

USSR/RUSSIA

Mikhail Gorbachev, in a speech to the International Forum, "For a Nuclear-Free World and the Survival of Humanity," at the Grand Kremlin Palace in Moscow on February 16, 1987 stated:

"In spite of all the differences between us, we must all learn to preserve our one big family of humanity. At our meeting in Geneva, the U.S. President said that if the earth faced an invasion by extraterrestrials, the United States and the Soviet Union would join forces to repel such an invasion. I shall not dispute the hypothesis, though I think it's early yet to worry about such an intrusion. (Soviet Life Supplement, May 1987.)

In reply to the question, "Does the USSR government study UFOs?," asked while visiting the Uralmash plant in Sverdlovsk on April 26th, 1990, he answered:

"I know that there are scientific organizations which study this problem." (Pravda, April 27, 1990; Major General Pavel Popovich in a letter to Colman S. Von Keviczky, July 31, 1991.)

Briefing materials for the President's December 4, 1985
Q and A with students from Fallston High School

SPIES

Doesn't the recent wave of espionage, much of it Soviet inspired, suggest that we should cut back on Russians visiting our country instead of inviting more?

- o America is best exemplified by our open society -- something denied to the Russian people, and likely to make the greatest impression upon Russian visitors to our country. Let them see our abundance, our freedom of movement and expression.
- o At the same time, the openness of our system is seen as an invitation by the Soviet KGB and the agents of other governments to steal -- a cheap and dirty shortcut to catch up with us to match the benefits of what our system, our technology, has allowed us to earn.
- o We must be realistic about this threat and we must be vigilant.
- o Since 1981, we have caught more than double the number of spies apprehended in the previous five years.
- o We are improving our ability to detect spies and catch them. We are adding resources and top-level attention to the threats of espionage.
- o But we will not allow these threats to close our doors to visitors who come to learn and share as friends.

TERRORISM

There seems to be a hijacking or other terrorist act on television every night. What can be done?

- o RR is grieved and appalled by the cruelty and barbarism of these unprovoked attacks on innocent people, including women and children.
- o Terror can only be met with strength and justice.
- o Wherever they may hide, terrorists who mean harm to America and her citizens must know that the full resources of our Nation will be marshalled to stop them, bring them to justice, and see that they are punished.

Perkins High School Golden / White Dec 4, 1985
Page 258 Speechwriter Who Speech Drafts (1) of 3

Langan reviewed the speech Dec 2, 1985 9:30.
NSC redraft didn't exist (made 4 small changes)

②

than allowing people to travel freely back and forth? Let's begin, at the very least, to draw back the barriers that separate our peoples from one another. We are asking for no more than what the Soviets have already agreed to in the Helsinki accords. Freedom of movement and information, contact between peoples, the Soviet Union has already signed its name to a commitment on these things.

We should have no illusions that people to people contacts will solve all the problems that exist between us. The Soviet Union is not a democratic country. The hope^s and aspiration^s of the Soviet people have little direct effect on government policy. But these exchanges are a ~~noble~~ beginning to building a better world, one based on trust and understanding. You can have a vital role in bringing about this better future, in drawing the people of our two nations closer together. ~~Someday, perhaps, history will record this as the turning point -- when fear was replaced by hope and suspicion~~ ^{replaced} ~~by trust.~~ It is an exciting adventure, one that will not be completed this year or next, or even this century. But the sooner we begin, the sooner we will reach that happy destination of a truly trusting, free, and peaceful world.

Thank you and God bless you all.

7/30/51

FILE 042/

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

September 17, 1987

MR. PRESIDENT:

Attached for your right/wrong track review is the most recent draft of your Address before the United Nations General Assembly. We expect that major changes will have to be made early tomorrow to reflect the outcome of the Schulz/Shevardnadze meetings. The portion that will be substantially revised is bracketed (at page 7 through page 12).

We will have a new draft for your final review as soon as possible tomorrow. However, we thought you would want the chance to give us your thoughts on the draft as it stands now.

MM

Rhett Dawson

I think there is too much anti-Soviet preaching in view of what we are trying to achieve right now.

And toward the end perhaps I still would like my "fantasy" - how quickly our differences would ~~wild~~ ^{vanish} if creatures from another planet should threaten this world. RR



United States Department of State

Washington, D.C. 20520

September 17, 1987

MEMORANDUM FOR MR. FRANK C. CARLUCCI
THE WHITE HOUSESubject: Comments on the President's Address to the
United Nations General Assembly

We have attached a mark-up of the Presidential speech containing the Department's recommended changes. There follows a summary description of the more significant recommended changes.

