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Subseries: Chronological Files, 1989-1993

OA/ID Number: 13532
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Folder Title:

Arrival Ceremony, Toast at State Dinner, & Post-State Dinner Remarks for President Mikhail Gorbachev of Soviet Union 5/31/90 [OA 5374] [1]

Stack:	Row:	Section:	Shelf:	Position:
G	26	16	3	3

THE WHITE HOUSE

Office of the Press Secretary

For Immediate Release

May 31, 1990

REMARKS BY THE PRESIDENT
AND SOVIET PRESIDENT GORBACHEV
AT STATE DINNER

The State Dining Room

8:20 P.M. EDT

THE PRESIDENT: Friends and distinguished guests, and especially President and Mrs. Gorbachev, Barbara and I are delighted to welcome you to the White House to share bread and salt with us on this special evening.

We're now nearing the end of a momentous day -- the first of four in this Washington summit. And tomorrow, Mr. President, comes the moment that so many have been waiting for -- a day when expectations will be at fever pitch. That's right. Tomorrow Barbara and Raisa go to Wellesley College. (Laughter and applause.)

And back here at the White House, sir, we will meet again -- this time to sign our names to a series of agreements that signify the progress our two nations have made in forging a new relationship. Agreements on everything from nuclear testing and chemical weapons to expanded contacts between the people of America and the people of the Soviet Union.

These agreements are a continuation of all that began in Malta just six months ago -- a foundation we can build on. Proof that differences can be resolved even while others remain. And let me assure President Gorbachev whatever deep differences divided us in the past, the United States and the American people approach every issue with a sincere belief that our two nations can find common ground. Indeed, because of our unique positions in the world, we must find common ground.

We meet at a time of great and historic change -- in the Soviet Union, in Europe and around the world. Such profound change is unsettling, but also exhilarating. And we don't shrink from the challenges before us, but we welcome them, determined to build the foundations of enduring peace and security.

Mr. President, you deserve great credit for the course that you have chosen -- for the political and economic reforms that you have introduced -- and for creating within the Soviet Union this commitment to change. As I said this morning when I welcomed you to the White House, we want to see perestroika succeed. We want to see this transition now underway in the Soviet Union maintain its momentum.

Mr. President, it's said that your country is the land of possibilities. You have demonstrated the truth of that statement and we've seen this past year that ours is a world of possibilities -- that our time is a time of historic change, a time when men and nations can transform history, can turn possibility into progress. Into peace.

So let us raise our glasses to our guests, President and Mrs. Gorbachev, to the growing friendship between American and Soviet people and to the possibilities now open to us -- to the prospect of progress and lasting peace.

MORE

(A toast is offered.) (Applause.)

PRESIDENT GORBACHEV: Mr. President, Mrs. Bush, ladies and gentlemen, allow me on behalf of Mrs. Gorbachev and myself and all the members of our delegation to thank you for your warmth and for the kind words of President Bush. We share the assessment of President Bush that we have done fruitful work today. And I'm sure that as a result of this meeting our countries will go to a new level of cooperation.

Even now our relations, to which history assigned such an important role in the events and lessons of the 20th century, differ dramatically from what they were before the 1985 Geneva summit. To achieve this, we have worked together.

The enemy image is becoming a thing of the past. Ideological stereotypes are fading away. We have begun to understand each other's motives. As we are changing and becoming closer to each other, we have not ceased to be different. But it turns out that that is not so bad. Quite the opposite -- it is useful. For diversity is a vital force of development.

The world, too, has changed beyond recognition. It has made significant progress toward a new period of genuine peace in its long history. I think we can say with confidence that the most important and decisive step in this direction was made by our countries.

Our two countries had the will, common sense and understanding of the situation and of the imperatives of the future to embark on a long and difficult road which lead from Geneva via Reykjavik, Washington, Moscow and New York to Malta, and now once again to Washington.

Today I would like to repeat here what I said to the President six months ago at Malta. The Soviet Union does not regard the United States as its enemy. We have firmly adopted the policy of moving from mutual understanding through cooperation to joint action.

Today, when I was meeting some American intellectuals at the Soviet Embassy, I said to them this, "yes, indeed, we used to be enemies or almost enemies. Now we are maybe rivals, at least to some extent, and we want to become partners. We want to go all the way to become friends.

Improved Soviet-American relations have reduced the threat of war. This is the main achievement of these years. We have concluded close to 20 bilateral agreements in various fields. There has been an unprecedented expansion of exchanges among our people and that is especially valuable -- from school children to prominent personalities in the fields of science and the economy.

I think that the work we have been doing together with President Bush during these days can be considered as another step toward a more humane and just world.

I cannot say yet how we are going to conclude this meeting, what the results would be. That would be premature. But I think that my talk today with the President and also the meeting of the delegations makes it possible to expect major results from this meeting and maybe even major results, the biggest results compared to all the other meetings in previous Soviet-American summits. Maybe I'm too optimistic, but let's wait and see. We have two days. I believe that maybe we will have those major results. (Applause.)

I feel that we're now witnessing the emergence of a general idea which is conquering peoples' minds on the eve of the 21st century; it is the idea of unity.

To make this idea a reality is a truly monumental challenge. The world's diversity and its complex problems are such that we can only do it by synthesizing, or at least interlinking the

aspirations, values, achievements and hopes of different nations.

In the world confronted with the nuclear, environmental and other threats, global unity means a chance for the survival of our civilization. But mankind cannot be merely a community of survival. It should be a community of progress -- progress for all, the East, the West, the North, the South, the highly developed and the less fortunate.

But today we have to rethink the whole idea of progress. Mankind's ascent toward the realization of the idea of its history should not result in irreparable damage to the environment, in the exploitation of man or entire nations, or in irreversible moral and ethical losses.

It is a difficult and novel task to build a new civilization. Coming from a country in which more than 100 nationalities live together, we know that perhaps better than anyone else our own house is in need of an overhaul and a fundamental restructuring along the lines of reason and justice. We are aware of the magnitude of this undertaking, unprecedented in the history of mankind.

Judging by the response of the rest of the world to our perestroika, we can conclude that it is a necessary and desirable element of mankind's political and philosophical potential. That is why, while rethinking that potential and restructuring ourselves, we believe that we are making a contribution to the cause of universal development and universal unity.

We have not yet completed the task of creating a durable democratic system in our country. But I am convinced that the reserves of our society's energy already committed to this great undertaking are enough to bring it to its completion. I can say this firmly: we shall act on the basis of our values; we shall move resolutely but prudently.

The goal of our policy is to bring our society to a qualitatively new level. This will enable us to be predictable participants in the international process -- partners to all who want a secure, just, and free world. In building this world, we count on long-term cooperation of the United States of America.

The most important developments in relations between our two countries and in world politics are probably yet to come. It is important not to lose sight of our goal, to resist the temptation of trying to secure unilateral advantages. Let us move ahead while overcoming both current and future problems and roadblocks. Let us cooperate and work together.

To the health of Mrs. Barbara Bush and to your health, Mr. President, to the success and well-being of all those present here, to a life worthy of today and to our common and better future. Thank you.

(A toast is offered.) (Applause.)

END

8:39 P.M. EDT

ML
McGroarty/Dooley
May 24, 1990
5:30 pm
[SUMMIT.tst]

PRESIDENTIAL REMARKS: TOAST AT THE DINNER IN HONOR OF
PRESIDENT GORBACHEV OF THE U.S.S.R.
THE WHITE HOUSE
MAY 31, 1990
XX:00 PM

Friends, distinguished guests -- and, especially, Mr. President and Mrs. Gorbachev: Barbara and I are delighted to share this special evening with all of you. //

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And here in the White House, Mr. President, we will meet again -- this time to sign our names to a series of agreements that signify the progress our two nations have made in forging a new relationship. Agreements on everything from arms control -- strategic and chemical weapons -- to the opening of new consulates, and expanded contacts between the people of America and the Soviet Union. //

These agreements are a beginning -- a foundation we can build on. Proof that differences can be **resolved** -- even while others **remain**. And let me assure President Gorbachev -- whatever deep differences divided us in the past, the United States and

the American people approach every issue with a sincere belief that our two nations can find common ground. //

Mr. President, you deserve great credit for the course you've chosen -- for the political and economic reforms you've introduced -- and for **creating within the Soviet Union a consensus for change**. / As I said this morning as I welcomed you to the White House, we want to see perestroika succeed -- we want to see this transition now underway in the Soviet Union maintain its momentum -- continue moving forward until it arrives at its final, **democratic destination**. //

There is an old saying in your country: "**Russia is the land of possibilities**." / We've seen this past year that ours is a **world of possibilities**. That our time is a time of historic change -- a time when men and nations can **transform history** -- can turn **possibility** into **progress**. / Into **peace**. //

So let us raise our glasses:

To our guests, President and Mrs. Gorbachev;

To the growing friendship between the American and Soviet people;

And to the **possibilities now open to us** -- to the prospect of **progress, and lasting peace**. //

#

President's Toast at
State Dinner
for President and Mrs. Gorbachev

-- Ladies and Gentlemen. It is a great pleasure for Barbara and me to welcome to the White House President and Mrs. Gorbachev and such a distinguished group of Soviet and American guests.

