

# Ronald Reagan Presidential Library Digital Library Collections

---

This is a PDF of a folder from our textual collections.

---

**Collection:** Dolan, Anthony: Files  
**Folder Title:** Presidential Address to the Nation:  
Geneva Summit (Dolan-White) 11/14/1985 (6)  
**Box:** 38

---

To see more digitized collections visit:  
<https://reaganlibrary.gov/archives/digital-library>

To see all Ronald Reagan Presidential Library inventories visit:  
<https://reaganlibrary.gov/document-collection>

Contact a reference archivist at: [reagan.library@nara.gov](mailto:reagan.library@nara.gov)

Citation Guidelines: <https://reaganlibrary.gov/citing>

National Archives Catalogue: <https://catalog.archives.gov/>

(Dolan)  
November 1, 1985  
2:30 p.m.

PRESIDENTIAL ADDRESS: TO THE NATION -- GENEVA SUMMIT

In 48 hours, I will be leaving for Geneva to meet with Mr. Gorbachev, the leader of the Soviet Union. Very few events attract as much attention as summit conferences; so I felt it was my duty to report to you tonight on this event and its significance.

Now, I don't think it's any mystery why most of us think summit conferences are a good idea. The danger of thermonuclear war and the havoc it would wreak is as President Kennedy put it, a modern sword of Damocles <sup>that</sup> dangles over the head of each of us. ~~And yet~~ the awful reality of these weapons is ~~really only~~ a kind of terrible crescendo to the steady, dehumanizing progress of modern warfare in this century. To a few people here in this office, I recently ~~mentioned that I could well recall~~ <sup>ed</sup> a hotly debated issue in my <sup>own</sup> undergraduate years -- which by the way also took place in this century -- when some of us strenuously argued that in the advent of <sup>another</sup> ~~a new~~ war no civilized person and certainly no American would ~~ever~~ obey an order to attack purely civilian targets; humanity, we were certain, would never come to that. Well, World War II and 34 million civilian casualties later we were all sadly, tragically wiser. At least today we can say we have fewer illusions: we know a World War III will cause vast and devastating destruction with perhaps 90 percent civilian casualties.

<sup>me</sup>  
Believe the office I occupy now is a good place from which  
to reflect on the seriousness of this danger; whenever I travel,

~~for example, there is~~ <sup>it is</sup> a grim reminder of the narrow line our  
world walks everyday; I am followed by a military aide who  
carries with him a small black attache case -- "the football" is  
its nickname, <sup>because it contains</sup> ~~containing~~ the codes necessary ~~to signal~~ <sup>for</sup>  
retaliation ~~for~~ <sup>to</sup> a nuclear attack on the United States.

<sup>a few days from now in Geneva</sup>  
~~But~~ This office also provides another, <sup>an</sup> even sadder  
perspective, <sup>as I want to</sup> that ~~I must~~ talk to you about <sup>tonight but just as I will talk to Mr.</sup> together ~~ad~~ Mr.  
Gorbachev <sup>about it in Geneva</sup> ~~and I must~~ <sup>in a few days</sup>. We sometimes forget that  
since the end of World War II conventional and regional conflicts  
have cost 23 million lives. The cost to our own Nation in this  
period -- Korea, Vietnam and other military actions as well as  
the various terrorist attacks we have had to endure -- is stark  
evidence that a strictly nuclear conflict is far from the only  
danger we face <sup>in this era</sup>. <sup>in recent years</sup> During recent years, America has had  
more than her share of fallen sons, and from this desk I have  
tried many times to find the right words of comfort for grieving  
mothers and fathers; I don't have to tell you I failed; <sup>human</sup> there are  
~~as you know~~ no such words. Memories such as these are reasons  
why when I visited Europe earlier this year and saw the places of  
so much such suffering in World War II ~~and~~ I said ~~then~~ that the  
voice of our century <sup>of voices</sup> was humanity's voice, <sup>one</sup> a voice calling out in  
anguish but ~~also~~ in hope for peace, and for an end to war.

To heed such cries, <sup>to pursue</sup> in the hope of never having to face the  
awful choices I have outlined ever again ~~from this room~~ having to  
speak <sup>from this room</sup> to grieving families -- <sup>is why I go to Geneva</sup> that ~~is the reason I go to Geneva~~.

*and cost*  
I ~~also~~ go for another reason. As if the danger of warfare ~~was not~~  
~~not~~ <sup>was not</sup> been bad enough; ~~we~~ <sup>all of us</sup> have had to face another danger, one  
that has cost as many, ~~perhaps~~ even more human lives, one that has  
particularly taxed the resources and vigor of the American  
people.

(Dolan)  
November 1, 1985  
5:30 p.m.

PRESIDENTIAL ADDRESS: TO THE NATION -- GENEVA SUMMIT

In 48 hours, I will be leaving for Geneva to meet with Mr. Gorbachev, the leader of the Soviet Union. Very few events attract as much attention as summit conferences, <sup>and</sup> so I felt it was my duty to report <sup>directly</sup> to you tonight on this <sup>matter</sup> ~~event~~ and its significance.

Now, I don't think it's any mystery why ~~most of us think~~ <sup>as a family thought for</sup> summit conferences ~~are~~ a good idea. The danger of thermonuclear war and the havoc it would wreak is a modern sword of Damocles that, as President Kennedy put it, dangles over the head of each of us. <sup>with</sup> ~~The~~ awful reality of these weapons is really only a kind of terrible crescendo to the steady, dehumanizing progress of modern warfare in this century. To a few people here in this office, <sup>college</sup> I recently recalled a hotly debated issue in my own undergraduate years -- which by the way also took place in this century -- when some of us strenuously argued that in the advent of another war no civilized person and certainly no American would obey an order to attack purely civilian targets. ~~Humanity,~~ we were certain, would never come to that. Well, World War II and 34 million civilian casualties later we were all sadly, tragically wiser. At least today we can say we have fewer illusions: we know a World War III will cause vast and devastating destruction with perhaps 90 percent civilian casualties.

*leads to serious reflection*  
Believe me the office I occupy ~~now is a good place from~~  
*on all this;*  
~~which to reflect on the seriousness of this danger;~~ whenever I  
~~travel~~ *for a small* I am followed by a military aide who carries with him a  
small black attache case -- "the football" is its nickname. ~~It is~~  
a grim reminder of the narrow line our world walks everyday ~~because~~  
because it contains the codes necessary for retaliation to a  
nuclear attack on the United States.

*And*  
This office ~~also provides another, an even sadder~~  
~~perspective, and I want to talk to you about it tonight just as I~~  
~~will talk to Mr. Gorbachev about it.~~ *on our times, one of the*  
*he* *shady.* We sometimes forget that

*The 23 million lives lost*  
since the end of World War II ~~conventional and regional conflicts~~  
have ~~cost 23 million lives.~~ *for* The cost to our own Nation in this

period -- Korea, Vietnam and other military actions as well as  
the various terrorist attacks we have had to endure ~~has been grave~~ *has been grave*

evidence that a strictly nuclear conflict is far from the only

*he would now*  
danger ~~we face in this.~~ *we face* America has had more than her share of

fallen sons in recent years; and from this desk I have tried many  
times to find the right words of comfort for grieving mothers and

fathers; I don't have to tell you I failed; ~~because there are no~~  
such words. ~~And I lost this terrible absence that led to me say~~  
~~Memories such as these are reasons why when I~~

visited Europe earlier this year, ~~and saw the places of so much~~  
*I said one could hear when*  
such suffering ~~in World War II, I said that our century's voice --~~ *on*

~~was~~ *really -- a vain* humanity's voice, one calling out in anguish but in hope for  
peace and for an end to war.