Persian Gulf. We have changed the language on the Soviet role in the Persian Gulf to more reflect our own effort to engage the Soviets in an effort to reach a just settlement in the Iran-Iraq War. (Pages 6-8)

Afghanistan. Our suggestions aim at a more positive formulation and outline the steps necessary to accomplish Soviet troop withdrawal. (Pages 8-9)

Nicaragua. On page 10, we suggest reformulation of the third full paragraph to present a less defensive position on this important subject as well as explicitly mentioning the Guatemala City Peace Plan.

United Nations. Beginning on page 13 (following the first sentence of the last paragraph) and all of page 14, we have proposed a reformulation of current passage which recognizes our financial obligation to the organization.

The Department will submit separately its recommendations regarding the Shevardnadze visit and possible Summit.

Melvyn Levitsky
Melvyn Levitsky
Executive Secretary



**United States
Information
Agency**

Washington, D.C. 20547

WHOFM Subject
Office of the Director

5891



USIA

August 6, 1987

537778

SP1181

~~LIMITED OFFICIAL USE~~

MEMORANDUM FOR:

Lt. General Colin L. Powell ✓
Deputy Assistant to the President
for National Security Affairs
The White House

MLG

The Honorable
Thomas C. Griscom
Assistant to the President
for Communications and Planning
The White House

FROM:

Marvin L. Stone
Acting Director

SUBJECT:

Strengthening the U.S. Leadership Image
Abroad: President's Speech at UNGA opening

We recommend that the President's UNGA address emphasize security, arms control and peace among other themes.

- o Security, Arms Control and Peace:
 - Through four decades, the U.S. has never lessened its efforts to secure a lasting peace through meaningful, verifiable arms control agreements.
 - Our current initiatives challenge the Soviet Union to join the U.S. in attaining this goal.
- o Development:
 - The U.S. and many other nations have prospered from the principles of free enterprise.
 - National cultural differences are no barrier to the dynamic growth and the well being of peoples that can be gained from free enterprise.
 - The free flow of information--in education, in economic and political systems--is a key factor to economic growth.

~~LIMITED OFFICIAL USE~~

2/8/01
LH

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

September 3, 1987

WHORM Subject 532674
1110
SP1181
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FGD176 D1
✓
file
U.N.

MEMORANDUM FOR TOM GRISCOM

FROM: CLARK JUDGE

SUBJECT: Meeting on U.N. Speech

In attendance were General Colin Powell, Fritz Ermarth, Ambassador Robert Oakley, Nelson Ledsky, and John Herbst.

There is general agreement with the thought of the speechwriters that this speech should not be like all the past U.N. speeches. It should not be a U.S.-Soviet speech, but should focus on a broader vision of the world's future -- a future in which free economies and democratic governments produce opportunities and new technologies that will leave totalitarian regimes in the dust, irrelevant also-rans in the century ahead.

All agreed that four issue areas should be touched on:

Central America; Persian Gulf, Middle East peace, Iran-Iraq, Afghanistan, Pakistan (and its courageous support of the freedom fighters) as a related group; U.S.-Soviet relations; the role and work of the U.N. itself.

It was suggested that these "issues" -- at least the first three -- could be presented as obstacles that we must and will eventually overcome on the way to that world of the future. We should say that those who would get in the way of this better future have adopted a dual strategy of exploiting local antagonisms on one hand and imposing their vision with doctrinaire means on the other.

It was also thought that we should take more notice of the people actually in the room -- not just speak over their heads to the domestic audience. After all, "the enemy is right there," Afghans, Nicaraguans, Ethiopians, etc. There was discussion of using them as foils. For example: "Here in this room we have represented today two visions of the world's future. One has failed those who live under it. The other has brought peace, human rights, and happiness to those who live under it. Which way will the world turn?" And point or refer to the Nicaraguans, etc. when talking about them.

Regarding the Shevardnadze visit -- we can do an insert after it is over. However it goes, the visit should not change the tone or direction of the speech.

They would like a draft by the end of next week.

Note also: General Powell mentioned that there had been talk that the public diplomacy speech on the 16th should hit Central America.

