



Ronald Reagan Library

40 Presidential Drive Simi Valley, California 93065

RONALD REAGAN'S-MAJOR SPEECHES, 1964-89

Copies may be obtained on
1/2" VHS, 3/4" or Betacam SP videocassette or audiocassette
(compiled 8/6/97)

PRE-PRESIDENTIAL SPEECHES

10/27/64, *"A Time For Choosing"*, Televised Campaign Address for Goldwater Presidential Campaign, 29:00, (black & white)

8/19/76, *Ronald Reagan's Remarks at the Republican National Convention*, Kansas City, (5:00)

11/13/79, *Ronald Reagan's Announcement for Presidential Candidacy*, Televised Nationally, 26:00

4/24/80, *Ronald Reagan and George Bush Debate*, Houston, (WHCA R13, 60:00)

7/17/80, *Presidential Nomination Acceptance Speech*, Republican National Convention, Detroit, (WHCA, WHTV, 46:00)

9/21/80, *Ronald Reagan and John Anderson Debate*, (WHCA R19, 60:00)

10/19/80, *"A Strategy for Peace in the 80s"* Televised Campaign Address, (WHCA R22, 28:00)

10/24/80, *"A Vital Economy: Jobs, Growth, and Progress for Americans"*, Televised Campaign Address, (WHCA R23, 30:00)

10/28/80, *Presidential Debate with Jimmy Carter*, Convention Center Music Hall, Cleveland, (WHCA R24, 90:00)

10/31/80, *Ronald Reagan Campaign Commercial (Speech, Moody Coliseum, Dallas)*, (WHCA R28, 29:00)

11/1/80, *Ronald Reagan Campaign Commercial*, (WHCA R29, 5:00)

11/3/80, *Ronald Reagan Election Eve Address "A Vision for America"* Televised Campaign Address, (WHCA R30, 27:00)

PRESIDENTIAL SPEECHES—FIRST TERM

1/20/81, *First Inaugural Address*, U.S. Capitol, (WHCA R42, R83, 20:00)

2/5/81, *Address to the Nation on the Economy*, Oval Office, (WHCA R91, WHTV #16, 21:00)

2/18/81, *Address on the Program for Economic Recovery*, Joint Session of Congress, (WHCA R100, 40:00)

4/28/81, *Address on the Program for Economic Recovery*, Joint Session of Congress (First speech after assassination attempt), (WHCA R198, WHTV #39, 23:00)

7/27/81, *Address to the Nation on Federal Tax Reduction Legislation*, Oval Office, (WHCA R312, WHTV #16, 23:00)

8/3/81, *Address on the Air Traffic Controllers Strike*, Rose Garden, (WHCA R331, 12:00)

9/24/81, *Address to the Nation on the Economic Recovery*, Oval Office, (WHCA R385, 28:00)

11/18/81, *Address on Strategic Arms Reduction Talks—START (Zero Option Speech)*, National Press Club, Wash. DC (WHCA R518, WHTV #73, 24:00)

12/23/81, *Address to the Nation on Christmas and the situation in Poland*, Oval Office, (WHCA R571, WHTV #79, 20:00)

1/26/82, *State of the Union Address*, (Social Programs transferred to States) Joint Session of Congress, (WHCA R609–612, 43:00)

4/29/82, *Address to the Nation on the Federal Budget*, Oval Office (WHCA R784, 18:00)

5/9/82, *Address to Eureka College Graduating Class of 1982*, Eureka College, Illinois (WHTV #141, 132, 28:00)

6/8/82, *Address to the British Parliament*, Royal Gallery at the Palace of Westminster, London (WHCA R894, 33:00)

6/9/82, *Address to the Bundestag*, Bundehaus, Bonn, Federal Republic of Germany, (WHCA R897, WHTV #213, 31:00)

6/17/82, *Address to the General Assembly of the United Nations (Special Session on Disarmament, "Agenda for Peace")*, United Nations, NYC, (WHCA R920, WHTV #268, 25:00)

8/16/82, *Address to the Nation on the Tax and Budget Legislation*, Oval Office, (WHCA R996,

22:00)

9/1/82, *Address to the Nation on the U.S. Policy in the Middle East*, KNBC-TV studios, California, (WHCA R1016, 22:00)

9/20/82, *Address to the Nation on Lebanon*, Oval Office, (WHCA R1053, WHTV #348, 7:41)

10/13/82, *Address to the Nation on the Economy*, Oval Office, (WHCA R1105, WHTV #511, 20:00)

11/22/82, *Address to the Nation on Arms Reduction and Nuclear Deterrence (MX Missile)*, Oval Office, (WHCA R1180, 23:00)

1/25/83, *State of the Union Address*, (Federal Spending Freeze) Joint Session of Congress, (WHCA R1264-1265, 48:00)

3/8/83, *Address to the National Association of Evangelicals ("Evil Empire" Speech)*, Sheraton Twin Towers Hotel, Orlando, FL, (WHTV, 30:00) *Last few minutes of speech are missing.

