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THEMES ON GENEVA MEETING

The President has seen 11/22/85

WE MADE A GOOD START IN GENEVA. WHEN THE TALKS STARTED, GENERAL SECRETARY GORBACHEV SAID U.S./SOVIET RELATIONS WERE AT A LOW POINT. BUT YESTERDAY HE SAID THE WORLD HAD BECOME A SAFER, MORE SECURE PLACE. BUILDING ON AMERICAN STRENGTH - ALLIED UNITY, RESTORED MILITARY AND ECONOMIC MIGHT - WE WENT TO GENEVA TO MAKE A FRESH START. AND WE DID.

WE WENT TO GENEVA WITH A SPIRIT OF REALISM. I DID NOT EXPECT TO SEE ANY FUNDAMENTAL CHANGES IN SOVIET PHILOSOPHY OR BEHAVIOR. RATHER, I WAS DETERMINED TO CLEAR UP MISUNDERSTANDINGS, NARROW DIFFERENCES, WHERE POSSIBLE, AND BROADEN AND DEEPEN DIALOGUE.

WE HAD A REAL DIALOGUE. OUR MEETINGS WITH GENERAL SECRETARY GORBACHEV LASTED OVER 15 HOURS, INCLUDING 5 HOURS OF ONE-ON-ONE.

The President has seen 11/23

(NSC/BE) NOVEMBER 21, 1985

3531C955

SUMMARY STATEMENT BY THE PRESIDENT
GENEVA, SWITZERLAND

PRESIDENT FURGLER, GENERAL SECRETARY GORBACHEV:

MAY I EXPRESS NANCY's AND MY DEEP PERSONAL APPRECIATION, AND THAT OF ALL AMERICANS, TO THE PEOPLE OF SWITZERLAND FOR WELCOMING US SO WARMLY AND PREPARING THE FOUNDATIONS FOR PRODUCTIVE DISCUSSIONS.

YOURS IS A LONG AND HONORABLE TRADITION OF PROMOTING INTERNATIONAL PEACE AND UNDERSTANDING. YOU SHOULD TAKE PRIDE IN BEING THE CAPITAL FOR INTERNATIONAL DISCUSSIONS. SO AGAIN, TO THE GOVERNMENT OF SWITZERLAND, AND TO THE CITIZENS OF GENEVA -- MANY, MANY THANKS.

WE'VE PACKED A LOT INTO THE PAST 2 DAYS. I CAME TO GENEVA TO SEEK A FRESH START IN RELATIONS BETWEEN THE UNITED STATES AND THE SOVIET UNION, AND WE HAVE DONE THIS.

GENERAL SECRETARY GORBACHEV AND I HAVE HELD COMPREHENSIVE DISCUSSIONS, COVERING ALL ELEMENTS OF OUR RELATIONSHIP.

I AM CONVINCED THAT WE'RE HEADING IN THE RIGHT DIRECTION.

WE HAVE REACHED SOME USEFUL INTERIM RESULTS, WHICH ARE DESCRIBED IN THE JOINT STATEMENT THAT IS BEING ISSUED THIS MORNING.

IN AGREEING TO ACCELERATE THE WORK OF OUR NUCLEAR ARMS NEGOTIATORS, MR. GORBACHEV AND I HAVE ADDRESSED OUR COMMON RESPONSIBILITY TO STRENGTHEN PEACE.

I BELIEVE WE HAVE ESTABLISHED A PROCESS FOR MORE INTENSIVE CONTACTS BETWEEN THE UNITED STATES AND THE SOVIET UNION. THESE 2 DAYS OF TALKS SHOULD INJECT A CERTAIN MOMENTUM INTO OUR WORK ON THE ISSUES BETWEEN US, A MOMENTUM WE CAN CONTINUE AT THE MEETING WE HAVE AGREED ON FOR NEXT YEAR.

BEFORE COMING TO GENEVA, I SPOKE OFTEN OF THE NEED TO BUILD CONFIDENCE IN OUR DEALINGS WITH EACH OTHER. FRANK AND FORTHRIGHT CONVERSATIONS AT THE SUMMIT ARE PART OF THIS PROCESS. BUT I AM CERTAIN GENERAL SECRETARY GORBACHEV WOULD AGREE THAT REAL CONFIDENCE IN EACH OTHER MUST BE BUILT ON DEEDS, NOT SIMPLY ON WORDS.