To heed such cries, to pursue the hope of never having to  
face the awful choices I have outlined or ever again having to

*And that is why I go to Geneva. To heed such cries*  
*from our and the father, to never have to have*  
*the awful cost of nuclear retaliation, to never*  
*again have to speak from this stage, to grief-*  
*stricken loved ones*

*the eternal cry of mankind for peace on earth.*

speaking from this room to grieving families -- it is why I go to Geneva.

I go for another reason. As if the danger and cost of war was not bad enough; all of us have had to face another danger; one that has cost as many, even more human lives, one that has particularly taxed the resources and vigor of the American people.

And that is the threat posed to human freedom by the enormous power of the modern state. History teaches the danger of government that overreaches; we have seen it here in our own Nation -- mindless bureaucracy, ~~stringent taxation~~ *by excessive regulation*, rampant inflation, economic stagnation -- all of this combining to stifle personal freedom and social excellence. The excess of government have brought down many nations in the past; this is history's terrible but somehow quickly forgotten lesson: the abuse of government power has always posed the most serious and enduring threat to the freedom of man.

And with the development of science and technology as well as the growth of modern ideology in our century, this threat took on even greater force in our own time: the twentieth century has seen a quantum leap in repression by giving birth to the police state, the totalitarian society.

The loss of life, the human suffering caused by totalitarian government in this century has been enormous and heartbreaking. Look at the events of recent time; events I have mentioned before and will mention again: the Soviet invasion of Afghanistan, the suppression of Polish solidarity, Soviet intervention in

Nicaragua and in Angola, allegations of Soviet provided chemical and biological weapons Southeast Asia, Soviet assistance and training for some terrorist groups, the list goes on.

Surely in fifty or a hundred years historians will look back in our time in wonder and note that at the end of World War II the democracies had a monopoly on nuclear arms, a monopoly that was never used for territorial or imperial gain; a monopoly had it been in communist hands would have resulted in a much altered map of Europe.

I cite all this to enunciate the dilemma of our times, the dilemma of this Geneva meeting -- nuclear war is an impossible option but so too is a world under totalitarian rule. So let us have no illusions about this meeting or about the nature of the Soviet system. President Eisenhower warned the free peoples of the world when he left office. "We face a hostile ideology, global in scope, atheistic in character, ruthless in purpose and insidious in method."

Now my fellow Americans I must tell you that frank words like these have upset some well meaning people who feel that the American people are to prepared for candor. And that such candor especially before a summit meeting would tend to upset the negotiating process.



(Dolan)  
November 1, 1985  
11:00 a.m.

PRESIDENTIAL ADDRESS: TO THE NATION -- GENEVA SUMMIT

In 48 hours, I will be leaving for Geneva to meet with Mr. Gorbachev, the leader of the Soviet Union. Very few events attract as much international attention and media coverage as summit conferences; so I felt it was my duty to report to you tonight on ~~this meeting and its~~ <sup>this event and its</sup> significance ~~of this meeting.~~

Now, I don't think it's any mystery why most of us think summit conferences are a good idea. The danger of thermonuclear war and the havoc it would wreak <sup>is</sup> as President Kennedy put it, a modern sword of Damocles that dangles over the head of each of us.

2 And yet the awful reality of these weapons <sup>is</sup> are really only a kind of terrible crescendo to the steady, dehumanizing progress of modern warfare in this century. To a few people here in this office I recently mentioned that I could well recall a hotly debated issue in my undergraduate years -- which by the way also took place in this century -- when some of us strenuously argued that in the advent of a new war no civilized person and certainly no American would ever obey an order to attack purely civilian targets; humanity, we were certain, would never come to that. Well, World War II and 34 million civilian casualties later ~~twice the number of military casualties by the way --~~ we were all sadly, tragically wiser. <sup>Can say we</sup> At least today we <sup>we know</sup> have fewer illusions: ~~we know that the destruction of a~~ <sup>a</sup> World War III <sup>will</sup>

and

in  
destruction

be vast and devastating with perhaps 90 percent civilian casualties.

Believe the difficulty of carrying war

This office is a good place from which to reflect on the seriousness of this danger; whenever I travel, for example, I am followed by a military aide who carries with him a small black attache case -- "the football" is its nickname -- containing the codes necessary to <sup>signal</sup> launch retaliation for a nuclear attack on the United States. ~~It is a grim reminder of the narrow line our world walks everyday~~

there is a grim reminder of the narrow line our world walks everyday

~~But this office provides another perspective too, a very sad one about both our world and our country and I must discuss it on these days.~~

War II, 23 ~~million lives have been lost in conventional and regional conflicts~~ <sup>have cost 23 million lives</sup> The cost to our own Nation in the post-war period -- Korea, Vietnam <sup>and</sup> other military actions <sup>as well as</sup> and the various terrorist attacks we have had to endure -- ~~has been high and~~ is

stark evidence that a strictly nuclear conflict is far from the only danger we face <sup>(in this world)</sup>. During recent years, America has had more than her share of fallen sons; and from this desk I have tried

many times to find the right words of comfort for grieving mothers and fathers; ~~I failed; of course there are no such words.~~ <sup>I don't have to tell you because you know</sup>

Memories such as this are never

It is why when I visited Europe earlier this year and saw the places of so much such suffering in World War II -- I said then that the voice of our country was a voice of anguish and hope, <sup>in anguish but also in hope</sup> humanity's voice, a voice calling out for peace, and the end to war.

Boy

To heed such cries, <sup>in</sup> to pursue the hope of never again from having to face the awful choices I have outlined <sup>of</sup> to this room

having to speak to ~~the~~ <sup>✓</sup> grieving families that is the reason I <sup>so</sup> ~~am~~  
~~going~~ to Geneva.

~~There is also~~ <sup>I'd like to</sup> another reason. <sup>As</sup> And if the danger warfare had <sup>of</sup> <sup>in the century</sup>

<sup>we have had to face</sup>  
~~It~~ not been bad enough; there ~~has been~~ another danger in our century

~~just as~~ <sup>very human</sup> one that has cost ~~as~~ many ~~or~~ perhaps more lives, one

<sup>particularly total the response</sup>  
that has practically ~~the~~ <sup>the</sup> ~~the~~ <sup>the</sup> and vigor of the American

people. ~~And that danger has been the ??? of totalitarianism.~~

(Dolan)  
November 1, 1985  
9:30 a.m.

PRESIDENTIAL REMARKS: PRE-GENEVA TV SPEECH

In 48 hours, I will be leaving for Geneva to meet ~~there~~ with *Mr.*  
*Gorbachev*, the leader of the Soviet Union, ~~Mr. Gorbachev~~. Very few events  
attract as much media coverage and international attention as  
summit conferences; so I felt it was my duty ~~tonight~~ to report to  
you ~~directly~~ <sup>tonight</sup> ~~my own views~~ <sup>on</sup> this meeting and its significance.<sup>2</sup>

Now, I don't think it's any mystery why most of us think  
summit conferences are a good idea. The danger of thermonuclear  
war and the havoc it would wreak ~~on our world~~ <sup>on</sup> is as President  
Kennedy put it, a modern sword of Damocles that dangles over the  
head of each of us.

