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LAST

Buchanan

NSC 1:11 p.m.

PRESIDENTIAL ADDRESS: TO THE NATION -- GENEVA SUMMIT

My fellow Americans. Good evening. In 48 hours, I will be leaving for Geneva for the first meeting between an American President and a Soviet leader in six years. I know that you and the people of the world are looking to that meeting with high ^{hopes} (expectations,) so tonight I want to share with you my hopes and to tell you why I am going to Geneva.

My mission, stated simply, is a mission for peace. It is to engage the new Soviet leader in what I hope will be a dialogue that ~~endures~~ ^{lasts throughout} (as long as) my Presidency -- and beyond. It is to sit down across from Mr. Gorbachev and try to map out, together, a basis for peaceful ~~discourse~~ / ~~talk~~ / even though our disagreements on fundamentals will not change.

~~for peace~~
for peace

skit

It is my fervent hope that the two of us can begin a process which our successors and our peoples can continue: a process of facing our differences frankly and openly ^{and} ~~so that we can~~ begin to narrow and resolve them; a process of communicating effectively so that our actions and intentions are not misunderstood; a process of building bridges between us and cooperating wherever possible for the greater good of all.

skit

Our meeting will be a historic opportunity to set a steady, more constructive course through the 21st century.

The history of American-Soviet relations, however, does not augur well for euphoria. Eight of ^{my} predecessors -- each in his own way in his own time -- sought to achieve a more stable and

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peaceful relationship with the Soviet Union. None fully succeeded. So I do not underestimate the difficulty of the task ahead. But these sad chapters do not relieve me of the obligation to use my years as President, and the capacities God has given me, to try to make ours a safer, better world. For our children, our grandchildren, for all mankind -- I intend to make the effort. And it is with your prayers, and God's guidance, that I hope to succeed.

Success at the summit, however, should not be measured by any short-term agreements that may be signed. Only the passage of time will tell us whether we constructed a durable bridge to a safer world.

This, then, is why I go to Geneva. To build a foundation for lasting Peace.

Peace Is Indivisible

When we speak of peace, however, we do not mean just the absence of war. We mean the true peace that rests on the pillars of individual freedom, human rights, ^{national} ~~natural~~ self-determination, and respect for the rule of law. History has shown us that peace is indivisible. Building a safer future requires that we address candidly all the issues which divide us, and not just to focus on one or two issues, important as they may be. Thus, when we meet in Geneva, our agenda will seek:

- not just to avoid war, but to strengthen peace;
- not just to prevent confrontation, but to remove the sources of tension;
- not just to paper over differences but to address them;
- not just to talk about what our citizens want, but to let them talk to each other.

Putting the Nuclear Genie Back ...

-- Since the dawn of the nuclear age, every American President has sought to limit and end the dangerous competition in nuclear arms. I have no higher priority than to finally realize that dream. I've said before, and will say again, a nuclear war cannot be won and must never be fought.

We have gone the extra mile in arms control, but our offers have not always been welcome.

In 1977, and again in 1981 the United States proposed to the Soviet Union deep reciprocal cuts in strategic forces. These offers were rejected, out-of-hand. The following year, we proposed the complete elimination of a whole category of intermediate range nuclear forces. Two years later we proposed a treaty for a global ban on chemical weapons. In 1983, the Soviet Union got up and walked out of the Geneva arms control negotiations altogether.

I am pleased, however, with the interest expressed in reducing offensive weapons by the new Soviet leadership. Let me repeat tonight what I announced last week: The United States is prepared to reduce comparable nuclear weapons by 50 percent. We seek reductions that would result in a stable balance between us -- with no first strike capability -- and ~~no cheating.~~

{full compliance}

If we both reduce the weapons of war there would be no losers, only winners. And the whole world would benefit if we could both find a way to abandon these weapons altogether and move to non-nuclear defensive systems which threaten no one.

The Regional Agenda -- Ending Wars Now Underway

• But nuclear arms control is not of itself a final answer. As I reminded the editors of Pravda and Izvestia two weeks ago: nations do not distrust each other because they are armed. They are armed because they distrust each other. ~~And since World War II not a single soldier has perished in a nuclear attack, yet 20 million people have died in conventional wars.~~ It is the use of force, subversion, and terror that has made the world a more dangerous place.

Thus today, there is no peace in Afghanistan; no peace in Cambodia; no peace in Angola; no peace in Ethiopia, and no peace in Nicaragua. These wars have claimed ^{millions} (hundreds of thousands) of lives and threaten to spill over national frontiers.

That is why in my address to the United Nations I proposed a way to end these conflicts, a regional peace plan that calls for -- ceasefires, negotiations among the warring parties, withdrawal of all foreign troops, democratic reconciliation, and economic assistance.

I made that proposal in the hope of never again having to phone the parents of American servicemen killed in action or cut down in some terrorist attack -- in the hope of never having to face the terrible alternative of submitting to blackmail or responding with a call to arms.

Four times in this century our soldiers have been sent overseas to fight in foreign lands. Their remains can be found ~~all the way~~ from ~~the~~ fields ^{Flanders} (of France) to the ^{tiny} ~~nameless~~ islands ^{that dot} of the Western Pacific. Not once were these soldiers sent abroad in the cause of conquest. Not once did they come home claiming a single square inch of some other country as a trophy of war.

WWI
WWII
Korea
Vietnam
Som. Rep (1965)
Guatemala (1983)
Caribbean
(early 1900s)

A great danger in the past, however, has been the failure by our enemies to remember that while we Americans detest war, we love freedom -- and stand ready to sacrifice for it -- as we have done four times in my lifetime.

Democracy and Human Rights

In advancing freedom we Americans carry a special burden. A belief in the dignity of man in the sight of God gave birth to this country. It is central to our being. ^{!! the man of manhood was not born} "Men were not born ~~to~~ ^{a century and a half} ~~with~~ ¹⁸²⁶ ~~wear~~ saddles on their backs." Thomas Jefferson told the world ~~two~~ ¹⁸²⁶ ~~centuries~~ ago. Freedom is America's core. We must never deny it, nor forsake it. Should the day come when we Americans remain silent in the face of armed aggression then the cause of America -- the cause of freedom -- will have been lost, and the great heart of this country will have been broken.

This affirmation of freedom is not only our duty as Americans, it is essential for success at Geneva.

Freedom and democracy are the best guarantors of peace. History has shown that democratic nations do not start wars. Respect for the individual and the rule of law is as fundamental to peace as arms control. A government which does not respect its citizens' rights and its international commitments to protect those rights is not likely to respect its other international undertakings.

That is why we must and will speak in Geneva on behalf of those who cannot speak for themselves. We are not trying to impose our beliefs on others. We had a right to expect, however, that great states will live up to their international obligations.

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~~And, yet,~~ ^D despite ~~these~~ ^{such} deep and abiding differences we can and must manage this historic conflict peacefully. We can and must prevent our international competition from spilling over into violence. We can find as yet undiscovered avenues, where American and Soviet citizens can co-operate, fruitfully, for the benefit of mankind. And this, too, is why I am going to Geneva.

NS4 { And, yet ...

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I am prepared to enter into a quiet dialogue with Gorbachev. We are interested in results, not rhetoric. He will find me a reasonable partner in this regard.

Building Bridges

Finally, ^F enduring peace requires openness, honest communications, and opportunities for our peoples to get to know one another directly.

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

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

July 27, 1955
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And I'm determined to try to lessen the distrust between us, to reduce the levels of secrecy, to bring forth a more "Open World."

Imagine if Joe Smith in Poughkeepsie could meet and visit Sergei Ivanov in Sverdlovsk, if Sergei's son or daughter could spend a year, or even three months living with the Smith family, going to summer camp or classes at Poughkeepsie High, while Smith's son or daughter went to school in Sverdlovsk? Soviet young people could learn first hand what spirit of freedom rules our land, and that we do not wish the peoples of the Soviet Union any harm. Our young people would get first-hand knowledge of life in the USSR, and perhaps a greater appreciation of our own.

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

-- We have had educational and cultural exchanges for 25 years, and are now close to completing a new agreement. But I feel the time is ripe for us to take bold new steps to open the way for our peoples to participate in an unprecedented way in the building of peace. That is why I intend to propose to Mr. Gorbachev at Geneva that we exchange thousands of our citizens from fraternal, religious, educational, and cultural groups.

We are going to suggest the exchange of thousands of undergraduates each year, and high school students who would live with a host family and attend schools or summer camps. We also look to increase scholarship programs, improve language studies,

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

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

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

These proposals will not bridge our differences, but people-to-people contacts can build genuine constituencies for peace in both countries.

Let me summarize, ~~then~~, ^{the} the vision and hopes that we carry with us to Genva.

We go with an appreciation, born of experience, of the ^{deep} differences between us--between our values, our systems, our beliefs. But we also carry with us the determination not to permit those differences to erupt into confrontation or conflict.

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

Again, the elements of that agenda are these:

First, we believe the advance of human rights is the only certain guarantee of peaceful relations between states. Free and democratic peoples do not go to war against one another in the 20th century.

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

Third, we are proposing the broadest people-to-people exchanges in the history of American-Soviet relations, exchanges in sports and culture, in education and the arts. Such exchanges can build in our thousands of societies³ coalitions for cooperation and peace. If high school and college students from Moscow and Minsk, from Tashkent and Kiev, can visit America every summer, they will not go home thinking we are a militaristic people. If thousands of American high school students can spend their summers in Russia and Lithuania, Estonia and the Ukraine, they will convey a message about the American people and nation many people Soviet citizens never hear.

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

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

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

These, then, are the indispensable elements of a true peace: The steady expansion of human rights for all the world's peoples, co-operation between the ~~Superpowers~~ in bringing to resolution those regional conflicts in Asia, Africa and Latin America that carry the seeds of a wider war; a broadening of people-to-people exchanges that can diminish the distrust and suspicion that separate our two peoples. Lastly, the steady reduction of these

awesome nuclear arsenals--until they no longer threaten the world we must both inhabit. This is our agenda for Geneva; this is our policy; this is our plan for peace.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

We've seen what a restoration of faith and a renewed belief in the moral worth of an open society have meant to America: A Nation, ^{that has} rediscovering its destiny, ^{and prepared to maintain its} ~~poised~~ for greatness.

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

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

awesome nuclear arsenals -- until they no longer threaten the world we must both inhabit. That may be an impossible dream; but it is also mine.

This is our agenda for Geneva; this is our policy; this is our plan for peace.

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

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

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

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

Here then is what Geneva is really about; the hope of heeding such words, spoken so often in so many different places -- ~~on a desert journey to a promised land~~, by a carpenter beside the Sea of Galilee -- words calling all men to be brothers and all nations to be one.

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

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

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

Thank you, God bless you and good night.

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

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

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

> ("movie") starting at: "Recently..."

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The storming of Petrograd's Winter Palace in the October Revolution is usually depicted by Soviet artists as a bloody encounter between Bolshevik forces and government troops. In fact, the Winter Palace was lightly defended, and its seizure by members of the Military Revolutionary Committee was virtually bloodless.

9. History

Russia's government, economy, and society were all put to a severe test in World War I, during which Russia suffered serious military reverses before its final defeat. (For an account of the history of Russia to the February Revolution of 1917, see *RUSSIA*.) Czar Nicholas II, like his predecessor, did not permit reforms to encroach on the principle of autocratic rule. Before the outbreak of the war, his conservative ministers had successfully blocked efforts in the Duma, the popularly elected chamber of the Russian legislature, and in the zemstvos, which were provincial and municipal legislatures, to move toward constitutional government. When the government sought support from the Duma, the zemstvos, and trade unions during the war, they increasingly served as public forums for criticism of government scandals and military mismanagement.