THIS IS THE THOUGHT THAT TIES TOGETHER ALL THE PROPOSALS THAT THE UNITED STATES HAS PUT ON THE TABLE IN THE PAST. AND THIS IS THE CRITERIA BY WHICH OUR MEETINGS WILL BE JUDGED IN THE FUTURE.

THE REAL REPORT CARD ON GENEVA WILL NOT COME IN FOR MONTHS, OR EVEN YEARS. BUT WE KNOW THE QUESTIONS THAT MUST BE ANSWERED.

WILL WE JOIN TOGETHER IN SHARPLY REDUCING OFFENSIVE NUCLEAR ARMS AND MOVING TO NON-NUCLEAR DEFENSIVE SYSTEMS TO MAKE OURS A SAFER WORLD?

WILL WE JOIN TOGETHER TO HELP BRING ABOUT A PEACEFUL RESOLUTION OF CONFLICTS IN ASIA, AFRICA AND CENTRAL AMERICA SO THAT THE PEOPLES THERE CAN FREELY DETERMINE THEIR OWN DESTINY, WITHOUT OUTSIDE INTERFERENCE?

WILL THE CAUSE OF LIBERTY BE ADVANCED?

AND WILL THE TREATIES AND AGREEMENTS SIGNED, PAST AND FUTURE, BE FULFILLED?

THE PEOPLE IN AMERICA, THE SOVIET UNION, AND THROUGHOUT THE WORLD ARE READY TO ANSWER YES.

I LEAVE GENEVA TODAY AND OUR FIRESIDE SUMMIT DETERMINED TO PURSUE EVERY OPPORTUNITY TO BUILD A SAFER WORLD OF PEACE AND FREEDOM. THERE IS HARD WORK AHEAD. WE ARE READY FOR IT. GENERAL SECRETARY GORBACHEV, WE ASK YOU TO JOIN US IN GETTING THE JOB DONE.

# # #

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

Don + George
I had envisioned this speech as being more of a report such as we'll make to Nato.
I've made some changes but is this specific enough?
RR

(Noonan/BE)
November 21, 1985
5:30 a.m. (Geneva)

PRESIDENTIAL ADDRESS: JOINT SESSION OF THE CONGRESS
REPORT ON GENEVA
THURSDAY, NOVEMBER 21, 1985

Thank you ladies and gentlemen.

Mr. Speaker, Mr. President, Members of the Congress, distinguished guests, my fellow Americans:

It's great to be home. Nancy and I thank you for this wonderful homecoming. And before I go on I want to say a personal thank you to Nancy. She was an outstanding ambassador of good will for all of us. Thanks, partner.

Mr. Speaker, Senator Dole, I want you to know your statements of support were and are greatly appreciated. You can't imagine how much it means in dealing with the Soviets to have the Congress, the allies, and the American people firmly behind me.

As you know, I have just come from Geneva and talks with General Secretary Gorbachev. In the past few days, we spent over 15 hours in various meetings with the General Secretary and the members of his official party. Approximately 5 of those hours were talks between Mr. Gorbachev and myself, one on one. That was the best part. OUR Fireside Summit.

There will be, I know, a great deal of commentary and opinion as to what the meetings produced and what they were like. There were over 3,000 reporters in Geneva, so (it's possible) there will be ~~at least~~ 3,000 opinions on what happened. Maybe it's the old broadcaster in me but I ~~thought, I'd~~ (decided to) file my own report directly to you.

We met, as we had to meet. I had called for a fresh start -- and we made that start. I can't claim we had a meeting of the minds on such fundamentals as ideology or national purpose -- but we understand each other better. That's key to peace. I gained a better perspective; I feel he did, too.

~~In short~~, It was a constructive meeting. So constructive, in fact, that Mr. Gorbachev ~~this morning~~ HAS accepted our invitation to ~~come and~~ visit the United States next year. And ~~a year following I will be going to Moscow~~ I HAVE ACCEPTED HIS INVITATION TO GO TO MOSCOW THE FOLLOWING YEAR.

I found Mr. Gorbachev to be an energetic defender of Soviet policy. He was ~~quite a talker~~ AN ELOQUENT SPEAKER, and, ~~I believe~~, a good listener. Our subject matter was shaped by the facts of this century.