*inert*  
The awful reality of nuclear weapons never really leaves any  
of us; whenever I travel, for example, I am followed by a  
military aide who carries with him a small black attache case --  
"the football" is its nickname -- containing the codes necessary  
to launch ~~a retaliatory strike in case of a nuclear attack on the~~ <sup>retaliatory</sup> ~~United States.~~  
I don't have to tell you it is a grim reminder  
~~of the responsibilities of this office and of the narrow line our~~  
world walks everyday.

*And yet the world really is*  
And yet these weapons are really only a ~~final movement~~, a  
kind of terrible crescendo to the steady, dehumanizing progress  
of modern warfare in this century. Recently, <sup>to</sup> a few people  
here in ~~the Oval Office~~ <sup>the</sup> ~~(I mentioned that I could well recall a~~  
hotly debated issue in my undergraduate years -- ~~which~~ <sup>many years</sup> ~~by the way~~  
also took place in this century -- when some of us strenuously  
argued that ~~should~~ <sup>in the midst of</sup> a new war break out no civilized person and

*place from which to reflect on the security of this day*

certainly no American would ever obey an order to attack purely civilian targets; humanity, we were certain, would never come to that. Well, World War II and 34 million civilian casualties later -- twice the number of military casualties by the way -- we were all sadly, tragically wiser. At least today we have fewer illusions: we know that the destruction of a World War III, with perhaps 90 percent civilian casualties, will be vast and devastating

*I need A* → This office provides another perspective too, about the dangers we as a people face in the modern world, a very sad perspective. During recent years, America has had more than her share of fallen sons and from this desk I have tried many times to find the right words *of* comfort *✓* grieving mothers and fathers; I don't think I have to tell you I failed *of course there are no* because such words don't exist. *TV surrogate parent* So this is a good place to remember that since the end of World War II, 23 \_\_\_\_\_ million lives have been lost in conventional and regional conflicts *and* the cost to our own Nation in the post war period -- Korea, Vietnam, other military actions and the various terrorist attacks we have had to endure -- *this loss has high and* is stark evidence that a strictly nuclear conflict is far from the only danger we face. *✓* It is why when I visited Europe earlier this year and saw the places of so much such suffering in World War II -- I said then *that our century the voice of* a voice could be heard *our century is over* in those places, a voice of anguish and *yet* of hope, humanity's voice, a voice calling out for peace, and the end to war.

*Insert B*

To heed such cries, to pursue the hope of never again from  
this room having to speak to the grieving families of our  
~~military~~, that is the reason I am going to Geneva.

There is also another reason ~~for the dangers we face in~~  
~~But it is not the only reason. Because war nuclear and otherwise~~  
~~is not the only danger we as a people have had to face in this~~  
~~century.~~

*being to have the  
successful choices  
of  
but  
outland  
to*

because too if it the days of war had  
not <sup>been</sup> had <sup>the</sup> enough; there has in our time been  
been another <sup>danger in our century</sup> ~~danger~~ that has  
~~faced the American people and~~  
just as grave, one that has caused as ever  
cost as many or perhaps more lives, one  
that has mortally ~~taken~~ <sup>taken</sup> the ~~recovery~~  
and ~~vitality~~ <sup>vitality</sup> of the American people. And  
that danger has been the growth of  
the totalitarian.

President's Television Address  
Pre-Geneva November 1985  
Thematic Outline

Looking Ahead to Geneva

-- In a few days, will be meeting with General Secretary Gorbachev in Geneva. I see meeting as a stepping stone to the kind of future both our peoples want:

- o to reduce and eventually eliminate the danger of nuclear destruction;
- o to relax regional tensions which can spread and engulf both our countries in conflict;
- o to respect the dignity of each human being;
- o to remove the barriers between our people.

Build bridges

-- Historic opportunity to set a course for the future, address the fundamental differences between us in a frank, open way.

-- We have prepared carefully and extensively for this moment: want to share my thoughts and vision of the future that I will present to Gorbachev.

A Historic Opportunity

-- Americans have reason to be satisfied: economy flourishing, alliances strong, military might second to none, and we enjoy individual freedoms about which much of the world can only dream.

-- But what about the future?

-- US-Soviet relationship holds key to world's future: ~~whether there is peace or war~~, progress in solving mankind's problems depends on what we do in coming months and years.

-- Differences between us are profound -- our history, economic systems, and the amount of freedom our citizens enjoy.

-- But we have a common interest -- and mankind has a common interest -- in dealing with these differences peacefully, and finding ways to cooperate wherever possible.

-- The most important task for General Secretary Gorbachev and me is to chart a course for the future that will ensure a safer and better world for all our citizens and for mankind.

- Our goals:
- not just to avoid war, but to strengthen peace;
  - not just to prevent confrontation, but to remove the sources of tension;
  - not just to paper over differences but to address them;
  - not just to talk about what our citizens

*Are detaching  
- Haven't given  
up one square  
inch*

*Why I am  
going to  
Geneva*

want, but to let them talk to each other.

*Cautious  
optimism!  
Vittimay*

### Peace is Indivisible

-- History has shown that peace is indivisible. Ensuring a safe future requires addressing the complex of problems we see, not just focusing on one or two issues, important as they may be. Thus our agenda for Geneva includes:

### Putting the Nuclear Genie Back...

-- Since the dawn of the nuclear age, every American President has sought to limit and end the dangerous competition in nuclear arms. I have no higher priority than to finally realize that dream.

-- We have gone the extra mile in arms control:  
(Recap US arms control proposals)

-- Last month's Soviet counteroffer still very one-sided, but we are willing to hear them out, to work with them.

-- Soviet Union has so far not given our proposals the same attention, unwilling to explore our offer unless we agree in advance to give up our research and testing program on defenses.

-- Meanwhile, the Soviet Union has for many years been intensively pursuing its own research and more on defenses: has the world's only anti-ballistic missile defense system in place around Moscow, only proven anti-satellite weapon.

-- Wouldn't it be better for both our countries and for the world for us to concentrate on reducing the weapons that exist today?

-- And wouldn't the world benefit if we could mutually find a way to render nuclear ballistic missiles obsolete and useless?

-- Wouldn't it be better if Mr. Gorbachev and I could discuss this, without artificial preconceptions and pretense?

### Sources of Tension

-- Reducing the levels of nuclear arms is not the whole answer:

since World War II, about twenty million people have died in regional wars, not one involving nuclear weapons.



-- Soviet Union's use of force or threat of force to intervene directly or through proxies in in Afganistan, Poland, Angola, Nicaragua has made world more dangerous.

-- We cannot isolate these activities from other aspects of our relationship. The Soviet invasion of Afghanistan killed any hope of ratification of SALT II.