Russia's industries and railway system had grown rapidly since the 1890's. But Russia remained dependent on foreign investments, imports, and outside technical aid, and it lagged well behind the major European powers in industrial capacity. In wartime, neither industries nor railways could meet military and civilian requirements simultaneously. Agriculture, while producing an export surplus in normal times, was hampered more and more by antiquated methods and recurrent droughts.

Peasant poverty created serious problems. Peasants made up over three quarters of the population, and the majority of them were illiterate. A large number were landless or living on tiny holdings. When the peasants became foot soldiers in World War I, even their traditional political conservatism did not sustain their loyalty, for in 1917 many deserted. The industrial workers, a small but politically important segment of the population, had been the target of

socialist propaganda since the 1890's. They were more responsive to its appeal as the war dragged on. The small middle class, divided in its outlook, offered neither firm support for the regime in wartime nor an effective alternative to the existing system of government.

REVOLUTION AND CIVIL WAR

Food shortages and labor problems during the winter of 1916-1917 led to unrest and finally to an outbreak of strikes and demonstrations in Petrograd (formerly St. Petersburg) on March 8, 1917 (February 23, Old Style; thus the "February" Revolution). Two days later Cossack units joined the demonstrators, and by March 11 (February 27, Old Style) units of the Petrograd army garrison were in revolt and controlled the city.

A warning from the Duma to the czar resulted in his decree dissolving the Duma. Duma leaders defied the decree and created a provisional government under Prince Georgi Lvov. It was dominated by the Constitutional Democrats (Kadets) and included one socialist, Aleksandr F. Kerensky. The czar was persuaded to abdicate on March 15 (March 2, Old Style) and his brother chose not to ascend the throne unless invited by a constituent assembly.

The Provisional Government promised political freedoms, social and land reforms, and a constituent assembly to shape a new political order. It also resolved to continue the war in cooperation with its allies. But major Russian military defeats in June and July created public disillusionment. They led to Kerensky's appointment as premier and increased representation for the socialist left. However, public support for the new government was eroded as the proposed reforms were delayed.

Left-Wing Forces. Socialists and other advocates of radical reform formed soviets (councils) of workers' and soldiers' deputies. (Peasant

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soviets were formed later.) The Petrograd Soviet, a revival of the short-lived St. Petersburg Soviet of 1905, was formed at the same time as the Provisional Government. The Petrograd Soviet asserted its right to veto acts of the government and orders of military commanders. An All-Russian Congress of Soviets convened in April. The soviets, dominated politically by the non-Bolshevik majority of the Social Democrats and the peasant-oriented Socialist Revolutionary Party, brought about the resignation of some leading cabinet members and the inclusion of socialists in the government.

With German assistance, Vladimir I. Lenin returned from Switzerland to Russia in April. He immediately urged his Bolshevik followers to adopt a more radical stance. Russian military defeats produced an armed Bolshevik-led demonstration in Petrograd in July. Lenin did not attempt to seize power, and the threat of arrest forced him into hiding. The Socialist Revolutionary party, the Mensheviks, and other non-Bolshevik socialists continued to dominate the Left.

The Bolshevik Coup. In September 1917 an attempt by Cossack Gen. Lavr G. Kornilov to overthrow the Provisional Government with troops brought from the front was averted partly by armed Bolshevik support of the government, which Kerensky had sought. From then on Bolshevik influence in the soviets increased.

With some difficulty Lenin persuaded Bolshevik leaders to stage a coup against the government, carried out on November 6-7 (October 24-25, Old Style; thus the "October" Revolution). The Red Guard seized key objectives and arrested the cabinet, though Kerensky had himself escaped.

Lenin announced this victory to the Second All-Russian Congress of Soviets, which was meeting at the same time. It appointed an all-Bolshevik cabinet (Council of People's Commissars) with Lenin as chairman. The Congress of Soviets became the new government's legislature, and a pyramid-like structure of elective soviets was made formal in the 1918 constitution of the Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic (RSFSR), adopted by the Fifth All-Russian Congress of Soviets on July 10, 1918.

Most opposition political parties were banned within a few weeks after the coup. The Constituent Assembly was freely elected with a large Socialist Revolutionary party majority, only to be closed by the Bolsheviks after meeting for a few days in January 1918.

At the time the Bolsheviks took power, Lenin promised a radical land settlement plus immediate efforts to end Russia's participation in World War I. Difficult negotiations with Germany resulted in the Treaty of Brest-Litovsk (March 3, 1918), under which Soviet Russia ceded its entire western borderlands, whose non-Russian peoples then proclaimed their independence. The Ukraine had earlier declared its independence from Russia. Lenin, while opposing Ukrainian independence except under Bolshevik rule, had agreed to Finland's independence.

The Civil War. The Russian Civil War of 1918-1921 began within weeks after the Bolsheviks came to power, with the revolt of Cossack units. By the summer of 1918 the revolt had turned into a major conflict. Anti-Soviet Cossacks under Gen. Anton I. Denikin and Gen. Pyotr N. Krasnov, using parts of the Ukraine

and the south as a base of operations, made two major drives northward but were defeated early in 1920. A further effort under Gen. Pyotr N. Wrangel was turned back also, and by November 1920 the Bolsheviks were in control of the south up to the Caucasus and Baku. French forces that had intervened in the southern Ukraine likewise withdrew, as did British forces in the Caspian area.

In the north, a White (anti-Soviet) army under Gen. Nikolai N. Yudenich advanced on Petrograd from the Baltic states in the fall of 1919 but was repulsed. British and American forces occupied Archangel and Murmansk from June 1918 to October 1919 and supported local anti-Soviet regimes, but they withdrew when efforts elsewhere failed.

In May 1918 the Czech Legion, which had fought beside the Russians against Germany and was in transit across Siberia to link up with the Allies in western Europe, joined the anti-Bolshevik forces. They seized control of the Trans-Siberian Railroad and held it for several months in 1918. Siberian White forces under Adm. Aleksandr Kolchak advanced westward in European Russia in the fall of 1918, but in 1919 they were driven all the way to eastern Siberia and expelled. A Bolshevik effort to take Vladivostok was blocked by Japan, which had occupied parts of eastern Siberia.

Efforts by the Allies to mediate the Civil War proved fruitless, and in 1919 they declared a blockade of Russia. Russia's western frontier with the revived Polish state remained undefined, though the Allies had proposed the Curzon Line, running from Lithuania to Czechoslovakia. Poland occupied part of the Ukraine in April-May

Mass starvation stalked the cities of Russia after the 1917 Revolution when the peasants refused to sell their produce for rubles greatly depreciated by inflation.

THE BETTMANN ARCHIVE



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1920. But neither Poland nor Soviet Russia could score a decisive victory in the ensuing war, which was ended by an armistice in October. Proclamation of the Communist International (Comintern) in Moscow in 1919 increased the apprehensions of the Western powers, which accordingly supported Poland and the other new nations on Russia's western front.

War Communism. During this period Lenin promoted an improvised system of central economic management known as War Communism, which was adequate to support the war effort but not to revive the badly deteriorated economy. In the countryside, grain confiscation and efforts to promote class warfare alienated most of the peasantry. Industries, banks, and trade were nationalized, trade unions were curbed and forbidden to strike, and compulsory labor was introduced. (For a more detailed discussion of the Russian Revolution and Civil War, see RUSSIAN REVOLUTION.)

THE NEP PERIOD, 1921-1928

The devastating effects of the Civil War on Russia's economy obliged Lenin to make concessions at home and to seek recognition by foreign powers in order to promote both security and economic recovery. The New Economic Policy (NEP), formally proclaimed at the 10th Party Congress in March 1921, loosened restrictions on private trade and permitted private management of small industries. In return for a renewal of commercial ties, Lenin offered compensation to foreign governments and foreign companies for losses they had suffered as a result of nationalization. He even tried to attract foreign investment to open up natural resources. But the larger enterprises remained nationalized under the Supreme Council of National Economy. Banking and foreign trade remained government monopolies.

In the countryside, forced requisitions were replaced with a tax in kind on grain in an effort to boost production and gain peasant support. Small individual farms of limited acreage were legalized. Although land itself could not legally be bought and sold, peasants could again sell their output on the open market.

Diplomatic Normalization. Negotiations toward the end of 1920 for restoration of trade with Britain were one of the main reasons for the lifting of the Allied blockade. An initial agreement with Britain was made formal in 1921. Other European countries soon resumed trade with Russia. When, in 1924, Britain's first Labour government extended diplomatic recognition, so did most other European governments and Japan, but not the United States.

The Treaty of Riga of March 1921 established a Russo-Polish boundary. Treaties had already been signed in the preceding year with the Baltic states and Finland. Dispute over Bessarabia, at that time in Rumania's possession, blocked a similar agreement with that nation. A 1921 agreement with Turkey's new nationalist government, led by Kemal (later Kemal Atatürk), settled boundary disputes and underscored the Soviet desire to restrict foreign navies in the Black Sea. Friendship treaties were also signed with Iran and Afghanistan.

Negotiations with the new Weimar Republic in Germany began in secret during the Civil War. In 1921 the German General Staff concluded a secret treaty with Moscow that enabled



The peasant-born M...

Germany to circumvent the Versailles Treaty (April-May 1919) powers met to discuss Russian debts, Soviet abruptly announced Treaty of Rapallo of debts and claim increase in trade. up the conference's formal ent... further such s... part of the 1923 that dealt w...

Relations with... because of Soviet control over Manchuria was... management, an... Mongolia as par... Soviet dominated... the same year, v... local Chinese ru... in Manchur... A 1923 agreeme... (Chinese... led to cooperati... party with military efforts.

The Non-Russ... intervention, Sov... powers and bo... of Sov... the former Russ... on the west to... paved the way... 1920's. Active... European Russ... continuity by sail... Kronshadt, ne... 1921, a last-ga... Soviet factions.

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An annual report on
world priorities

World Military and Social Expenditures 1983

ERRATA

*Ruth Seward
World Priorities*

page 11
The omitted map number is Map 2.

page 14
The last paragraph under PROGRESS should read:
"MX, officially named Peacekeeper ..."

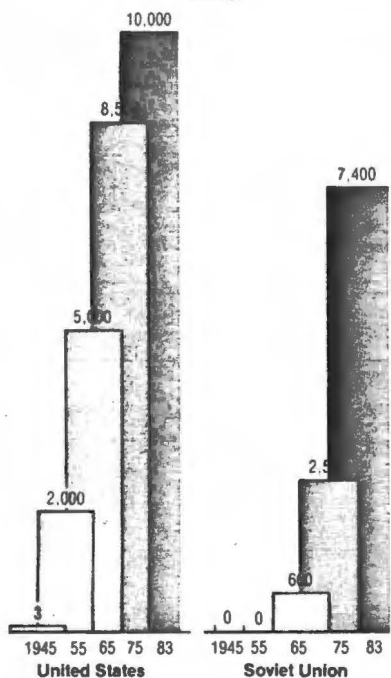
page 17
The correct map number is Map 3

page 18
The last line was omitted in the first paragraph below chart 9:
"and 40-50 million people died."

WWII

CHART 7

Strategic Nuclear Weapons of the Superpowers number



The 50,000 warheads and bombs in nuclear arsenals today include 17,400 weapons in the strategic forces of the superpowers. Their range is intercontinental. Each weapon is powerful enough to destroy a large city—if there were that many cities in the whole wide world.