-- It has now become a truism to say that we live in momentous, historic times. I think there is no one around these tables who would agree with that statement more than our guests of honor.

-- President Gorbachev, all of us in the United States have admired your vision and the process of change you have launched in your own country.

-- We support the goals of your perestroika because we know that real political and economic reform can lead not only to a better life for the people of the Soviet Union, but to a more stable and peaceful world.

-- I am reminded of a statement by the late Andrei Sakharov, one of the giants of the twentieth century. He wrote in 1978:

will use in original

I am convinced that guaranteed political and civil rights for people the world over are also guarantees of international security, economic and social progress.

-- Sakharov recognized that human freedom -- just like perestroyka -- is indivisible. All of us share when freedom grows, just as all of us are diminished when freedom is curtailed.

-- President Gorbachev and I had a very fruitful day of discussions.

-- We talked about a world in transition. We talked about building a safe, secure world order in which the processes of democracy and reform can flourish. We talked about expanding human rights and greater efforts to protect our environment.

-- We looked to the future and to possibilities for greater cooperation between our two countries.

-- There is an old Russian saying that "Russia is the land of possibilities."

-- Mr. President, that is a saying with which all Americans can identify.

-- For we are a people with a long history of exploring new possibilities, of opening up new frontiers.

-- I am convinced that together our two peoples can find a great deal in common, that we can jointly explore the new possibilities that are opening up in every field of endeavor.

-- I look forward in the days ahead to discussing further the means of expanding contacts and cooperation between our two peoples.

-- Mr. President, Mrs. Gorbachev, let me propose a toast to you, our honored guests, to the people of the Soviet Union, and to the new possibilities that are opening up for cooperation between us.

McGroarty/Dooley
May 25, 1990
11:30 am
[SUMMIT.arr]

PRESIDENTIAL REMARKS: ARRIVAL STATEMENT FOR OFFICIAL VISIT OF
PRESIDENT GORBACHEV OF THE U.S.S.R.
THE SOUTH LAWN
MAY 31, 1990
XX:00 AM

Friends, distinguished guests: welcome, all of you. / It is my great honor to welcome to the White House the President of the Soviet Union -- **Mikhail Gorbachev.** //

Mr. President, when we met last in Malta, we agreed to accelerate our efforts on a full range of issues. Today, of course, differences remain -- but in the short time since the Malta Summit -- not quite six months -- we've made **great progress.** //

We've reached agreement in several important areas. On chemical weapons. At this Summit, we will sign an agreement **which will lead to deep reductions in our chemical weapons arsenals** -- and create momentum for the global ban on chemical weapons that I have made my goal. // At this Summit, we will sign a **protocol on nuclear testing.** After nearly two decades of disagreement on nuclear testing -- we've broken the stalemate, and agreed on unprecedented on-site inspections.

And finally, at this Summit we will sign an agreement in principle to reduce strategic nuclear weapons. A landmark agreement in arms control. For the first time ever, an agreement not simply to limit -- but to reduce -- inter-continental nuclear

arsenals. We will cut our arsenals by a full **one-third** -- with special emphasis on the most dangerous and destabilizing weapons -- the large multi-warhead land-based systems.

This is a framework -- not a treaty in final form. Let me pledge right now that we will redouble our efforts, and complete work on a START Treaty -- including adequate verification measures -- as soon as possible.

In addition to these major agreements, there are others -- on **maritime borders** in the Bering Sea. Agreements expanding **academic exchanges** -- and **opening consulates** in Kiev and New York City. Each agreement is important in its own right -- but taken together, they are another sign that our relationship **has entered a new stage.** //

Now, in order to keep moving forward we must maintain a clear sense of perspective. The agreements we've reached cannot cause us to lose sight of the differences that remain. / Over the next four days, we will not solve all the world's problems. We won't resolve all the outstanding issues that divide us. But **we can and will take a significant step forward -- toward a new relationship based on realism and respect.** //

This Summit will be a working summit in the strictest sense of the term. One where we mark the real progress we have made by **signing new agreements** -- and where we address the differences that divide us in a spirit of candor -- in an open and honest search for common ground. //

So that the young men and women of the U.S. and America might soon form a world of peace, and build the trust that leads to peace

In that spirit, Mr. President, let me quote the words of one of your nation's great minds -- one of the world's great men, in this or any age: **Andrei Sakharov**. / Twelve years ago, Sakharov wrote:

"I am convinced that guaranteed political and civil rights for people the world over are also guarantees of international security, economic and social progress."

Sakharov knew that **lasting peace and progress are inseparable from freedom -- that nations will only be fully safe when all people are fully free**. //

In the past 12 months, freedom has made great gains. Deep, decades-old divisions have begun to heal. Millions have taken the first steps toward freedom and democracy. / And in the Soviet Union -- a profound process of change is gathering speed.

We in the United States applaud the new course the Soviet Union has chosen. We see the significant changes which have taken place in your country. The spirited debate within the People's Congress of Deputies -- in the Soviet press -- among the Soviet people. We also know about the difficult economic transformation that is necessary to breathe new life back into the Soviet economy. And as I've said many times before -- **we want to see perestroika succeed**. //

Mr. President, I believe you understand the course you've chosen is correct. I believe you understand that there is **no other way forward -- no turning back**. That ultimately, the path

toward true perestroika and the road to freedom and democracy are one and the same. ///

Mr. President, we meet at a time of change -- a time when powerful forces are at work, reshaping the world we've known -- placing in our hands a historic opportunity to overcome division and discord. To build a world of peace -- in freedom. //

And in the deepest sense, the success of this Summit depends not on the agreements we will sign -- but on the progress we make in moving toward this new world. Toward the great dream that unites the people of our two nations and men and women everywhere. //

Once again, Mr. President, it is my privilege to welcome you to Washington, and to the White House. / God bless the United States of America -- and may God bless the people of the Soviet Union.

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PRESIDENTIAL STATEMENT: ARRIVAL OF GORBACHEV

It is my great pleasure to welcome President Gorbachev back to the United States. President Gorbachev's last visit to Washington stirred hopes in America and around the world that improved relations between the superpowers would bring about a safer world. Much of the promise of that earlier visit has already been fulfilled. As the walls have come down outside and inside the Soviet Union, our bilateral relations have been marked by franker dialogue and increased cooperation on a host of issues.

realism & respect

Much remains to be done, however, if we are to cement the new spirit of friendship and cooperation. This emerging spirit must produce a lasting structure of mutually beneficial relations. We must instill new attitudes of openness and understanding, and look for ever greater areas of agreement. When our governments disagree, we must avoid misunderstandings by explaining frankly our differences and seeking negotiated solutions to problems. Where we can, we must lock in agreements which are to our mutual advantage.

James Baker

The United States stands ready to support the Soviet Union in the historic pursuit of economic and political democracy. I welcome President Gorbachev to our country and invite him to help fortify the spirit of cooperation that has reassured and inspired our two countries and the rest of the world.

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Bootleg NSC

McGroarty/Dooley
May 25, 1990
3:30 pm
[SUMMIT.tst]

90 MAY 29 AIO: 40

1990 MAY 25 PM 4: 27

PRESIDENTIAL REMARKS: TOAST AT THE DINNER IN HONOR OF
PRESIDENT GORBACHEV OF THE U.S.S.R.
THE WHITE HOUSE
MAY 31, 1990
XX:00 PM

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INSERT →

Mr. President, you deserve great credit for the course you've chosen -- for the political and economic reforms you've introduced -- and for creating within the Soviet Union a consensus for change. / As I said this morning as I welcomed you to the White House, we want to see perestroika succeed -- we want to see this transition now underway in the Soviet Union maintain its momentum -- continue moving forward until it arrives at its final, democratic destination. //

There is an old saying in your country: "Russia is the land of possibilities." / We've seen this past year that ours is a world of possibilities. That our time is a time of historic change -- a time when men and nations can transform history -- can turn possibility into progress. / Into peace. //

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90 MAY 29 AID: 40

1990 MAY 25 PM 4: 28

(Smith/Garney)
May 25, 1990
3:30 p.m.
Draft two
ALA

PRESIDENTIAL REMARKS: POST-STATE DINNER
THURSDAY, MAY 31, 1990
STATE DINING ROOM

It is a great pleasure for Barbara and me to welcome President and Mrs. Gorbachev to the United States. And to entertain them here at the White House in the presence of so many distinguished guests. I especially wish to thank Frederica von Stade for showing -- as a Russian composer once wrote -- "Whoever walks with song in his heart shall never lose his way." //