NATIONAL SECURITY COUNCIL EXECUTIVE SECRETARY REFERRAL

TIME STAMP

15 Sep 87
8:00

SYSTEM I LOG NUMBER: 6720

☐ (FIRST DRAFT OF REMARKS)

ACTION OFFICER: RODMAN

DUE: 3:00PM, 15 SEP

- ☐ Prepare Memo Green to Dawson
☒ Prepare Memo Green to Dolan W/ INFO DAWSON
☐ Prepare Memo Green to _____
☐ Prepare Memo _____ to _____

URGENT

*** PUT RESPECTIVE STAFF OFFICER'S NAME IN MARGIN BESIDE CHANGES.

CONCURRENCES/COMMENTS*

DUE: IMMEDIATELY

*PHONE to action officer at ext. 3110

FYI
☒ Batjer *Concurs*
☒ Bemis *Concurs*
☐ Brooks
☐ Burns
☐ Childress
☐ Cobb
☒ Cockell *Concurs*
☒ Cohen *Concurs*
☐ Collins
☒ Danzansky
☒ Dean, B. *Concurs*
☐ Donley
☐ Douglass
☒ Ermarth
☐ Farrar
☐ Flower
☐ Fortier
☐ Grimes
☐ Heiser

FYI
☐ Henhoeffer
☐ Herbst
☒ Howard
☒ Kelly, B.
☒ Kelly, J. *Concurs*
☐ Kimberling
☐ Kissell
☐ Kraemer
☐ Ledsky
☒ Linhard
☐ Mahley
☐ Major
☐ Matthews
☒ McNamara
☐ Michael
☒ Oakley *Concurs*
☐ Paal
☐ Perina
☐ Platt

FYI
☐ Porter
☒ Pugliaresi
☐ Reger
☐ Rodman
☐ Rosenberg *Concurs*
☐ Ross *Concurs*
☒ Rostow
☐ Saunders
☐ Scharfen
☐ Smith
☐ Sommer
☒ Sorzano *Concurs*
☐ Steiner *Concurs*
☐ Stevens
☐ Tahir-Kheli
☐ Tice
☐ Tillman
☐ Tobey

INFORMATION

☒ Green

☒ Carlucci (advance)

☒ Courtney

☒ Powell (advance)

☒ Exec. Sec. Desk

☒ Secretariat

Logged By AC

Return to Secretariat

Document No. _____

WHITE HOUSE STAFFING MEMORANDUM

DATE: 09/18/87 ACTION/CONCURRENCE/COMMENT DUE BY: ----

SUBJECT: PRESIDENTIAL ADDRESS: UNITED NATIONS GENERAL ASSEMBLY

(09/18 4:30 p.m. draft)

ACTION FYI			ACTION FYI		
VICE PRESIDENT	☐	☒	FITZWATER	☐	☒
BAKER	☐	☒	GRISCOM	☐	☒
DUBERSTEIN	☐	☒	HENKEL	☐	☒
MILLER - OMB	☐	☐	HOBBS	☐	☐
BALL	☐	☒	KING	☐	☐
BAUER	☐	☐	RANGE	☐	☐
CARLUCCI	☐	☒	RISQUE	☐	☒
CRIBB	☐	☐	RYAN	☐	☒
CRIPPEN	☐	☐	SPRINKEL	☐	☐
CULVAHOUSE	☐	☒	TUTTLE	☐	☐
DAWSON	☐ P	☒ SS	<u>DOLAN</u>	☐	☒
DONATELLI	☐	☐	<u> </u>	☐	☐

REMARKS:

The attached will be forwarded to the President
Saturday morning.

RESPONSE:

9/19 "very pleased" RR changes per J. Kuhn

Rhett Dawson
Ext. 2702

efforts to introduce contentious and non-relevant issues into the work of the specialized and technical agencies where we seek progress on urgent problems from terrorism to drug trafficking to nuclear proliferation, which threaten us all. Such efforts corrupt the Charter and weaken this Organization.

There have been important administrative and budget reforms. They have helped. The United States is committed to restoring its contribution as reforms progress. But there is still much to do. The United Nations was built on great dreams and great ideals. Sometimes it has strayed. It is time for it to come home.

It was Dag Hammarskjold [DAWG HOMMER-shold] who said, "The end of all political effort must be the well-being of the individual in a life of safety and freedom." Should this not be our credo in the years ahead?

I have spoken today of a vision and of the obstacles to its realization. More than a century ago a young Frenchman, Alexis de Tocqueville, visited America. After that visit he predicted that the two great powers of the future would be, on one hand, the United States, which would be built, as he said, "by the plowshare," and, on the other, Russia, which would go forward, again, as he said, "by the sword." Yet need it be so? Cannot swords be turned to plowshares? Can we and all nations not live in peace?

In our obsession with antagonisms of the moment, we often forget how much unites all the members of humanity. Perhaps we need some outside, universal threat to make us recognize this



Per JK
Guscom
OK'd
Change
used

common bond. I occasionally think how quickly our differences
world-wide would vanish if ~~creatures from another planet should~~ ^{we were facing an alien threat from outside}
~~threaten~~ this world. And yet, I ask you, is not an alien force
already among us? What could be more ~~foreign~~ ^{alien} to the universal
aspirations of our peoples than war and the threat of war?