Nuclear Overkill

Although the dividing line between weapons that could be used in conventional war and those available for nuclear war has been blurred by the rapid advance of military technology, nuclear weapons are still in a class by themselves in destructive power, viz:

- ◆ A single nuclear weapon in today's arsenal could blot out a city and its inhabitants in a matter of minutes.
- ◆ A few thousand of these weapons could destroy the world as a habitable planet, ending life for the living and the prospects of life for those not yet born.

The awesome life-destroying qualities of nuclear weapons were recognized thirty-eight years ago, when the first two atomic bombs turned two Japanese cities into fiery rubble. No international agreement against the use of those weapons in war has been reached, but over 100 wars have been waged since 1945, and no nuclear weapon has been used again.

It is all the more remarkable, then, that the world's stock of nuclear weapons, which was 3 in 1945, has been growing ever since and is 50,000 in 1983; that as much as \$900 billion of the public treasure may have been spent over the years to improve their efficiency, their destructive power, and the means of delivering them accurately to targets as far distant as the other side of the world. No single measure can convey the scope of the "progress" achieved through this vast expenditure of effort, but one indication is that the explosive yield of the nuclear weapons stockpiled today by the US, USSR, UK, France, and China is equivalent to 1,000,000 Hiroshima bombs.

How could it have come about that weapons that were morally repugnant, unusable in war and unthinkable in their effects on human life became the center-piece of military policy by leading nations of the world?

Doctrine

After the first demonstration in war of their appalling destructive power, the comforting rationale for acquiring nuclear weapons was to *prevent* their use by a hostile nation. The doctrine of **deterrence** rested on the belief that no sane leader could order their use against an enemy without realizing that his decision would mean national suicide; that the inevitable reciprocity by the opponent would result in loss of life and an agony beyond the ability of any nation to survive.

How many weapons were necessary for deterrence was never made clear. There was no national debate on this question. Could the objective be expressed in absolute terms and, if so, would it mean a minimum of 10 city-destroying weapons or 1,000? How many lives, what proportion of the enemy's industrial capacity, had to be assured of extinction? Or should deterrence be considered a relative—the threatened punishment being related to what the enemy threatened? Equivalence then would be the name of the game, and "balance" the goal of the weaponeer. Balance has no finite restraint. The uncertainty of what the opponent may do next encourages worst-case assumptions and makes the competition open-ended.

The lack of consensus or even debate on the requirements clearly made deterrence an uncertain base for determining nuclear sufficiency. It set no limits on the number of weapons necessary to protect the nuclear peace.

Beyond this weakness there was always nagging doubt about the adequacy of deterrence in all contingencies. It made no allowance for the irrational act, for accident, electronic error, deliberate use of a nuclear bomb by terrorists, a tense situation slipping out of rational control, a breakdown of communications with a remote submarine or battlefield. Nuclear war could be started even in the face of inevitable annihilation.

Into the breach stepped **damage limitation**. The concept was a natural supplement to deterrence doctrine, offering insurance if deterrence should fail. Damage limitation meant that nuclear weapons must be given the capability to destroy other nuclear weapons before they could sow death and destruction. It could also justify unremitting efforts at modernization: goals of pin-point accuracy, an MX with the power to blow up missiles in their silos, the ultimate Star Wars defense through satellite systems.

With such justification for limitless exploration, elaboration, and expendi-

"I do not think it is possible to exaggerate the gravity of the possibilities of evil that lie in the utilization of atomic energy."

Bertrand Russell
United Kingdom, 1945

Wars and War-Related Deaths Since 1945

Number of Deaths

Number of Deaths

Location and Identification of Conflict	Civilian*	Military*	Total
Latin America	305,000	133,000	451,000
1 Argentina			
1955 Insurgent armed forces vs Peron	na	na	3,000
1976-79 "Disappearances" after military coup	6,000	1,000	7,000
2 Bolivia			
1952 Civil war	1,000	1,000	2,000
3 Brazil			
1980 Rightist terrorism	na	na	1,000
4 Chile			
1973 Military coup ousted Allende	na	na	5,000
5 Colombia			
1948 Political violence	na	na	1,000
1949-62 "La Violencia"; civil war	200,000	100,000	300,000
5 Costa Rica			
1948 Civil war	1,000	1,000	2,000
7 Cuba			
1958-59 Civil war; Castro vs. Batista	2,000	3,000	5,000
Dominican Rep.			
1965 Civil war; US intervention	1,000	2,000	3,000
8 El Salvador			
1979-on Civil war following military coup	35,000	10,000	45,000
9 Falklands			
1982 Argentina vs. U.K.	0	1,000	1,000
1 Guatemala			
1954 Right-wing coup overthrew Arbenz	na	na	1,000
1966-on Civil war	33,000	2,000	35,000
2 Honduras			
1969 "Soccer war"; El Salvador invasion	na	2,000	2,000
3 Jamaica			
1980 Election violence	na	na	1,000
4 Nicaragua			
1978-79 Sandinistas vs Gen. Somoza	25,000	10,000	35,000
5 Paraguay			
1947 Civil war	na	na	1,000
6 Peru			
1983 Shining Path (Maoist) rebels vs Govt.	1,000	—	1,000
Europe	na	10,000	175,000
7 Greece			
1945-49 Communists vs Govt.; UK intervening	na	na	160,000
8 Hungary			
1956 Uprising and USSR invasion	na	10,000	10,000
9 Turkey			
1977-80 Terrorist violence; military coup ('80)	na	na	5,000
Middle East	264,000	132,000	547,000
10 Cyprus			
1974 Nat. Guard vs Makarios; Turkey invad.	3,000	2,000	5,000
11 Egypt			
1956 Suez nationalized; Israel, Fr., UK invad.	0	3,000	3,000
1967-70 "Six-Day War"; Israel invading	50,000	25,000	75,000
12 Iran			
1978-on Islam vs Shah; Islam vs dissidents	17,000	0	17,000
1980-82 Iraq invasion; territorial dispute	na	27,000	27,000
13 Iraq			
1958 Military coup overthrew monarchy	1,000	1,000	2,000
1961-70 Civil war; Kurds vs Govt	100,000	5,000	105,000
1982-on Iran attack, fol. Iraq invasion	na	na	50,000
14 Israel			
1948 Invasion by five Arab states	0	8,000	8,000
1973 "Yom Kippur War"; Arab states invad.	0	16,000	16,000
15 Jordan			
1970 Palestinians vs Govt; Syria invading	1,000	1,000	2,000
16 Lebanon			
1958 Civil war; US intervening	1,000	1,000	2,000
1975-76 Muslims vs Christians; Syria interven.	75,000	25,000	100,000
1982 Israel invasion vs PLO & Syrian forces	4,000	16,000	20,000
17 Syria			
1982 Govt. massacres of Sunni Muslims	10,000	0	10,000
18 Yemen			
1948 Attempted coup by Yahya family	2,000	2,000	4,000
1962-69 Civil war fol. coup; Egypt intervening	na	na	101,000
South Asia	1,874,000	574,000	2,449,000
19 Afghanistan			
1978-on Muslims vs Govt; Soviet intervention	50,000	50,000	100,000
20 Bangladesh			
1971 Bengalis vs Pakistan; India invad.	1,000,000	500,000	1,500,000
1 India			
1946-48 Muslims vs Hindus; UK interv.	800,000	0	800,000
1947-49 Muslims vs Govt. in Kashmir;			
Pakistan invas.	1,000	2,000	3,000
1948 India invasion of Hyderabad	na	na	1,000
1965 Pakistan invas. of Kashmir; India interv.	13,000	7,000	20,000
1983 Election violence in Assam	3,000	0	3,000
21 Pakistan			
1971 India vs Pakistan over Bangladesh	na	11,000	11,000
1973-77 Baluchis vs Govt. for separate states	6,000	3,000	9,000
22 Sri Lanka			
1971 Attempted coup by Maoists	1,000	1,000	2,000

Location and Identification of Conflict	Civilian*	Military*	Total
Far East	4,501,000	3,406,000	9,185,000
23 Burma			
1948-51 Communists & others vs Govt.	na	na	8,000
1980 Communists & others vs. Govt.	na	na	5,000
24 Cambodia			
1970-75 Khmer Rouge vs Govt; US, NV invad.	na	na	156,000
1975-79 Pol Pot Govt. vs people; massacres	1,500,000	500,000	2,000,000
1978-on Vietnam invasion vs Pol Pot	10,000	10,000	20,000
25 China			
1946-50 Communists vs Kuomintang Govt.	na	na	1,000,000
1962 India invasion; border conflict	1,000	1,000	2,000
1967-68 Cultural revolution	na	na	50,000
26 Indochina**			
1945-54 War of indep. vs French puppet Govt.	300,000	300,000	600,000
27 Indonesia			
1945-46 War of indep. vs Dutch & UK	4,000	1,000	5,000
1950 Communists & Moluccans vs Govt.	na	na	5,000
1953 Darul Islam vs Govt.	na	na	1,000
1956-60 Civil war	na	na	30,000
1965-66 Abortive coup by communists;			
massacres	500,000	0	500,000
1975-80 Annexation of E.Timor; massacres	90,000	10,000	100,000
28 Korea, S.			
1950-53 NK invad; UN interven.; China invad.	600,000	1,200,000	2,000,000
29 Laos			
1960-62 Pathet Lao vs Govt.	na	na	5,000
1963-73 N. Vietnam invas.; US bombing	10,000	8,000	19,000
30 Malaysia			
1950-60 Communists vs Govt; UK intervening	na	na	13,000
31 Philippines			
1950-52 Huks vs Govt.	5,000	4,000	9,000
1972-80 Muslims vs Govt.	10,000	10,000	20,000
32 Taiwan			
1954-55 Civil strife	na	na	5,000
33 Tibet†			
1950-51 Chinese invasion and conquest	2,000	0	2,000
1956-59 Civil war; China intervening	60,000	40,000	100,000
34 Vietnam			
1960-65 NLF vs Diem Govt.; US interven.	200,000	100,000	300,000
1965-75 Peak of Indo-China War; US bombing	1,000,000	1,200,000	2,200,000
1979 China invasion	9,000	21,000	30,000
Africa	1,970,000	1,388,000	3,552,000
35 Algeria			
1945 Civil strife; France intervening	2,000	0	2,000
1954-62 Muslims vs Govt.; Ft. withdrawal (62)	302,000	18,000	320,000
1962-63 Former rebel leaders vs Govt.	1,000	1,000	2,000
36 Angola			
1961-75 War of independence from Portugal	48,000	7,000	55,000
1975-on UNITA vs Govt; Cuba interv., SA invad.	na	na	12,000
37 Burundi			
1972 Hutu uprising; massacres by Tutsi Govt.	80,000	20,000	100,000
38 Cameroon			
1955-60 War of indep. from France & UK	na	na	32,000
39 Chad			
1980 Civil war; Libya intervening	na	na	1,000
40 Ethiopia			
1974-on Eritreans vs Govt. for secession	11,000	25,000	36,000
1976-on Ogaden vs Govt. for sec.; Cuba interven.	15,000	21,000	36,000
41 Ghana			
1981 Ethnic war; Konkomba vs Nanumba	na	na	1,000
42 Guinea-Bissau			
1962-74 War of independence from Portugal	5,000	10,000	15,000
43 Kenya			
1952-63 War of independence from UK	25,000	20,000	45,000
44 Madagascar			
1947-48 War of independence from France	13,000	2,000	15,000
45 Morocco			
1953-56 War of independence from France	3,000	0	3,000
46 Mozambique			
1965-75 War of independence from Portugal	na	na	30,000
47 Nigeria			
1967-70 Civil war; massacres of Ibo	1,000,000	1,000,000	2,000,000
1980-81 Fundamental Islam vs Govt.	na	na	5,000
48 Rwanda			
1956-65 Tutsis vs Hutu Govt.; massacre of Tutsis	105,000	3,000	108,000
49 Sudan			
1963-72 Civil war; blacks vs Arab Govt.	50,000	250,000	300,000
50 Tunisia			
1952-54 War of independence from France	3,000	0	3,000
51 Uganda			
1966 Buganda revolt for secession	1,000	1,000	2,000
1971-78 Civil war; Idi Amin coup; massacres	300,000	0	300,000
1978-79 Tanzania vs Amin; Libya interv.	na	3,000	3,000
1982 Guerrillas vs army	1,000	0	1,000
52 W. Sahara			
1975-on War of indep.; Polisario vs Morocco	3,000	7,000	10,000
53 Zaire			
1960-65 Katanga secess.; UK & Belg. interv.	na	na	100,000
54 Zambia			
1964 Civil strife	na	na	1,000
55 Zimbabwe			
1972-79 Guerrillas vs white minority Govt.	na	na	12,000
1983 Political violence	2,000	0	2,000
WORLD TOTAL	8,914,000*	5,643,000*	16,359,000

Wars—deaths averaging more than 1,000 per year.
Intervention—overt military action by foreign forces, at the invitation of the government in power.
Invasion—armed attack by foreign country, including air attack without land invasion.