These past 40 years have not been an easy time for the West or the world. You know the facts; there is no need to recite the historical record. Suffice it to say that the United States cannot afford illusions about the nature of the U.S.S.R. We cannot assume that their ideology and purpose will change. This implies enduring competition. Our task is to assure that this competition remains peaceful. With all that divides us, we cannot afford to let confusion complicate things further. We must be clear with each other, and direct. We must pay each other the tribute of candor.

When I took the oath of office for the first time, we began dealing with the Soviet Union in a way that was more realistic than in the recent past. And so, in a very real sense, preparations for the summit started not months ago but 5 years ago when -- with the help of Congress -- we began strengthening

our economy, restoring our national will, and rebuilding our defenses and alliances. America is once again strong -- and our strength has given us the ability to speak with confidence and see that no true opportunity to advance freedom and peace is lost.

That is the history behind the Geneva summit, that is the context in which it occurred. And may I add that we were especially eager that our meetings give a push to important talks already under way on reducing nuclear weapons. On this subject it would be foolish not to go the extra mile -- or in this case the extra 4,000 miles.

We discussed the great issues of our time. I made clear before the first meeting that no question would be swept aside, no issue buried, just because EITHER side found it uncomfortable or inconvenient.

I brought these questions to the summit and put them before Mr. Gorbachev.

We discussed nuclear arms and how to reduce them. I explained our proposals for equitable, verifiable, and deep reductions. I outlined my conviction that our proposals would make not just for a world that <u>feels</u> safer but that really <u>is</u> safer.

I am pleased to report tonight that General Secretary Gorbachev and I did make a measure of progress here. While we still have a long ways to go, we're at least heading in the right direction. We moved arms control FORWARD ~~down the road~~ from where we

were last January, when the Soviets returned to the table, ~~after their walk-out~~.

We are both instructing our negotiators to hasten their vital work. The world is waiting for results.

Specifically, we agreed in Geneva that each side should move to cut offensive nuclear arms by 50 percent in appropriate categories, and reach an interim accord on intermediate-range missiles, leading, we hope, to the complete elimination of this class of missiles. All this with tough verification. ~~No cheating allowed~~.

We also made ~~some~~ progress in together combatting the spread of nuclear weapons, an arms control area in which we've cooperated nicely over the years. We are also opening a dialogue on combatting the spread of chemical weapons, while moving to ban them altogether. Other arms control dialogues -- in Vienna on conventional arms, and in Stockholm on lessening the chances for surprise attack in Europe -- also received a boost. Finally, we agreed to begin work on risk reduction centers.

I described our Strategic Defense Initiative -- our research effort that envisions the possibility of defensive systems which could ultimately protect all nations against the danger of nuclear war. This discussion produced a very direct exchange of views.

Mr. Gorbachev insisted that we might use a strategic defense system to put offensive weapons into space and establish nuclear superiority.

I made it clear that S.D.I. has nothing to do with offensive weapons; that, instead, we are investigating non-nuclear defensive systems that would only threaten offensive missiles, not people. If our research succeeds, it will bring much closer the safer, more stable world we seek. Nations could defend themselves against missile attack, and mankind at long last escape the prison of mutual terror -- this is my dream.

So I welcomed the chance to tell Mr. Gorbachev that we are a Nation that defends, rather than attacks, that our alliances are defensive, not offensive. We don't seek nuclear superiority. We do not seek a first strike advantage over the Soviet Union. Indeed, one of my fundamental arms control objectives is to get rid of first strike weapons altogether. This is why we have proposed a 50-percent reduction in the most threatening nuclear weapons, especially those that could carry out a first strike.

I went further in expressing our peaceful intentions. I described our proposal in the Geneva negotiations for a program of open laboratories in strategic defense research. We are offering to permit Soviet experts to see first hand that S.D.I. does not involve offensive weapons. American scientists would be allowed to visit comparable facilities of the Soviet strategic defense program, which, in fact, has involved much more than research for many years.

Finally, I reassured Mr. Gorbachev on another point. I promised that if our research ~~verifies that~~ REVEALS THAT A DEFENSE AGAINST NUCLEAR MISSILES IS ~~prior to any decision on deployment of defensive systems, the U.S. would~~ WE WOULD SIT DOWN WITH OUR ALLIES + THE SOVIET U. TO SEE HOW TOGETHER WE COULD ~~with our allies -- would negotiate with the Soviet Union -- how~~ REPLACE ALL NUCLEAR MISSILES WITH SUCH A DEFENSE, WHICH THREATENS NO ONE.