-- That is why I proposed a plan for resolving regional conflicts that have taken such a heavy toll on the people involved, which threaten to engulf their neighbors and draw in outside powers which includes:

(Recap regional initiative)

### Peace Depends on People

-- Respect for the individual and the rule of law is as fundamental to peace as arms control. A government which does not respect its citizens' rights and its international commitments to protect those rights is not likely to respect its other international undertakings.

-- Freedom and democracy are the best guarantors of peace: democratic nations do not start wars. Where citizens rule, there is a no need or desire to take up arms for conquest or political gain.

-- We hold these beliefs deeply, but are not trying to impose them on others. We do ask, however, that countries live up to their freely undertaken international commitments.

### Removing the Barriers

-- Finally, enduring peace requires openness, contacts and honest communications in all areas:

o to reduce the risk of war by accident or miscalculation, freedom of travel and inspection essential to arms control process;

o ~~no secret treaties, surreptitious arms shipments, support for regional conflicts;~~

o citizens listening to all sides of the case, making up their own minds.

-- The US has always stood for openness: in 1955, President Eisenhower, preparing for his first meeting with the then Soviet leader, made his Open Skies proposal (quote....). His dream of educational, cultural exchanges.

-- Today, thirty years later, we have not even begun to realize the vast potential which science and technology offer to facilitate communications, contacts that could dispel stereotypes, and enable our people to better understand and learn from each other:

People who  
own boundaries  
has not  
encourage government  
to come  
agreed upon  
order

o Imagine if Joe Smith in Poughkeepsie could meet and visit Sergei Ivanov in Sverdlovsk, if Sergei's son or daughter could spend a year, or even three months living with the Smith family, going to summer camp or classes at Poughkeepsie High, while Smith's son or daughter went to school in Sverdlovsk? Soviet young people could learn first hand what spirit of freedom rules our land, and that we do not wish the peoples of the Soviet Union any harm. Our young people would get first hand knowledge of life in the USSR, learn about their culture and suffering in World War II?

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

o Great things achieved in joint scientific research -- Apollo-Soyuz, development of mechanical heart -- imagine how much more we could do if we worked together?

*Spill out  
People to  
People Proposals  
(Phonetic)*

Our open society is our greatest strength, believe the only way to break down barriers of mistrust is through more information, communication and contact between our people. That is part of my vision of the future, and what I want to discuss further with Soviet leader Gorbachev in Geneva.

-- Differences between our two countries are substantial, but now is time to get programs like these underway. They will not solve our problems overnight, but can move us in the right direction. And if we must compete, let it be in the sports arena, rather than arms factories, in sweatsuits rather than military uniforms.


#### Not An Impossible Dream

-- It is not an impossible dream that we can begin to reduce nuclear arsenals, reduce the risk of war and build a solid foundation for peace. It is not an impossible dream that our children and grandchildren can some day travel freely back and forth between American and the Soviet Union, visit each other's homes, work and study together, enjoy and discuss plays, music, television, and even root for each other's soccer teams.

-- The American people are ready for this. I have confidence in their ability to sift fact from fiction, propaganda from honest proposals. The people of the Soviet Union should have the same opportunity.

-- But governments can only do so much: once they get the ball rolling, they should step out of the way and let the people get together to share, enjoy, help, listen and learn from each other, especially the young people.

-- Peace involves everyone. It is built on the daily actions of citizens, especially in a democracy.



-- History has shown us that peace is indivisible. Addressing all the problems we face together is the only way to develop a healthy, sound relationship based on equality, mutual trust and fairness:

o no matter how good an arms control agreement may be, its chances of being approved are diminished if Soviet behavior in other areas is unacceptable;

o similarly, the prospects for more trade and other bilateral exchanges are improved when governments treat their people with respect;

o and the chances for reaching an arms control agreement are improved if the barriers between people are lowered, and regional tensions not exploited.

-- Our peoples want nothing so much as peace, a better life for themselves and their children. We can have a more cooperative relationship with the Soviet Union only if the Soviet leaders also want it.

-- Real problems are hunger, disease, poverty. Soviets have made important contributions to music, literature, science, as have Americans.... If we pool our resources, what could we not achieve?

-- That is the dream I am taking to Geneva. It is not an impossible dream.

-- As the poet Robert Frost said ".... and many miles to go before we sleep."

-- But our meeting in Geneva need not be an end: it could be the beginning of a renewed commitment to working together to shape a safer future for both our countries and the world. History will not forgive us if we do not make a start.

Why I am  
going to  
Geneva???

~~SECRET~~

EXCHANGES INITIATIVES FOR GENEVA

- - People to People Exchanges

- ✓ - exchange of undergraduate students - to begin, at least 5,000 each way for one year of study
- ✓ - youth exchange - at least 5,000 secondary school age youngsters to live with host family and attend school or summer camp
- ✓ - sister cities - expansion of sister city relationships
- - Soviet-American scholarship program - ten top college students to study for a year

- - Increased Consultations

- - regular bilateral consultations to combat terrorism and
- - to combat alcoholism, drug abuse, and drug trafficking

- - Wider Information Exchanges

- - establishment of cultural centers and libraries
- - regular media exchanges
- - mutual satellite program transmissions
- note [ - - increased publication and distribution of books, to include establishing a book store in each country
- - increased language study - two educators, one American one Soviet, to study ways of improving understanding through language study

- - Cooperation in Science and Space

- [ - - exchange of astronauts to participate in space flight (pending NASA clearance)
- [ - - jointly staffed medical research institutes in each country (pending HHS clearance)
- - joint development of microcomputer educational software

- - Sports Cooperation and Exchanges

- [ - - increased athletic exchanges
- - joint sponsorship of annual "great race" (auto, bicycle, etc.) between Moscow and Washington
- [ - - greater binational sporting competition

~~SECRET~~

Declassify on: OADR

DECLASSIFIED  
E.O. 12356, Sec. 3.4(b)  
White House Guidelines, Feb. 24, 1983  
BY PD, NARA, Date 8/16/95

*get this in*

~~But~~ <sup>The</sup> the hope too of seeking to work with the Soviet Union to reduce and eventually eliminate the danger of nuclear destruction, to relax those regional tensions that can lead to wider conflict, to enhance respect for human rights in ~~every~~ ~~nation~~ and to expand the peace process itself by involving more directly the citizens of both our nations. And on this latter point I want to mention in a few moments the specific new proposals I have in mind.

[ This series of people-to-people exchanges can I believe do much to bring the people of both our nations together. In this area we are going to suggest for example the exchange of at least 5,000 undergraduates each year for two semesters of study as well a youth exchange involving at least 5,000 secondary school age youngsters who would live with a host family and attend schools or summer camps. We also look to increase scholarship programs, to improve language studies, to develop and expand sister city relationships, to establish cultural centers and libraries and to increase bi-national athletic exchanges and sporting competitions.

In the areas of science, space and technology we would also seek to inaugurate more joint space flights and establish joint medical research projects and institutes in each of our countries. In the communications area, ~~in particular~~, we would like to see a far more extensive contact including more appearances by representatives of both our countries in the other's mass media. I've noted that Mr. Gorbachev has shown a

lively appreciation for America's free press tradition; I can assure you I will be preaching the virtues of some Soviet movements in this direction as well and will ask again, as I did several years ago in a speech to the British Parliament, for an opportunity to address the Soviet people.