*not available *Incomplete; breakdown of civilian and military deaths not available in all cases. **now Vietnam, Laos, and Cambodia †now part of China

NOTES ON DATA

The notes following provide a brief background on definitions and sources, and are intended to alert the general reader to some of the measurement problems in an international compilation of this kind. Readers wishing to use the detailed figures for analytical purposes are urged to consult the original sources, which more adequately convey the scope and qualifications of the data.

Specific queries may be addressed to the author (Box 1003, Leesburg, Virginia 22075). Professional comments and suggestions are welcome at all times, and particularly from national statistical services which could add to the accuracy of the reporting.

Revisions—In compiling this ninth edition of *World Military and Social Expenditures*, all statistics were reviewed and corrected to include the most recent data available for the 142 countries that are covered. Because of revisions by original sources and the changes in sources that are sometimes necessary, the detailed national data in Table III cannot be used as a time series, or to judge trends.

Time frame—Although the statistical tables were largely prepared in 1983, the latest year for which adequate world-wide coverage was possible for many of the social statistics was 1980, and for some it was 1979. Social data tend to lag behind military. Projections to 1980 were therefore necessary for some of the social statistics, while military, population, and GNP data were generally available through 1981.

Qualifications of the data—In the post-war period there has been a major leap forward in the availability and reliability of data for international comparisons. Nevertheless, any world compendium of this sort inevitably represents subjective judgments in selecting and presenting statistics, and includes data that are uneven in quality. Numerous factors affect comparability and suggest caution in making comparisons between countries. For example:

1. Some statistical systems, especially in developing nations, are in the early stages of development; beyond urban areas, coverage may be nonexistent or extremely sparse.
2. The practice of limited disclosure of statistics continues particularly in countries under communist governments. In these cases the range of error in estimates made by foreign experts is unknown and may be wide. Most of the figures shown for Albania, China, Cuba, Laos, Mongolia, North Korea, Vietnam, and the Warsaw Pact countries are subject to considerable uncertainty and must be regarded as very rough approximations.
3. Hostilities in Cambodia and Lebanon have restricted the flow of information from those countries. Where estimates are shown, they are rough benchmark data, largely based on earlier years.
4. Variations in definitions and concepts may significantly affect comparability. These occur even under the most advanced reporting systems.
5. Per capita figures based on national totals reveal nothing of the pattern of distribution in incomes and welfare within countries. Differences within nations in those patterns may mean significant differences in the level of living of the average citizen which are not apparent in gross indicators.

Gross National Product

Gross National Product is the economy's total output of goods and services, valued at current market prices paid by the ultimate consumer.

GNP, as stated above, is the most comprehensive measure of the national economy, but it does not cover some important areas of economic activity. Household services and that part of the product which is outside the market are not included in the GNP. For this reason, it is likely to be more representative, as a measure of overall product, for developed economies than for developing. The difference in coverage does not invalidate comparisons between the two groups of countries, but it may tend to exaggerate the contrast between them.

The GNP figures are drawn largely from the data fund of the World Bank. For this report, the Bank's calculations in national currencies are converted to dollars using single-year exchange rates.

Military

National military expenditures are current and capital expenditures to meet the needs of the armed forces. They include military assistance of foreign countries and the military components of nuclear, space, and research and development programs.

By custom and accounting practice, national military budgets usually do not include expenditures for veterans' benefits, interest on war debts, civil defense, and outlays for strategic industrial stockpiling. Military budgets also may exclude all or part of national intelligence expenditures. Adding these items to regular defense budgets would greatly enlarge the total of annual public expenditures which are military-related, but adequate information to determine precisely how such costs affect various national expenditures and their overall size world-wide is not available at present. There are also substantial social costs which are extra-budgetary, including manpower underpriced because of conscription, the tax exemptions accorded military properties, and some privately-financed R&D. Because costs such as these are not reflected in official budgets, military expenditures tend to understate the burden on the economy.

A standard definition of military expenditures, as paraphrased above, is used by the members of NATO and, in so far as it is possible to do so, it is the concept followed in this report, but major differences in national accounting systems make it impossible to achieve general uniformity.

In Warsaw Pact and other communist countries, the scope of the accounting for military programs is not clear and estimates are necessary highly speculative. Some of the uncertainties and problems in preparing estimates are discussed on pages 44-45.

Armed forces represent manpower in the regular forces, including conscripts. Paramilitary forces and reservists are not included.

The manpower figures in the tables cover regular forces only, on the premise that these provide the most consistent basis for international comparison, and also are covered by military budgets. Paramilitary forces (armed border guards and gendarmerie) vary considerably in their potential for prompt and efficient military action, as do reservists, who serve for a short period in the year. (The addition of paramilitary and reservist forces would triple the world total of men under arms.)

In individual countries, the significance of the size of the force will depend on their equipment, training, technical proficiency, and morale, and also (as in the US) on the use made of civilians in functions that are performed by the military in other countries. Some countries have universal, automatic draft for relatively short periods; others, like the US, depend on volunteers, who serve on a career basis and generally for longer periods of time.

IISS, the recognized international authority on force levels, also publishes data on paramilitary forces, people's militia, and reservists.

Arms trade represents the movement through official channels of conventional military equipment and of commodities considered primarily military in nature. Nuclear materials are excluded.

The export-import estimates in Table I are compiled by ACDA, and generally conform to the definition above. The data include weapons, military aircraft and ships, ammunition, and uniforms, and exclude foodstuffs, medical equipment, and other items with alternative civilian uses. They are trade figures, and therefore do not include orders or agreements which may result in future transfers, nor do they cover training or services associated with the equipment transfers. They also omit other significant routes for arms shipments, such as commercial black market trade, official but covert arms supply, and licensed co-production abroad. These and other unrecorded channels would significantly raise estimates of the value of arms moving among nations.

Military Bases and Forces Abroad

Information on overseas installations and forces is scattered and incomplete. Except for the US, the sources used for map 1 and the table were: IISS *Military Balance*, University of Sussex Armament and Disarmament Research Unit, the Center for Defense Information, *The Economist*, *Jeune Afrique*, IISS *Adelphi Paper 176* (for official NATO estimates of Soviet forces in Central Europe), and IISS *Survival*. Data on US installations and forces are from annual DOD reports. Press reports were used to update and supplement information through July 1983.

Military Control and Repression

In establishing the list of military-dominated countries for map 2, the following criteria were considered: existence of a state of martial law; key political leadership by military officers; extra-judicial authority exercised by security forces; lack of central political control over large sections of the country where official or unofficial military forces rule; and control by foreign military forces.

The principal sources of information were: *The Statesman's Yearbook*, *The People's Almanac*, *Deadline Data on World Affairs*, *Political Handbook of the World*, *The World Factbook*, and *NACLA Report on the Americas*.

In chart 10 as well as in the table accompanying map 2, government repression is shown in its most extreme form, as physical abuse of citizens through torture, brutality, "disappearances," and political killings. When the incidence of such violence appears to occur as a matter of routine policy, it is termed "frequent"; when it is reported infrequently, it is termed "some." "None" indicates that no cases of such abuse were substantiated in the past year; it does not mean, however, that other forms of repression did not occur, even rampantly. "Inadequate evidence" indicates that information was insufficient for a generalization about the incidence of official violence.

The principal sources of information consulted were: Amnesty International *Annual Report*, *Freedom at Issue*, US Department of State *Country Reports on Human Rights Practices*; Council on Hemispheric Affairs *Annual Report*, Americas Watch *Annual Report*, and Human Rights Internet *Reporter* and files.

Since the political role of the military and governments' use of these extreme forms of repression vary both in degree and in the evidence available, the general classifications used here were necessarily a matter of subjective judgment in a number of cases, and may well be open to dispute.

Wars and Deaths

Wars and estimated deaths in map 4 are from records maintained by William Eckhardt, Director, Peace Research Laboratory, St. Louis, Missouri. His principal sources are: Azar's conflict and peace data bank of the University of Maryland, lists of wars published by Boutoul & Carrère in *Peace Research*, and battle deaths in Singer and Small's computer records at the University of Michigan. These records were supplemented by news sources available through July 1983.

Information on deaths associated with wars is incomplete, and Eckhardt emphasizes that all estimates must be used with caution. No central official records are kept. Civilian deaths are less reliable than battle deaths and are often unavailable. War-related famine was a major cause of high death rates in conflicts in Nigeria, Bangladesh, and Cambodia.

Nuclear

Nuclear reactors—The world's inventory of nuclear reactors, shown on page 15, and on the map, page 16-17, is from *Nuclear News*, *Nuclear Engineering International*, the International Atomic Energy Agency and for the US, the US Department of Energy. Power reactors are as of December 31, 1982. Research reactors, reported by IAEA May 1980, represent responses to a questionnaire sent out in 1978; these have not been updated recently.

Nuclear test—Nuclear explosions, as shown on chart 19, are from the US Department of Energy and the *SIPRI Yearbook 1983*.

Nuclear weapons—The numbers of launchers and weapons shown on p. 15 were calculated by Paul Walker from counts of specific systems and their associated loadings. The principal sources used were publications of the US Departments of Defense and State, IISS, Congressional Budget Office, CDI, SIPRI, and The Brookings Institution. Where authorities differed, he used the number that was most commonly cited, or that was published by official US sources.

Walker cautions that the weapons count is extremely sensitive to the assumptions made with respect to loadings. His were conservative. For example, he assumed minimum warhead loadings of 8 and 10 for the Poseidon and Trident missiles (vs a maximum of 14) and a nominal loading of 12 for B-52s (vs a maximum of 24). For the Soviet SS-18 ICBMs, he assumed that over 90 percent are MIRV'd; since there are 4 models, only 2 which carry more than one warhead, this may overstate the Soviet total.

1687 in territories under the control of Poland. In 1596 a large section of Ukrainian clergy and laity joined the Roman communion in Brest-Litovsk, though most of them returned to Orthodoxy after the metropolitanate of Kiev was reunited with the patriarchate of Moscow, in 1687, and after the partitions of Poland in the 19th and the 20th centuries.