Mr. President, whenever the leaders of the two superpowers meet, people everywhere wait -- hopeful, and expectant. Asking whether the leaders of the U.S. and the U.S.S.R. will find a way to build a freer, more peaceful world. I can say that you and I had very good talks today. ^{They were serious talks, hard talks -- and so they should be. We are, after all,} ~~Working hard -- determined always~~ ^{to uphold the dreams of millions around the globe.} ~~tasking issues that have divided East and West for decades.~~

Every summit between our nations can be important. Each summit is shaped by history. This meeting can alter history. Over the past year, changes in Europe have unleashed the forces of freedom. Our distinguished guest, President Gorbachev, has been a catalyst of change. I salute him. And join him in confronting the even-greater challenges which still lie ahead

~~[For instance]~~ we must heed the desire for national self-determination -- while protecting the rights of minority

-- to complete and consolidate the encouraging changes of the past year. There can be no turning back.

populations. And ensure that all Nations, large and small, can live in peace with freedom. We ~~[must, and will]~~ welcome a united Germany -- peaceful and ^{democratic} ~~(prosperous)~~ in a stable Europe. ~~And there~~ ^{And we} welcome the countries of central and eastern Europe as full participants ~~must be room around the table of nations for the Baltic~~ in a Europe whole and free. ~~And we welcome the Soviet Union as a republics, who seek freedom that is political and intellectual, economic and religious)~~ ^{force for positive change.}

All of this, and more, we talked about today. As I said in welcoming President Gorbachev, the United States ~~[stands ready to]~~ support^s the Soviet Union in the pursuit of democracy. We want to expand our bilateral cooperation, and to help resolve regional problems. We may often disagree on means. But increasingly we agree on ends. *And increasingly we work together.*

~~[So let us keep on talking, and learning, so that we can be again what we were in World War II -- not enemies, but friends.]~~
 And in that spirit, let me close with an old Russian story about a traveler walking to another village. And who, coming upon a woodsman, asked how far he had to go.

The woodsman said he didn't know. Whereupon the traveler, angered, started down the road. At that point the woodsman called out to him, "Stop. It will take you about 15 minutes." // The traveler then asked why he didn't tell him that in the first place. Because, the woodsman answered, "I didn't know your stride." //

Mr. President, today we learned more about each other and our hopes for our nations and the world. So let us travel

together, always forward, to build³
~~(however far -- and in whatever ways -- to build)~~ a world of peace
for ourselves and for our children.

That's what our meetings focused on today. And what --
together -- we can, and must, achieve: ~~The~~ peace ^{that} ~~(which)~~ spans the
generations. The kind of peace ^{that} ~~(which)~~ lasts.

To Frederica von Stade, thank you for proving the words of
the old Russian proverb: "Song is the soul of people."
President and Mrs. Gorbachev, thank you for being our guests.
And God bless the peoples of our two beloved lands.

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McGroarty/Dooley
May 25, 1990
3:30 pm
[SUMMIT.tst]

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~~strategic~~ and chemical weapons -- to the opening of new
consulates, and expanded contacts between the people of America
and the Soviet Union. // ^{continuation} ~~extension~~ of all ^{that began in Macta just six months} ago.
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INSERT *A*,

(NSC)
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CLOSE HOLD

Document No. _____

WHITE HOUSE STAFFING MEMORANDUM

DATE: 5/30/90 ACTION/CONCURRENCE/COMMENT DUE BY: _____

SUBJECT: PRESIDENTIAL REMARKS: TOAST AT THE DINNER IN HONOR OF PRESIDENT GORBACHEV

	ACTION FYI			ACTION FYI	
VICE PRESIDENT	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	MCCLURE	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
SUNUNU	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	NEWMAN	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
SCOWCROFT	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	PORTER	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>
DARMAN	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	ROGICH	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>
BATES	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	UNTERMAYER	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
CARD	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	WINSTON	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>
CICCONI	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	ROGERS	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>
DEMAREST	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	_____	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
FITZWATER	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	_____	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
GRAY	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	_____	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
HAGIN	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	_____	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>

REMARKS:

The attached has been forwarded to the President.

RESPONSE:

James W. Cicconi
Assistant to the President
and Deputy to the Chief of Staff
Ext. 2702

McGroarty/Dooley
May 30, 1990
11:45 am
[SUMMIT.tst]

1990 MAY 30 PM 1:37

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differences divided us in the past, the United States and the American people approach every issue with a sincere belief that our two nations can find common ground. //

We meet at a time of great and historic change -- in the Soviet Union, in Europe, and around the world. Such profound change is unsettling, but also exhilarating. We do not shrink from the challenges before us but welcome them, determined to build the foundations of enduring peace and security.

Mr. President, you deserve great credit for the course you've chosen -- for the political and economic reforms you've introduced -- and for creating within the Soviet Union a commitment to change. / As I said this morning as I welcomed you to the White House, we want to see perestroika succeed -- we want to see this transition now underway in the Soviet Union maintain its momentum.

Mr. President, it is said that your country is "the land of possibilities." / You have demonstrated the truth of that statement and we've seen this past year that ours is a world of possibilities. That our time is a time of historic change -- a time when men and nations can transform history -- can turn possibility into progress. / Into peace. //

So let us raise our glasses:

To our guests, President and Mrs. Gorbachev;

To the growing friendship between the American and Soviet people;

And to the possibilities now open to us -- to the prospect
of progress, and lasting peace. //

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**TOAST AT THE DINNER IN HONOR OF
PRESIDENT GORBACHEV OF THE U.S.S.R.
THE WHITE HOUSE \ MAY 31, 1990 \ 8:00 PM**

**FRIENDS, DISTINGUISHED GUESTS -- AND, ESPECIALLY,
MR. PRESIDENT AND MRS. GORBACHEV: BARBARA AND I ARE
DELIGHTED TO WELCOME YOU TO THE WHITE HOUSE -- TO SHARE
"BREAD AND SALT" WITH US ON THIS SPECIAL EVENING. //**

**WE'RE NOW NEARING THE END OF A MOMENTOUS DAY -- THE
FIRST OF FOUR IN THIS WASHINGTON SUMMIT.**

- 2 -

**[[TOMORROW, MR. PRESIDENT, COMES THE MOMENT SO MANY
HAVE BEEN WAITING FOR -- A DAY WHEN EXPECTATIONS WILL
BE AT FEVER PITCH. // THAT'S RIGHT, TOMORROW //
BARBARA AND RAISA GO TO WELLESLEY COLLEGE.]]**

**AND HERE IN THE WHITE HOUSE, MR. PRESIDENT, WE WILL
MEET AGAIN -- THIS TIME TO SIGN OUR NAMES TO A SERIES
OF AGREEMENTS THAT SIGNIFY THE PROGRESS OUR TWO NATIONS
HAVE MADE IN FORGING A NEW RELATIONSHIP.**

AGREEMENTS ON EVERYTHING FROM NUCLEAR TESTING AND
CHEMICAL WEAPONS -- TO THE OPENING OF NEW CONSULATES,
AND EXPANDED CONTACTS BETWEEN THE PEOPLE OF AMERICA AND
THE SOVIET UNION. //

THESE AGREEMENTS ARE A CONTINUATION OF ALL THAT
BEGAN IN MALTA JUST SIX MONTHS AGO -- A FOUNDATION WE
CAN BUILD ON. PROOF THAT DIFFERENCES CAN BE RESOLVED
-- EVEN WHILE OTHERS REMAIN.

AND LET ME ASSURE PRESIDENT GORBACHEV -- WHATEVER DEEP
DIFFERENCES DIVIDED US IN THE PAST, THE UNITED STATES
AND THE AMERICAN PEOPLE APPROACH EVERY ISSUE WITH A
SINCERE BELIEF THAT OUR TWO NATIONS CAN FIND COMMON
GROUND. INDEED, BECAUSE OF OUR UNIQUE POSITIONS IN THE
WORLD -- WE MUST FIND COMMON GROUND. //

WE MEET AT A TIME OF GREAT AND HISTORIC CHANGE --
IN THE SOVIET UNION, IN EUROPE, AND AROUND THE WORLD.
SUCH PROFOUND CHANGE IS UNSETTLING, BUT ALSO
EXHILARATING.

WE DO NOT SHRINK FROM THE CHALLENGES BEFORE US BUT WELCOME THEM, DETERMINED TO BUILD THE FOUNDATIONS OF ENDURING PEACE AND SECURITY.

MR. PRESIDENT, YOU DESERVE GREAT CREDIT FOR THE COURSE YOU'VE CHOSEN -- FOR THE POLITICAL AND ECONOMIC REFORMS YOU'VE INTRODUCED -- AND FOR CREATING WITHIN THE SOVIET UNION A COMMITMENT TO CHANGE. /

AS I SAID THIS MORNING AS I WELCOMED YOU TO THE WHITE HOUSE, WE WANT TO SEE PERESTROIKA SUCCEED -- WE WANT TO SEE THIS TRANSITION NOW UNDERWAY IN THE SOVIET UNION MAINTAIN ITS MOMENTUM.