Now I do not think these proposals will by themselves solve the world's problems or end our differences; but I do believe more people-to-people contact between our nations can help build constituencies for peace and freedom in both our nations.

*For when the people are more involved, the less likelihood there is of the kind of human rights violations that we have seen in the past. And the more people are involved, the more likely they are to support the cause.*

*For when the people grow more involved human rights are expanded as even at the margin.*

Close Hold

Tony - fyi

President's Television Address  
Pre-Geneva November 1985  
Thematic Outline

Why I Am Going to Geneva

-- In a few days, will be meeting with General Secretary Gorbachev in Geneva.

-- My purpose is to renew a dialogue with the Soviet leader on the most important question of our time: what we must do to build a better, safer world for both our peoples and mankind as a whole.

-- It is my fervent hope that the two of us can begin a process which our successors and our peoples can continue: a process of facing our differences frankly and openly so that we can begin to narrow and resolve them; a process of communicating effectively so that our actions and intentions are not misunderstood; a process of building bridges between us and cooperating wherever possible for the greater good of all.

-- I see our meeting as a stepping stone to the kind of future both our peoples want:

- o to reduce and eventually eliminate the danger of nuclear destruction;
- o to relax regional tensions which can spread and engulf both our countries in conflict;
- o to respect the dignity of each human being;
- o to build bridges between our peoples.

-- Historic opportunity to set a steady course through the 21st century.

-- We have prepared carefully and extensively for this moment: want to share my thoughts and vision of the future that I will present to Gorbachev.

A Historic Opportunity

-- Americans have reason to be satisfied: economy flourishing, alliances strong, military might second to none, and we enjoy individual freedoms about which much of the world can only dream.

o Our strategy of deterrence has worked: since I have been President not one inch of free territory has fallen to communist subjugation. Indeed, the number of free countries calling themselves democracies has grown by ( 4? ).

-- But what about the future?

-- US-Soviet relationship holds key to world's future: progress in solving mankind's problems depends on what we do in coming months and years.

-- Differences between us are profound -- our history, economic systems, and ~~the amount of~~ freedom our citizens enjoy.

o But we also have a history of cooperation: World War II alliance to defeat fascism. In the two major wars of this century we have been on the same side.

-- We have a common interest -- and mankind has an interest -- in dealing with our differences peacefully, and finding ways to cooperate wherever possible.

-- The most important task for General Secretary Gorbachev and me is to chart a course for the future:

- o not just to avoid war, but to strengthen peace;
- o not just to prevent confrontation, but to remove the sources of tension;
- o not just to paper over differences but to address them;
- o not just to talk about what our citizens want, but to let them talk to each other.

#### Peace is Indivisible

-- History has shown that peace is indivisible. Ensuring a safe future requires addressing the complex of problems we see, not just focusing on one or two issues, important as they may be. Thus our agenda for Geneva includes:

#### Putting the Nuclear Genie Back...

-- Since the dawn of the nuclear age, every American President has sought to limit and end the dangerous competition in nuclear arms. I have no higher priority than to finally realize that dream.

-- We have gone the extra mile in arms control:

(Recap US arms control proposals for deep reductions, greater strategic stability, effective verification of agreements.)

-- Wouldn't it be better for both our countries and for the world for us to concentrate on reducing the weapons that exist today?

-- And wouldn't the world benefit if we could mutually find a way to render nuclear ballistic missiles obsolete and useless?

-- Wouldn't it be better if Mr. Gorbachev and I could discuss this, without artificial preconceptions and pretense?

-- Our discussions will be an opportunity to inject new momentum into the Geneva Nuclear and Space Talks, and will have consequences long beyond our November meeting.



### Sources of Tension

-- Reducing the levels of nuclear arms is not the whole answer: since World War II, about twenty million people have died in regional wars, not one involving nuclear weapons.

-- Soviet Union's use of force or threat of force to intervene directly or through proxies in in Afganistan, Poland, Angola, Nicaragua has made world more dangerous.

-- We cannot isolate these activities from other aspects of our relationship. The Soviet invasion of Afghanistan killed any hope of SALT II ratification.

-- That is why I proposed a plan for resolving regional conflicts that have taken such a heavy toll on the people involved, which threaten to engulf their neighbors and draw in outside powers which includes:

(Recap regional initiative)

### Peace Depends on People

-- Freedom and democracy are the best guarantors of peace: people who enjoy freedom and human rights will not encourage their governments to commit aggression against others. History has shown that democractic nations do not start wars.

-- Respect for the individual and the rule of law is as fundamental to peace as arms control. A government which does not respect its citizens' rights and its international commitments to protect those rights is not likely to respect its other international undertakings.

-- We hold these beliefs deeply, but are not trying to impose them on others. We do ask, however, that countries live up to their freely undertaken international commitments.

### Building Bridges

-- Finally, enduring peace requires openness, honest communications and opportunites for our peoples to get to know one another directly.

-- This applies to all aspects of our relationship, whether it be negotiating arms control agreements, reducing regional tensions and in the day to day business between our two governments.

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

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

-- We have had educational and cultural exchanges for 25 years, and are now close to completing a new agreement. But I feel the time is ripe for us to take bold new steps to open the way for our peoples to participate in an unprecedented way in the building of peace. That is why I have proposed to the Soviet government:

1) To encourage our young people to get to know one another - reciprocal exchange of thousands of undergraduate students, and thousands of high school students; Soviet-American scholarship program.

2) To use the resources of technology for better communications - elimination of jamming, mutual satellite transmissions, exchanges in computer educational materials. We welcome the free competition of ideas and respect the right to hold different views.

3) To pool scientific talent - cooperative research and space programs where there is something to be learned on both sides. Important past accomplishments include Apollo-Soyuz, mechanical heart. How much more could be done by working together?

4) To bring cultural achievements closer - establishment of cultural centers, increased publication and distribution of books, possibly a book store in each country, increased language study. We have much to learn from one another.

5) To channel competition into healthy athletic outlets - increased sports exchanges, joint events. If we must compete, let it be in the athletic arena, rather than arms factories, in sweatsuits rather than military uniforms.

-- Our open society is our greatest strength, believe the only way to break down barriers of mistrust is through more information, communication and contact between our people. That is part of my vision of the future, and what I want to discuss further with Soviet leader Gorbachev in Geneva.

-- Differences between our two countries are substantial, but now is time to get programs like these underway. They will not solve our problems overnight, but can move us in the right direction.

### Not An Impossible Dream

-- It is not an impossible dream that we can begin to reduce nuclear arsenals, reduce the risk of war and build a solid foundation for peace. It is not an impossible dream that our children and grandchildren can some day travel freely back and forth between America and the Soviet Union, visit each other's homes, work and study together, enjoy and discuss plays, music, television, and even root for each other's soccer teams.

-- The American people are ready for this. I have confidence in their ability to sift fact from fiction, propaganda from honest proposals. The people of the Soviet Union should have the same opportunity.

-- But governments can only do so much: once they get the ball rolling, they should step out of the way and let people get together to share, enjoy, help, listen and learn from each other, especially young people.

-- Peace involves everyone. It is built on the daily actions of citizens, especially in a democracy.

