship is essential if we are to build on this foundation.

n1 Andrei Sakharov and Yelena Bonner.

Peace between our countries is also affected by events throughout the world. We Americans are proud that on this New Year's Day not a single American soldier is engaged in combat anywhere. But even so, we cannot forget that many tragic and bloody conflicts rage around the globe -- conflicts that are causing untold human suffering, and that could spread.

The United States stands ready to support all serious efforts to find peaceful solutions to regional conflicts. And we're ready to work with the Soviet Union and any other country to that end. There are many complex issues to be discussed between the United States and the Soviet Union. Resolving them will not be easy, but the things most worth doing seldom are.

In 1986 our two countries made progress on some of the toughest questions of all. In 1987 we'll make more, I'm sure. We must continue together on the journey toward lasting peace. Yes, peace is a journey. Peace is also a dream. For two centuries, men and women from all over the world have left their homelands to make often dangerous passages to the shores of my country, to a land of peace where they had the freedom to make their hopes into realities for their families and themselves. They had a dream, and we in America call it the American dream. But to live in a land of peace and hope is not just the American dream; it's the dream of all people, of all lands.

There's an old verse that goes, "Happy or sad, my beloved, you are as beautiful as a Russian song, as beautiful as a Russian soul." All the world knows and honors the suffering and courage of the Soviet peoples in the Second World War, just as all the world knows and honors the nobility of your diverse heritage in literature and the arts. That great heritage springs from a magnificence of the soul that no suffering can ever obscure. That suffering has also only ennobled a soul and culture that have in turn enriched all of civilization. Let us in this season of hope hear the voice of this soul that encompasses so many peoples and traditions. Let us hear the voice of all humanity's soul -- the voice that speaks through Leo Tolstoy and through William Faulkner, through the martyrs, the poets, and the saints. And, yes, the voice that speaks also through a mother's prayer -- with a message that you can see in a child's eyes, a prayer for peace and a message of good will to all.

So, once again, on behalf of the American people, let me wish you all a happy, healthy, and prosperous new year.

Thank you. God bless you, and good night.

Note: The President's remarks were recorded at the Century Plaza Hotel in Los Angeles, CA, on December 29 for broadcast in the Soviet Union on January 1 by the Voice of America.

11TH DOCUMENT of Level 1 printed in FULL format.

Public Papers of the Presidents

Soviet Union-United States Summit in Washington, DC

Remarks on the Departure of General Secretary Mikhail Gorbachev.

23 Weekly Comp. Pres. Doc. 1499

December 10, 1987

LENGTH: 1528 words

The President. Mr. General Secretary, these last few days have been exciting, indeed, for both of us and for our fellow countrymen who followed the course of our discussions. I'm pleased to report that upon the completion of our business that this summit has been a clear success. Like the star on the top of the National Christmas Tree, which was lit the evening you arrived, Mr. General Secretary, this summit has lit the sky with hope for all people of good will. And as we leave, it is up to both sides to ensure that the luster does not wear off and to follow through on our commitments as we move forward to the next steps in improving the relations between our countries and peoples.

I believe both the General Secretary and I can walk away from our meetings with a sense of accomplishment. We have proven that adversaries, even with the most basic philosophical differences, can talk candidly and respectfully with one another and, with perseverance, find common ground. We did not hide from the weighty differences that separate us; many of them, of course, remain. One of my predecessors, President Franklin Roosevelt, once said: "History cannot be rewritten by wishful thinking." Our discussions, in that spirit, were straightforward and designed to open a thoughtful communication between our governments on the critical issues that confront us.

Our exchange on the subject of human rights underscored the priority we in the Western democracies place on respect for fundamental freedoms. I'm pleased that during this summit we addressed this area of heartfelt importance and have ensured a continuing dialog on human rights at the highest levels of our governments.

Our discussions on regional conflicts were no less to the point. These conflicts continue to take a heavy toll in lives and impose a heavy burden on East-West relations. The General Secretary and I expressed different points of view -- we did so bluntly -- and for that reason alone, our talks have been useful in this area. Moreover, we agree that it is necessary to search for real political solutions to these conflicts. But so far, we cannot be satisfied with what has been achieved. We must now press ahead in the search for political solutions that advance the cause of peace and freedom for the people suffering in these wars. The door has been opened, and it will stay open to serious discussion of ending these regional conflicts.