MR. PRESIDENT, IT IS SAID THAT YOUR COUNTRY IS "THE LAND OF POSSIBILITIES." / YOU HAVE DEMONSTRATED THE TRUTH OF THAT STATEMENT AND WE'VE SEEN THIS PAST YEAR THAT OURS IS A WORLD OF POSSIBILITIES.

**THAT OUR TIME IS A TIME OF HISTORIC CHANGE -- A TIME
WHEN MEN AND NATIONS CAN TRANSFORM HISTORY -- CAN TURN
POSSIBILITY INTO PROGRESS. / INTO PEACE. //**

SO LET US RAISE OUR GLASSES:

TO OUR GUESTS, PRESIDENT AND MRS. GORBACHEV;

**TO THE GROWING FRIENDSHIP BETWEEN THE AMERICAN AND
SOVIET PEOPLE;**

**AND TO THE POSSIBILITIES NOW OPEN TO US -- TO THE
PROSPECT OF PROGRESS, AND LASTING PEACE. //**

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PRESIDENTIAL STATEMENT: ARRIVAL OF GORBACHEV

It is my great pleasure to welcome President Gorbachev back to the United States. President Gorbachev's last visit to Washington stirred hopes in America and around the world that improved relations between the superpowers would bring about a safer world. Much of the promise of that earlier visit has already been fulfilled. [As the walls have come down outside and inside the Soviet Union, our bilateral relations have been marked by franker dialogue and increased cooperation on a host of issues.]

realism & respect

Much remains to be done, however, if we are to cement the new spirit of friendship and cooperation. This emerging spirit must produce a lasting structure of mutually beneficial relations. We must instill new attitudes of openness and understanding, and look for ever greater areas of agreement. When our governments disagree, we must avoid misunderstandings by explaining frankly our differences and seeking negotiated solutions to problems. Where we can, we must lock in agreements which are to our mutual advantage.

James Baker

[The United States stands ready to support the Soviet Union in the historic pursuit of economic and political democracy. I welcome President Gorbachev to our country and invite him to help fortify the spirit of cooperation that has reassured and inspired our two countries and the rest of the world.]

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United States Department of State

Washington, D.C. 20520 9011501

May 23, 1990

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

DECLASSIFIED

Department of State Guidelines
E.O. 12958, SEC 3.4 (B), July 21, 1997
By RM NARA, Date 9/29/04

MEMORANDUM FOR BRENT SCOWCROFT
THE WHITE HOUSE

Subject: More Draft Statements for the Visit of Soviet
President Gorbachev

Attached please find suggested toasts for the state dinner
and return dinner and draft remarks for the signing ceremony.


J. Stapleton Roy
Executive Secretary

Attachments:
As stated.

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~
DECL:OADR

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United States Department of State

Washington, D.C. 20520 9011403

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90 MAY 22 P2:55

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

May 22, 1990

MEMORANDUM FOR BRENT SCOWCROFT
THE WHITE HOUSE

Subject: Draft Statements for the Visit of Soviet President Gorbachev.

Attached please find a draft arrival statement and draft after-dinner remarks for the visit of President Gorbachev.

J. Stapleton Roy
J. Stapleton Roy
Executive Secretary

Attachments:
As stated.

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~
DECL:OADR
DECLASSIFIED

Department of State Guidelines
E.O. 12958, SEC 3.4 (B), July 21, 1997
By *[Signature]* NARA, Date *9/29/04*

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PRESIDENT'S REMARKS AFTER STATE DINNER

It is a great pleasure for Barbara and me to welcome President and Mrs. Gorbachev to the United States. We are happy to entertain them here at the White House in the presence of so many distinguished guests -- many of whom have longstanding ties to the Soviet Union and its people.

Whenever the leaders of the two superpowers meet, people around the world pause to watch. The world looks on to see whether the leaders of the U.S. and USSR can work together; whether our discussions result in building a safer world; whether our work helps realize the dreams of peace and freedom cherished around the world. I can tell you that President Gorbachev and I had very good discussions today. We worked hard fully aware of the hopes and dreams that so many hold for this summit.

While all U.S.-Soviet summits are important, this one comes at a particularly critical time in history. The great changes we are witnessing in Europe have unleashed the tremendous forces of freedom. These forces cannot be denied or appeased; no one

is satisfied with a little freedom. The peoples of Europe must move forward with peaceful democratization or they will fall back into sterile confrontation. No one realizes that more than our distinguished guest, who has been instrumental in fostering many of the historic changes that we now see transforming Europe.

I think he would agree with me when I say that, as far as the cause of democracy has come in the last year, the greatest challenges may still be before us. The drive for national self-determination must be heeded, while protecting the rights of minority populations. We must ensure that all nations, large and small, can live in peace with freedom. There must be room at the table of nations for a unified Germany, peaceful, sovereign and prosperous in a secure and stable Europe. There must be room at the table for the peoples of the Baltic nations, having freely exercised their right of self-determination. And let me say that President Gorbachev and I talked about this today in detail and in candor.

Freedom in the voting booth must be matched by freedom in the work place. Only when all kinds of intrusive governmental controls are eliminated will the creative energies and economic potential of free peoples be released. As I said in welcoming

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President Gorbachev, the United States is ready to support the Soviet Union in the pursuit of both economic and political democracy. As we work to expand our bilateral cooperation, and to jointly encourage resolution of regional problems, President Gorbachev and I both recognize that as great powers we will continue to have conflicting interests. With today's satellite communications, our distant worlds have become one, but we sometimes still see things differently. Even if we agree on our goals, we may disagree on how to get there. If we are not surprised by our differences, we will not be alarmed. While we will not resolve all our differences this week, we hope at least to gain a better understanding of them.

So we are pleased by the results of our meetings today. We are not daunted by the tasks at hand, nor overconfident about completing them. We are ready to move into a new era of friendship based on realism and respect.

PRESIDENT'S TOAST AT SOVIET EMBASSY DINNER

-- Barbara and I would like to thank President and Mrs. Gorbachev and the entire Soviet Embassy for this wonderful meal.

-- With the effort to pack as much substance as possible into President Gorbachev's four days in Washington, it is a rare delight to sit and enjoy a relaxed conversation with our gracious host.

-- JOKE LINE: Of course, since your President is not a man to waste words, even in this relaxed environment I was forced to pay close attention between the caviar and the first course.

-- As we pause to digest a hearty -- and delicious -- Russian dinner, it seems appropriate to digest the proceedings of the last three days.

-- Let us take a moment to appreciate the enormity of this occasion.

-- We agreed this afternoon on the principles of a strategic arms agreement, which will be the first of its kind to actually reduce strategic systems.

-- We agreed to substantially reduce our chemical weapons stocks, a trail-blazing agreement we hope will quickly lead to a multilateral treaty banning chemical weapons.

-- We agreed to a number of agreements that will promote contacts between our two peoples: ~~expanded~~ *educ.* undergraduate university exchanges, and consulates in Kiev and New York.

-- We have agreed to a maritime border between our two countries in the Bering Sea.

(add economic/commercial agreements if signed)

-- I am very pleased with these results. We have accomplished much that is good for our two countries.

-- But beyond signing these agreements, this summit has provided us an opportunity to exchange views candidly on the entire spectrum of our relationship.

-- Mr. President, I have found our discussions to be enormously useful. I look forward to further exchanges tomorrow at Camp David.

-- So ladies and gentlemen, I invite you to join me in a toast to our hosts, President and Mrs. Gorbachev, and Ambassador and Mrs. Bessmertnykh, for their kind hospitality, and to the growing cooperation of the American and Soviet peoples, and the peace and prosperity which that cooperation will bring.

STATEMENT BY PRESIDENT BUSH AT SIGNING CEREMONY
OF U.S.-SOVIET AGREEMENTS

EAST RM.

Ladies and Gentlemen,

A little over six months ago on the wind-swept island of Malta, President Gorbachev and I put forward an agenda of work to be completed by this Washington Summit. We challenged our experts to negotiate concrete agreements on a broad range of issues that would substantially enhance cooperation between our two countries. I am happy to say today that a great deal of hard work has been done since then. We have been successful in reaching accord on almost all of the Malta agenda.

We are about to sign agreements in many areas of our relationship and to record specific bilateral understandings in joint statements that are being published today. The achievements we record today range from concrete understandings on the reduction of strategic nuclear weapons to a number of specific agreements that will enhance the lives of U.S. and Soviet citizens. Let me cite just a few examples:

-- We are signing today protocols on limiting nuclear testing. After long and arduous negotiations, we have agreed in these protocols on unprecedented on-site verification improvements for the Threshold Test Ban Treaty and Peaceful Nuclear Explosions Treaty. I am hopeful that our Congress will act expeditiously to bring these Treaties into effect.

-- I am personally pleased to sign today a trailblazing bilateral agreement which will lead for the first time to a substantial reduction in U.S. and Soviet chemical weapons stocks. [I hope this agreement will encourage other nations so that we can move ahead with a global ban of chemical weapons.]