In 1721 Tsar Peter the Great suppressed the patriarchate of Moscow and replaced it with a "Holy Governing Synod" tightly controlled by the state. The patriarchate was not restored until the Russian Revolution in October 1917. Between 1918 and 1939 the Orthodox Church was violently persecuted by the Communist regime. It was further weakened in 1922 when the Renovated Church, a reform movement supported by the government, deposed Patriarch Tikhon and restored a Holy Synod to power.

In 1927 Metropolitan Sergius of Moscow formally expressed his "loyalty" to the Soviet government, and the patriarchate henceforth refrained from criticizing the state in any way. This attitude of "loyalty," however, provoked divisions in the church itself: inside Russia, a number of faithful opposed Sergius, and abroad, the Russian metropolitans of America and western Europe severed their relations with Moscow. Then, in 1943, benefitting from the sudden reversal of Joseph Stalin's policies toward religion, Russian Orthodoxy underwent a remarkable resurrection; a patriarch was re-elected, theological schools were opened, and thousands of churches began to function. Between 1945 and 1959, the official organization of the church was greatly expanded, although individual members of the clergy were occasionally arrested and exiled. A new and widespread persecution of the church was resumed in 1959-64 under the leadership of Nikita Khrushchev, again sizably reducing the number of open churches and church institutions.

Since World War II, the patriarchate of Moscow has been active internationally, especially in peace movements, which have enjoyed the support of the Soviet government. It has also received wide recognition from other Orthodox churches, whose leaders exchange regular visits with its patriarch. In 1948 a conference of Orthodox leaders gathered in Moscow to celebrate the 500th anniversary of the Russian Church's autocephaly, adopted a violent anti-Western stand, condemning both the Vatican and the World Council of Churches for cooperation with "American imperialism." After Stalin's death, this attitude changed sufficiently to allow the entry of the patriarchate into the World Council of Churches (1969) and the development of friendly relations with Roman Catholics after the second Vatican Council. Voices of internal unrest came to be heard as well, as when Archbishop Yermogen and the priests Eshliman and Yakunin publicly protested in 1965 a government-imposed parish statute, which much too obviously placed the parish clergy at the mercy of the local state officials.

The Russian Revolution of 1917 had severed large sections of the Russian Church—dioceses in America, Japan, and Manchuria, as well as refugees in Europe—from regular contacts with the mother church. A group of bishops who had left their sees in Russia gathered in Sremski-Karlovci, Yugoslavia, and adopted a clearly political monarchist stand. They further claimed to speak as a synod for the entire "free" Russian Church. This group, which to this day includes a sizable part of the Russian emigration, was formally dissolved by Patriarch Tikhon in 1922, who then appointed Metropolitans Platon and Evlogy as ruling bishops in America and Europe, respectively. Both metropolitans continued intermittently to entertain relations with the synod in Kar-

authority. In 1931 both Platon and Evlogy received from Metropolitan Sergius of Moscow a request to pledge "loyalty" to the Soviet government. They both refused: Platon proclaimed his "temporary autonomy" in America, while Evlogy was accepted by the ecumenical patriarch of Constantinople.

After World War II, the patriarchate of Moscow made unsuccessful attempts to regain control over these groups. In 1970 it finally recognized an autocephalous Orthodox Church in America, thereby renouncing its former canonical claims in the United States and Canada; it also acknowledged an autonomous church established in Japan that same year.

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Russia and Europe (1913), political text by the Czech statesman Tomáš Masaryk.

- Masaryk's literary career 11:572e

Russia and the Soviet Union, history of 16:39. A loose confederation of principalities centred around Kiev in medieval times, the Russian lands emerged from Mongol domination (13th-15th centuries) as a united, centralized Muscovite state that evolved into the Russian Empire (18th century) and was reconstituted as the Soviet Union after the revolution of 1917.

By the 10th century the Varangians had founded the Rurik dynasty to rule the portions of East Slavic territory that formed the Kievan Rus state, which disintegrated into its major component principalities—i.e., Novgorod, Vladimir-Suzdal, and Galicia-Volhynia by the 12th century. After the Mongols conquered the Russian lands (1240), some of the northeastern principalities prospered, and, as Tatar-Mongol power declined (by the end of the 14th century), Muscovy gained pre-eminence over the other principalities; by the beginning of the 16th century it had incorporated them into a united, centralized Russian state, which by the 18th century developed into a vast, yet politically centralized, autocratic empire extending from the Baltic Sea to the Pacific Ocean.

In the 18th century Peter I the Great (ruled 1689-1725) tried to Westernize Russia, and in the 19th century other efforts were made by the imperial regime to modernize the administrative, social, and economic structures of the state. The monarchy was overthrown in 1917; under Lenin's leadership the Communists defeated their opponents in a civil war (1918-20) and formed the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics. After Lenin's death (1924), Stalin overcame his rivals in the struggle for political leadership; and, despite severe dislocation and opposition caused by his industrialization and agricultural-collectivization programs as well as his political purges, he developed the Soviet Union into a world power that played a major role in the defeat of Germany during World War II and, afterward, exerted a dominant influence over Eastern Europe and China. After Stalin died (1953), N.S. Khrushchev, who eventually succeeded him, attempted to relax the strict controls governing Soviet society and actively engaged both U.S. and

Chinese influence in foreign affairs. From 1964, a collective leadership under Leonid Brezhnev and Alexey Kosygin controlled the Soviet Union, and emphasized consolidation of previous gains.

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KW

(Dolan/Buchanan/Elliott)
November 7, 1985
2:00 p.m.

PRESIDENTIAL ADDRESS TO THE NATION: GENEVA SUMMIT
THURSDAY, NOVEMBER 14, 1985

My fellow Americans. Good evening. In 48 hours, I will be leaving to meet Mr. Gorbachev, the leader of the Soviet Union. It will be the first summit between an American President and a Soviet General Secretary in six years. So, tonight, I want to share with you my hopes and tell you why I am going to Geneva.

My mission, stated simply, is a mission for peace. It is to engage the new Soviet leader in what I hope will be a dialogue for peace that endures as long as my Presidency -- and beyond. It is to sit down across from Mr. Gorbachev and try to map, together, a common causeway over the ~~norman's~~ land of mistrust and hostility that separates our societies and nations.

Am. Hsr. Dict. p. 891

I do not -- and you should not, my fellow Americans -- overestimate the prospects for a great success at the Geneva summit. The history of American-Soviet relations does not argue well for euphoria. [Eight] of my predecessors -- each in his own way and in his own time -- sought to achieve a more stable and peaceful relationship with the Soviet Union. None fully succeeded. I do not underestimate the difficulty of the task. But that sad record does not relieve me of the obligation to use the years allotted by my countrymen, and the capacities God has given me, to try to make ours a safer world. For ourselves, our children, our grandchildren, for all mankind -- I intend to make the effort.

Am. Hsr. Dict. p. 935

Am. Hsr. Dict. p. 1396

Nov. 7, 1919
Wilson -
Harold Lloyd
Coalition
Hoover
FDR WWII
Truman
Eisenhower
Kennedy
Johnson
Nixon
Ford
Carter
USSR -
founded
Nov. 1918
The World
Almanac?
Book of Facts
1983

For, as I said at the United Nations, peace is God's Commandment; peace is God's will.

You know, in my long lifetime, which exceeds that of almost all of you listening out there, we Americans have created a miracle on this continent. We have built as great and mighty and rich and flourishing a nation as the world has ever seen. And we take pride in what we have built.

Yet, much of what it has taken us a lifetime to build could be shattered in half an hour in a nuclear exchange with the Soviet Union. The danger of thermonuclear war and the havoc it would wreak, as President Kennedy put it, remains a ^[NUCLEAR] modern sword of Damocles hanging over ^{EVERY MAN, WOMAN AND CHILD,} [all of us]. The awful reality of these weapons is a kind of terrible crescendo to the steady, dehumanizing progress of warfare in this century.

To a few people here in this office, I recently recalled a hotly debated issue in my college years. Some of us strenuously argued that in the advent of another world war no civilized person would ever obey an order to bomb civilian targets. Humanity, we were certain, would never come to that. Well, World War II and ~~20~~ ^{tens of} million ^{of} civilian casualties later we were all sadly, tragically wiser. Today, we have no such illusions. We know if World War III ever breaks out, the toll in human life and suffering would be catastrophic.

To occupy this office is to live every day with that reality. Whenever I travel I am followed by a military aide who carries a small black attaché case -- "the football" is its nickname. It is a grim reminder of the narrow line our world

W.H. Mil.
Office
X2150

walks every day. It contains the codes necessary for retaliation to a nuclear attack on the United States. And I am sure a young Russian officer walks near Mr. Gorbachev -- with the same assignment.

And that, then, is why I go to Geneva. For peace. In the hope of reducing the risk of war. In the hope of never having to face the terrible alternative of either submitting to nuclear extortion or responding with a call to arms. I am going to Geneva in the hope of never again having to phone the parents or wives of American servicemen killed in action or cut down in some terrorist attack -- as I did at the time of Grenada and the time of Beirut.

W.H. Mil.
Office
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When we speak of peace, however, we Americans do not mean the artificial peace of permanent Cold War. We believe true peace must rest upon the pillars of individual freedom, human rights and national self-determination. Free and democratic peoples do not go to war against one another, in the twentieth century. True peace depends upon a respect for the rule of law and the inviolability of treaties. Nations that have broken one solemn compact after another -- whether on nuclear arms or chemical weapons or human rights -- should expect to be treated with skepticism when they insist that a new disarmament agreement remains the sum of their international ambitions. Great powers that launch wars of imperial occupation against defenseless

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neighbors to their south are not persuasive when they profess their intentions are only benevolent and peaceful toward better-armed neighbors to their West.

In forthrightly opposing such conduct we Americans carry a special burden. A belief in the dignity and worth of every individual in the sight of God gave birth to this country. It is central to our being. As Thomas Jefferson wrote: ^{"... the mass of mankind"} ~~"Men were not~~ ^{has not been} born ^{with} to wear saddles on their backs." Freedom is America's core. We must never deny it, nor forsake it. Should the day come when we remain silent in the face of armed aggression then the cause of America -- the cause of freedom -- will have been lost, and the great heart of this country will have been broken.

The schedule for our Geneva meeting has now been set down by Secretary Shultz and Foreign Minister Shevardnadze.

We hope to make some progress with the Soviet leadership on all four fronts of our agreed-upon agenda: resolving those regional conflicts in Asia, Africa and Central America that carry the seeds of a wider war, inaugurating an unprecedented series of people-to-people exchanges; engaging Mr. Gorbachev directly on the question of Soviet violations of human rights guaranteed in the Helsinki Accords. And, finally reducing the danger of nuclear war and the diminishing stockpiles of nuclear weapons.

Progress on these four questions depends upon whether Moscow is willing to meet us halfway. Success at Geneva should not be measured by the short-term ^{or} agreements that come out of the

(^{summit.} ^{meetings}) Only the passage of time -- the months and years

following Geneva -- can tell us if we have constructed a durable bridge to a better future.

Even as we speak about peace, we must never forget its indispensable elements. If peace were merely the absence of war, there has been peace between the United States and the Soviet Union for the ^{nearly} seven decades of our common existence.

XSC
Matlock

But that, as we know, is neither an accurate nor full accounting of our relationship. And that is not good enough.

Peace and freedom are inextricable, and that is the second reason I go to Geneva. For freedom. To speak for the right of every people and every nation to choose their own future, for the right of human beings everywhere to determine their own destiny, to live in the dignity God intended for each of his children.

