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Record Group/Collection: George H.W. Bush Presidential Records
Collection/Office of Origin: Speechwriting, White House Office of
Series: Speech Files Draft Files
Subseries: Chronological Files, 1989-1993

OA/ID Number: 13532
Folder ID Number: 13532-011

Folder Title:

Arrival Ceremony, Toast at State Dinner, & Post-State Dinner Remarks for President Mikhail Gorbachev of Soviet Union 5/31/90 [OA 5374] [2]

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

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Document No. _____

WHITE HOUSE STAFFING MEMORANDUM

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

SUBJECT: PRESIDENTIAL REMARKS: ARRIVAL STATEMENT FOR OFFICAL VISIT 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"/>	<u>ROGERS</u>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>
CICCONI	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<u>WINSTON</u>	<input checked="" 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
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.

#

CLOSE HOLD

Document No. _____

WHITE HOUSE STAFFING MEMORANDUM

90 MAY 30 AID: 04

DATE: 5/25/90 ACTION/CONCURRENCE/COMMENT DUE BY: 5/29/90 9:00 AM

PRESIDENTIAL REMARKS: STATE VISIT OF PRESIDENT GORBACHEV:

SUBJECT: ARRIVAL CEREMONY, TOAST, POST-STATE DINNER REMARKS

	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 checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	PORTER	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
DARMAN	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	ROGICH	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
BATES	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	UNTERMAYER	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
CARD	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	ROGERS	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>
CICCONI	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	WINSTON	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>
DEMAREST	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input 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:

Please forward any comments directly to Chriss Winston, Rm. 122, x2930, no later than 9:00 AM, Tuesday, May 29, with a copy to my office. Thank you.

RESPONSE:

CLOSE HOLD

No Comment.

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

NSC BOOTLEG

McGroarty/Dooley

May 25, 1990

3:30 pm

1990 MAY 25 PM 4:28 [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.** //

INSERT A →
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

0 MAY 29 10:40

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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. ^{LA}

INSERT B₁

MOVE TO P. 4

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. [^] / _q 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

INSERT B

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

MOVE
TO
p. 4

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 ^{, as you do, that} ~~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. ///

INSERT
C →

[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.]

MOVE
FROM
P. 2 →

And in the deepest sense, the success of this Summit depends not on the agreements we will sign -- but on the progress we make ^{overcoming division and discord to build a world of peace - in freedom} 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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INSERT A

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 of enduring cooperation. *(We have made great strides toward fulfilling that goal)* 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 Malta, we have made great progress.

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

tighten
What changes we have seen over the past year! The countries of Central and Eastern Europe have embarked on a peaceful course of democratic change and fulfillment of their rights to national self-determination and independence. The German people, so long divided, are realizing their deepest hopes for national unity. Arms control negotiations hold out the prospect of deep reductions in nuclear and conventional weapons. *condense*

→
We can now see on the near horizon what one short year ago was still a distant *dream*: the end of Europe's tragic division, a less militarized Europe, a Germany united in peace and freedom, a Europe whole and free.

President Gorbachev deserves credit for helping bring this vision closer to fulfillment. I salute him for the process of change he has brought to his own country and its policies around the world. ✓

X
~~Mr. President,~~ knowing that *when we work* real security can come only with other countries rather than against them, we can work together at this historic moment to complete the process of building a new Europe, in which no one's security is threatened, in which everyone's security is strengthened. *↗* The Soviet Union will be, must be, part of Europe's future. *↗* The security we seek is inclusive, not exclusive.]

X
Around the world, we need to strengthen our cooperation in solving regional conflicts and building peace and stability. In Nicaragua, we have shown that we can work together *(through free elections)* to promote peaceful change. Our support for the efforts for the people of Angola to resolve their conflicts are paying off. Let us expand that spirit of cooperation, not merely to resolve disputes between us, but to lay down the foundations of peace, prosperity, and stability around the world. ✓

Ⓟ
Meeting these challenges will not be easy. We have much to discuss and many differences to be resolved. But the tasks before us are historic. There can be no turning back, no reverting to the old ways of mutual suspicion and confrontation. ✓

repeat five - delete

INSERT B

LITH
Lithuania is one such issue. We are encouraged that a dialogue has begun between the Soviet leaders and Lithuania's representatives, and we want to see that process go forward so that Lithuania and the other Baltic states can realize their basic right to national self-determination. ✓