-- We are also announcing today [in a joint statement] agreement on the major issues involved in the strategic arms negotiations. This too has been a long and difficult negotiation. Having reached compromises on the major weapons systems covered by the START Treaty, President Gorbachev and I are now charging our negotiating teams with the responsibility to conclude as quickly as possible a START treaty that can be effectively verified.

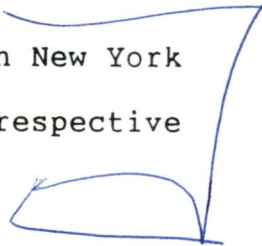
[-- We are also signing today a joint U.S.-Soviet commercial agreement. As you know, the Supreme Soviet recently passed a new emigration bill which codifies free emigration. In view of this bill, and the record numbers of Soviet citizens who have emigrated in the past year, I have decided to grant a one-year waiver of the Jackson/Vanik amendment and extend most-favored-nation status to the Soviet Union. The commercial agreement that we are signing will provide a framework within which U.S. firms can expand economic ties to the Soviet Union. I believe this is a good agreement which advances American interests and can promote economic change in the Soviet Union. I believe this agreement will be a catalyst for expanded trade between our two countries.]

MFA →

-- There are a number of other agreements which we will initial or announce today which represent a great deal of work both within the government and by private citizens groups.

o President Gorbachev and I are announcing today our intention to establish a U.S.-Soviet park in the region of the Bering Strait. This park is the culmination of efforts by private organizations and public agencies in both countries to preserve the unique natural environment and the cultural heritage of the Bering Sea region of Alaska and Siberia.

- o We are issuing a joint statement on cooperation in protecting the environment and signing a customs agreement to help us fight the scourge of the international drug trade. These symbolize our new interest in working together with the Soviet Union to solve transnational problems.

- o We have agreed today on opening consulates in New York and Kiev as well as cultural centers in our respective capitals. 

- o We are signing an agreement today realizing our Malta objective of expanding student undergraduate exchanges by 1,000 on both sides. This agreement will provide opportunities for youth of both countries to see first hand and study the culture, politics and economics of each other's country. This is an investment in the future that will benefit both our peoples.

These are just a selection of the agreements we record today. I am proud of what we have accomplished. I believe these are good agreements which will be in the interests of both countries. I congratulate all those in the government and outside who have had a role in these achievements. All Americans can take pride in a job well done. Thank you.

1990 MAY 30 PM 1:37

McGroarty/Dooley
May 30, 1990
11:45 am
[SUMMIT.tst]

PRESIDENTIAL REMARKS: TOAST AT THE DINNER IN HONOR OF
PRESIDENT GORBACHEV OF THE U.S.S.R.
THE WHITE HOUSE
MAY 31, 1990
8:00 PM

Friends, distinguished guests -- and, especially, Mr.
President and Mrs. Gorbachev: Barbara and I are delighted to
welcome you to the White House -- to share "bread and salt" with
us on this special evening. //

We're now nearing the end of a momentous day -- the first of
four in this Washington Summit. [[Tomorrow, Mr. President, comes
the moment so many have been waiting for -- a day when
expectation will be at fever pitch. // That's right, tomorrow
// ^{Barbara} ~~Mrs.~~ Bush and ^{Rauza} ~~Mrs.~~ Gorbachev go to Wellesley College.]]

And here in the White House, Mr. President, we will meet
again -- this time to sign our names to a series of agreements
that signify the progress our two nations have made in forging a
new relationship. Agreements on everything from nuclear testing
and chemical weapons -- to the opening of new consulates, and
expanded contacts between the people of America and the Soviet
Union. //

These agreements are a continuation of all that began in
Malta just six months ago -- a foundation we can build on. Proof
that differences can be resolved -- even while others remain.
And let me assure President Gorbachev -- whatever deep

Like it!

differences divided us in the past, the United States and the American people approach every issue with a sincere belief that our two nations can find common ground. // *Indeed because of our unique positions in the world we must find common ground.*
 We meet at a time of great and historic change -- in the Soviet Union, in Europe, and around the world. Such profound change is unsettling, but also exhilarating. We do not shrink from the challenges before us but welcome them, determined to build the foundations of enduring peace and security.

Mr. President, you deserve great credit for the course you've chosen -- for the political and economic reforms you've introduced -- and for creating within the Soviet Union a commitment to change. / As I said this morning as I welcomed you to the White House, we want to see perestroika succeed -- we want to see this transition now underway in the Soviet Union maintain its momentum.

Mr. President, it is said that your country is "the land of possibilities." / You have demonstrated the truth of that statement and we've seen this past year that ours is a world of possibilities. That our time is a time of historic change -- a time when men and nations can transform history -- can turn possibility into progress. / Into peace. //

So let us raise our glasses:

To our guests, President and Mrs. Gorbachev;

To the growing friendship between the American and Soviet people;

You know there are differences between us and difficult problems to face, but for a world crying out for freedom and peace we must find the way.

And to the possibilities now open to us -- to the prospect
of progress, and lasting peace. //

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McGroarty/Dooley
May 30, 1990
10:00 am
[SUMMIT.arr]

PRESIDENTIAL REMARKS: ARRIVAL STATEMENT FOR OFFICIAL VISIT OF
PRESIDENT GORBACHEV OF THE U.S.S.R.
THE SOUTH LAWN
MAY 31, 1990
10:00 AM

Friends, distinguished guests: welcome, all of you. / It is my great honor to welcome to the White House the President of the Soviet Union -- Mikhail Gorbachev. //

Mr. President, just over a year ago, I said that the United States wanted to move beyond containment in its relations with the Soviet Union -- toward a new era, an era of enduring cooperation. / When we last met in Malta, we agreed to accelerate our efforts on a full range of issues. Today, differences remain, of course -- but in the short six months since the Malta Summit, we've made encouraging progress.

I want this Summit to take us farther still, and I know that is President Gorbachev's hope as well. //

We've seen a world of change this past year. / Now, on the horizon -- we see what, just one short year ago, seemed a distant dream: a continent cruelly divided East from West -- has begun to heal with the dawn of self-determination and democracy. In Germany, where a Wall once stood -- a nation moves toward unity, in peace and freedom. And on the most heavily militarized continent on earth -- at last, we see the long era of confrontation giving way to the prospect of enduring cooperation

in a Europe whole and free. Mr. President, you deserve great credit for your part in these transforming events. I salute you, as well, for the process of change you've brought to your own country.

As we begin this Summit, let me stress that I believe we can work together at this historic moment to further the process of building a new Europe -- one in which every nation's security is strengthened -- and no nation is threatened. / Around the world, we need to strengthen our cooperation in solving regional conflicts, and building peace and stability. In Nicaragua, for example, we have shown that we can work together to promote peaceful change. In Angola, our support for an early resolution of that country's tragic conflict -- a resolution acceptable to the Angolan people -- is now paying off. Let us expand this new spirit of cooperation -- not merely to resolve disputes between us, but to build a solid foundation for peace, prosperity, and stability around the world. //

In that same spirit, Mr. President, let me quote the words of one of your nation's great minds -- one of the world's great men, in this or any age: Andrei Sakharov. / Fourteen years ago, Sakharov wrote: "I am convinced that guaranteed political and civil rights for people the world over are also guarantees of international security, economic and social progress."

Sakharov knew that lasting peace and progress are inseparable from freedom -- that nations will only be fully safe when all people are fully free. //

We in the U.S. applaud the new course the Soviet Union has chosen. We see the spirited debate in the Congress of Peoples' Deputies -- in the Soviet press -- among the Soviet people. We know about the difficult economic reforms that are necessary to breathe new vigor into the Soviet economy. And as I've said many times before -- we want to see perestroika succeed. //

Mr. President, I believe, as you have said, that there is no turning back from the path you have chosen. ///

Mr. President, since our meeting in Malta, we have reached agreements in important areas -- each one, proof that when mutual respect prevails, progress is possible. //

But the agreements we've reached cannot cause us to lose sight of the differences that remain. / Lithuania is one such issue. We believe that good faith dialogue between the Soviet leaders and representatives of the Baltic peoples is the proper approach -- and we hope to see that process go forward.

Over the next four days, we will not solve all the world's problems. / We won't resolve all the outstanding issues that divide us. But we can and will take significant steps -- toward a new relationship. //

This Summit will be a working summit in the strictest sense of the term. One where we mark real progress we have made by signing new agreements -- and where we address the differences that divide us in a spirit of candor -- in an open and honest search for common ground. //

In a larger sense, though the success of this Summit depends not on the agreements we will sign -- but on our personal efforts to lay the groundwork for overcoming decades of division and discord, to build a world of peace -- in freedom. //

Once again, Mr. President, it is my privilege to welcome you to the White House. May God bless our peoples in their efforts for a better world.