3/10/83, *Address on Central America and El Salvador*, Annual Meeting of the National Association of Manufacturers, Wash. Hilton Hotel (WHCA R1340, WHTV #708, 30:00)

3/23/83, *Address to the Nation on National Security ("Star Wars" SDI Speech)*, Oval Office, (WHCA R1357, 29:00)

4/11/83, *Address to the American Gathering of Jewish Holocaust Survivors*, Capitol Centre, Landover, MD (WHTV #781, WHTV TWTW, 21:00)

4/27/83, *Address on Central America*, Joint Session of Congress, (WHCA R1420, 35:00)

9/5/83, *Address to the Nation on the Soviet Attack on a Korean Airliner (KAL 007)*, Oval Office, (WHCA R1597, 16:00)

9/26/83, *Address to the General Assembly of the United Nations*, United Nations, NYC, (WHCA R1622, 23:00)

10/27/83, *Address to the Nation on Lebanon and Grenada*, Oval Office, (WHCA R1683, 25:00)

11/2/83, *Address upon establishing the birthday of Martin Luther King Jr. as a holiday*, Rose Garden, White House, (WHCA R1697, 11:00)

11/4/83, *Address at Cherry Point Marine Corps Air Station on the U.S. Casualties in Lebanon*

& Grenada, (WHTV #C18, 11:00)

11/11/83, *Address before the Japanese Diet*, Tokyo, Japan (WHTV #C29, TWTW, 30:00)

11/13/83, *Remarks to the American Troops at Camp Liberty Bell (DMZ)*, Republic of Korea (WHTV TWTW, 13:00)

1/16/84, *Address to the Nation and Other Countries on United States–Soviet Relations*, East Room, White House, (WHCA R1814, WHTV TWTW, 24:00)

1/25/84, *State of the Union Address*, (America is back with 4 Great Goals) Joint Session of Congress, (WHCA R1824, 48:00)

1/29/84, *Address to the Nation Announcing Reagan's candidacy for reelection*, Oval Office, (WHCA R1829, 5:00)

5/9/84, *Address to the Nation on Central America*, Oval Office, (WHCA R1964, 25:00)

5/28/84, *Remarks honoring the Vietnam War's Unknown Soldier*, Arlington National Cemetery, (WHTV #G56, WHTV TWTW, 17:00)

6/4/84, *Address Before a Joint Session of the Irish National Parliament*, Dublin, Ireland, (WHTV #G82, G83, 37:00)

6/6/84, *Address at the U.S. Ranger Monument Commemorating the 40th Anniversary of D-Day*, Pointe Du Hoc, Normandy, France, (WHTV #G88, TWTW, 13:00)

6/6/84, *Address at the Omaha Beach Memorial Commemorating the 40th Anniversary of D-Day*, Omaha Beach, France, (WHTV #G89, TWTW, 9:00)

8/23/84, *Presidential Nomination Acceptance Address*, Republican National Convention, Dallas, Texas (WHCA R2163, 50:00)

9/24/84, *Address to the General Assembly of the United Nations*, United Nations, NYC, (WHCA R2216, 35:00)

10/7/84, *Presidential Debate with Walter Mondale (Domestic Issues)*, Louisville, KY, (WHCA R2239B, R2239C 100:00)

10/12/84, *Remarks during Whistlestop Tour of Ohio* (six stops on the train route), (WHTV #27–33)

10/21/84, *Presidential Debate with Walter Mondale (Defense & Foreign Policy)*, Convention

Center Music Hall, Kansas City, (WHCA R2265B, R2265C 90:00)

10/26/84, *Remarks at Reagan-Bush Rally in Fairfield, Connecticut*, (WHTV #081, 27:00)

PRESIDENTIAL SPEECHES-SECOND TERM

1/21/85, *Second Inaugural Address*, U.S. Capitol, (WHCA R2481, 2484, 20:00)