Not only is this affirmation of freedom our responsibility as Americans, it is essential for success at Geneva. If history has shown there is any key to dealing successfully with the Soviets it is this: The Soviets must realize that while we are prepared to negotiate, we harbor no illusions about their ultimate intentions. The Soviet mind is not the mirror image of the American (and Western mind). The Soviets have a very different view of the world. They believe a great struggle is underway for the future of mankind and that true peace will only be attained with the final triumph of Communist power. They believe the march of history is embodied in the Soviet state, and that the democracies of the West are the final impediments to the triumph of that state.

USSR dates
from Nov. 1919
985
117
68 yrs - 7
decades
The World
Library and
Book of Facts 1953
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NSC

Am. Mem.
Dist. 10
1392

So, I must also be blunt tonight. I go to Geneva for peace with freedom, but I go without illusions. The fact of this ~~summit conference~~^{meeting} does not mean the Soviets have forsaken their long-term goals. Unfortunately, President Eisenhower's somber farewell ^{address} warning to his countrymen, a quarter century ago, still rings true: "We face a hostile ideology -- global in scope, atheistic in character, ruthless in purpose, and insidious in method."

Jan. 17,
1961
24 yrs 9 mo.

And, yet, despite these deep and abiding differences -- between our systems and values and convictions, and the international behavior that flows naturally from those beliefs -- I still believe we can and must manage this historic conflict between us, peacefully. We can prevent our international competition from spilling over into confrontation. We can find undiscovered avenues, where American, and Soviet citizens can co-operate, fruitfully, for the benefit of all mankind. And that, too, is what I intend to tell Mr. Gorbachev.

While our relationship with the Soviet Union remains adversarial, we have co-operated in the past. In World Wars I and II, Americans and Russians fought on separate fronts, against a common enemy. Near the City of Murmansk, sons of our own nation are buried, heroes who died of wounds sustained on the treacherous North Atlantic and North Sea convoys that carried to Russia the indispensable tools of survival and victory.

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So, I do not mean to sound pessimistic, only realistic. While it would be utopian to think a single ~~summit conference~~^{meeting} can

establish permanent peace, this conference can begin a permanent dialogue for peace.

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

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

We see the dream alive in Latin America where ~~about 90~~^{about} percent of the people are now living under governments that are democratic, ^{or on the road to democracy} -- a dramatic reversal from a decade ago.

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

We see the flame rising in places like Afghanistan and Angola where brave people risk their lives for what brave men and women have always fought for! For God and country and the right to be free. We see the dream flickering in the captive nations of Eastern Europe. In Poland, men and women of great faith and spirit -- the members of Solidarity, the faithful of the Catholic Church -- rise up again and again for better lives and a future of hope for their children.

A powerful tide is surging. The world is moving toward more open and democratic societies. And what is the driving force behind it?

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

We've seen what restoration of those values, and our renewed belief in the moral worth of an open society have meant to America: A Nation poised for greatness, rediscovering its destiny.

The health and vigor of the American economy -- with 9 million new jobs -- has helped lift up the world economy, holding out to the family of nations the vision of growth..

The (re)building of America's military might and overseas alliances has rekindled world respect for American power, confidence and resolve.

And, now, comes a new idea filled with promise that may prove vital to peace. As most of you know, the United States and the Soviet Union have for decades used massive nuclear arsenals to hold each other hostage in a kind of mutual terror -- with the threat of wholesale destruction hanging over us both.

It's called mutual assured destruction; M-A-D or MAD as the arms control experts call it. But with our Strategic Defense Initiative the United States is now determined to find a way to lead mankind out of this labyrinth of mutual terror, to try to discover, through research and testing, a new system -- a non-nuclear defense that could provide a survival shield against

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Am. Her. Dict.
p. 1087

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incoming missiles; that would destroy weapons not people; that could protect our entire planet from nuclear weapons launched by design or mistake.

America today has a foreign policy that not only speaks out for peace and freedom, but works for them as well. In these past five years, not one square inch of real estate has been lost to communist aggression; and, Grenada has been (liberated and) set free. X

So we look to the future with optimism, and we go to Geneva with confidence. While the differences between the United States and the Soviet Union are profound and enduring, we share a common interest in dealing with them peacefully.

Ensuring a safer future however, requires that we address every threat to peace and every disruption of peace.

Since the dawn of the nuclear age, every American President has sought to limit the build-up in nuclear arms. We have gone the extra mile, but our offers have not always been welcome.

In 1977, and again in 1981 the United States proposed to the Soviet Union deep reciprocal cuts in strategic forces. These offers were rejected, out-of-hand. The following year, we proposed the complete elimination ^{of an entire class of} ~~of~~ ~~all~~ intermediate nuclear forces, and a global ban on chemical weapons. These proposals, too, produced the same negative response. Then, in 1983, the Soviet Union got up and walked out of arms control negotiations altogether.

I am pleased however, with the interest expressed in reducing offensive weapons by the new Soviet leadership. Let me

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repeat tonight what I announced last week: The United States is prepared to reduce comparable offensive weapons by over 50 percent, provided both sides make equitable and verifiable reductions resulting in a stable balance -- with no first strike capability on either side.

If we both reduce the weapons of war there would be no losers, only winners. Ultimately the whole world would benefit if we could mutually find a way to move to defensive systems and abandon offensive weapons altogether. For, as I have said many times before, an all-out nuclear war can never be won, and must never be fought.

But nuclear arms control is not of itself an answer: Since World War II, 20 million people have died in regional wars and not a single soldier has perished in a nuclear attack. It is the Soviet use of force directly and through its proxies that has made the world a dangerous place.

Look where the Soviets are pushing to consolidate and expand and what do we see? That there is no peace in Afghanistan; no peace in Cambodia; no peace in Angola; no peace in Ethiopia, and no peace in Nicaragua. These wars have claimed hundreds of thousands of lives and threaten to spill over national frontiers.

That is why in my address to the United Nations I have proposed a way to end these conflicts, a regional peace plan that calls for -- ceasefires, negotiations among the warring parties, withdrawal of foreign troops, democratic reconciliation and economic assistance.

ak

In Geneva the Soviet Union comes to an historic crossroads: to show the world by deeds; to help us stop the killing.

This would be a true Geneva breakthrough. We will do our part, but the Soviets must do theirs. Together, we can do more. And I'm determined to try to lessen the distrust between us, to reduce the levels of secrecy, to bring forth a more "Open World." I intend to propose to Mr. Gorbachev at Geneva that we exchange thousands of our citizens from fraternal, religious, educational and cultural groups.

We are going to suggest the exchange of 5,000 undergraduates each year; we are going to propose a youth exchange involving 5,000 secondary school students who would live with a host family and attend schools or summer camps. We also looking to increase scholarship programs, improve language studies, develop new sister cities, establish libraries and cultural centers and increase athletic competitions.

In science and technology we propose to launch new joint space flights and establish joint medical research projects. In communications, we would like to see more appearances in the other's mass media by representatives of both our countries.

If Soviet spokesmen are free to appear on American television, to be published and read in the American press, shouldn't the Soviet peoples have the same right to see, hear and read what we Americans have to say?

These proposals will not bridge our differences, but people-to-people contacts can build genuine peace movements in both countries.

The conversations Mr. Gorbachev and I will have can also help allay suspicions that may exist. You can be sure that I will reaffirm in Geneva what the Soviet leadership should already know. The United States is not an aggressor nation. America's arms will only be used -- as they have been in my lifetime -- in the defense of freedom and in answer to attack.

Four times in this century our soldiers have been sent overseas to fight in foreign lands. Their remains can be found all the way from the fields of France to the forgotten islands of the Western Pacific. Not once did they go abroad in the cause of conquest. Not once did they come home claiming a single square meter of some other country as a trophy of war.

As Prime Minister Mulroney of Canada put it recently ^{in response to} when ~~a foreign leader's criticism of the United States --~~ told the United States was an imperialist Nation -- and I'm using the Prime Minister's words -- "What the hell [devil] do you mean 'imperialist nation?'" We have a ⁵4,000 mile border ^{with them} ~~between us~~ and for 172 years there hasn't been a shot fired in anger."

A great danger in the past has been the failure by our enemies to remember that while the American people love peace, we love freedom more -- and we stand ready to sacrifice for it. The only way major war can ever break out between the United States and the Soviet Union is through this kind of miscalculation. By the way, my first meeting with the General Secretary will be on the anniversary of the address at Gettysburg, where Mr. Lincoln reminded the world that ~~the~~ government ^{of} the people, ~~for~~ ^{be} the people, ~~and~~ ^{for} the people shall not perish from the earth."

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

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

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

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

Here then is what Geneva is really about; the hope of heeding such words, spoken so often in so many different places -- on a desert journey to a promised land, by a carpenter beside the Sea of Galilee -- words calling all men to be brothers and all nations to be one.

Here is the central truth of our time, of any time; a truth to which I have tried to bear witness in this office. When I first accepted the nomination of my party for the presidency I asked the American people to join with me in prayer for our Nation and for the world. I deeply believe there is more power in the simple prayers of people like yourselves than in the hands of all the great statesmen or armies of the world.

And so, Thanksgiving approaches and I ask each of you to join me again in thanking God for all his blessings to this Nation and ask Him to guide us in Geneva. Let us work and pray that the cause of peace and freedom will be advanced and all of humanity served.

Thank you, God bless you and good night.

second command of the 21st Illinois Vols., 1861, then brigadier general, took Fort Fisher and Dorence, fought at Shiloh,...

Richard B. Hayes, 19th president, Republican.

Richard B. Hayes, 19th president, Republican, was born in Delaware, Oct. 4, 1822, the posthumous son of...

James Abram Garfield

James A. Garfield, 20th president, Republican, was born Mar. 19, 1831, in Orange, Cuyahoga Co., Oh., the son of...

Chester Alan Arthur

Chester A. Arthur, 21st president, Republican, was born at Fairfield, Vt., Oct. 5, 1829, the son of the Rev. William...

In a fugitive slave case that delays transported through N.Y. State were thereby freed, in 1853 he obtained a ruling that...

Grover Cleveland

(According to a ruling of the State Dept., Grover Cleveland is both the 22d and the 24th president, because his 2 terms...

Grover Cleveland, 22d and 24th president, Democrat, was born in Caldwell, N.J. Mar. 18, 1837, the son of Richard F. Cleveland, a Presbyterian minister, and Ann Neale. He was...

Benjamin Harrison

Benjamin Harrison, 23d president, Republican, was born at North Bend, Oh., Aug. 20, 1833. His great-grandfather, Benjamin Harrison, was a signer of the Declaration of Independence...

William McKinley

William McKinley, 25th president, Republican, was born in Niles, Oh., Jan. 29, 1843, the son of William McKinley, an ironmaster, and Nancy Allison. McKinley attended school in Poland, Oh., and Allegheny College, Meadville, Pa., and studied for the Civil War at 18 in the 23d Ohio...

In 1867, and campaigned for Grant and Hayes. He served in the House of Representatives, 1877-83, 1883-91, and led the fight for passage of the McKinley Tariff, 1890. Defeated for reelection on the issue in 1890, he was governor of Ohio, 1892-96. He had support for president in the convention that nominated Benjamin Harrison in 1892. In 1896 he was elected president on a protective tariff, sound money (gold standard) platform over William Jennings Bryan. Democrats proposed in Ohio but the loss of the battleship Maine at Havana crystallized opinion. He demanded Spain's withdrawal from Cuba; Spain made some concessions but Congress announced state of war as of Apr. 21. He was reelected in the 1900 campaign, defeating Bryan's anti-imperialist arguments with the promise of a "half dinner pail" McKinley was respected for his conciliatory nature, but conservative on business issues. On Sept. 6, 1901, while welcoming guests at the Pan-American Exposition, Buffalo, N.Y., he was shot by Leon Czolgosz, an anarchist. He died Sept. 14.