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Together Your great country and ours bear
 an ~~enormous~~ enormous and unique responsibility
 for world peace and for regional stability.
~~Therefore~~ we must ~~and~~ work together
 to reduce tensions and make this world
 a little better for our children - grandchildren
 To this end I pledge you my all out
 effort

McGroarty/Dooley
May 30, 1990
10:00 am
[SUMMIT.arr]

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Mr. President, just over a year ago, I said that the United States wanted to move beyond containment in its relations with the Soviet Union -- toward a new era, an era of enduring cooperation. / When we last met in Malta, we agreed to accelerate our efforts on a full range of issues. Today, differences remain, of course -- but in the short six months since the Malta Summit, we've made ^{encouraging} significant progress.

I want this Summit to take us farther still, and I know that is President Gorbachev's hope as well. //

We've seen a world of change this past year. / Now, on the horizon -- we see what, just one short year ago, seemed a distant dream: ~~in Eastern Europe, behind the barriers of brick and barbed wire that cruelly divided East from West~~ ^{a continent cruelly divided} -- ^{has begun to heal with} the dawn of ^a self-determination and democracy. In Germany, where [the] Wall once stood -- a ~~great~~ nation moves toward unity, in peace and freedom. And on the most heavily militarized continent on earth -- at long last, we see ^{the long era of confrontation giving way to the prospect of enduring cooperation in} ~~the prospect of~~ a Europe whole and free.

Mr. President, you deserve great credit for your part in these transforming events. I salute you, ^{as well,} for the process of change you've brought to your ^{own} country. ~~and for the Soviet Union's change in policies toward the other countries of the world.~~ //

As we begin this Summit, let me ^{stress that} ~~recall the words of an old Russian proverb: "To live as neighbors -- we must speak together."~~ / ~~Real security can come only when we work in concert: with other countries -- not against them.~~ I believe we can work together at this historic moment to help further the process of building a new ~~Europe~~ ^{Europe} -- one in which every nation's security is strengthened -- and no nation ^{is} threatened. / ~~Let me be clear: the security we seek is inclusive -- not exclusive. The Soviet Union will be -- must be -- part of Europe's future.~~

Around the world, we need to strengthen our cooperation in solving regional conflicts, and building peace and stability. In Nicaragua, ^{for example,} we have shown that we can work together to promote peaceful change. In Angola, our support for an early resolution of that country's tragic conflict -- a resolution acceptable to the Angolan people -- is now paying off. **Let us expand this new spirit of cooperation** -- not merely to resolve disputes between us, but to build a solid foundation for peace, prosperity, and stability around the world. //

In that same spirit, Mr. President, let me quote the words of one of your nation's great minds -- one of the world's great men, in this or any age: **Andrei Sakharov**. / Twelve years ago,

Sakharov wrote: "I am convinced that guaranteed political and civil rights for people the world over are also guarantees of international security, economic and social progress."

Sakharov knew that lasting peace and progress are inseparable from freedom -- that nations will only be fully safe when all people are fully free. //

~~In the past 12 months, [freedom has made great gains.] Deep, decades-old divisions have begun to heal. Millions have taken the first steps toward freedom and democracy. / And within the Soviet Union -- a profound process of change is gathering speed.~~

We in the U.S. applaud the new course the Soviet Union has chosen. We see the spirited debate in the Congress of Peoples' Deputies -- in the Soviet press -- among the Soviet people. We know about the difficult economic reforms that are necessary to breathe new ^{vigor} [life back] into the Soviet economy. And as I've said many times before -- we want to see perestroika succeed. //

~~Mr. President, I believe -- as you do -- that increased freedom and opportunity is the correct course. I believe, you as you ^{have s} understand that there is [no other way forward] no turning back ^{from the path you} that ultimately, the path toward true perestroika and the road to ^{chosen} freedom and democracy are one and the same. ///~~

Mr. President, since our meeting in Malta, we have reached agreements in several important areas -- each one, proof that when mutual respect prevails, progress is possible. //

But the agreements we've reached cannot cause us to lose sight of the differences that remain. / Lithuania is one such

We believe that ⁴ ~~the~~ ^{Good faith} issue. We are encouraged that a dialogue has begun between the soviet leaders and ~~Lithuania's~~ ^{of the Baltic peoples} representatives, ^{is the only answer} -- and we want to see that process go forward, ^{hope} ~~so that Lithuania and the other~~ ~~Baltic states can realize their basic right to national self-~~ ~~determination.~~] // proper approach
NSC

Over the next four days, we will not solve all the world's problems. / We won't resolve all the outstanding issues that divide us. But we can and will take ^{significant} ~~a significant~~ step ^{that marks significant progress} forward -- toward a new relationship ~~[based on realism and respect.]~~ //

This Summit will be a working summit in the strictest sense of the term. One where we mark ^[the] real progress we have made by signing new agreements -- and where we address the differences that divide us in a spirit of candor -- in an open and honest search for common ground. //

In ^{a larger} ~~the deepest~~ sense, ^{though,} the success of this Summit depends not on the agreements we will sign -- but on our personal efforts to lay the groundwork ~~the progress we make in~~ ^{for} overcoming decades of division and discord, to build a world of peace -- in freedom. //

Once again, Mr. President, it is my privilege to welcome you to the White House. God bless the United States of America -- ^{Cross} and ~~[may God bless]~~ the people of the Soviet Union.

* * *

May God bless our ~~two~~ peoples in their efforts for a better world.

STAFFED
90 MAY 25 P4:28

McGroarty/Dooley
May 25, 1990
3:30 pm
[SUMMIT.arr]

PRESIDENTIAL REMARKS: ARRIVAL STATEMENT FOR OFFICIAL VISIT OF
PRESIDENT GORBACHEV OF THE U.S.S.R.
THE SOUTH LAWN
MAY 31, 1990
10:00 AM

Friends, distinguished guests: welcome, all of you. / It
is my great honor to welcome to the White House the President of
the Soviet Union -- **Mikhail Gorbachev**. //

Mr. President, when we met last in Malta, we agreed to
accelerate our efforts on a full range of issues. Today, of
course, differences remain -- but in the short time since the
Malta Summit -- not quite six months -- we've made **great
progress**. //

We've reached agreement in several important areas. On
chemical weapons. At this Summit, we will sign an agreement
**which will lead to deep reductions in our chemical weapons
arsenals** -- and create momentum for the global ban on chemical
weapons that I have made my goal. // At this Summit, we will
sign a **protocol on nuclear testing**. After nearly two decades of
disagreement on nuclear testing -- we've broken the stalemate,
and agreed on unprecedented on-site inspections.

And finally, at this Summit we will sign an agreement in
principle to reduce strategic nuclear weapons. A landmark
agreement in arms control. For the first time ever, an agreement
not simply to limit -- but to **reduce** -- inter-continental nuclear

arsenals. We will cut our arsenals by a full **one-third** -- with special emphasis on the most dangerous and destabilizing weapons -- the large multi-warhead land-based systems.

This is a framework -- not a treaty in final form. Let me pledge right now that we will redouble our efforts, and complete work on a START Treaty -- including adequate verification measures -- as soon as possible.

In addition to these major agreements, there are others -- on **maritime borders** in the Bering Sea. Agreements to **open consulates** in Kiev and New York City. To **expand student exchanges** -- so that, for young Americans and Soviets, the foreign becomes the familiar -- and a new generation builds the friendships that, in turn, build the trust that leads to peace. // Each agreement is important in its own right -- but taken together, they are another sign that our relationship **has entered a new stage.** //

Now, in order to keep moving forward we must maintain a clear sense of perspective. The agreements we've reached cannot cause us to lose sight of the differences that remain. / Over the next four days, we will not solve all the world's problems. We won't resolve all the outstanding issues that divide us. But **we can and will take a significant step forward -- toward a new relationship based on realism and respect.** //

This Summit will be a working summit in the strictest sense of the term. One where we mark the real progress we have made by **signing new agreements** -- and where we address the differences

that divide us in a spirit of candor -- in an open and honest search for common ground. //

In that spirit, Mr. President, let me quote the words of one of your nation's great minds -- one of the world's great men, in this or any age: **Andrei Sakharov.** / Twelve years ago, Sakharov wrote:

"I am convinced that guaranteed political and civil rights for people the world over are also guarantees of international security, economic and social progress."

Sakharov knew that **lasting peace and progress are inseparable from freedom -- that nations will only be fully safe when all people are fully free. //**

In the past 12 months, freedom has made great gains. Deep, decades-old divisions have begun to heal. Millions have taken the first steps toward freedom and democracy. / And in the Soviet Union -- a profound process of change is gathering speed.