2/6/85, *State of the Union Address, (American Revolution II)* Joint Session of Congress, (WHCA R2530, WHTV TWTW, 44:00)

4/24/85, *Address to the Nation on the Federal Budget and Deficit Reduction*, Oval Office, (WHCA R2633, 23:00)

5/5/85, *Speech at Bergen-Belsen Concentration Camp Memorial*, Federal Republic of Germany, (WHTV #436, TWTW, 9:00)

5/5/85, *Speech at Bitburg Air Base*, Federal Republic of Germany, (WHCA R2649-2652, WHTV #440-441, TWTW, 13:00)

5/8/85, *Address to European Parliament ("Soviet Military")*, Strasbourg, France, (WHCA R2660, TWTW, 46:00)

5/28/85, *Address to the Nation on Tax Reform*, Oval Office, (WHCA R2685, 20:00)

6/30/85, *Address to the Nation on the Release of the TWA Hostages*, Oval Office, (WHCA R2734, WHTV #619, 4:00)

7/8/85, *Speech at the Annual Convention of the American Bar Association, (Terrorist States)*, DAR Constitution Hall, (WHTV TWTW, 30:00)

10/24/85, *Address to the General Assembly of the United Nations, (40th Anniversary on "Fresh Start" with Soviet Union)*. United Nations, NYC, (WHCA R2875, WHTV #083, 29:00)

11/14/85, *Address to the Nation on the Upcoming Soviet-United States Summit in Geneva*, Oval Office, (WHCA R2900, WHTV TWTW, 18:00)

11/21/85, *Address following the Soviet-United States Summit Meeting in Geneva*, Joint Session of Congress, (R2920, R2922-2923, 20:00)

12/16/85, *Remarks at a Memorial Service for 101st Airborne Division*, Fort Campbell, Kentucky

(R2969-2972, WHTV #163, 7:00)

1/28/86, *Address to the Nation on the Explosion of the Space Shuttle "Challenger"*, Oval Office, (WHCA R3029, 5:00)

2/4/86, *State of the Union Address (Welfare Plan)* Joint Session of Congress, (WHCA R3044-3049, 34:00)

2/26/86, *Address to the Nation on National Security*, Oval Office, (WHCA R3078, WHTV #313, 23:00)

3/16/86, *Address to the Nation on the Situation in Nicaragua*, Oval Office, (WHCA R3111-3114, WHTV #350, 21:00)

4/14/86, *Address to the Nation on the Air Strike Against Libya*, Oval Office, (WHCA R3165-3168, 7:00)

6/24/86, *Address to the Nation on Aid to the Contras*, Oval Office, (WHCA R3276, WHTV TWTW, 27:00)

7/3/86, *Address at the Statue of Liberty Centennial Celebration*, Governors Island, New York Harbor, (WHTV TWTW, WHCA R3286-3288, 21:00)

9/14/86, *Address to the Nation on the Campaign Against Drug Abuse (presented jointly with Nancy Reagan)*, Residence at the White House, (WHCA R3420, WHTV TWTW, 21:00)

9/22/86, *Address to the General Assembly of the United Nations, (Arms Reduction Progress)* United Nations, NYC, (WHCA R3432, WHTV #721, 32:00)

10/1/86, *Address at the Dedication of the Carter Presidential Center*, Jimmy Carter Library, Atlanta, (WHTV TWTW, WHCA R3454, 21:00)

10/13/86, *Address to the Nation on the Meetings with Gorbachev in Iceland*, Oval Office, (WHTV TWTW, WHCA R3506, 20:00)

10/22/86, *Remarks on Signing the Tax Reform Act into Law*, South Lawn, White House, (WHCA R3527, WHTV TWTW, 16:00)

11/13/86, *Address to the Nation on the Iran-Contra Controversy*, Oval Office, (WHCA R3564, WHTV #118, 14:00)

12/2/86, *Address to the Nation on the Investigation of the Iran-Contra Affair*, Oval Office,

(WHCA R3600-3603, 5:30)

1/27/87, *State of the Union Address, (I'm back")* Joint Session of Congress, (WHCA R3702-3707, 43:00)

3/4/87, *Address to the Nation on the Iran-Contra Controversy ("Tower Report")*, Oval Office, (WHCA R3759-3763, WHTV #245, 12:00)