~~together we could move gradually and safely toward defensive systems which would threaten no one~~.

We discussed threats to the peace in several regions of the world. I explained my proposals for a peace process to stop the wars in Afghanistan, Nicaragua, Ethiopia, Angola, and Cambodia, where insurgencies that speak for the people are pitted against regimes ~~supported, sustained, or imposed by the Soviet Union~~ WHICH OBVIOUSLY DO NOT REFLECT THE WILL OR THE APPROVAL OF THE PEOPLE. I tried to be very clear about where our sympathies lie; I believe I succeeded.

We discussed human rights. We Americans believe that history teaches no clearer lesson than this: Those countries which respect the rights of their own people tend, inevitably, to respect the rights of their neighbors. Human rights, therefore, is not an abstract moral issue -- it is a peace issue.

Finally, we discussed the barriers to communication between our societies, and I elaborated on our proposals for real people-to-people contacts on a wide scale.

I ~~urged Mr. Gorbachev to join us in efforts to break down the barriers that keep our people estranged~~. Americans should know the people of the Soviet Union -- their hopes and fears and the facts of their lives. And citizens of the Soviet Union need to know of America's deep desire for peace and our unwavering attachment to freedom.

~~And so, you~~ AS YOU CAN see, our talks were wide ranging. Let me at this point tell you what we agreed upon and what we didn't.

We remain far apart on ~~many~~ A NUMBER OF issues, as had to be expected. HOWEVER We reached agreement on a number of matters, ~~however~~, and, as I

mentioned, we agreed to ~~meet again. This is good: as a former union leader I can tell you~~ CONTINUE MEETING AND THIS IS IMPORTANT & VERY GOOD. There's always room for movement, action, and progress when people are talking TO EACH OTHER INSTEAD OF ABOUT EACH OTHER.

We have concluded a new agreement designed to bring the best of America's artists and academics to the Soviet Union. The exhibits that will be included in this exchange are one of the most effective ways for the average Soviet citizen to learn about ~~the American~~ OUR way of life. This agreement will also expand the opportunities for Americans to experience the Soviet people's rich cultural heritage - BECAUSE THEIR ARTISTS & ACADEMICS WILL BE COMING HERE

We have also decided to go forward with a number of people-to-people initiatives that will provide greater contact not only between the political leaders of our two countries but our respective students, teachers, and others as well. This will help break down stereotypes, build friendships, and, frankly, provide an alternative to propaganda.

We have agreed to establish a new Soviet Consulate in New York and a new U.S. Consulate in Kiev. This will bring an official American presence to the Ukraine for the first time in decades.

We have also, together with the government of Japan, concluded a Pacific Air Safety Agreement with the Soviet Union. This is designed to set up cooperative measures to improve civil air safety in that region. What happened before must never be allowed to happen again.

As a way of dealing with the energy needs of the world of the future, we have also agreed with the Soviets to invite other

nations to join us in an international effort to explore the feasibility of developing fusion energy.

All of these steps are part of a long-term effort to build a more stable relationship with the Soviet Union. No one ever said it would be easy. But we've come a long way.

As for Soviet ~~interference~~ EXPANSIONISM in ~~many~~ A NUMBER OF regions of the world -- ~~I am afraid that there is no evidence of change. Let me be frank: We cannot hope for an early end to the Soviet occupation of Afghanistan. But we can~~ WHILE THERE IS LITTLE CHANCE OF IMMEDIATE CHANGE WE WILL CONTINUE TO support the heroic efforts of all those who fight for freedom -- ~~and this we shall do~~. But we have also agreed to continue -- and, ~~if possible~~, to intensify -- our meetings with the Soviets on this and other regional conflicts and to work toward political solutions.

We know the limits as well as the promise of summit meetings. This is, after all, the eleventh summit of the post-war era -- and still the differences endure. But we believe continued meetings between the leaders of the United States and the Soviet Union can help bridge those differences.

The fact is, every new day begins with possibilities; each new day is empty of history; it's up to us to fill it with the things that move us toward progress and peace. Hope, therefore, is a realistic attitude -- and despair an uninteresting little vice.

And so: was our journey worthwhile?