Theodore Roosevelt

Theodore Roosevelt, 26th president, Republican, was born in N.Y. City, Oct. 27, 1858, the son of Theodore Roosevelt, a glass importer, and Martha Bulloch. He was a 5th cousin of Franklin D. Roosevelt and an uncle of Mrs. Eleanor Roosevelt. Roosevelt graduated from Harvard, 1880; attended Columbia Law School briefly; sat in the N.Y. State Assembly, 1882-84; ranched in North Dakota, 1884-86; failed election as mayor of N.Y. City, 1886; member of U.S. Civil Service Commission, 1889; president, N.Y. Police Board, 1895; supporting the merit system, assistant secretary of the Navy under McKinley, 1897-98. In the war with Spain, he organized the 1st U.S. Volunteer Cavalry (Rough Riders) as lieutenant colonel; led the charge up Kettle Hill at San Juan. Elected New York governor, 1898-1900, he fought the sports system and achieved taxation of corporations franchise. Nominated for vice president, 1900, he became president's youngest president when McKinley died. A devoted Northern Securities Co. and others for violating anti-trust laws; intervened in coal strike on behalf of public, 1902; obtained Elkins Law forbidding rebates to favored corporations, 1903; Hepburn Law regulating railroad rates, 1906; Pure Food and Drug Act, 1906; Reclamation Act and employer liability laws. He organized conservation, mediated the peace between Japan and Russia, 1905; won the Nobel Peace Prize. He was the first to use the League of International Arbitration. By recognizing the new Republic of Panama he made Panama Canal possible. He was reelected in 1904.

William Howard Taft

In 1908 he obtained the nomination of William H. Taft, who was elected. Feeling that Taft had abandoned his policies, Roosevelt unsuccessfully sought the nomination in 1912. He bolted the party and ran on the Progressive "Bull Moose" ticket against Taft and Woodrow Wilson, splitting the Republicans and handing Wilson's election. He was absent during the campaign but recovered. In 1916 he supported Charles E. Hughes, Republican. A strong friend of British, he fought American isolation in World War I. He wrote some 40 books on many topics; his 'Winning of the West' is best known. He died Jan. 6, 1919, at Sagamore Hill, Oyster Bay, N.Y.

Woodrow Wilson

Woodrow Wilson, 28th president, Democrat, was born at Staunton, Va., Dec. 28, 1856, as Thomas Woodrow Wilson, son of a Presbyterian minister; the Rev. Joseph Ruggles Wilson and Janet (Gussie) Woodrow. In his youth Wilson lived in Augusta, Ga., Columbia, S.C., and Washington, N.C. He attended Davidson College, 1873-74; was graduated from Princeton, A.B., 1878; A.M., 1882; read law at the Univ. of Virginia, 1881; practiced law, Atlanta, 1882-83; Ph.D., Johns Hopkins, 1886. He taught at Bryn Mawr, 1885-88; in Wesleyan, 1888-90; was professor of jurisprudence and political economy at Princeton, 1890-1910; president of Princeton, 1902-1910; governor of New Jersey, 1911-13. In 1913 he was nominated for president with the aid of William Jennings Bryan, who sought to block James "Champ" Clark and Tammany Hall. Wilson won the election because the Republican vote for Taft was split by the Progressives under Roosevelt.

Wilson protected American interests in revolutionary Mexico and fought for American rights on the high seas. His sharp warnings to Germany led to the resignation of his secretary of state, Bryan, a pacifist. In 1916 he was reelected by a slim margin with the slogan, "He kept us out of war." Wilson's attempt to mediate in the war failed. After 4 American ships had been sunk by the Germans, he secured a declaration of war against Germany on Apr. 6, 1917. Wilson proposed peace Jan. 8, 1918, on the basis of his "Fourteen Points," a state paper with worldwide implications. His doctrine of self-determination continues to play a major role in territorial disputes. The Germans accepted his terms and an armistice, Nov. 11.

Wilson went to Paris to help negotiate the peace treaty, the text of which he considered the League of Nations. The Senate demanded reservations that would not make the U.S. subordinate to the votes of other nations in case of war. Wilson refused to consider any reservations and toured the country to get support. He suffered a stroke, Oct. 1919. As invalid for months, he clung to his executive powers while his wife and doctor sought to shield him from affairs which would tire him. He was awarded the 1919 Nobel Peace Prize, but the treaty embodying the League of Nations was rejected by the Senate, 1920. He died Feb. 3, 1924.

Warren Gannett Harding

Warren Gannett Harding, 29th president, Republican, was born near Corsica, now Blooming Grove, Oh., Nov. 2, 1865, the son of Dr. George Tyson Harding, a physician, and Phoebe Elizabeth Decker. He attended Ohio Central College. He was state senator, 1900-04; lieutenant governor, 1904-06; defeated for governor, 1910; chosen U.S. senator, 1915. He supported Taft, opposed federal control of food and fuel; voted for anti-trust legislation, women's suffrage and the Volstead prohibition enforcement act over President Wilson's veto; and opposed the League of Nations. In 1920 he was nominated for president and defeated James M. Cox in the election. The Republicans capitalized on war weariness and fear that Wilson's League of Nations would curtail U.S. sovereignty. Harding stressed a return to "normalcy" and high income taxes. Two Harding appointees, Albert B. Fall (Quaker) and Harry Daugherty (attorney general), became involved in the Teapot Dome scandal that embittered Harding's last days. He called the International Conference on Limitation of Armaments, 1921-22. Returning from a trip to Alaska he became ill and died in San Francisco, Aug. 2, 1923.

Calvin Coolidge

Calvin Coolidge, 30th president, Republican, was born in Plymouth, Vt., July 4, 1872, the son of John Calvin Coolidge, a steno-typewriter, and Vermont J. Moon, and married Mabel

Calvin Coolidge. Coolidge graduated from Amherst in 1895. He entered Republican state politics and served as mayor of Northampton, Mass., state senator, lieutenant governor, and, in 1919, governor. In Sept., 1919, Coolidge attained national prominence by calling out the state guard in the Boston police strike. He declared: "There is no right to strike against the public safety by anybody, anywhere, anytime." This brought his name before the Republican convention of 1920, where he was nominated for vice president. He succeeded to the presidency on Harding's death. He opposed the League of Nations; approved the World Court; vetoed the soldiers' bonus bill, which was passed over his veto. In 1924 he was elected by a huge majority. He reduced the national debt by \$2 billion in 3 years. He twice provided relief to financially hard-pressed farmers. With Republicans eager to renominate him he announced, Aug. 2, 1927: "I do not choose to run for president in 1928." He died in Northampton, Jan. 5, 1933.

Herbert Hoover

Herbert C. Hoover, 31st president, Republican, was born at West Branch, Ia., Aug. 10, 1874, son of Jesse Clark Hoover, a blacksmith, and Hilda Randall Minthorn. Hoover grew up in Indian Territory (now Oklahoma) and Oregon; won his A.B. in engineering at Stanford, 1891. He worked briefly with U.S. Geological Survey and western mines; then was a mining engineer in Australia, Asia, Europe, Africa, America. While chief engineer, imperial mines, China, he directed food relief for victims of Boxer Rebellion, 1900. He directed American Relief Committee, London, 1914-15; U.S. Comm. for Relief in Belgium, 1915-1919; was U.S. Food Administrator, 1917-1919; American Relief Administrator, 1918-1923, feeding children in defeated nations; Russian Relief, 1918-1923. He was secy. of commerce, 1921-28. He was elected president over Alfred E. Smith, 1928. In 1929 the stock market crashed and the economy collapsed. During the depression, Hoover opposed federal aid to the unemployed. He was defeated in the 1932 election by Franklin D. Roosevelt. President Truman made him co-ordinator of European Food Program, 1947, chairman of the Commission for Reorganization of the Executive Branch, 1947-49. He founded the Hoover Institution on War, Revolution, and Peace at Stanford Univ. He died in N.Y. City, Oct. 20, 1964.

Franklin Delano Roosevelt

Franklin D. Roosevelt, 32d president, Democrat, was born near Hyde Park, N.Y., Jan. 30, 1882, the son of James Roosevelt and Sara Delano. He graduated from Harvard, 1904; attended Columbia Law School; was admitted to the bar. He went to the N.Y. Senate, 1910 and 1913. In 1913 President Wilson made him assistant secretary of the navy. Roosevelt ran for vice president, 1920, with James Cox and was defeated. From 1920 to 1928 he was a N.Y. lawyer and vice president of Fidelity & Deposit Co. In Aug., 1921, polio paralyzed his legs. He learned to walk with leg braces and a cane.

Roosevelt was elected governor of New York, 1928 and 1930. In 1932, W. G. McAdoo, pledged to John N. Garner, threw his votes to Roosevelt, who was nominated. The depression and the promise to repeal prohibition insured his election. He asked emergency powers, proclaimed the New Deal, and put into effect a vast number of administrative changes. Foremost was the use of public funds for relief and public works, resulting in deficit financing. He greatly expanded the controls of the central government over business, and by an excess-profits tax and progressive income taxes produced a redistribution of earnings on an unprecedented scale. The Wagner Act gave labor many advantages in organizing and collective bargaining. He was the last president inaugurated on Mar. 4 (1933) and the first inaugurated on Jan. 20 (1937).

Roosevelt was the first president to use radio for "fireside chats." When the Supreme Court nullified some New Deal laws, he sought power to "pack" the court with additional justices, but Congress refused to give him the authority. He was the first president to break the "no 3d term" tradition (1940) and was elected to a 4th term, 1944, despite failing health. He was openly hostile to fascist governments before

World War II and launched a lend-lease program on behalf of the Allies. He wrote the principles of fair dealing into the Atlantic Charter, Aug. 14, 1941 (with Winston Churchill), and urged the Four Freedoms (freedom of speech, of worship, from want, from fear) Jan. 6, 1941. When Japan attacked Pearl Harbor, Dec. 7, 1941, the U.S. entered the war. He conferred with allied heads of state at Casablanca, Jan., 1943; Quebec, Aug., 1943; Teheran, Nov.-Dec., 1943; Cairo, Dec., 1943; Yalta, Feb., 1945. He died at Warm Springs, Ga., Apr. 12, 1945.

Harry S. Truman

Harry S. Truman, 33d president, Democrat, was born at Lamar, Mo., May 8, 1884, the son of John Anderson Truman and Martha Ellen Young. A family disagreement on whether his middle name was Shippe or Solomon, after names of 2 grandfathers, resulted in his using only the middle initial S. He attended public schools in Independence, Mo., worked for the Kansas City Star, 1901, and as railroad timekeeper, and helper in Kansas City banks up to 1905. He ran his family's farm, 1906-17. He was commissioned a first lieutenant and took part in the Vosges, Meuse-Argonne, and St. Mihiel actions in World War I. After the war he ran a haberdashery, became judge of Jackson Co. Court, 1922-24, attended Kansas City School of Law, 1923-25.

Truman was elected U.S. senator in 1934; reelected 1940. In 1944 with Roosevelt's backing he was nominated for vice president and elected. On Roosevelt's death Truman became president. In 1948 he was elected president.