INSERT C

delete?
Mr. President, since our meeting in Malta, we have reached agreement in several important areas. At this Summit, we we will sign an agreement on deep reductions in chemical weapons -- which I hope will lead to the global ban that has been my goal. We will sign a protocol on nuclear testing and an agreement to reduce nuclear weapons -- a landmark agreement not simply to limit but to reduce inter-continental ballistic missiles by a full one third. [In addition to these major agreements, there are others -- on maritime borders, and for opening consulates in Kiev and New York City and expanding student exchanges.] ✓

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

May 29, 1990

90 MAY 29 11:11

MEMORANDUM FOR CHRISS WINSTON

FROM: ROGER B. PORTER *RBP*

SUBJECT: Presidential Remarks: Gorbachev Visit

The draft remarks for the arrival ceremony, the toast, and the post-State Dinner remarks all partake of a general theme of optimism. In keeping with that theme, I have the following specific suggestions that I hope will prove helpful.

Arrival Ceremony

1. It may be stretching it somewhat to assert in the second paragraph on the first page that we have made "great" progress since the Malta Summit. Impressive, significant, or substantial all convey a positive sense of progress and might fit better with what follows.

2. In the first full paragraph on page two the draft talks about a pledge to "redouble our efforts" to complete work on a START Treaty. This can leave the impression that we have been working a half speed to date, certainly not something we want to convey. Moreover, the paragraph ends with the rather weak statement that we want to conclude the treaty "as soon as possible." The two ideas that we want to convey are that we will devote our full effort to this task and that we do not want to see any delay in completing the treaty. I leave the specific wording to you.

3. The third full paragraph on page two contains a wonderful concluding phrase -- "a new relationship based on realism and respect." Not only is it alliterative but it is both accurate and memorable. The first two sentences of the paragraph, however, are slightly jarring. Both sentences are structured around the notion of causation which does not necessarily apply in either sentence.

The sentences might read: "As we keep moving forward, we must maintain a clear sense of perspective. The agreements we have reached must not obscure the differences that remain."

4. In the final paragraph on page three there is a ringing endorsement of Gorbachev's internal economic policies. The President pronounces them correct. These policies are under severe challenge within the Soviet Union. They are far less bold than those being undertaken in Poland. Gorbachev may

find that he must change them in fundamental ways within a matter of weeks or months. We can celebrate the fact that the Soviet Union is rejecting a highly centrally planned approach to economic activity without embracing, or seeming to embrace, the specific reforms Gorbachev currently has underway.

The paragraph reads fine without the phrase "I believe you understand the course you've chosen is correct."

Toast

1. In the first full paragraph on page two the term "consensus for change" is used. Given the lack of consensus on almost everything in the Soviet Union these days, perhaps this phrase might be changed to a "commitment to change."

Post-State Dinner

1. In the third paragraph on the first page there is a sentence: "This meeting can alter history." Altering history has two possible connotations, neither of which are attractive in this context. One connotation is the kind of rewriting of history exhibited by the characters in George Orwell's 1984. The second is a deterministic view of history that meetings and leaders can "alter." Marx and Engels were purveyors of deterministic history and are now widely discredited.

The idea in this paragraph is a good one. The summit is important; it is being held in the context of a pattern of events that have taken place over the past several months and years. But, most importantly, leaders are not prisoners of the past, or of historical events, and by their actions they can shape the future.

One way of accomplishing this would be to replace the sentence "This meeting can alter history" with the sentence: "This meeting can help to shape the future."

2. In the second full paragraph on page two there is reference to the relationship between the U.S. and the Soviet Union during the Second World War and a desire to reconstitute that relationship. Historians have noted that the relationship during World War II between the U.S. and the Soviet Union was that of allies but not that of friends. Indeed, there was great suspicion throughout the war and in its aftermath between Stalin and Roosevelt, and between Stalin and Truman.

What brought us together was the fight against a common totalitarian threat -- Nazi Germany. This is not a reminder on which we want to focus attention.

The sentence might be changed to read: "So let us keep on talking, and learning, as candid and constructive partners in the quest for peace." That also provides a somewhat easier transition to the story about the woodsman and the travelers that follows.