Thirty years ago, when he too had just returned from a summit in Geneva, President Eisenhower said, "...the wide gulf that separates so far East and West... (is) as wide and deep..."

as the gulf that lies between the concept of man made in the image of his God and the concept of man as a mere instrument of the state." Today, three decades later, that is still true.

BUT YES

And yet I truly believe that this meeting was worthwhile for both sides. A new realism spawned the summit; the summit itself was a good start; and now our byword must be: Steady as we go.

I am, as you are, impatient for results. But goodwill and good hopes do not always yield lasting results. Quick fixes don't fix big problems.

Just as we must avoid illusions on our side, so we must dispel them on the Soviet side. I have made it clear to Mr. Gorbachev that there will be no Soviet gains from delay. Meetings like ours help to dispel Soviet illusions about the resolve of the West. And that too is good.

WE MUST REDUCE THE MISTRUST & SUSPICIONS BETWEEN US IF WE ARE TO DO SUCH THINGS AS REDUCE ARMS & THIS WILL TAKE DEEDS NOT WORDS ALONE. I BELIEVE HE IS IN AGREEMENT.

Where do we go from here? Well, our desire for improved relations is strong. We're ready and eager for step-by-step progress. We know that peace is not just the absence of war. We don't want a phony peace or a frail peace; we did not go in pursuit of some kind of make-believe detente. We can't be satisfied with cosmetic improvements that won't stand the test of time. We want real peace.

As I flew back this evening, I had many thoughts. In just a few days families across America will gather to celebrate Thanksgiving. And again, as our forefathers who voyaged to America, we travelled to Geneva with peace as our goal and freedom as our guide. For there can be no greater good than the

quest for peace -- nor no finer purpose than the preservation of freedom.

It is 350 years since the first Thanksgiving, when Pilgrims and Indians huddled together on the edge of an unknown continent. And now here we are gathered together on the edge of an unknown future -- but, like our forefathers, really not so much afraid, and full of hope, and trusting in God, as ever.

Thank you for allowing me to talk to you this evening. And God bless you all.

(NSC/BE)
November 21, 1985
5:30 a.m. (Geneva)

PRESIDENTIAL REMARKS: SUMMARY STATEMENT
GENEVA, SWITZERLAND
THURSDAY, NOVEMBER 21, 1985

President Furgler, General Secretary Gorbachev:

May I express Nancy's and my deep personal appreciation, and that of all Americans, to the people of Switzerland for welcoming us so warmly and preparing the foundations for productive discussions.

Yours is a long and honorable tradition of promoting international peace and understanding. You should take pride in being the capital for international discussions. So again, to the government of Switzerland, and to the citizens of Geneva -- many, many thanks.

We've packed a lot into the past 2 days. I came to Geneva to seek a fresh start in relations between the United States and the Soviet Union, and we have done this.

General Secretary Gorbachev and I have held comprehensive discussions, covering all elements of our relationship. I am convinced that we're heading in the right direction.

We have reached some useful interim results, which are described in the joint statement that is being issued this morning. In agreeing to accelerate the work of our nuclear arms negotiators, Mr. Gorbachev and I have addressed our common responsibility to strengthen peace.

In ~~all our discussions, we~~ I BELIEVE WE HAVE established a process for more intensive contacts between the United States and the Soviet Union. These 2 days of talks should inject a certain momentum

into our work on the issues between us, ~~Let's hope we can~~ A MOMENTUM WE CAN continue ~~this momentum~~ at the meeting we have agreed on for next year.

Before coming to Geneva, I spoke often of the need to build confidence in our dealings with each other. Frank and forthright conversations at the summit are part of this process. But I am certain General Secretary Gorbachev would agree that real confidence in each other must be built on deeds, not simply on words.

This is the thought that ties together all the proposals that the United States has put on the table in the past. And this is the criteria by which our meetings will be judged in the future.

The real report card on Geneva will not come in for months, or even years. But we know the questions that must be answered:

Will we join together in sharply reducing offensive nuclear arms and moving to non-nuclear defensive systems to make ours a safer world?

Will we join together to help bring about a peaceful resolution of conflicts in Asia, Africa and Central America -- so that the peoples there can freely determine their own destiny, without outside interference?

Will the cause of liberty be advanced?

And will the treaties and agreements signed, past and future, be honored?

The people in America, the Soviet Union, and throughout the world are ready to answer yes.