Two centuries ago, in a hall much smaller than this one, in
Philadelphia, Americans met to draft a Constitution. In the
course of their debates, one of them said that the new
government, if it was to rise high, must be built on the broadest
base, the will and consent of the people. And so it was. And so
it has been.

My message today is that the dreams of ordinary people reach
to astonishing heights. If we diplomatic pilgrims are to achieve
equal altitudes, we must build all we do on the full breadth of
humanity's will and consent and the full expanse of the human
heart.

Keep
consistency
in
aliens



Jim Kuehn RR changes Special Assistant to President

These are the changes and the President likes them

Home

6034 Grove Dr.

Alexandria VA 22307

703-960-6987



Minor change
P. 289-10-13-14

RR

JP 1181 506698 (4)
WHOREM Subject

(Judge/ARD/State/NSC)
September 18, 1987
4:30 p.m.

PRESIDENTIAL ADDRESS: UNITED NATIONS GENERAL ASSEMBLY
NEW YORK, NEW YORK
MONDAY, SEPTEMBER 21, 1987

Mr. President, Mr. Secretary-General, honored guests,
distinguished delegates:

Let me first welcome the Secretary-General back from his pilgrimage for peace in the Middle East. Hundreds of thousands have already fallen in the bloody conflict between Iran and Iraq. All men and women of goodwill pray that the carnage can soon be stopped. We pray that the Secretary-General proves to be not only a pilgrim but also the architect of a lasting peace between those two nations. Mr. Secretary-General, the United States supports you. May God guide you in your labors ahead.

Like the Secretary-General, all of us here today are on a kind of pilgrimage. We come from every continent, every race, and most religions to this great hall of hope where, in the name of peace, we practice diplomacy. Now, diplomacy, of course, is a subtle and nuanced craft -- so much so that it is said that when one of the most wily diplomats of the 19th century passed away, other diplomats asked, on reports of his death, "What do you suppose the old fox meant by that?"

But true statesmanship requires not merely skill but something greater. Something we call vision -- a grasp of the present and of the possibilities of the future. I have come here today to map out for you my own vision of the world's future -- one, I believe, that, in its essential elements, is shared by all Americans. And I hope those who see things differently will not

mind if I say that we in the United States believe that the place to look first for shape of the future is not in continental masses and sea lanes, although geography is, obviously, of great importance. Neither is it in national reserves of blood and iron or, on the other hand, of money and industrial capacity -- although military and economic strength are also, of course, crucial. We begin with something that is far simpler and yet far more profound -- the human heart.

All over the world today, the yearnings of the human heart are redirecting the course of international affairs, putting the lie to the myth of materialism and historical determinism. We have only to open our eyes to see the simple aspirations of ordinary people writ large on the record of our times.

Last year in the Philippines, ordinary people rekindled the spirit of democracy and restored the electoral process. Some said they had performed a miracle, and if so, a similar miracle -- a transition to democracy -- is taking place in the Republic of Korea. Haiti, too, is making a transition. Some despair when these new, young democracies face conflicts or challenges, but growing pains are normal in democracies. The United States had them -- as has every other democracy on Earth.

In Latin America, too, one can hear the voices of freedom echo from the peaks and across the plains. It is the song of ordinary people marching, not in uniforms and not in military file, but, rather, one by one in simple, everyday working clothes -- marching to the polls. Ten years ago, ^{ONLY} a third of the people of Latin America and the Caribbean lived in democracies or

in countries that were turning to democracy. Today over 90 percent do. ~~As the Latin American novelist Mario Vargas Llosa [YO-sah] said recently, "For the first time, democracy or incipient democratic forms of government are being established in our countries, of our hemisphere, with clear popular support and with an equally clear rejection of Marxist revolution or military dictatorship." And he concluded, "Today anti-democratic alternatives are running against the will of the people, supported only by economic or intellectual elites."~~

But this worldwide movement to democracy is not the only way in which simple, ordinary people are leading us in this room -- we who are said to be the makers of history -- leading us into the future. Around the world, new businesses, new economic growth, new technologies are emerging from the workshops of ordinary people with extraordinary dreams.

Here in the United States, entrepreneurial energy -- reinvigorated when we cut taxes and regulations -- has fueled the current economic expansion. According to scholars at the Massachusetts Institute of Technology, three-quarters of the more than 13-1/2 million new jobs that we have created since the beginning of our expansion came from businesses with fewer than 100 employees -- businesses started by ordinary people who dared to take a chance. And many of our new high technologies were first developed in the garages of fledgling entrepreneurs. Yet America is not the only or perhaps even the best example of the dynamism and dreams that the freeing of markets set free.