5/22/87, *Remarks at a Memorial Service for Crewmembers of U.S.S. Stark*, Jacksonville, Florida, (R4051-4054, WHTV #392, 15:00)

6/12/87, *Address at the Brandenburg Gate (Berlin Wall)*, Berlin, (WHCA R4203, WHTV TWTW, 26:00)

6/15/87, *Address to the Nation on Arms Reduction & the Venice Summit*, Oval Office, (WHCA R4217-4220, 19:00)

7/3/87, *Fourth of July Address on America's Economic Bill of Rights*, Jefferson Memorial, Wash. D.C., (WHCA R4291, WHTV TWTW, 25:00)

8/12/87, *Address to the Nation on the Iran-Contra Affair*, Oval Office, (WHCA R4476-4479, 16:00)

9/21/87, *Address to the General Assembly of the United Nations, (INF Agreement & Iran)* United Nations, NYC, (WHCA R4582-4585, WHTV #624, 32:00)

10/14/87, *Address to the Nation on the Supreme Court Nomination of Robert H. Bork*, Oval Office, (WHTV #030, WHTV TWTW, 8:30)

12/10/87, *Address to the Nation on the Soviet-U.S. Summit Meeting*, Oval Office, (WHCA R4880-4882, 20:00)

1/25/88, *State of the Union Address ("We're not finished yet-Budget Process)* Joint Session of Congress, (WHCA R4982-4988, WHTV TWTW, 46:00)

2/2/88, *Address to the Nation on Aid to the Nicaraguan Democratic Resistance*, Oval Office, (WHCA R5002, WHTV #268, 22:00)

5/31/88, *Address at Moscow State University*, Moscow, USSR (WHTV #533, 534, WHCA R5257-5259, 40:00)

6/3/88, *Address to Members of the Royal Institute of International Affairs in London*, Great Hall,

Guildhall, (WHCA R5273–5275, WHTV TWTW, 30:00)

8/15/88, *Farewell Address*, Republican National Convention, Superdome, New Orleans, (WHCA R5494, WHTV #721, #722, 46:00)

9/26/88, *Address to the General Assembly of the United Nations, (Disarmament)*, United Nations, NYC, (WHCA R5640–5642, 40:00)

11/11/88, *Remarks at the Veterans Day Ceremony at the Vietnam Veterans Memorial*, Washington DC, (WHTV #121, WHTV TWTW, 5:00)

12/13/88, *Address to Administration Officials on Domestic Policy*, Constitution Hall, Wash. D.C. (WHCA R5903, 5904, 33:00)

12/16/88, *Address on Foreign Policy*, Cabell Hall, Univ. of Virginia, Charlottesville, (WHCA R5911, 52:00)

1/11/89, *Farewell Address to the Nation*, Oval Office, (WHCA R5978–5981, WHTV #214, 21:00)

h:speeches

On The Frontier of Freedom

February 11, 1988

Thank you very much. It's great to be here tonight, and I'm delighted to see so many old friends. And now let's get right to it. First, there's the INF treaty. How do you think I felt when Gorbachev called a week and a half ago and asked me if our first group of on-site inspectors could be the Denver Broncos' pass defense? (Laughter.) And then along came the House vote on Contra aid-I felt so terrible, I nearly called Dan Reeves and John Faway to tell them what a rough week I'd had...

By the way, something odd happened just before I got here tonight that I think you should know about. I got a message from Dave Keane reminding me that this was the eve of Lincoln's birthday-and suggesting I go upstairs and check on the ghost in Lincoln's bedroom. I did. And what do you know, there was Stan Evans dressed as Abe Lincoln. And he kept saying, "Listen to Jesse Helms."...

Well, we conservatives have been in Washington now for a while and we occasionally need to remind ourselves what brought us here in the first place: our unshakable, root-deep, all-encompassing skepticism about the capital city's answer to the UFO, that bizarre, ever-tottering but ever-flickering saucer in the sky called "The Prevailing Washington Wisdom."


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From: "Cate Sewell" <cate.sewell@reagan.nara.gov>

Date: Tue, 16 Jan 2001 18:32:15 -0500

To: <squisshy@altavista.com>

Subject: Re: Reagan Speeches

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Dear Mr. Cameron,

1. Yes, we have drafts for the speeches, but they are not currently available for research. You may make a Freedom of Information Act (FOIA) request for the speeches, but it will probably three months or longer before they are available for research.