And our fireside Summit

I leave Geneva today determined to pursue every opportunity to build a safer world of peace and freedom. There is hard work ahead. We are ready for it. General Secretary Gorbachev, we ask you to join us in getting the job done.

The President has seen 11/23

(Elliott)
November 22, 1985
4:30 p.m.

PRESIDENTIAL RADIO TALK: GENEVA SUMMIT
SATURDAY, NOVEMBER 23, 1985

My fellow Americans, this has been a busy and eventful week for Nancy and me. Now that the summit in Geneva is behind us, we need to look ahead and ask, where do we go from here?

As I told Congress, we've made a fresh start in U.S.-Soviet relations. Every issue was on the table, and our 15 hours of discussions were tough and lively throughout. I got a better perspective from listening to General Secretary Gorbachev, and I think he went home with a lot to think about, too.

I plan to meet Mr. Gorbachev again next year in Washington, but between now and then, we have much work to do. Opportunities to address important problems of Soviet-American relations should not be squandered. We must always be realistic about our deep and abiding differences, but we should be working for progress wherever possible.

On arms control, the Soviets, after several years of resisting talks, have now agreed that each side should cut nuclear arms by 50 percent in appropriate categories. And in our joint statement, we called for early progress on this, directing the emphasis of the talks toward what has been the chief U.S. goal all along -- deep, equitable, fully-verifiable reductions in offensive weapons. If there is real interest on the Soviet side, there's a chance the talks can begin to make headway.

Mr. Gorbachev and I discussed our work on S.D.I. -- America's Strategic Defense Initiative. I told him that we are

investigating non-nuclear defensive systems designed to destroy offensive missiles and protect people. Although reluctant to acknowledge it, the Soviets have been carrying forward a research program far more extensive than ours on their own version of S.D.I.

I think it's fair to point out that the Soviets' main aim at Geneva was to force us to drop S.D.I. I think I can also say that after Geneva, Mr. Gorbachev understands we have no intention of doing so. Far from it, we want to make strategic defense a strong protector of the peace.

A research and testing program that may one day provide a peace shield to protect against nuclear attack is a deeply hopeful vision. And we should all be cooperating to bring that vision of peace alive for the entire world.

Regional conflicts were prominent in our discussions, and we'll be watching very closely for any change in Soviet activities in the Third World. Another resounding vote of the U.N. General Assembly has just called for Soviet withdrawal from Afghanistan. Next month, a new round of talks on this question takes place, also under U.N. auspices. If these talks are to succeed, the Soviets must provide a timetable for getting out, and recognize that the freedom fighters will not be conquered.

On bilateral and human rights questions, there were some small, encouraging steps before the summit, and in the agreements we reached there, to promote people-to-people contacts. In both areas, we're hoping greater steps will follow. As I also told the Congress, human rights is a true peace issue.

If there is one conclusion to draw from our Fireside Summit, it's that American policies are working. In a real sense, preparations for the summit started 5 years ago when, with the help of Congress, we began strengthening our economy, restoring our national will, and rebuilding our defenses and alliances.

America is strong again and American strength has caught the Soviet's attention. They recognize that the United States is no longer just reacting to world events; we are in the forefront of a powerful, historic tide for freedom and opportunity, for progress and peace.

There's never been a greater need for courage and steadiness than now. Our strategic modernization program is an incentive for the Soviets to negotiate in earnest. ~~But if our commitment weakens,~~ BUT IF Congress fails to support the vital defense efforts needed, then the Soviets will conclude that America's patience and will are paper thin, and the world will become more dangerous again.

Courage and steadiness are all important for freedom fighters too. I made it clear in Geneva that America's ~~heart and commitment~~ embraces all those who ~~bravely~~ resist tyranny and struggle for freedom. Breaking faith with freedom fighters would ~~not only be morally wrong, it would~~ signal that aggression carries no risk. This we ~~cannot and~~ will not allow.

My fellow Americans, we are entering a season of hope. If we remain resolute for freedom and peace, if we keep faith with ~~the~~ God, ~~whose Divine mercy has showered us with such blessings of~~

~~abundance and love~~, then our American family, 238 million strong, will have even more to be thankful for next year.

It's wonderful to be home; so until next week, thanks for listening and God bless you.

Despite our deep and abiding differences we can and must manage this historic conflict peacefully. We can and must prevent our international competition from spilling over into violence. We can find as yet undiscovered avenues where American and Soviet citizens can cooperate, fruitfully, for the benefit of mankind. And this, too, is why I am going to Geneva.