In India and China, freer markets for farmers have led to an explosion in production. In Africa, governments are rethinking their policies, and where they are allowing greater economic freedom to farmers, crop production has improved. Meanwhile, in the newly industrialized countries of the Pacific Rim, free markets in services and manufacturing as well as agriculture have led to a soaring of growth and standards of living. The ASEAN nations, Japan, Korea, and Taiwan have created the true economic miracle of the last two decades, and in each of them, much of the magic came from ordinary people who succeeded as entrepreneurs.

In Latin America, this same lesson of free markets, greater opportunity, and growth is being studied and acted on. President Sarney of Brazil spoke for many others when he said that, "Private initiative is the engine of economic development. In Brazil we have learned that every time the state's penetration in the economy increases, our liberty decreases." Yes, policies that release to flight ordinary people's dreams are spreading around the world. From Colombia to Turkey to Indonesia, governments are cutting taxes, reviewing their regulations, and opening opportunities for initiative.

There has been much talk in the halls of this building about the "right to development." But more and more the evidence is clear that development is not itself a right. It is the product of rights -- the right to own property; the right to buy and sell freely; the right to contract; the right to be free of excessive taxation and regulation, of burdensome government. There have



been studies that have determined that countries with low tax rates have greater growth than those with high rates.

We're all familiar with the phenomenon of the "underground economy." The scholar, Hernando de Soto, and his colleagues have examined the situation of one country -- Peru -- and described an economy of the poor that bypasses crushing taxation and stifling regulation. This "informal economy," as the researchers call it, is the principal supplier of many goods and services, and often the only ladder for upward mobility. In the capital city, it accounts for almost all public transportation and most street markets. And the researchers concluded that, thanks to the informal economy, "The poor can work, travel, and have a roof over their heads." They might have added that, by becoming underground entrepreneurs themselves or by working for them, the poor have become less poor and the nation itself richer.

Those who advocate statist solutions to development should take note -- the free market is the other path to development and the one true path. It is the people's path. And, unlike many other paths, it leads somewhere. It works.

So this is where I believe we can find the map to the world's future -- in the hearts of ordinary people; in their hopes for themselves and their children; in their prayers as they lay themselves and their families to rest each night. These simple people are the giants of the Earth, the true builders of the world and shapers of the centuries to come. And if indeed they triumph, as I believe they will, we will at last know a world of peace and freedom, opportunity and hope, and, yes, of





democracy -- a world in which the spirit of mankind at last conquers the old, familiar enemies of famine, disease, tyranny, and war.

This is my vision -- America's vision. I recognize that some governments represented in this hall have other ideas. Some do not believe in democracy or in political, economic, or religious freedom. Some believe in dictatorship -- whether by one man, one party, one class, one race, or one vanguard. To those governments I would only say that the price of oppression is clear. Your economies will fall farther and farther behind. Your people will become more restless. Isn't it better to listen to the people's hopes now, rather than their curses later?

And yet, despite our differences, there is one common hope that brought us all to make this common pilgrimage -- the hope that mankind will one day beat its swords into plowshares; the hope of peace.

In no place on Earth today is peace more in need of friends than the Middle East. Its people's yearning for peace is growing. The United States will continue to be an active partner in the efforts of the parties to come together to settle their differences and build a just and lasting peace.

And this month marks the beginning of the eighth year of the Iran-Iraq War. Two months ago, the Security Council adopted a mandatory resolution demanding a ceasefire, withdrawal, and negotiations to end the war. The United States fully supports implementation of Resolution 598, as we support the Secretary-General's recent mission. We welcomed Iraq's

acceptance of that resolution, and remain disappointed at Iran's unwillingness to accept it.

In that regard, I know that the President of Iran will be addressing you tomorrow. I take this opportunity to call upon him clearly and unequivocally to state whether Iran accepts 598 or not. If the answer is positive, it would be a welcome step and major breakthrough. If it is negative, the Council has no choice but rapidly to adopt enforcement measures.

For 40 years the United States has made clear its vital interest in the security of the Persian Gulf and the countries that border it. The oil reserves there are of strategic importance to the economies of the free world. We are committed to maintaining the free flow of this oil and to preventing the domination of the region by any hostile power.

We do not seek confrontation or trouble with Iran or anyone else. Our objective is now, and has been at every stage, finding a means to end the war with no victor and no vanquished. The increase in our naval presence in the Gulf does not favor one side or the other. It is a response to heightened tensions and followed consultations with our friends in the region. When the tension diminishes, so will our presence.

The United States is gratified by many recent diplomatic developments -- the unanimous adoption of Resolution 598, the Arab League's statement at its recent meeting in Tunis, and the Secretary-General's visit. Yet problems remain.