And as far as open doors, Mr. Gorbachev and I both agree on the desirability of freer and more extensive personal contact and the breaking down of artificial barriers between the peoples of the Soviet Union and the United States. As I said in my welcoming remarks, the fact that our governments have disagreements should not prevent our peoples from being friends.

23 Weekly Comp. Pres. Doc. 1499

Of course, the greatest accomplishment of these 3 days was the signing of a treaty to eliminate a whole class of U.S. and Soviet nuclear weapons. Another one of my predecessors, a President I have admired since my youth, Calvin Coolidge, once said: "History is made only by action." Well, it took enormous effort and almost superhuman tenacity on the part of negotiators on both sides, but the end product is a treaty that does indeed make history. It is in the interest of both our peoples, yet I cannot help but believe that mankind is the biggest winner. At long last, we have begun the task of actually reducing these deadly weapons rather than simply putting limits on their growth.

The INF treaty, as proud of it as we are, should be viewed as a beginning, not an end. Further arms reduction is now possible. I am pleased some progress has been made toward a strategic arms reduction treaty over the last 3 days.

Individual agreements will not, in and of themselves, result in sustained progress. We need a realistic understanding of each other's intentions and objectives, a process for dealing with differences in a practical and straightforward manner; and we need patience, creativity, and persistence in achieving what we set out to do. As a result of this summit, the framework for building such a relationship has been strengthened.

I am determined to use this framework. My goal -- which I believe you share, Mr. General Secretary -- is a more constructive relationship between our governments, long-lasting rather than transitory improvements. Together, we can bring about a more secure and prosperous future for our peoples and a more peaceful world. Both of us are aware of the difficult challenges and special responsibilities inherent in this task.

During World War II, when so many young Russians served at the front, the poem "Wait For Me" became a prayer spoken on the lips of Russian families who dreamed one day of the happiness that their reunion would bring. The cause of world peace and world freedom is still waiting, Mr. General Secretary. It has waited long enough.

General Secretary Gorbachev, Mrs. Gorbachev, it is good that you came to America, and Nancy and I are pleased to have welcomed you here. Your visit was short, yet I hope you'll take with you a better sense of the spirit and soul of the United States of America. And when you get back to Moscow, please pass on to the Soviet people the best wishes of the American people for a peaceful and prosperous new year.

Thank you, and Godspeed on your journey.

The General Secretary. Esteemed Mr. President, esteemed Mrs. Reagan, ladies and gentlemen, in these last hours before our departure for home, we note with satisfaction that the visit to Washington has, on the whole, justified our hopes. We have had 3 days of hard work, of businesslike and frank discussions on the pivotal problems of Soviet-American relations and on important aspects of the current world situation.

A good deal has been accomplished. I would like to emphasize in particular an unprecedented step in the history of the nuclear age: the signing of the treaty under which the two militarily and strategically greatest powers have assumed an obligation to actually destroy a portion of their nuclear weapons, thus, we hope, setting in motion the process of nuclear disarmament.

23 Weekly Comp. Pres. Doc. 1499

In our talks with President Ronald Reagan, some headway has been made on the central issue of that process -- achieving substantial reductions of strategic offensive arms, which are the most potent weapons in the world -- although we still have a lot of work to do. We have had a useful exchange of views, which has clarified each other's positions concerning regional conflicts, the development of our bilateral ties, and human rights. On some of these aspects, it seems likely that we can soon identify specific solutions satisfactory both to us and to other countries. A useful result of the Washington talks is that we have been able to formulate a kind of agenda for joint efforts in the future. This puts the dialog between our two countries on a more predictable footing and is undoubtedly constructive.

While this visit has centered on our talks with the President of the United States, I have no intention of minimizing the importance of meetings with Members of Congress, with other political leaders, public figures, members of the business and academic communities, cultural figures, and media executives. Such contacts enable us to gain a better and more profound knowledge of each other, provide a wealth of opportunities for checking one's views, assessments, and even established stereotypes.

All this is important, both for policymaking and for bringing peoples and countries closer together. These meetings have confirmed the impression that there is a growing desire in American society for improved Soviet-American relations. In short, what we have seen here is a movement matching the mood that has long been prevalent among Soviet people.

In bidding farewell to America, I am looking forward to a new encounter with it, in the hope that I will then be able to see not only its Capital but also to meet face-to-face with its great people, to chat and to have some lively exchanges with ordinary Americans.