-- History has shown us that peace is indivisible. Addressing all the problems we face together is the only way to develop a healthy, sound relationship based on equality, mutual trust and fairness:

- o no matter how good an arms control agreement may be, its chances of being approved are diminished if Soviet behavior in other areas is unacceptable;

- o similarly, the prospects for more trade and other bilateral exchanges are improved when governments treat their people with respect;

- o and the chances for reaching an arms control agreement are improved if the barriers between people are lowered, and regional tensions not exploited.

-- That is the dream I am taking to Geneva. It is not an impossible dream. Our relationship will continue to be competitive in many ways, but, just as we have cooperated in the past to defeat a common enemy, we can do so again to defeat today's enemies: hunger, disease, poverty, illiteracy.

-- Our peoples want nothing so much as peace, a better life for themselves and their children. We can have a more cooperative relationship with the Soviet Union only if the Soviet leaders also want it.

-- As the poet Robert Frost said ".... and many miles to go before we sleep."

-- But our meeting in Geneva need not be an end: it could be the beginning of a renewed commitment to working together to shape a safer future for both our countries and the world. History will not forgive us if we do not make a start.

**WHITE HOUSE STAFFING MEMORANDUM**DATE: 10/29/85 ACTION/CONCURRENCE/COMMENT DUE BY: C.O.B. 10/30/85SUBJECT: THEMATIC OUTLINE OF PRE-GENEVA TELEVISION ADDRESS

	ACTION FYI			ACTION FYI	
VICE PRESIDENT	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	LACY	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
REGAN	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	McFARLANE	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
MILLER	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	OGLESBY	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
BUCHANAN	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	RYAN	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
CHAVEZ	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	SPEAKES	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
CHEW	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> <sup>P</sup> <sup>SS</sup>	SPRINKEL	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
DANIELS	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	SVAHN	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
FIELDING	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	THOMAS	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
FRIEDERSDORF	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	TUTTLE	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
HENKEL	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<u>Elliot</u> →	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
HICKEY	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	_____	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
HICKS	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	_____	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
KINGON	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	_____	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>

**REMARKS:**

Please review by close of business Wednesday, 10/30, with any comments to Bill Martin. Send information copies to my office.

**RESPONSE:**

*This incorporates Pat Buchanan's  
and speechwriting office's comments—*

*David L. Chew*  
10/30

David L. Chew  
Staff Secretary  
Ext. 2702

President's Television Address  
Pre-Geneva November 1985  
Thematic Outline

Why I Am Going to Geneva

-- In a few days, will be meeting with General Secretary Gorbachev in Geneva.

-- My purpose is to <sup>engage</sup> ~~renew a dialogue~~ with the Soviet leader on the most important question of our time: what we must do to build a better, safer world for both our peoples and mankind as a whole.

-- It is my fervent hope that the two of us can begin a new effort ~~process~~ which our successors and our peoples can continue: <sup>an effort</sup> ~~to process of facing our differences frankly and openly so that we can begin to narrow and resolve them; a process of communicating effectively so that our actions and intentions are not misunderstood; a process of building bridges between us and cooperating wherever possible for the greater good of all.~~

-- I see our meeting as a stepping stone to the kind of future both our peoples want:

o to reduce and eventually eliminate the danger of nuclear destruction;

o to relax regional tensions which can spread and engulf both our countries in conflict;

o to respect the dignity of each human being;

o to build bridges between our peoples.

-- Historic opportunity to set a steady course through the 21st century.

-- We have prepared carefully and extensively for this moment: want to share my thoughts and vision of the future that I will present to Gorbachev.

A Historic Opportunity

-- Americans have reason to be satisfied: <sup>feel confident about the future</sup> ~~be satisfied~~ economy flourishing, alliances strong, military might ~~second to none~~ <sup>being rebuilt</sup>, and we enjoy individual freedoms about which much of the world can only dream.

o Our strategy of deterrence <sup>is</sup> ~~has~~ worked: <sup>in</sup> ~~since I have~~ <sup>in last 5 years,</sup> ~~been President not one inch of free territory has fallen to communist subjugation.~~ Indeed, the number of free countries calling themselves democracies has grown by ( 4? ).

-- But what about the future?

-- US-Soviet relationship <sup>is</sup> ~~holds~~ key to world <sup>peace</sup> ~~future~~: <sup>in</sup> ~~progress in solving mankind's problems depends on what we do in coming months and years.~~ (This smacks of Big-Power hegemony + would create antagonisms among allies + third world countries.)

-- Differences between us are profound -- our history, economic systems, ~~and~~ the amount of freedom our citizens enjoy,

o But we ~~also have a history of cooperation~~ World War II alliance to defeat fascism. ~~In the two major wars of this century we have been on the same side. (Czarist Russia was our ally, not Lenin's.)~~

-- We have a common interest ~~in dealing with our differences~~, and mankind has an interest -- ~~in dealing with our differences~~ peacefully, and finding ways to cooperate wherever possible. (from emphasis in open conflict; and we have an interest)

-- The most important task for General Secretary Gorbachev and me is to chart a course for the future:

- o not just to avoid war, but to strengthen peace;
- o not just to prevent confrontation, but to remove the sources of tension;
- o not just to paper over differences but to address them;
- o not just to talk about what our citizens want, but to let them talk to each other.

### Peace is Indivisible

-- History has shown that peace is indivisible. Ensuring a safe future requires addressing the complex of problems we see, not just focusing on one or two issues, important as they may be. Thus our agenda for Geneva includes:

### Putting the Nuclear Genie Back...

-- Since the dawn of the nuclear age, every American President has sought to limit and end the dangerous competition in nuclear arms. I have no higher priority than to finally realize that dream of a world that is free of nuclear weapons, a world where free people can live and work in peace.

-- We have gone the extra mile in arms control:

(Recap US arms control proposals for deep reductions, greater strategic stability, effective verification of agreements.)

-- Wouldn't it be better for both our countries and for the world for us to concentrate on reducing the weapons that exist today?

-- And wouldn't the world benefit if we could mutually find a way to render nuclear ballistic missiles obsolete and useless? Develop survival shields that would protect the earth's people and

-- Wouldn't it be better if Mr. Gorbachev and I could discuss this, without artificial preconceptions and pretense?

-- Our discussions will be an opportunity to inject new momentum into the Geneva Nuclear and Space Talks, and will have consequences long beyond our November meeting.

and how (expecting)  
we can balance  
our Japan and  
philosophies.

### Sources of Tension

-- Reducing the levels of nuclear arms is not the whole answer: since World War II, about twenty million people have died in regional wars, not one involving nuclear weapons.

-- Soviet Union's use of force or threat of force to intervene directly or through proxies in in Afganistan, Poland, Angola, Nicaragua has made world more dangerous.

-- We cannot isolate these activities from other aspects of our relationship. The Soviet invasion of Afghanistan killed any hope of SALT II ratification.

-- That is why I proposed a plan for resolving regional conflicts that have taken such a heavy toll on the people involved, which threaten to engulf their neighbors and draw in outside powers which includes:

(Recap regional initiative)

### Peace Depends on People

-- Freedom and democracy are the best guarantors of peace: people who enjoy freedom and human rights will not encourage their governments to commit aggression against others. History has shown that democractic nations do not start wars.

-- Respect for the individual and the rule of law is as fundamental to peace as arms control. A government which does not respect its citizens' rights and its international commitments to protect those rights is not likely to respect its other international undertakings.