If you have any questions, or we can help in any other ways, please let me know.

cc: James W. Cicconi

CLOSE HOLD

Document No. _____

WHITE HOUSE STAFFING MEMORANDUM

DATE: 5/25/90

ACTION/CONCURRENCE/COMMENT DUE BY: 5/29/90 9:00 AM

PRESIDENTIAL REMARKS: STATE VISIT OF PRESIDENT GORBACHEV:

SUBJECT: ARRIVAL CEREMONY, TOAST, POST-STATE DINNER REMARKS

	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 checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	PORTER	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
DARMAN	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	ROGICH	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
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CARD	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	ROGERS	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>
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DEMAREST	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input 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:

Please forward any comments directly to Chriss Winston, Rm. 122, x2930, no later than 9:00 AM, Tuesday, May 29, with a copy to my office. Thank you.

RESPONSE:

CLOSE HOLD

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

McGroarty/Dooley
May 25, 1990
3:30 pm
1990 MAY 25 PM 4:28 [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

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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**

SPECIFICS

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.

#

1990 MAY 25 PM 4: 27

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.** //

#

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

1990 MAY 25 PM 4:28

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 ^{SHAPE} 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.

#

Call on gutters
Assign research

City Club of Chicago - honor head of Amoco

CLOSE HOLD

Document No. 4227

HOUSE STAFFING MEMORANDUM

ACTION/CONCURRENCE/COMMENT DUE BY: 5/29/90 9:00 AM

REMARKS: STATE VISIT (OF PRESIDENT GORBACHEV: EMONY, TOAST, POST-STATE DINNER REMARKS

	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 checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	PORTER	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
DARMAN	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	ROGICH	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
BATES	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	UNTERMAYER	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
CARD	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	ROGERS	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>
CICCONI	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	WINSTON	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>
DEMAREST	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input 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:

Please forward any comments directly to Chriss Winston, Rm. 122, x2930, no later than 9:00 AM, Tuesday, May 29, with a copy to my office. Thank you.

RESPONSE:

CLOSE HOLD

May 29, 1990

NSC Staff concurs with the changes indicated.

- 1) The arrival statement, as modified, is very long.*
- 2) I question the wisdom of substantive remarks at 11:00 pm following the entertainment. Isn't that a little much?*

Brent Scowcroft

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

McGroarty/Dooley


May 25, 1990

3:30 pm

1990 MAY 25 PM 4:28 [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.** ^{IA}

INSERT B

MOVE TO P. 4

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. ^{^ / H} **INSERT B** 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 ^{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} ~~you understand~~ the course you've chosen is correct. I believe you understand that there is no

MOVE
TO
1.4

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.~~ ~~///~~

INSERT
C →

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. ~~///~~

MOVE
FROM
P. 2 →

And in the deepest sense, the success of this Summit depends not on the agreements we will sign -- but on the progress we make *overcoming division and discord to build a world of peace - in freedom* 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.

#

INSERT A

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 of enduring cooperation. We have made great strides toward fulfilling that goal. 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 Malta, we have made great progress.

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

What changes we have seen over the past year! The countries of Central and Eastern Europe have embarked on a peaceful course of democratic change and fulfillment of their rights to national self-determination and independence. The German people, so long divided, are realizing their deepest hopes for national unity. Arms control negotiations hold out the prospect of deep reductions in nuclear and conventional weapons.

We can now see on the near horizon what one short year ago was still a distant vision: the end of Europe's tragic division, a less militarized Europe, a Germany united in peace and freedom, a Europe whole and free.

President Gorbachev deserves credit for helping bring this vision closer to fulfillment. I salute him for the process of change he has brought to his own country and its policies around the world.

Mr. President, knowing that real security can come only with other countries rather than against them, we can work together at this historic moment to complete the process of building a new Europe, in which no one's security is threatened, in which everyone's security is strengthened. The Soviet Union will be, must be, part of Europe's future. The security we seek is inclusive, not exclusive.

Around the world, we need to strengthen our cooperation in solving regional conflicts and building peace and stability. In Nicaragua, we have shown that we can work together through free elections to promote peaceful change. Our support for the efforts for the people of Angola to resolve their conflicts are paying off. Let us expand that spirit of cooperation, not merely to resolve disputes between us, but to lay down the foundations of peace, prosperity, and stability around the world.

Meeting these challenges will not be easy. We have much to discuss and many differences to be resolved. But the tasks before us are historic. There can be no turning back, no reverting to the old ways of mutual suspicion and confrontation.