I believe that what we have accomplished during the meeting and the discussions will, with time, help considerably to improve the atmosphere in the world at large and in America itself, in terms of its more correct and tolerant perception of my country, the Soviet Union.

Today the Soviet Union and the United States are closer to the common goal of strengthening international security, but this goal is yet to be reached. There is still much work to be done, and we must get down to it without delay.

Mr. President, esteemed citizens of the United States, we are grateful for your hospitality, and we wish success, well-being, and peace to all Americans. Thank you, and goodbye.

Note: The President spoke at 2:25 p.m. at the South Portico of the White House. The President spoke in English, and the General Secretary spoke in Russian. Their remarks were translated by interpreters.

Earlier, the President and the General Secretary met in the Oval Office and then attended a working luncheon in the Residence.

34TH DOCUMENT of Level 1 printed in FULL format.

Public Papers of the Presidents

United States-Soviet Summit in Geneva

Joint Statement.

1985 Pub. Papers 1422

November 21, 1985

LENGTH: 1759 words

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

1985 Pub. Papers 1422

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

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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

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contact.

NORTHERN PACIFIC AIR SAFETY

The two leaders also noted with satisfaction that, in cooperation with the Government 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.

President's Toast at Soviet Official Dinner

Moscow, May 30, 1988

Mr. General Secretary, honored guests:

Over the next three days, General Secretary Gorbachev and I will review what has been accomplished over the past three years, and what our two nations might accomplish together in the months to come. We have a great deal to discuss on both accounts.

What we have achieved is a good beginning.

We have taken the first steps toward deep reductions of nuclear arsenals.

We have taken the first steps toward resolution of regional conflicts.

We have taken the first steps to deal with the reality that much of the tension and mistrust between our two countries arises from our very different concepts of the fundamental rights and role of the individual in society.

We have taken the first steps to build that network of personal relationships and understanding between societies -- between people -- that are crucial to dispelling dangerous misconceptions and stereotypes.

These are good first steps, Mr. General Secretary. We both can take pride in them. But, as I said, they are just a start. Nuclear arsenals remain too large. The fighting continues needlessly, tragically, in too many regions of the globe. The vision of freedom and cooperation enshrined in the Helsinki Final Act remains unrealized. The American and Soviet people are getting to know each other better, but not well enough.

Mr. General Secretary, you and I are meeting now for the fourth time in three years -- a good deal more often than our predecessors. This has allowed our relationship to differ from theirs in more than a quantitative sense. We have established the kind of working relationship I think we both had in mind when we first met in Geneva. We have been candid about our differences, but sincere in sharing a common objective and working hard together to draw closer to it. It is easy to disagree and much harder to find areas where we can agree. We and our two governments have both gotten into the habit of looking for those areas. We have found more than many expected.

I intend to pursue the search for common ground during the months left to me as President. When I pass the job on to my successor, I intend to tell him it is a search that must be continued. Based on the achievements of the last few years, I will also tell him it is a search that can succeed.

Mr. General Secretary, allow me to raise a glass to the work that has been done, to the work that remains to be done, and to the commitment of our two peoples to build a more stable, productive and open relationship between our two countries.

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

May 18, 1988

John

TD

MEMORANDUM FOR TONY DOLAN

FROM

JIM HOOLE 

SUBJECT

SPEECH EDITS

① Tony, I have no edits or comments on the remarks to luncheon with Cultural and Art Community at House of Writers.

② On the remarks for the Soviets' official dinner, a very small point. On page two, the President refers to reviewing things with Gorbachev "over the next three days." Actually, he will only meet for discussions with Gorbachev for two more days; the third day will be a brief, formal departure ceremony. As I said, a small point.

③ On the remarks for Moscow State University, one point: we do not know for sure, and are doubtful, that the Soviets will carry the President's address live in the Soviet Union. It will likely be carried later, during their news show. The President refers on page one to live broadcast in the Soviet Union. This was pointed out by Ahearn in a separate, earlier memo.

cc: T. Griscom
R. Dawson

WHITE HOUSE STAFFING MEMORANDUM

John

DATE: 5/18/88 ACTION/CONCURRENCE/COMMENT DUE BY: 12:00 5/19/88

SUBJECT: PRESIDENTIAL TOAST: OFFICIAL DINNER WITH THE GORBACHEVS

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

REMARKS:

Please provide your comments/recommendations directly to Tony Dolan's office with an info copy to my office by 12:00 Thursday, May 19. Thank you.