FOIA requests for Reagan Presidential records should be in writing and signed by the requestor, cite the Freedom of Information Act within the request, and be as specific as possible regarding the information requested. FOIA requests should be addressed to FOIA, Ronald Reagan Library, 40 Presidential Drive, Simi Valley, CA 93065.

2-3. Each speechdraft has the last names of the speechwriters written in the top-right hand corner. For the 9/21/87 speech, the writer was Clark Stevens Judge and his address is: Managing Partner, White House Writers Group, Inc., 1511 K Street NW #500, Washington, DC 20005.

For the 12/4/85 speech, the writers was Joshua Gilder and we do not have an address for him.

Cate Sewell
Archivist
cate.sewell@reagan.nara.gov
1-800-410-8354 ext. 2048

>>> <squisshy@altavista.com> 01/14 8:13
PM >>>
Mr/Ms

~~See Japan 9/16/83 Exit Interview Marie Allen~~

Peggy Noonan 6/18/86 Exit

April 2, 1984

CBS news as producer commentary shot for Ron Rather
"calling to write for Reagan"

Ben Elliot boss - Gergen / Pat Buchanan
assigned speech - topic group

"make it up" "input void" "lack of input"

widely staffed 25-30 people reviewed speech
enormous power of some people

- Dick Darman had final word on speech - Deputy to Chief of Staff
Jim Baker had input that was never ignored - no appeal
Mike Deaver

"astonished with (Darman) his authority and power."

Nixon to writers - 3 senior 3 junior

85 State of Union (year)

Reagan called her "that girl"

- week to $1\frac{1}{2}$ lead time

"close control of information" in R.R.

drafts Point to Harems 15 drafts then 5 more

Nixon was into his speeches

Russ Secretary

June 26, 85

Rye, Gilbert D.

C. Jordan Pava
Office Building

NOV. 23, 1983

Rm 415 Old Executive

- labor relations background.

Ken ~~Kigorian~~ ^{Khachigian} head speech writer President's speech writer & Nancy
all Nancy's speech (did honor for President) 570

"President deals in substance"

"you have to have people who know what is going on over there"

what usually happens for a Presidential speech is I would write the speech & the the researchers had given us the information, it is easy to write a speech for the President in that we know his philosophy... he has years and years of conviction behind him we would write it and then the word speechwriter - whoever that we would go over it then it would be circulated thru the room to the people who ~~would~~ ^{would} see it. It would come back, we would take their changes and take the ones we thought were worthwhile and put

and throw the rest out. Then it would go to the President and ②
he would make his changes. You have to have lots of checks on
what he says.

head was 1st Ken Khachigian (date?) he left Tony Dolan filled
in for a ^{few} months - then was given title chief speech writer
and then a new head speechwriter was brought in which was Ann and
then Ann left in Sept 83 and now Ben Elliot is chief speech writer
Dolan still chief speechwriter (didn't want him to be head or upset)
- Bundestage speech - meeting (with state ^{ann control} defense on European trip)
State Dept sent our draft - to bring up ideas Ann edited
revised a few changes given in chamber. (6/9/82 President Reagan's
address to the Bundestag, Bonn West Germany)
Sept. 83 speech given to UN. Rather said "but speech was given
by a US President (9/23/83)

did joint session of Congress speech on El Salvador (only 9 or 10 in history)

1st NAACP June 81

single handed affairs - "none of the speech we write on joint efforts"

"you can't write speeches as group efforts"

most of the speeches you hear just one speech writer is responsible for - most of the speech is his unless the President takes a big hand in or NSC just sits on you and doesn't give you any freedom

Parkin union foreign relations

Tony Dolan did "evil empire" speech retoric
President rewrites

When we were first started he did write more. because I think he basically does not write - schedule he has written less and less - except for those speeches that mean a great deal to him - most Parkin speeches not rewritten except joint session of

longer speech

relationship - not much with Fess used to be weekly speech meetings
personal meetings (wasn't close to speechwriters)

President philosophical consistency

- forced Ambassador Price from Belgium

Mari Maseng Office of Public Liaison: Deputy Assistant to President
and Director

8/10/83
Mace Maseng Strom Thurmond Press Secretary 1978

media up for Nancy during transition
original speechwriters with Lon Khu. & Tony Dolan

"colloquial & correct"

"always makes changes - sometimes more than others"

"we never tell people which speeches we write because all the
speeches are ^{we firmly believe} the president's speeches"

Friday morning meetings with speechwriters (9:45) one researcher
David Burgin, Baker.

study of the ruff remarks - everything that he says to how he delivers
them

meet with policy people to get details of the policy

researcher and writer on each speech.