The Soviet Union helped in drafting and reaching an agreement on Resolution 598. But outside the Security Council,

the Soviets have acted differently. They called for removal of our Navy from the Gulf, where it has been for 40 years. They made the false accusation that somehow the United States -- rather than the war itself -- is the source of tension in the Gulf. Such statements are not helpful. They divert attention from the challenge facing us all -- a just end to the war.

The United States hopes the Soviets will join the other members of the Security Council in vigorously seeking an end to a conflict that should never have begun, should have ended long ago, and has become one of the great tragedies of the postwar era.

Elsewhere in the region, we see the continuing Soviet occupation of Afghanistan. After nearly 8 years, a million casualties, nearly 4 million others driven into exile, and more intense fighting than ever -- it's time for the Soviet Union to ~~Get out~~. LEAVE.

The Afghan people must have the right to determine their own future free of foreign coercion. There is no excuse for prolonging a brutal war or propping up a regime whose days are clearly numbered. That regime offers political proposals that pretend compromise, but really would ensure the perpetuation of the regime's power. Those proposals have failed the only significant test: They have been rejected by the Afghan people. Every day the resistance grows in strength. It is an indispensable party in the quest for a negotiated solution.

The world community must continue to insist on genuine self-determination; prompt and full Soviet withdrawal; and the

return of the refugees to their homes in safety and honor. The attempt may be made to pressure a few countries to change their vote this year, but this body, I know, will vote overwhelmingly, as every year before, for Afghan independence and freedom.

We have noted General Secretary Gorbachev's statement of readiness to withdraw. In April I ^{ASKED} ~~challenged~~ the Soviet Union to set a date this year when this withdrawal would begin. I repeat that ^{REQUEST} ~~challenge~~ now, in this forum for peace. I pledge that, once the Soviet Union shows convincingly that it's ready for a genuine political settlement, the United States is ready to be helpful.

Let me add one final note on this matter. Pakistan, in the face of enormous pressure and intimidation, has given sanctuary to Afghan refugees. We salute the courage of Pakistan and the Pakistani people. They deserve strong support from all of us.

Another regional conflict, we all know, is taking place in Central America -- in Nicaragua.

To the Sandinista delegation here today I say: Your people know the true nature of your regime. They have seen their liberties suppressed. They have seen the promises of 1979 go unfulfilled. They have seen their real wages and personal income fall by half -- yes, half -- since 1979, while your Party elite live lives of privilege and luxury.

This is why, despite a billion dollars in Soviet-bloc aid last year alone, despite the largest and best equipped army in Central America, you face a popular revolution at home. It is why the democratic resistance is able to operate freely deep in



your heartland. But this revolution should come as no surprise to you. It is only the revolution you promised the people, and that you then betrayed.

The goal of United States policy towards Nicaragua is simple. It is the goal of the Nicaraguan people and the freedom fighters as well: It is democracy -- real, free, pluralistic, constitutional democracy. Understand this: We will not, and the world community will not, accept phoney, ~~Potemkin Village~~ "democratization" designed to mask the perpetuation of dictatorship.

In this 200th year of our own Constitution, we know that real democracy depends on the safeguards of an institutional structure that prevents a concentration of power. It is that which makes rights secure. The temporary relaxation of controls -- which can later be tightened -- is not democratization.

Again, to the Sandinistas, I say: We continue to hope that Nicaragua will become part of the genuine democratic transformation we have seen throughout Central America in this decade. We applaud the principles embodied in the Guatemala agreement, which links the security of the Central American democracies to democratic reform in Nicaragua. Now is the time for you to shut down the military machine that threatens your neighbors and assaults your own people. You must end your stranglehold on internal political activity. You must hold free and fair national elections. The media must be truly free -- not censored or intimidated or crippled by indirect measures like the



denial of newsprint or threats against journalists or their families. Exiles must be allowed to return to minister, to live, to work, and to organize politically. Then, when persecution of religion has ended, and the jails no longer contain political prisoners, national reconciliation and democracy will be possible.

Unless this happens, "democratization" will be a fraud. And until it happens, we will press for true democracy by supporting those fighting for it.

Freedom in Nicaragua or Angola or Afghanistan or Cambodia or Eastern Europe or South Africa or anyplace else on the globe is not just an internal matter. Some time ago the Czech dissident writer, Vaclav Havel [VATS-lav HAH-velle] warned the world that, "respect for human rights is the fundamental condition and the sole genuine guarantee of true peace." And Andrei Sakharov in his Nobel Lecture said: "I am convinced that international confidence, mutual understanding, disarmament, and international security are inconceivable without an open society with freedom of information, freedom of conscience, the right to publish, and the right to travel and choose the country in which one wishes to live."