INSERT B

Lithuania is one such issue. We are encouraged that a dialogue has begun between the Soviet leaders and Lithuania's representatives, and we want to see that process go forward so that Lithuania and the other Baltic states can realize their basic right to national self-determination.

INSERT C

Mr. President, since our meeting in Malta, we have reached agreement in several important areas. At this Summit, we we will sign an agreement on deep reductions in chemical weapons -- which I hope will lead to the global ban that has been my goal. We will sign a protocol on nuclear testing and an agreement to reduce nuclear weapons -- a landmark agreement not simply to limit but to reduce inter-continental ballistic missiles by a full one third. In addition to these major agreements, there are others -- on maritime borders, and for opening consulates in Kiev and New York City and expanding student exchanges.

Condense to one or two general sentences leading into penultimate paragraph

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

1990 MAY 25 PM 4: 28

PRESIDENTIAL REMARKS: POST-STATE DINNER
THURSDAY, MAY 31, 1990
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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 ^{They were serious talks, hard talks -- and so they should be. We are, after all,} had very good talks today. ~~Working hard -- determined always -- tackling issues that have divided East and West for decades. 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

-- 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,~~ ^{force for positive change.} ~~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^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 ^{long it would take} ~~[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 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 ^{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.

#

1990 MAY 25 PM 4: 27

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." // ^{*You have demonstrated the truth of that statement. Dad.*} 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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INSERT

CLOSE HOLD

Document No. 2

WHITE HOUSE STAFFING MEMORANDUM

90 MAY 29 AIO: 01

DATE: 5/25/90 ACTION/CONCURRENCE/COMMENT DUE BY: 5/29/90 9:00 AM

PRESIDENTIAL REMARKS: STATE VISIT OF PRESIDENT GORBACHEV:

SUBJECT: ARRIVAL CEREMONY, TOAST, POST-STATE DINNER REMARKS

	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 checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	PORTER	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
DARMAN	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	ROGICH	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
BATES	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	UNTERMAYER	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
CARD	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	ROGERS	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>
CICCONI	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	WINSTON	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>
DEMAREST	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input 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:

Please forward any comments directly to Chriss Winston, Rm. 122, x2930, no later than 9:00 AM, Tuesday, May 29, with a copy to my office. Thank you.

RESPONSE:

CLOSE HOLD

Toast should give mention of Malta. As noted the success of the summit. highlight Malta summit.

(S.R.)

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

McGroarty/Dooley

May 25, 1990

3:30 pm

1990 MAY 25 PM 4:28 [SUMMIT.arr]

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 disagreement on nuclear testing -- we've broken the stalemate,
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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
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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. //

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

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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**. //

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*began in Walter
just _____ months
ago*

*Ed:
that*

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* * * *

(Smith/Garney)
May 25, 1990
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Draft two
ALA

1990 MAY 25 PM 4:28

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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.

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President and Mrs. Gorbachev, thank you for being our guests.
And God bless the peoples of our two beloved lands.

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CLOSE HOLD

Document No. _____

WHITE HOUSE STAFFING MEMORANDUM

90 MAY 29 9:18

DATE: 5/25/90 ACTION/CONCURRENCE/COMMENT DUE BY: 5/29/90 9:00 AM

PRESIDENTIAL REMARKS: STATE VISIT OF PRESIDENT GORBACHEV:

SUBJECT: ARRIVAL CEREMONY, TOAST, POST-STATE DINNER REMARKS

	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 checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	PORTER	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
DARMAN	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	ROGICH	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
BATES	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	UNTERMAYER	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
CARD	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	ROGERS	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>
CICCONI	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	WINSTON	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>
DEMAREST	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input 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:

Please forward any comments directly to Chriss Winston, Rm. 122, x2930, no later than 9:00 AM, Tuesday, May 29, with a copy to my office. Thank you.

RESPONSE:

CLOSE HOLD

See comments

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

McGroarty/Dooley
May 25, 1990
3:30 pm
1990 MAY 25 PM 4 [SUMMIT.arr]
28

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:

Is it a good idea to quote Sakharov?

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

*Howard
7/16/57*

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

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

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

is this a good joke - it could be quoted out of context?

*Howard
X H657*

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

1990 MAY 25 PM 4: 28

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

Grady
Do we want to say this given examples like Stalin, etc.

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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**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 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. //

- 11 -

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. //

- 12 -

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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