RESPONSE:

Legis. Aff.: Page 2 - A listener hearing "over the past three years" - an American listener, that is, - will wonder what the reference is. The question is not answered (3 years since Gorbachev took power) until page 4.

Rhett Dawson
Ext. 2702

18 May

As expressed in the great music, architecture, art -- we need only look about us this evening -- and literature that over many centuries you have given the world, we have beheld the beauty and majesty of the Russian experience. And without belittling the serious business before us or the fundamental issues that separate our governments, I hope you will permit me tonight to say that in the eyes of the American people the Russian people truly are, as the folk song suggests, a people of heart and mind, a people -- to use our vernacular -- "with soul."

And that is why we believe there is common ground between our two peoples and why it is our duty to find common ground for our two governments. Over the next 3 days, General Secretary Gorbachev and I will review what has been accomplished over the past 3 years, and what our two nations might accomplish together in the months to come. We have a great deal to discuss on both accounts.

What we have achieved is a good beginning. We have taken the first steps toward deep reductions of nuclear arsenals. We have taken the first step towards dealing with the reality that much of the tension and mistrust between our two countries arises from very different concepts of the fundamental rights and role of the individual in society. We have taken the first steps to build that network of personal relationships and understanding between societies -- between people -- that are crucial to dispelling dangerous misconceptions and stereotypes.

These are good first steps, Mr. General Secretary. We both can take pride in them. But, as I said, they are just a start.

TR

Document No.

561396

3753

WHITE HOUSE STAFFING MEMORANDUM

DATE: 5/18/88

ACTION/CONCURRENCE/COMMENT DUE BY: 12:00 5/19/88

SUBJECT: PRESIDENTIAL TOAST: OFFICIAL DINNER WITH THE GORBACHEVS

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

REMARKS:

Please provide your comments/recommendations directly to Tony Dolan's office with an info copy to my office by 12:00 Thursday, May 19. Thank you.

RESPONSE:

May 20, 1988

TO: TONY DOLAN

NSC staff concurs with the changes marked.

Robert M. Pento
Paul Schott Stevens
Executive Secretary

Rhett Dawson
Ext. 2702

cc: Rhett Dawson

(Dolan)

May 18, 1988

1:00 p.m.

Received

PRESIDENTIAL TOAST: OFFICIAL DINNER WITH ^{1988 May 18} ~~THE~~ GORBACHEVS
HALL OF FACETS, THE KREMLIN
MOSCOW, USSR
MONDAY, MAY 30, 1988

Mr. General Secretary, I want to thank you again for the hospitality we have encountered this evening and at every turn since our arrival in Moscow. We appreciate deeply the personal effort you, Mrs. Gorbachev and all of your associates have expended on our behalf.

Today has been a busy day. I want to thank you for the opportunity to meet with so many divergent members of Soviet society. As you know, I traveled to Danilov and met there with the ^{clergy at} ~~monks of~~ that ancient monastery and later in the day had most interesting exchanges with other members of Soviet society at Spaso House.

These meetings only confirmed, Mr. General Secretary, the feelings of admiration and warmth ^{that exist between} ~~Americans harbor towards~~ and the peoples of the Soviet Union. As wartime allies, we came to know you in a special way, but in a broader sense the American people, like the rest of the world, admire the saga of the ^{Soviet peoples:} ~~Russian~~ ~~people~~ the clearing of the forest, ~~(the liberation from the~~ ~~tartar)~~ the evolution into a modern state and the struggle against Hitler's armies.

~~[There are other ways too that we know you.~~

~~"Happy or sad, my beloved, you are beautiful" says one of your folk songs, "as beautiful as a Russian song, as beautiful as a Russian soul."~~

minority groups in U.S. + USSR will resent this

State thinks this is all too Russo-centric

Too
Russo-
centric

A source,
not a
people,
and would
only raise
issue of
minorities
in the
wrong way
(Tatars have
more recently
been victims
of Stalin)

[As expressed in the great music, architecture, art -- we need only look about us this evening -- and literature that over many centuries you have given the world, we have beheld the beauty and majesty of the ^{your peoples'} ~~Russian~~ experience. And without belittling the serious business before us or the fundamental issues that separate our governments, I hope you will permit me tonight to say that in the eyes of the American people ~~(the)~~ ^(your) ~~Russian~~ people truly are, as the folk song suggests, a people of heart and mind, a people -- to use our vernacular -- "with soul."]