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

The U.S. has always stood for openness. Thirty years ago in Geneva President Eisenhower, preparing for his first meeting with the then Soviet leader, made his Open Skies proposal and an offer of new educational and cultural exchanges with the Soviet Union. He recognized that removing the barriers between people is at the heart of our relationship: HE SAID:

"Restrictions on communications of all kinds, including radio and travel, existing in extreme form in some places, have operated as causes of mutual distrust. In America, the fervent belief in freedom of thought, of expression, and of movement is a vital part of our heritage."

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

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

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

We have had educational and cultural exchanges for 25 years, and are now close to completing a new agreement. But I feel the time is ripe for us to take bold new steps to open the way for our peoples to participate in an unprecedented way in the building of peace. ~~That is why I intend to~~ WHY SHOULDN'T I propose to Mr. Gorbachev at Geneva that we exchange thousands of our citizens from fraternal, religious, educational, and cultural groups?

~~We are going to suggest~~ WHY NOT SUGGEST the exchange of thousands of undergraduates each year, and high school students who would live with a host family and attend schools or summer camps. We ~~also~~ COULD look to increase scholarship programs, improve language studies,

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

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

In science and technology we ~~propose to~~ could launch new joint space flights and establish joint medical research projects. In communications, we would like to see more appearances in the other's mass media by representatives of both our countries: if Soviet spokesmen are free to appear on American television, to be published and read in the American press, shouldn't the Soviet peoples have the same right to see, hear, and read what we Americans have to say?

~~These~~ Such proposals will not bridge our differences, but people-to-people contacts can build genuine constituencies for peace in both countries. AFTER ALL PEOPLE DONT START WARS — GOVT'S. DO.

Let me summarize, then, the vision and hopes that we carry with us to Geneva.

We go with an appreciation, born of experience, of the deep differences between us -- between our values, our systems, our beliefs. But we also carry with us the determination not to permit those differences to erupt into confrontation or conflict. WE DONT LIKE EACH OTHERS GOVERNMENTAL SYSTEMS BUT WE ARE NOT OUT TO CHANGE THEIRS AND WE WILL NOT PERMIT THEM TO CHANGE OURS.

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

Again, the elements of that agenda are these:

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

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

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

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

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

~~Fourth~~ FINALLY, we go to Geneva with the sober realization that nuclear weapons pose the greatest threat in human history to the survival of the human race, that the arms race must be stopped. We go determined to search out, and discover, common ground -- where we can agree to begin the reduction, looking to the

eventual elimination, of nuclear weapons from the face of the Earth.

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

These, then, are the indispensable elements of a true peace: the steady expansion of human rights for all the world's peoples, cooperation between the superpowers in bringing to resolution those regional conflicts in Asia, Africa, and Latin America that carry the seeds of a wider war; a broadening of people-to-people exchanges that can diminish the distrust and suspicion that separate our two peoples. Lastly, the steady reduction of these awesome nuclear arsenals -- until they no longer threaten the world we must both inhabit. This is our agenda for Geneva; this is our policy; this is our plan for peace.

We have cooperated in the past. In both world wars, Americans and Russians fought on separate fronts against a common enemy. Near the City of Murmansk, sons of our own nation are buried, heroes who died of wounds sustained on the treacherous North Atlantic and North Sea convoys that carried to Russia the indispensable tools of survival and victory.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

So we look to the future with optimism, and we go to Geneva with confidence.

Both Nancy and I are grateful for the chance you have given us to serve this nation and the trust you have placed in us. I know how deep the hope of peace is in her heart, as it is in the heart of every American and Russian mother.

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

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

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

Here is the central truth of our time, of any time, a truth to which I have tried to bear witness in this office.

When I first accepted the nomination of my party, I asked you, the American people, to join with me in prayer for our nation and the world. Six days ago, in the Cabinet Room, religious leaders from across our country -- Russian and Greek Orthodox bishops, Catholic Cardinals and Protestant pastors, Mormon elders and Jewish Rabbis, together made of me a similar request.

Tonight, I am honoring that request. I am asking you, my fellow Americans, to pray for God's grace and His guidance -- for all of us -- at Geneva, so that the cause of true peace among men will be advanced and all of humanity thereby served.