We in the United States applaud the new course the Soviet Union has chosen. We see the significant changes which have taken place in your country. The spirited debate within the Congress of Peoples' Deputies -- in the Soviet press -- among the Soviet people. We also know about the difficult economic transformation that is necessary to breathe new life back into the Soviet economy. And as I've said many times before -- **we want to see perestroika succeed. //**

Mr. President, I believe you understand the course you've chosen is correct. I believe you understand that there is no

other way forward -- no turning back. That ultimately, the path toward true perestroika and the road to freedom and democracy are one and the same. ///

Mr. President, we meet at a time of change -- a time when powerful forces are at work, reshaping the world we've known -- placing in our hands a historic opportunity to overcome division and discord. To build a world of peace -- in freedom. //

And in the deepest sense, the success of this Summit depends not on the agreements we will sign -- but on the progress we make in moving toward this new world. Toward the great dream that unites the people of our two nations and men and women everywhere. //

Once again, Mr. President, it is my privilege to welcome you to Washington, and to the White House. / God bless the United States of America -- and may God bless the people of the Soviet Union.

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STAFFED
90 MAY 25 P4:28

McGroarty/Dooley
May 25, 1990
3:30 pm
[SUMMIT.tst]

PRESIDENTIAL REMARKS: TOAST AT THE DINNER IN HONOR OF
PRESIDENT GORBACHEV OF THE U.S.S.R.
THE WHITE HOUSE
MAY 31, 1990
XX:00 PM

Friends, distinguished guests -- and, especially, Mr. President and Mrs. Gorbachev: Barbara and I are delighted to share this special evening with all of you. //

We're now nearing the end of a momentous day -- the first of four in this Washington Summit. [[Tomorrow, Mr. President, comes the moment so many have been waiting for -- a day when expectation will be at fever pitch. // That's right, tomorrow // Mrs. Bush and Mrs. Gorbachev go to Wellesley College.]]

And here in the White House, Mr. President, we will meet again -- this time to sign our names to a series of agreements that signify the progress our two nations have made in forging a new relationship. Agreements on everything from arms control -- strategic and chemical weapons -- to the opening of new consulates, and expanded contacts between the people of America and the Soviet Union. //

These agreements are a beginning -- a foundation we can build on. Proof that differences can be **resolved** -- even while others **remain**. And let me assure President Gorbachev -- whatever deep differences divided us in the past, the United States and

the American people approach every issue with a sincere belief that our two nations can find common ground. //

Mr. President, you deserve great credit for the course you've chosen -- for the political and economic reforms you've introduced -- and for **creating within the Soviet Union a consensus for change**. / As I said this morning as I welcomed you to the White House, we want to see perestroika succeed -- we want to see this transition now underway in the Soviet Union maintain its momentum -- continue moving forward until it arrives at its **final, democratic destination**. //

There is an old saying in your country: "**Russia is the land of possibilities**." / We've seen this past year that ours is a **world of possibilities**. That our time is a time of historic change -- a time when men and nations can **transform history** -- can turn possibility into progress. / Into peace. //

So let us raise our glasses:

To our guests, President and Mrs. Gorbachev;

To the growing friendship between the American and Soviet people;

And to the **possibilities now open to us** -- to the prospect of **progress, and lasting peace**. //

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STAFFED
90 MAY 25 P4:28

(Smith/Garmey)
May 25, 1990
3:30 p.m.
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PRESIDENTIAL REMARKS: POST-STATE DINNER
THURSDAY, MAY 31, 1990
STATE DINING ROOM

It is a great pleasure for Barbara and me to welcome President and Mrs. Gorbachev to the United States. And to entertain them here at the White House in the presence of so many distinguished guests. I especially wish to thank Frederica von Stade for showing -- as a Russian composer once wrote -- "Whoever walks with song in his heart shall never lose his way." //

Mr. President, whenever the leaders of the two superpowers meet, people everywhere wait -- hopeful, and expectant. Asking whether the leaders of the U.S. and the U.S.S.R. will find a way to build a freer, more peaceful world. I can say that you and I had very good talks today. Working hard -- determined always -- to uphold the dreams of millions around the globe.

Every summit between our nations can be important. Each summit is shaped by history. This meeting can alter history. Over the past year, changes in Europe have unleashed the forces of freedom. Our distinguished guest, President Gorbachev, has been a catalyst of change. I salute him. And join him in confronting the even-greater challenges which still lie ahead.

For instance, we must heed the desire for national self-determination -- while protecting the rights of minority

populations. And ensure that all Nations, large and small, can live in peace with freedom. We must, and will, welcome a united Germany -- peaceful and prosperous in a stable Europe. And there must be room around the table of nations for the Baltic republics, who seek freedom that is political and intellectual, economic and religious.

All of this, and more, we talked about today. As I said in welcoming President Gorbachev, the United States stands ready to support the Soviet Union in the pursuit of democracy. We want to expand our bilateral cooperation, and to help resolve regional problems. We may often disagree on means. But increasingly we agree on ends.

So let us keep on talking, and learning, so that we can be again what we were in World War II -- not enemies, but friends. And in that spirit, let me close with an old Russian story about a traveler walking to another village. And who, coming upon a woodsman, asked how far he had to go.

The woodsman said he didn't know. Whereupon the traveler, angered, started down the road. At that point the woodsman called out to him, "Stop. It will take you about 15 minutes." // The traveler then asked why he didn't tell him that in the first place. Because, the woodsman answered, "I didn't know your stride." //

Mr. President, today we learned more about each other and our hopes for our nations and the world. So let us travel

however far -- and in whatever ways -- to built a world of peace for ourselves and for our children.

That's what our meetings focused on today. And what -- together -- we can, and must, achieve: The peace which spans the generations. The kind of peace which lasts.

To Frederica von Stade, thank you for proving the words of the old Russian proverb: "Song is the soul of people."

President and Mrs. Gorbachev, thank you for being our guests.

And God bless the peoples of our two beloved lands.

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McGroarty/Dooley
May 30, 1990
10:00 am
[SUMMIT.arr]

PRESIDENTIAL REMARKS: ARRIVAL STATEMENT FOR OFFICIAL VISIT OF
PRESIDENT GORBACHEV OF THE U.S.S.R.
THE SOUTH LAWN
MAY 31, 1990
10:00 AM

Friends, distinguished guests: welcome, all of you. / It is my great honor to welcome to the White House the President of the Soviet Union -- **Mikhail Gorbachev**. //

Mr. President, just over a year ago, I said that the United States wanted to move **beyond containment** in its relations with the Soviet Union -- toward a new era, an era of enduring cooperation. / When we last met in Malta, we agreed to accelerate our efforts on a full range of issues. Today, differences remain, of course -- but in the short six months since the Malta Summit, we've made **encouraging** progress.

I want this Summit to take us farther still, and I know that is President Gorbachev's hope as well. //

We've seen a world of change this past year. / Now, on the horizon -- we see what, just one short year ago, seemed a distant dream: **a continent cruelly divided East from West -- has begun to heal with the dawn of self-determination and democracy**. In Germany, where ^(the) a Wall once stood -- ^{great} a nation moves toward unity, in peace and freedom. And on the most heavily militarized continent on earth -- ^(long) at last, we see **the long era of confrontation giving way to the prospect of enduring cooperation**

in a Europe whole and free. Mr. President, you deserve great credit for your part in these transforming events. I salute you, as well, for the process of change you've brought to your own country.

As we begin this Summit, let me stress that I believe we can work together at this historic moment to further the process of building a new Europe -- one in which every nation's security is strengthened -- and no nation is threatened. ^{Two sentences} / ~~deleted~~ Around the world, we need to strengthen our cooperation in solving regional conflicts, and building peace and stability. In **Nicaragua**, for example, we have shown that we can work together to promote peaceful change. In **Angola**, our support for an early resolution of that country's tragic conflict -- a resolution acceptable to the Angolan people -- is now paying off. **Let us expand this new spirit of cooperation** -- not merely to resolve disputes between us, but to build a solid foundation for peace, prosperity, and stability around the world. //

In that same spirit, Mr. President, let me quote the words of one of your nation's great minds -- one of the world's great men, in this or any age: **Andrei Sakharov**. / Fourteen years ago, Sakharov wrote: "I am convinced that guaranteed political and civil rights for people the world over are also guarantees of international security, economic and social progress."

Sakharov knew that **lasting peace and progress are inseparable from freedom** -- that nations will only be fully safe when all people are fully free. //

(paragraph deleted)

We in the U.S. applaud the new course the Soviet Union has chosen. We see the spirited debate in the Congress of Peoples' Deputies -- in the Soviet press -- among the Soviet people. We know about the difficult economic reforms that are necessary to breathe new vigor ^(life back) into the Soviet economy. And as I've said many times before -- we want to see perestroika succeed. //

Mr. President, I believe, as you have said, that there is no turning back from the path you have chosen. ///

Mr. President, since our meeting in Malta, we have reached agreements ^(several) in important areas -- each one, proof that when mutual respect prevails, progress is possible. //

But the agreements we've reached cannot cause us to lose sight of the differences that remain. / Lithuania is one such issue. We believe that good faith dialogue between the Soviet leaders and representatives of the Baltic peoples ^(want) is the proper approach -- and we hope to see that process go forward.