Freedom serves peace. The quest for peace must serve the cause of freedom. Patient diplomacy can contribute to a world in which both can flourish. We are heartened by new prospects for improvement in East-West and particularly U.S.-Soviet relations.

Last week Soviet Foreign Minister Shevardnadze visited Washington for talks with me and with Secretary of State Shultz.



We discussed the full range of issues, including my longstanding efforts to achieve, for the first time, deep reductions in U.S. and Soviet nuclear arms. It was 6 years ago, for example, that I proposed the "zero option" for U.S. and Soviet longer-range, intermediate-range nuclear missiles. I am pleased that we have now agreed in principle to a truly historic treaty that will eliminate an entire class of U.S. and Soviet nuclear weapons. We also agreed to intensify our diplomatic efforts in all areas of mutual interest.

Toward that end, Secretary Shultz and the Foreign Minister will meet again, a month from now, in Moscow, and I will meet again with General Secretary Gorbachev later this fall.

We continue to have our differences and probably always will. But that puts a special responsibility on us to find ways -- realistic ways -- to bring greater stability to our competition and to show the world a constructive example of the value of communication and of the possibility of peaceful solutions to political problems.

Here let me add that we seek, through our Strategic Defense Initiative, to find a way to keep the peace through relying on defense -- not offense -- for deterrence and for eventually rendering ballistic missiles obsolete. S.D.I. has greatly enhanced the prospects for real arms reduction. It is a crucial part of our efforts to ensure a safer world and a more stable strategic balance.

We will continue to pursue ~~us~~^{the} goal of arms reduction, particularly the goal that the General Secretary and I agreed upon -- a 50-percent reduction in our respective strategic nuclear arms. We will continue to press the Soviets for more constructive conduct in the settling of regional conflicts. We look to the Soviets to honor the Helsinki Accords. We look for greater freedom for the Soviet peoples within their country, more people-to-people exchanges with our country, and Soviet recognition in practice of the right of freedom of movement.

We look forward to a time when things we now regard as sources of friction and even danger can become examples of cooperation between ourselves and the Soviet Union. For instance, I have proposed a collaboration to reduce the barriers between East and West in Berlin, and more broadly in Europe as a whole. Let us work together for a Europe in which force or the threat of force, whether in the form of walls or of guns, is no longer an obstacle to free choice by individuals and whole nations. I have also called for more openness in the flow of information from the Soviet Union about its military forces, policies, and programs so that our negotiations about arms reduction can proceed with greater confidence.

We hear much about changes in the Soviet Union. We are intensely interested in these changes. We hear the word, "glasnost," which is translated as "openness." In English, "openness" is a broad term. It means the free, unfettered flow of information, ideas, and people. It means political and intellectual liberty in all its dimensions. We hope, for the

sake of the peoples of the U.S.S.R., that such changes will come. And we hope, for the sake of peace, that it will include a foreign policy that respects the freedom and independence of other peoples.

No place should be better suited for discussions of peace than this hall. The first Secretary-General, Trygve Lie [TRIG-vee LEE], said of the United Nations: "With the danger of fire, and in the absence of an organized fire department, it is only common sense for the neighbors to join in setting up their own fire brigades."

Joining together to drown the flames of war -- this, together with a Universal Declaration of Human Rights, was the founding ideal of the United Nations. It is our continuing challenge to ensure that the U.N. lives up to these hopes.

As the Secretary-General noted some time ago, the risk of anarchy in the world has increased because the fundamental rules of the U.N. Charter have been violated. The General Assembly has repeatedly acknowledged this with regard to the ~~Soviet~~ occupation of Afghanistan. The Charter has a concrete practical meaning today because it touches on all the dimensions of human aspiration that I mentioned earlier -- the yearning for democracy and freedom, for global peace, and for prosperity.

This is why we must protect the Universal Declaration of Human Rights from being debased as it was through the infamous "Zionism is Racism" resolution. We cannot permit attempts to control the media and promote censorship under the ruse of a so-called, "New World Information Order." We must work against



efforts to introduce contentious and non-relevant issues into the work of the specialized and technical agencies where we seek progress on urgent problems from terrorism to drug trafficking to nuclear proliferation, which threaten us all. Such efforts corrupt the Charter and weaken this Organization.

There have been important administrative and budget reforms. They have helped. The United States is committed to restoring its contribution as reforms progress. But there is still much to do. The United Nations was built on great dreams and great ideals. Sometimes it has strayed. It is time for it to come home.

It was Dag Hammarskjold [DAWG HOMMER-shold] who said, "The end of all political effort must be the well-being of the individual in a life of safety and freedom." Should this not be our credo in the years ahead?