And that is why we believe there is common ground between our two peoples and why it is our duty to find common ground for our two governments. Over the next 3 days, General Secretary Gorbachev and I will review what has been accomplished over the past 3 years, and what our two nations might accomplish together in the months to come. We have a great deal to discuss on both accounts.

What we have achieved is a good beginning. We have taken the first steps toward deep reductions of ^{our} nuclear arsenals. We have taken the first step towards dealing with the reality that much of the tension and mistrust between our two countries arises from very different concepts of the fundamental rights and role of the individual in society. We have taken the first steps to build that network of personal relationships and understanding between societies -- between people -- that are crucial to dispelling dangerous misconceptions and stereotypes.

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State
could
drop,
but it
is
fixable

IS + Soviet
only

Nuclear arsenals remain too large. ~~The~~ ^Fighting continues needlessly, tragically, in too many regions of the globe. The vision of freedom and cooperation enshrined in the Helsinki Final Act remains unrealized. The American and Soviet people^s are getting to know each other better, but not well enough. ✓

Mr. General Secretary, you and I are meeting now for the fourth time in 3 years -- a good deal more often than our predecessors. This has allowed our relationship to differ from theirs in more than a quantitative sense. We have established the kind of working relationship I think we both had in mind when we first met in Geneva. We have been candid about our differences, but sincere in sharing a common objective and working hard together to draw closer to it. It is easy to disagree and much harder to find areas where we can agree. We and our two governments have both gotten into the habit of looking for those areas. We have found more than many expected.

I intend to pursue the search for common ground during the months left to me as President. When I pass the job on to my successor, I intend to tell him it is a search that must be continued. Based on the achievements of the last few years, I will also tell him it is a search that can succeed.

Once again, Mr. General Secretary, I want to extend my thanks for your hospitality. I also hope you will permit me to mention that, as you have been a gracious host, we have tried to be gracious guests by bringing along some small expressions of our gratitude. There is one gift, in particular, that I wanted to mention not only in view of my own former profession but

State &
NSC
believe
this is
inappropriate.
Pacifism
is not
the note
to strike
here

because it has, I think, something important to say to us about what is underway this week in Moscow.

It is a film. Not as well-known as some. But an American classic. The film is fun; it has humor; it has pathos. There is a renegade goose, a mischievous young boy, a noisy neighbor, a lovestruck teenager in love with a gallant soldier, an adolescent struggling for manhood, a loving, highly-principled wife and a gentle but strong father. It is about the good and sometimes difficult things that happen between man and wife and parent and child. But the film also has sweep and majesty and power. It is a powerfully acted and directed story of family and romantic love, of devotion to the land and dedication to higher principle.

For, you see, it takes place against the backdrop of our American epic -- the Civil War. And because the family is of the Quaker religion and renounces violence, each of its characters must, in his or her own way, face this war and the moral dilemma it poses.

I promise not to spoil its outcome for you but I hope you will permit me to describe one scene. Just as the invading armies come into Pennsylvania, the Quaker farmer is approached by two of his neighbors. One is also a Quaker who, earlier in the story when times are peaceful, denounces violence and vows never to lift his hand in anger. But now that the enemy has burned his barn he is on his way to battle and criticizes his fellow Quaker for not joining him in renouncing his religious beliefs. The other visitor, also on his way to battle, is the intruding but friendly neighbor; yet it is this neighbor, although a

non-believer, who says he is proud of the Quaker farmer's decision not to fight; in the face of the tragedy of war he's says he's glad "somebody's holding out for a better way of settling things."

It seems to me, Mr. General Secretary, that in pursuing these summit meetings, we too have been "holding out for a better way of settling things." And, by the way, the film's title is more than a little appropriate. It's called, "Friendly Persuasion."]

So, Mr. General Secretary, allow me to raise a glass to the work that has been done, the work that remains to be done; and let me also raise a glass to the art of friendly persuasion and the hope of "holding out for a better way of settling things."

Thank you and God bless you.

President's Toast at Soviet Official Dinner

Moscow, May 30, 1988

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