"writer is doing a balancing act trying to protect ^{the} President to make sure
they are correct"

write speech for Thurmond
more freedom to ablit
"the president has to be very very careful about every word that
he says" agree on a written text for every speech
whole world listens to what he says

Columbia U. of S. Carolina

Mari Maseng 6/26/87

5 writers

ask for
material →

office of researchers 3 people

Friday general direction

what would President say "not putting words or thoughts into President's
mouth You are trying to reflect the policies he has chosen"
sometimes meet with President or paper going back and forth
putting down words or set policy? comments on speech maintained

Friday meeting (in oval office) 9:45

writes one researcher Ron Barton chairs
Aram Bakshian

David Gergen often Muse
Richard James
James Baker Darman Michael Deaver

15 minutes

policy people separate meetings

major speech 1 week 12 pages



Julie Cove 6/7/85 Exit researcher

Dep't + Education Defense & Foreign

Jan 21, 81 special letter unit

kind by Dolan

research (fact checking)

"go over every word for accuracy" some system used by Time magazine

Process

President going to site to speak - researcher know to go to defense
writer and researcher are assigned to the speech

time lines 1) draft & edit 2) circulate for comment 3) President 4) final form
(eg) UN - lead time

draft from state what's going line in White House - collection is informal
5-6 writers 3-4 researchers

responsible for content - check with dep't, published material

not much is left to chance when the President is going on TV.

researcher input - writer draft - researcher checks - re-drafts edits it -

checks it - project officer in WH checks it (liaison or NSC of justice), plays in
speech knowledgeable people policy people

disagreement "it's President's speech" "live with it"

Misty another researcher
on speech draft. (paper trail)

issues people don't know how to sell it

checkmark over every word except "a" and "the"

Good morning Mr. Smith Peoria has he ever been there
get it from source and then get them to send a copy.

Rod Ross

ARAM. BAKSHIAN 8/9/83 Exit

Deputy Assistant to President - Director of the Presidential
Speech Writing Office Rm 100 Old Executive
- came in 81

met briefly before President

- Los Angeles Herald Examiner inaug. day profile written by team
- worked with Nixon and Ford. (-) individual writer not same access

Reag "heavily involved in the process especially with major speeches"

Reagan more accessible very good hand at communicating

Reagan wrote a lot of his own speeches on the "rubber chicken" circuit had a
radio show

many times Reagan would write speech and writers would go over it to make sure
dates and figures were correct (facts)

Ken Ka left in May 81

Agam Oct 81

Dolan won Pulitzer Prize

London Parrin (humor) any subject

Danna Korbacker

Mari Mas.

worked with Elizabeth Dole.

Policy specialists contacted by researchers

Bob Sims NSC attends daily meeting

of people have to sign off on speeches / Cergen, Deaver, Meese, Judge Clark, Baker, Dick Darman.

- major changes NSC, Defense (foreign policy security) State, or arms negotiators, OMB, council of economic advisors, treasury department, agencies such as small business justice, dep't + agriculture, political office always reviews, counsils office will review for legal, public liaison
- major ~~two~~ weeks or months in advance - policy drafts from NSC, OMB, justice major writing 5-10 days.
- background source material in file
- communication taken seriously



LATER

~~Donna Panamaref~~
May Saylor

~~1970~~
~~delivered~~

During the past decade-and-a-half, the Soviets have built up a massive arsenal of new strategic nuclear weapons -- weapons that can strike directly at the United States.

[CHART: ICBMS]

As an example, the United States ~~deployed~~ ^{introduced} its last new intercontinental ballistic missile, the Minute Man III, in 1969, and we are now dismantling our even older Titan missiles. But what has the Soviet Union done in these intervening years? Well, since 1969, the Soviet Union has built five new classes of ICBMs, and upgraded these eight times. As a result, their missiles are much more powerful and accurate than they were several years ago, while ours are increasingly obsolete.

The same thing has happened in other areas. Over the same period, the Soviet Union built ~~three~~ ^{four} new classes of submarine-launched ballistic missiles and over sixty new missile submarines. We built two new types of submarine missiles and

actually withdrew ten submarines from strategic missions. The Soviet Union built over two hundred new Backfire bombers, and their brand new Blackjack bomber is now under development. We haven't built a new long-range bomber since our B-52's were deployed about a quarter of a century ago, and we've already retired several hundred of those because of old age. Indeed, despite what many people think, our strategic forces only cost about 10 percent of the defense budget.