I have spoken today of a vision and of the obstacles to its realization. More than a century ago a young Frenchman, Alexis de Tocqueville, visited America. After that visit he predicted that the two great powers of the future would be, on one hand, the United States, which would be built, as he said, "by the plowshare," and, on the other, Russia, which would go forward, again, as he said, "by the sword." Yet need it be so? Cannot swords be turned to plowshares? Can we and all nations not live in peace?

In our obsession with antagonisms of the moment, we often forget how much unites all the members of humanity. Perhaps we need some outside, universal threat to make us recognize this



common bond. I occasionally think how quickly our differences
world-wide would vanish if ~~creatures from another planet should~~ ^{to us we face an alien threat}
~~threaten~~ ^{from outside} this world. And yet, I ask you, is not an alien force
already among us? What could be more ~~foreign~~ ^{alien} to the universal
aspirations of our peoples than war and the threat of war?

Two centuries ago, in a hall much smaller than this one, in
Philadelphia, Americans met to draft a Constitution. In the
course of their debates, one of them said that the new
government, if it was to rise high, must be built on the broadest
base, the will and consent of the people. And so it was. And so
it has been.

My message today is that the dreams of ordinary people reach
to astonishing heights. If we diplomatic pilgrims are to achieve
equal altitudes, we must build all we do on the full breadth of
humanity's will and consent and the full expanse of the human
heart.





THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

September 17, 1987

MR. PRESIDENT:

Attached for your right/wrong track review is the most recent draft of your Address before the United Nations General Assembly. We expect that major changes will have to be made early tomorrow to reflect the outcome of the Schulz/Shevardnadze meetings. The portion that will be substantially revised is bracketed (at page 7 through page 12).

We will have a new draft for your final review as soon as possible tomorrow. However, we thought you would want the chance to give us your thoughts on the draft as it stands now.

M

Rhett Dawson

I think there is too much anti-Soviet preaching in view of what we are trying to achieve right now.

And toward the end perhaps I still would like my "fantasy" - how quickly our differences would melt away if creatures from another planet should threaten this world. RR

Rhett Dawson J.D.
Home 4207 Lincoln Ave NW
Washington DC 20008
204-966-1710

White House Admin Ofc - Assistant to President - Operations



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WHITE HOUSE STAFFING MEMORANDUM

 DATE: 09/18/87 ACTION/CONCURRENCE/COMMENT DUE BY: ----

 SUBJECT: PRESIDENTIAL ADDRESS: UNITED NATIONS GENERAL ASSEMBLY

(09/18 4:30 p.m. draft)

	ACTION FYI			ACTION FYI	
VICE PRESIDENT	☐	☒	FITZWATER	☐	☒
BAKER	☐	☒	GRISCOM	☐	☒
DUBERSTEIN	☐	☒	HENKEL	☐	☒
MILLER - OMB	☐	☐	HOBBS	☐	☐
BALL	☐	☒	KING	☐	☐
BAUER	☐	☐	RANGE	☐	☐
CARLUCCI	☐	☒	RISQUE	☐	☒
CRIBB	☐	☐	RYAN	☐	☒
CRIPPEN	☐	☐	SPRINKEL	☐	☐
CULVAHOUSE	☐	☒	TUTTLE	☐	☐
DAWSON	☐	☒	<u>DOLAN</u>	☐	☒
DONATELLI	☐	☐		☐	☐

REMARKS:

The attached will be forwarded to the President
Saturday morning.

RESPONSE: FYI: FCC, CLP, GSG, WHC, MB, JDH, PWR, PSS, ABF, FWE,
RBO, JAK, HJC, JSS, DBK, RWD, SID, REL, WAC,
BSR, WWD

Rhett Dawson
Ext. 2702



THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

September 18, 1987

SEP 18 1987

MEMORANDUM FOR THE PRESIDENT

FROM: CLARK S. JUDGE *CSJ*
SPEECHWRITER TO THE PRESIDENT

RE: United Nations General Assembly Address

Please note the following changes, which were approved by all parties:

1. The tone regarding the Soviets has been adjusted per your instruction, not only in the Soviet section, but also in the Central America, Afghanistan, and Persian Gulf section.

Also, please note page 8, paragraph 3, end of the paragraph, in brackets the words "get out." "Get out" is seen as more forceful and challenging than "leave" and was recommended. But you might want to tone it down to "leave." I was asked to give you this option.

2. Iran -- Please see page 7, first full paragraph: This is a direct challenge to the Iranian President. It is new and recommended by State.

3. South Africa -- Two passing references have been added. On page 6, first full paragraph, line 5: The series "one man, one party, etc." now includes "one race." On page 11, paragraph 3, sentence 1: "Freedom in..." -- the list of nations now includes South Africa.

4. Your Fantasy is included. Please see page 16, paragraph at the top of the page.