-- We hold these beliefs deeply, <sup>we do not seek</sup> but ~~are not trying~~ to impose our values on others. We do ask, however, that countries live up to their freely undertaken international commitments. <sup>-- that people can determine their own destiny.</sup>

### Building Bridges

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

-- This applies to all aspects of our relationship, whether it be negotiating arms control agreements, reducing regional tensions and in the day to day business between our two governments.



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

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

-- We have had educational and cultural exchanges for 25 years, and are now close to completing a new agreement. But I feel the time is ripe for us to take bold new steps to open the way for our peoples to participate in an unprecedented way in the building of peace. That is why I have proposed to the Soviet government:

1) To encourage our young people to get to know one another - reciprocal exchange of thousands of undergraduate students, and thousands of high school students; Soviet-American scholarship program.

2) To use the resources of technology for better communications - elimination of jamming, mutual satellite transmissions, exchanges in computer educational materials. We welcome the free competition of ideas and respect the right to hold different views.

3) To pool scientific talent - cooperative research and space programs where there is something to be learned on both sides. Important past accomplishments include Apollo-Soyuz, mechanical heart. How much more could be done by working together?

4) To bring cultural achievements closer - establishment of cultural centers, increased publication and distribution of books, possibly a book store in each country, increased language study. We have much to learn from one another.

5) To channel competition into healthy athletic outlets - increased sports exchanges, joint events. If we must compete, let it be in the athletic arena, rather than arms factories, in sweatsuits rather than military uniforms.

-- Our open society is our greatest strength, believe the only way to break down barriers of mistrust is through more information, communication and contact between our people. That is part of my vision of the future, and what I want to discuss further with Soviet leader Gorbachev in Geneva.

-- Differences between our two countries are substantial, but now is time to get programs like these underway. They will not solve our problems overnight, but can move us in the right direction.

### Not An Impossible Dream

-- It is not an impossible dream that we can begin to reduce nuclear arsenals, reduce the risk of war and build a solid foundation for peace. It is not an impossible dream that our children and grandchildren can some day travel freely back and forth between America and the Soviet Union, visit each other's homes, work and study together, enjoy and discuss plays, music, television, and even root for each other's soccer teams.

-- The American people are ready for this. I have confidence in their ability to sift fact from fiction, propaganda from honest proposals. The people of the Soviet Union should have the same opportunity.

-- But governments can only do so much: once they get the ball rolling, they should step out of the way and let people get together to share, enjoy, help, listen and learn from each other, especially young people.

-- Peace involves everyone. It is built on the daily actions of citizens, especially in a democracy.

-- History has shown us that peace is indivisible. Addressing all the problems we face together is the only way to develop a healthy, sound relationship based on equality, mutual trust and fairness:

- o no matter how good an arms control agreement may be, its chances of being approved are diminished if Soviet behavior in other areas is unacceptable;

- o similarly, the prospects for more trade and other bilateral exchanges are improved when governments treat their people with respect;

- o and the chances for reaching an arms control agreement are improved if the barriers between people are lowered, and regional tensions not exploited.

-- That is the dream I am taking to Geneva. It is not an impossible dream. Our relationship will continue to be competitive in many ways, but, just as we have cooperated in the past to defeat a common enemy, we can do so again to defeat today's enemies: hunger, disease, poverty, illiteracy.

-- Our peoples want nothing so much as peace, a better life for themselves and their children. We can have a more cooperative relationship with the Soviet Union only if the Soviet leaders also want it.

-- As the poet Robert Frost said ".... and many miles to go before we sleep."

-- But our meeting in Geneva need not be an end: it could be the beginning of a renewed commitment to working together to shape a safer future for both our countries and the world. History will not forgive us if we do not make a start.

MEMORANDUM

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

MEMORANDUM TO : DANA ROHRBACHER

FROM : AMY JOHNSON - WHITE HOUSE RESEARCH

RE : INFORMATION ON CIVILIAN CASUALTIES FROM DOCUMENTATION  
ON WORLD WAR 1 AND WORLD WAR 2

Corporation for Entertainment & Learning

A Walk Through The 20th Century With Bill Moyers

Show #103 "The Arming Of The Earth"

"By World War 1 we had 8 million military but 1.3 million civilians died, in World War 1. Now by World War 2 we had approximately 16.9 million military casualties but we had 34 million civilians who were killed. For the first time in the history of modern warfare we had almost twice as many civilians killed as military casualties. The projection for World War 3 if it were ever fought; we're talking approximately 253 million people in a nuclear type scenario, and that would mean over 90% of the casualties would be civilians."

October 4, 1985

MEMORANDUM FOR BEN ELLIOTT  
AGNES WALDRON

FROM: KIM TIMMONS (KT)

SUBJECT: GENEVA

The President will leave for Geneva on Saturday, November 16 and return to the White House on Thursday, November 21. The tentative plan is for him to make four (4) sets of remarks:

1. Saturday, November 16, 1985, 10:25 p.m. (Geneva time):  
arrival remarks; no longer than five (5) minutes at Cointrin Airport to the Swiss.
2. Monday, November 18, 1985:  
major address; either at the University of Geneva to graduate students studying international affairs; or a television address from U.S. Mission to WORLDNET (i.e. no specific audience; covered world-wide).
3. Tuesday, November 19, 1985, p.m.:  
dinner toast; at the Soviet Mission; to the Soviets.
4. Wednesday, November 20, 1985, p.m.:  
dinner toast; at Fleur d'Eau (Flower of the Sea), site of talks; to the Soviets.

According to the current plan, he will not make a departure statement.

I. BACKGROUND INFORMATION ON SWITZERLAND:

Population of Switzerland: 6.5 million (1984 estimate).  
Religions: Roman Catholic: 49%; Protestant: 48%.  
Languages: German: 65%; French 18%; Italian: 12%; Romansch 1%.  
Geographical Area: 15,941 square miles, about twice the size of New Jersey. The Alps constitute about 60% of Switzerland's area.

Capital: Bern.

Government: Federal republic.

Budget: (1984) \$10.1 billion; Deficit: \$625 million.

Flag: white cross on red field.

GDP: (1984 estimate) \$93.7 billion

Trade: exports: \$25.5 billion: power equipment and electric appliances, instruments, watches, chemicals and dyestuffs, drugs, industrial machinery, iron and steel, foodstuffs, yarn and textiles.

imports: \$29.6 billion: crude oil and petroleum

DECLASSIFICATION COPY

products, industrial machinery, iron and steel, foodstuffs, grains, tobacco, motor vehicles.

major markets: (in order) FRG, France, Italy, U.S., U.K.

major suppliers: same order.

U.S. Ambassador to Switzerland: Faith Whittlesey

U.S. Ambassador to the United Nations: Gerald P. Carmen

President of Switzerland: Kurt Furgler (pronounced FOORGler).

Always addressed as Mr. President; serving for the third time as President. (The presidency and vice-presidency rotate annually among the heads of the seven (7) cabinet departments). In addition, he heads the Department of Public Economy.

Vice President of Switzerland: Alphons Egli (pronounced EGGlee). Always addressed as Mr. Vice-President. Also head of the Department of Interior. Will be President in 1986.