[CHART: LRINF DEPLOYMENT]

Another example of what's happened: In 1978, the Soviets had 600 intermediate-range nuclear missiles based on land and

mt Balance
1982-83
D.S.S.

Lt. Field

997-
831
Jim Freeman
DOD-
Press

Dir. for Strategic
Clear Policies
J. Saylor (George)
17-1385
played test 1975
-AIMuer x5004

IP-0.26
BY 1987

-AIMuer
x5004

-13
-17
-18
-19
IP-P20

BM-5 (USSR) - over
Kaemer x5010

N-8 (1973)
N-18 (1978)
N-17 (1980)
N-20

Muer, NSC
x5004

3 (Poseidon)
1 (Trident)

D-USN-ops-65
Schroder
14-8122

Subs

P-118
P-26

525 employed
55-7-14
462

Dys
x5004

B-1
NSC-04
x6190

reproduced
x5004



L.A. 512

SMP-p 36
SMP-p 37

were beginning to add the SS-20 -- a new, highly accurate mobile missile, with three warheads. We had none. Since then the Soviets have strengthened their lead. By the end of 1979, when Soviet leader Brezhnev declared "a balance now exists," the

Brezhnev speech - Oct. 6, 1979 Berlin

DOS
Judith Mandell
632-1027

SMP-p. 36 -
Al Myer x 5004

Soviets had over 800 warheads. We still had none. A year ago this month, Mr. Brezhnev pledged a moratorium or freeze on SS-20 deployment. But by last August, their 800 warheads had become

Info Ploose 1983
p. 38 - March 16, 1982

Al Myer x 5004
(12203)

more than 1200. We still had none. Some freeze. At this time

Favda Interview - w/ TASS corresp. Aug. 19, 1982

Soviet Defense Minister Ustinov announced "approximate parity of forces continues to exist." But the Soviets are still adding an

Al Myer x 5004

average of three new warheads a week, and now have 1,300. These warheads can reach their targets in a matter of a few minutes.

SS-20-351 (23)=1053
Al Myer x 5004

We still have none. So far, it seems that the Soviet definition of parity is a box score of 1,300 to nothing, in their favor.

SS-5-16
SS-4-232
TOTAL: 1301

Al Myer - HSE
x 5004 - 6-7 min.

So, together with our NATO allies, we decided to deploy new

1979 NATO
2-trade D
Dec. 12, 1979

weapons, beginning this year, as a deterrent to their SS-20's and as an incentive to the Soviet Union to meet us in serious arms

1981 World Alm
p. 900

control negotiations. We will begin that deployment late this year. At the same time, however, we are willing to cancel our

Library
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9664 - 1970
BM
B. I

program if the Soviets will dismantle theirs. This is what we have called a zero-zero plan. But the Soviets are now at the

negotiating table -- and I think it's fair to say that without our planned deployments, they wouldn't be there.

[CHART: U.S.-SOVIET WEAPONS PRODUCTION]

Now let's consider conventional forces. Since 1974, the United States has produced 3,050 tactical combat aircraft. By contrast, the Soviet Union has produced twice as many. When we

Posture Statement -
93-p. 24
B. I

SS-20 RVs - March '83 - 1053 = 3
+ 16
+ 232
1301

RVs
SS-20 = 999
SS-5 = 16
SS-4 = 232
1247

forces continues to exist." Even now, they are adding an average of three new warheads a week, and now have ~~almost 1,400~~ ¹³⁰⁰. These warheads can reach their targets in a matter of a few minutes.

Sum? 1301
RV

We still have none. We will begin deployment of a deterrent force late this year. At the same time, however, we are willing to cancel our program if the Soviets will dismantle theirs. This is what we have called a zero-zero plan. So far, it seems that the Soviet definition of parity is ~~1,400~~ ¹³⁰⁰ to zero, in their favor. But, at least they are at the negotiating table -- and you can be sure that without our planned deployments they wouldn't be there.

NATO 2-track Decision

PR 6

INF Talks Geneva
EG 1969/70
ACBM nearly

[CHART: U.S.-SOVIET WEAPONS PRODUCTION]

It's the same story when we look at the Soviet buildup of conventional forces. Since 1974, the Soviet Union has added to its forces three times as many tanks as we added, ^{nearly} eight times as many other types of armored vehicles, fourteen times as many artillery and rocket launchers, twice as many tactical combat aircraft, more major surface warships, and more than twice as many attack submarines as we added to our own forces during that same 9-year period.