Over the next four days, we will not solve all the world's problems. / We won't resolve all the outstanding issues that divide us. But we can and will take ^(a) significant steps -- toward a new relationship. //

This Summit will be a working summit in the strictest sense of the term. One where we mark real progress ^(the) we have made by signing new agreements -- and where we address the differences that divide us in a spirit of candor -- in an open and honest search for common ground. //

(the deepest)
 In a larger sense, though the success of this Summit depends not on the agreements we will sign -- but on our personal efforts to lay the groundwork for overcoming decades of division and discord, to build a world of peace -- in freedom. //

Once again, Mr. President, it is my privilege to welcome you to the White House. May God bless our peoples in their efforts for a better world.

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Deleted God bless the United States of America--and may God bless the people of the Soviet Union.

**ARRIVAL STATEMENT FOR GORBACHEV VISIT
THE SOUTH LAWN \ MAY 31, 1990 \ 10:00 AM**

**FRIENDS, DISTINGUISHED GUESTS: WELCOME, ALL OF
YOU. / IT IS MY GREAT HONOR TO WELCOME TO THE WHITE
HOUSE THE PRESIDENT OF THE SOVIET UNION -- MIKHAIL
GORBACHEV. //**

**MR. PRESIDENT, JUST OVER A YEAR AGO, I SAID THAT
THE UNITED STATES WANTED TO MOVE BEYOND CONTAINMENT IN
ITS RELATIONS WITH THE SOVIET UNION -- TOWARD A NEW
ERA, AN ERA OF ENDURING COOPERATION. /**

- 2 -

**WHEN WE LAST MET IN MALTA, WE AGREED TO ACCELERATE OUR
EFFORTS ON A FULL RANGE OF ISSUES. TODAY, DIFFERENCES
REMAIN, OF COURSE -- BUT IN THE SHORT SIX MONTHS SINCE
THE MALTA SUMMIT, WE'VE MADE ENCOURAGING PROGRESS.**

**I WANT THIS SUMMIT TO TAKE US FARTHER STILL, AND I
KNOW THAT IS PRESIDENT GORBACHEV'S HOPE AS WELL. //**

WE'VE SEEN A WORLD OF CHANGE THIS PAST YEAR. /

NOW, ON THE HORIZON -- WE SEE WHAT, JUST ONE SHORT YEAR AGO, SEEMED A DISTANT DREAM: A CONTINENT CRUELLY DIVIDED, EAST FROM WEST -- HAS BEGUN TO HEAL WITH THE DAWN OF SELF-DETERMINATION AND DEMOCRACY. IN GERMANY, WHERE THE WALL ONCE STOOD -- A NATION MOVES TOWARD UNITY, IN PEACE AND FREEDOM. *And, in the other nations of* ~~AND ON THE~~ MOST HEAVILY MILITARIZED CONTINENT ON EARTH -- AT LAST, WE SEE THE LONG ERA OF CONFRONTATION GIVING WAY TO THE PROSPECT OF ENDURING COOPERATION IN A EUROPE WHOLE AND FREE.

MR. PRESIDENT, YOU DESERVE GREAT CREDIT FOR YOUR PART IN THESE TRANSFORMING EVENTS. I SALUTE YOU, AS WELL, FOR THE PROCESS OF CHANGE YOU'VE BROUGHT TO YOUR OWN COUNTRY.

AS WE BEGIN THIS SUMMIT, LET ME STRESS THAT I BELIEVE WE CAN WORK TOGETHER AT THIS HISTORIC MOMENT TO FURTHER THE PROCESS OF BUILDING A NEW EUROPE -- ONE IN WHICH EVERY NATION'S SECURITY IS STRENGTHENED -- AND NO NATION IS THREATENED. /

AROUND THE WORLD, WE NEED TO STRENGTHEN OUR COOPERATION IN SOLVING REGIONAL CONFLICTS, AND BUILDING PEACE AND STABILITY. IN NICARAGUA, FOR EXAMPLE, WE HAVE SHOWN THAT WE CAN WORK TOGETHER TO PROMOTE PEACEFUL CHANGE. IN ANGOLA, OUR SUPPORT FOR AN EARLY RESOLUTION OF THAT COUNTRY'S TRAGIC CONFLICT -- A RESOLUTION ACCEPTABLE TO THE ANGOLAN PEOPLE -- IS NOW PAYING OFF.

LET US EXPAND THIS NEW SPIRIT OF COOPERATION -- NOT MERELY TO RESOLVE DISPUTES BETWEEN US, BUT TO BUILD A SOLID FOUNDATION FOR PEACE, PROSPERITY, AND STABILITY AROUND THE WORLD. //

IN THAT SAME SPIRIT, MR. PRESIDENT, LET ME QUOTE THE WORDS OF ONE OF YOUR NATION'S GREAT MINDS -- ONE OF THE WORLD'S GREAT MEN, IN THIS OR ANY AGE: ANDREI SAKHAROV. /

FOURTEEN YEARS AGO, SAKHAROV WROTE: "I AM CONVINCED THAT GUARANTEED POLITICAL AND CIVIL RIGHTS FOR PEOPLE THE WORLD OVER ARE ALSO GUARANTEES OF INTERNATIONAL SECURITY, ECONOMIC AND SOCIAL PROGRESS."

SAKHAROV KNEW THAT LASTING PEACE AND PROGRESS ARE INSEPARABLE FROM FREEDOM -- THAT NATIONS WILL ONLY BE FULLY SAFE WHEN ALL PEOPLE ARE FULLY FREE. //

WE IN THE U.S. APPLAUD THE NEW COURSE THE SOVIET UNION HAS CHOSEN.

WE SEE THE SPIRITED DEBATE IN THE CONGRESS OF PEOPLES' DEPUTIES -- IN THE SOVIET PRESS -- AMONG THE SOVIET PEOPLE. WE KNOW ABOUT THE DIFFICULT ECONOMIC REFORMS THAT ARE NECESSARY TO BREATHE NEW VIGOR INTO THE SOVIET ECONOMY. AND AS I'VE SAID MANY TIMES BEFORE -- WE WANT TO SEE PERESTROIKA SUCCEED. //

MR. PRESIDENT, I BELIEVE, AS YOU HAVE SAID, THAT THERE IS NO TURNING BACK FROM THE PATH YOU HAVE CHOSEN. ///

MR. PRESIDENT, SINCE OUR MEETING IN MALTA, WE HAVE REACHED AGREEMENTS IN IMPORTANT AREAS -- EACH ONE, PROOF THAT WHEN MUTUAL RESPECT PREVAILS, PROGRESS IS POSSIBLE. //

BUT THE AGREEMENTS WE'VE REACHED CANNOT CAUSE US TO LOSE SIGHT OF THE DIFFERENCES THAT REMAIN. / LITHUANIA IS ONE SUCH ISSUE.

WE BELIEVE THAT GOOD FAITH DIALOGUE BETWEEN THE SOVIET LEADERS AND REPRESENTATIVES OF THE BALTIC PEOPLES IS THE PROPER APPROACH -- AND WE HOPE TO SEE THAT PROCESS GO FORWARD.

OVER THE NEXT FOUR DAYS, WE WILL NOT SOLVE ALL THE WORLD'S PROBLEMS. / WE WON'T RESOLVE ALL THE OUTSTANDING ISSUES THAT DIVIDE US. BUT WE CAN AND WILL TAKE SIGNIFICANT STEPS -- TOWARD A NEW RELATIONSHIP. //

THIS SUMMIT WILL BE A WORKING SUMMIT IN THE STRICTEST SENSE OF THE TERM. ONE WHERE WE MARK ^{the} REAL PROGRESS WE HAVE MADE BY SIGNING NEW AGREEMENTS -- AND WHERE WE ADDRESS THE DIFFERENCES THAT DIVIDE US IN A SPIRIT OF CANDOR -- IN AN OPEN AND HONEST SEARCH FOR COMMON GROUND. //

IN A LARGER SENSE, THOUGH, THE SUCCESS OF THIS SUMMIT DEPENDS NOT ON THE AGREEMENTS WE WILL SIGN -- BUT ON OUR ~~PERSONAL~~ EFFORTS TO LAY THE GROUNDWORK FOR OVERCOMING DECADES OF DIVISION AND DISCORD -- TO BUILD A WORLD OF PEACE -- IN FREEDOM. //

MR. PRESIDENT, TOGETHER, YOUR GREAT COUNTRY AND OURS BEAR AN ENORMOUS AND UNIQUE RESPONSIBILITY FOR WORLD PEACE AND REGIONAL STABILITY.

- 13 -

**WE MUST WORK TOGETHER -- TO REDUCE TENSIONS -- AND TO
MAKE THIS WORLD A LITTLE BETTER FOR OUR CHILDREN AND
GRANDCHILDREN. / TO THIS END, I PLEDGE YOU MY ALL OUT
EFFORT. //**

**ONCE AGAIN, MR. PRESIDENT, IT IS MY PRIVILEGE TO
WELCOME YOU TO THE WHITE HOUSE. MAY GOD BLESS OUR
PEOPLES IN THEIR EFFORTS FOR A BETTER WORLD.**

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