National Anthem: "On the mountains when the sun proclaims a beautiful morn".

Neutrality: In 1815, Switzerland adopted a policy of armed neutrality. It became unconstitutional for the federal government to enter into political alliances or war except in self-defense. In accordance with this policy, Switzerland has not joined the United Nations. Switzerland's neutrality has led numerous international organizations to establish their headquarters in this country.

U.S.-Swiss Relations: Switzerland is a democratic country subscribing to many of the same ideals to which the U.S. is devoted. Communism has had no success in appealing to the Swiss. The first U.S.-Swiss consular relations were established in the late 1820's; diplomatic relations were established in 1853.

Because of its central location, Switzerland is often called the crossroads of northern and southern Europe. It is surrounded by five (five) countries: Federal Republic of Germany; France; Italy; Liechtenstein; and Austria.

As soon as we go off Daylight Savings Time at the end of this month, Geneva time will be six (6) hours ahead.

The Swiss franc is fairly stable. The average exchange rate for 1984 was 2.29 francs for every U.S. dollar. During the pre-advance trip, the dollar had dropped a bit and the exchange rate was 2.19 francs for every U.S. dollar.

PREPARED BY COPY

Switzerland has been very slow to grant equal rights to women. Just last week (Sept. 23, 1985), the Swiss government granted women equal marriage rights. This was the last national legal bastion of male supremacy. It was not until 1971 that women were granted the right to vote at the federal level, and in 1981 an equal rights amendment was added to the constitution.

## II. BACKGROUND INFORMATION ON GENEVA:

Geneva is 4200 statute miles from Washington.

The Geneva metropolitan area has 337,000-plus residents. Nearly one-third are foreigners.

The canton of Geneva is only 109 square miles and is surrounded on all sides except the northeast by French territory.

Lake Geneva is the literal mainstream of the city and also serves as a divider between the newer Right Bank and the Left Bank. The lake is shaped like a banana, about 60 miles long and its greatest breadth is only about 8 miles.

The shimmering Jet d'Eau (jet of water) is as identifiable with Geneva as the Eiffle Tower is with Paris. A towering water fountain that operates 230 days a year, the Jet d'Eau was built in 1947 and reaches as high as 500 feet (taller than the Statue of Liberty).

Geneva is mainly a banking and cultural center. The city is also one of the principal shopping centers of Switzerland. Jewelry, watches, and chocolates are in abundance and of high quality.

After World War I, President Woodrow Wilson selected Geneva as the Headquarters for the League of Nations and for twenty years, between World War I and II, Geneva was its home. However, the League of Nations collapsed and at the end of World War II, the United Nations was created and established its headquarters in New York. For a time this was considered to be an economic blow to Geneva.

However, Geneva has combined the advantages of its central location and available space with dependable services, experience, and flexibility to make it a desirable location for the work of the international community. The U.N. established its European office in Geneva, and many ancillary U.N. offices--dealing in the issues of health, refugees, migrants, telecommunications, and others-- found their home in Geneva. International businesses such as Aluminium of Canada and America's Dupont, The World Council of Churches, the International YMCA, the International Red Cross, and others are based in Geneva.

PRESERVATION COPY

### III. FAMOUS CITIZENS FROM GENEVA:

#### MEN

##### JEAN CALVIN: 1509-1564

Religious reformer. Calvin's piety, logic, personal authority, and diligence profoundly altered the character and look of Geneva. In fewer than three decades, Calvin converted Switzerland into the disciplined state whose stern government was based on the Reformer's interpretation of the Bible. The physical aspects of Geneva also changed as the Reformers built new and higher walls around their citadel to protect and confine the faithful.

##### FRANCOIS LEFORT: 1656-1669

A prominent Russian statesman born into a merchant family in Geneva. Befriended by the young Peter the Great, Lefort became the Tsar's mentor on western customs and commerce, and his principal aide in military, political, and diplomatic affairs.

##### JEAN-JACQUES ROUSSEAU: 1712-1778

Philosopher. Left Geneva at 16 to venture abroad. Success in France in literature, drama, and music reconciled him with Geneva until his later writings on liberal themes led to his condemnation and exile. He is credited with inspiring the romantic movement in art and literature.

##### ALBERT GALLATIN: 1761-1849

American financier born and educated in Geneva. Elected to U.S.'s First Congress and Secretary of the Treasury to manage the Nation's post-revolutionary finances. Was Minister to France and Russia and negotiator of peace with Britain. He was William Crawford's running mate for the vice-presidency in the 1824 presidential campaign. He founded the Gallatin Bank (now the Manufacturer's Hanover Trust Company; the American Ethnological Society; the Historical Society of New York; and New York University.

##### PETER MARK ROGET: 1779-1869

English scientist and man of letters. Son of Genevese pastor in a London Church. Wrote Roget's Thesaurus (took 20 years!).

##### HENRI DUNANT: 1828-1910

Universal humanitarian. Born in Geneva. Conceived and laid the groundwork for the Red Cross. He was discredited in Geneva for a financial disaster, but in 1901 shared the first Nobel Prize for Peace.

#### WOMEN

##### PRINCESS CLOTILDE: (470-545)

PROBATION 1000



Noted for spreading Christianity (Catholicism). Roman Church recognized her as a Saint.

GERMAINE NECKER-DE-STAEEL: (1765-1817)

Daughter of Genevèse banker who for man years managed managed the finances fo France. Socialite.

MARY WOLLSTONECROFT-SHELLEY: (1797-1851)

Daughter of a famed English feminist. At 16 she ran off to Switzerland with poet P.B. Shelley. At 18 she wrote "Frankenstein" in Geneva.

#### IV. THE PRESIDENT'S REMARKS

As with all foreign trips, drafts of these remarks will be provided by NSC and the State Department. Jonathan Miller is our NSC contact. His extension is x3440. Lynn Pasco, Deputy Director of Soviet Affairs, is our contact at State. His number is 632-9559.

1. Arrival Remarks:

brief remarks; no Soviets present; strictly a bi-lateral with the Swiss. The President may want to note the common cultural heritage of the two nations; the "humanitarian" nature of Geneva (Red Cross, World Health Organization, League of Nations, etc.); U.S.-Swiss shared western values; commitment to world peace; the necessity of cooperation between nations.

The President's remarks will be given in English (obviously) and will not be interpreted.

Air Force 1 will be the backdrop for these remarks.

2. Major Address:

Either at the University of Geneva or the U.S. Mission. Of course the style and content will reflect the location and audience. If the speech is given at the University, a Q&A is possible after his remarks. In either case, this address should be "visionary", uplifting, full of hope and aspiration for a better future for all of us.

According to some senior staff, this speech may be problematic and an unnecessary risk for the President on the eve of his talks with Mr. Gorbachev.

3. Dinner Toast:

at Soviet Mission. Standard.

4. Dinner Toast:

at Fleur d'Eau. Standard

#### V. OTHER

**PRESERVATION COPY**

I have various articles and background materials to give each writer when you assign the speeches.

As you know, this is a preliminary sketch of the President's speaking engagements in Geneva. A schedule has not yet been approved by Mr. Regan, and the Advance Office is reticent to disclose further information at this point. Hence, this is the first of several memoranda.

PRESERVATION COPY