Sum
1974-83
17350 TANKS
6400
AVS 36650
4800
(96%)
AT 13350
950
6100
3050

Wentzinger testimony

There was a time when we were able to offset superior Soviet numbers with our own higher quality weapons. But today they are building weapons at least as sophisticated and modern as our own.

85-72
61-27

As the Soviets have increased their military power, they have been emboldened to extend that power around the world. This is another aspect of Soviet military power that I want to discuss tonight.

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DOD Director for Strat Forces Policy
695-5678 (Miller)

(Robinson/BE)
November 12, 1985
6:00 p.m.

SS

PRESIDENTIAL REMARKS: ARRIVAL CEREMONY
GENEVA, SWITZERLAND
MONDAY, NOVEMBER 18, 1985

[FOORG - 101]

[FOORG-101]
President Furgler, I would like to extend to you and to the Swiss people my appreciation for helping to make possible the coming meetings between representatives of the United States and the Soviet Union.

Nancy and I are delighted to be in this magnificent city on the shores of Lake Geneva to see and greet all of you, including our good friend, Ambassador Faith Whittlesey, and to say on behalf of the American people, thank you for your warm and friendly welcome.

Mr. President, it is fitting that the meetings of the next few days should take place on Swiss soil, for Switzerland has long been a leader in the search for peace and the defense of human freedom. Again and again, you have provided your territory for international meetings, and your good offices in the mediation of disputes. It was the Swiss who founded one of the great humanitarian organizations of our time, the International Red Cross; and it is Switzerland that often represents the diplomatic interests of other nations, including the United States, in lands where these nations have no formal diplomatic relations of their own.

Indeed, in your unshakeable commitment to independence, democratic government, and human rights, the Swiss Confederation in itself serves as an example to all the world. The motto of the United States, Mr. President, is "E Pluribus Unum," ~~out of~~

on the Great Seal from the

re Memo to
Staff from
Hobley --
Propositor
11-19/20/85
see map in
Whittlesey
Sworn in
April 24, 1985
Presdc.

RRs trip
10/16-21/85
see itinerary

Switzerland
p. 157 v. 26
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5.J. 227

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Library Am

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Off 101 New
Switzerland
Background
Repes p-1
p. 520
Library Am



many, one. Here in Switzerland -- a country of rich ~~religious~~,
cultural, and linguistic variety -- you practice just such unity
in diversity.

Permit me to add that our two countries are bound together
by family ties. As early as 1562, a Swiss ^{settler} appeared in
Florida, and, in 1607, Bernese natives participated in the
founding of Jamestown. Ever since, Americans of Swiss descent
have pioneered and led the development of our Nation. Today
Swiss-Americans number in the millions, and I would be remiss if
I failed to express their affection for you, their Swiss cousins.

Indeed, just last month, the goodwill of the American people
toward the Swiss was formally expressed in a joint resolution of
the Congress of the United States.

Recently, Mr. President, Boston University awarded you an
honorary Doctorate of Laws. In your acceptance address, you
stressed the obligations incumbent upon the West to defend its
values and way of life. "It is," you said, "part of the
definition and vocation of the human being to be free...."

Mr. President, each in its own way, our two nations stand at
the forefront of this struggle for liberty. Each stands
determined to defend the freedoms of its own people and to
advance the cause of freedom throughout the world. And each
rests confident in the knowledge that freedom will endure, and
prevail.

It is to make certain that this great work on behalf of
human freedom can go forward in peace that I have come here
today. As I stated last month before the United Nations, I am



convinced that American-Soviet relations need a fresh start -- a genuine give-and-take on regional conflicts like the war in Afghanistan, on human rights, and on the reduction of arms.

American and Soviet differences on these matters run deep. Mr. Gorbachev and I cannot surmount them in only 2 days. But I am here in the fervent hope that -- on behalf of all the people of the world -- we can at least make a start.

President Furgler, once again, to you and the people of Switzerland, our friendship and deepest gratitude.



eggy Noonan "What I Saw at the
Revolution

KGB did psychological profiles on everyone
in Geneva presidential party. Everyone warned
to be discreet, stay away from discos 9198 4:4

NSC writing done by committee under M^r Fulbright
324