Truman authorized the first uses of the atomic bomb (Hiroshima and Nagasaki, Aug. 6 and 9, 1945), bringing World War II to a rapid end. He was responsible for creating NATO, the Marshall Plan, and what came to be called the Truman Doctrine (to aid nations such as Greece and Turkey, threatened by Russian or other communist takeover). He broke a Russian blockade of West Berlin with a massive airlift, 1948-49. When communist North Korea invaded South Korea, June, 1950, he won UN approval for a "police action" and sent in forces under Gen. Douglas MacArthur. When MacArthur sought to pursue North Koreans into China, Truman removed him from command.

On the domestic front, Truman was responsible for higher minimum-wage, increased social-security, and aid-to-housing laws. Truman died Dec. 26, 1972, in Independence, Mo.

Dwight David Eisenhower

Dwight D. Eisenhower, 34th president, Republican, was born Oct. 14, 1890, at Denison, Tex., the son of David Jacob Eisenhower and Ida Elizabeth Stover. The next year, the family moved to Abilene, Kan. He graduated from West Point, 1915. He was on the American military mission to the Philippines, 1935-39 and during 4 of those years on the staff of Gen. Douglas MacArthur. He was made commander of Allied forces landing in North Africa, 1942, full general, 1943; He became supreme Allied commander in Europe, 1943, and as such led the Normandy invasion June 6, 1944. He was given the rank of general of the army Dec. 20, 1944, made permanent in 1946. On May 7, 1945, he received the surrender of the Germans at Rheims. He returned to the U.S. to serve as chief of staff, 1945-1948. In 1948, Eisenhower published *Crusade in Europe*, his war memoirs, which quickly became a best seller. From 1948 to 1953, he was president of Columbia Univ., but took leave of absence in 1950, to command NATO forces.

Eisenhower resigned from the army and was nominated for president by the Republicans, 1952. He defeated Adlai E. Stevenson in the election. He again defeated Stevenson, 1956. He called himself a moderate, favored "free market system" vs. government price and wage controls; kept government out of labor disputes; reorganized defense establishment; promoted missile programs. He continued foreign aid, sped end of Korean fighting; endorsed Taiwan and SE Asia defense treaties; backed UN in condemning Anglo-French raid on Egypt; advocated "open skies" policy of mutual inspection to USSR. He sent U.S. troops into Little Rock, Ark., Sept., 1957, during the segregation crisis and ordered Marines into Lebanon July-Aug., 1958.

During his retirement at his farm near Gettysburg, Pa., Eisenhower took up the role of elder statesman, commending

his 3 successors in the White House. He died Mar. 24, 1969, in Washington.

John Fitzgerald Kennedy

John F. Kennedy, 35th president, Democrat, was born May 29, 1917, in Brookline, Mass., the son of Joseph P. Kennedy, financier, who later became ambassador to Great Britain, and Rose Fitzgerald. He entered Harvard, attended the London School of Economics briefly in 1935, received a B.S. from Harvard, 1940. He served in the Navy, 1941-1945, commanded a PT boat in the Solomons and won the Navy and Marine Corps Medal. He wrote *Profiles in Courage*, which won a Pulitzer prize. He served as representative in Congress, 1947-1953; was elected to the Senate in 1962, reelected 1958. He nearly won the vice presidential nomination in 1956.

In 1960, Kennedy won the Democratic nomination for president and defeated Richard M. Nixon, Republican. He was the first Roman Catholic president.

Kennedy's most important act was his successful demand Oct. 22, 1962, that the Soviet Union dismantle its missile bases in Cuba. He established a quarantine of arms shipments to Cuba and continued surveillance by air. He defied Soviet attempts to force the Allies out of Berlin. He made the steel industry rescind a price rise. He backed civil rights, a mental health program, arbitration of railroad disputes, and expanded medical care for the aged. Astronaut flights and satellite orbiting were greatly developed during his administration.

On Nov. 22, 1963, Kennedy was assassinated in Dallas, Tex.

Lyndon Baines Johnson

Lyndon B. Johnson, 36th president, Democrat, was born near Stonewall, Tex., Aug. 27, 1908, son of Sam Ealy Johnson and Rebekah Baines. He received a B.S. degree at Southwest Texas State Teachers College, 1930, attended Georgetown Univ. Law School, Washington, 1935. He taught public speaking in Houston, 1930-32; served as secretary to Rep. R. M. Kleberg, 1932-35. In 1937 Johnson won a seat to fill the vacancy caused by the death of a representative and in 1938 was elected to the full term, after which he returned for 4 terms. He was elected U.S. senator in 1948 and reelected in 1954. He became Democratic leader, 1953. Johnson was Texas' favorite son for the Democratic presidential nomination in 1956 and had strong support in the 1960 convention, where the nominee, John F. Kennedy, asked him to run for vice president. His campaigning helped overcome religious bias against Kennedy in the South.

Johnson became president on the death of Kennedy. Johnson worked hard for welfare legislation, signed civil rights, anti-poverty, and tax reduction laws, and averted strikes on railroads. He was elected to a full term, 1964. The war in Vietnam overshadowed other developments, 1965-68.

In face of increasing division in the nation and his own uneasiness over his handling of the war, Johnson announced that he would not seek another term, Mar. 31, 1968.

Working in his ranch near Johnson City, Tex., Johnson wrote his memoirs and oversaw the construction of the Lyndon Baines Johnson Library on the campus of the Univ. of Texas at Austin. He died Jan. 22, 1973.

Richard Milhous Nixon

Richard M. Nixon, 37th president, Republican, was the first president to resign without completing an elected term. Nixon was born in Yorba Linda, Cal., Jan. 9, 1913, the son of Frank Anthony Nixon and Hannah Milhous. Nixon graduated from Whittier College, 1934; Duke Univ. Law School, 1937. After practicing law in Whittier and serving briefly in the office of Price Administration in 1942, he entered the navy, serving in the South Pacific, and was discharged as a lieutenant commander.

Nixon was elected to the House of Representatives in 1946 and 1948. He achieved prominence as the House Un-American Activities Committee member who forced the resignation that resulted in the Alger Hiss perjury conviction in 1950. Nixon moved to the Senate.

Nixon was elected vice president in the Eisenhower landslide

of 1952 and 1956. With Eisenhower's endorsement, Nixon won the Republican nomination in 1960. He was defeated by Democrat John F. Kennedy, returned to Cal. and was defeated in his race for governor, 1962.

In 1968, he won the presidential nomination and went on to defeat Democrat Hubert H. Humphrey.

Nixon became the first U.S. president to visit China and Russia (1972). He and his foreign affairs adviser, Henry A. Kissinger, achieved a detente with China. Nixon appointed 4 new Supreme Court justices, including the chief justice, thus altering the court's balance in favor of a more conservative view.

Reelected 1972, Nixon secured a cease-fire agreement in Vietnam and completed the withdrawal of U.S. troops.

Nixon's 2d term was cut short by a series of scandals beginning with the burglary of Democratic party national headquarters in the Watergate office complex on June 17, 1972. Nixon denied any White House involvement in the Watergate break-in. On July 16, 1973, a White House aide, under questioning by a Senate committee, revealed that most of Nixon's office conversations and phone calls had been recorded. Nixon claimed executive privilege to keep the tapes secret and the courts and Congress sought the tapes for criminal proceedings against former White House aides and for a House inquiry into possible impeachment.

On Oct. 10, 1973, Nixon fired the Watergate special prosecutor and the attorney general resigned in protest. The public outcry which followed caused Nixon to appoint a new special prosecutor and to turn over to the courts a number of subpoenaed tape recordings. Public reaction also brought the initiation of a formal inquiry into impeachment.

On July 24, 1974, the Supreme Court ruled that Nixon's claim of executive privilege must fall before the special prosecutor's subpoenas of tapes relevant to criminal trial proceedings. That same day, the House Judiciary Committee opened debate on impeachment. On July 30, the committee recommended House adoption of 3 articles of impeachment charging Nixon with obstruction of justice, abuse of power, and contempt of Congress.

On Aug. 5, Nixon released transcripts of conversations held 6 days after the Watergate break-in showing that Nixon had known of, approved, and directed Watergate cover-up activities. Nixon resigned from office Aug. 9.

Gerald Rudolph Ford

Gerald R. Ford, 38th president, Republican, was born July 14, 1913, in Omaha, Neb., son of Leslie King and Dorothy Gardner, and was named Leslie Jr. When he was 2, his parents were divorced and his mother moved with the boy to Grand Rapids, Mich. There she met and married Gerald R. Ford, who formally adopted the boy and gave him his own name.

He graduated from the Univ. of Michigan, 1935 and Yale Law School, 1941.

He began practicing law in Grand Rapids, but in 1942 joined the navy and served in the Pacific, leaving the service in 1946 as a lieutenant commander.

He entered congress in 1948 and continued to win elections, spending 25 years in the House, 8 of them as Republican leader.

On Oct. 12, 1973, after Vice President Spiro T. Agnew resigned, Ford was nominated by President Nixon to replace him. It was the first use of the procedures set out in the 25th Amendment.

When Nixon resigned Aug. 9, 1974, Ford became president, the first to serve without being chosen in a national election. On Sept. 8 he pardoned Nixon for any federal crimes he might have committed as president. Ford voted 48 bills in his first 21 months in office, saying most would prove too costly. He visited China. In 1976, he was defeated in the election by Democrat Jimmy Carter.

Jimmy (James Earl) Carter

Jimmy (James Earl) Carter, 39th president, Democrat, was the first president from the Deep South since before the Civil War. He was born Oct. 1, 1924, at Plains, Ga., where his parents, James and Lillian Gordy Carter, had a farm and several businesses.

British obtained a protectorate over Uganda in 1894. The country became independent Oct. 9, 1962, and a republic within the Commonwealth a year later. In 1967, the traditional kingdom, including the powerful Buganda state, were abolished and the central government strengthened.

Gen. Idi Amin seized power from King Mutesa II in 1966. In 1971, Amin expelled nearly all of Uganda's 45,000 Asians in subsequent years. Amin was named president for life in 1976. In 1972, Amin expelled nearly all of Uganda's 45,000 Asians in subsequent years. Amin was named president for life in 1976. In 1972, Amin expelled nearly all of Uganda's 45,000 Asians in subsequent years. Amin was named president for life in 1976.

The U.S. recognized the embassy, reinstated economic aid, and ended its trade embargo in 1978.

Four governments have been in power since Amin fled. The country remains in utter economic and social chaos, and signs of repression, reminiscent of the Amin regime, have begun to reappear.

Union of Soviet Socialist Republics

People: Population (1982 est.): 269,000,000. Age distrib. (5%): 0-15: 26.7; 20-64: 50.5; 65+: 12.7. Pop. density: 31 per sq. mi. Urban (1978): 62%. Ethnic groups: Russians 52%, Ukrainians 18%, Uzbeks 5%, Byelorussians 4%, many others. Languages: Slavic (Russian, Ukrainian, Byelorussian, Polish), Altaic (Turkic, etc.), other Indo-European, Uralian, Caucasian, Finno-Ugric, and others. Religions: Russian Orthodox 18%, Muslims 9%, other Orthodox, Protestant, Jewish, Buddhist.

Government: Head of state: Pres. Leonid I. Brezhnev, b. Dec. 19, 1906; in office: June 16, 1977. Head of government: Premier Nikolai A. Tikhonov, b. May 1, 1905; in office: Oct. 23, 1980. Head of Communist Party: Gen. Sec. Leonid Brezhnev, b. 1906. Local divisions: 15 union republics, 1 autonomous republic, 6 krays (territories), 120 oblasts (regions), 8 autonomous oblasts, 10 national areas.

Economy: Industries: Steel, machinery, machine tools, chemicals, cement, textiles, appliances, paper. Chief crops: Grain, cotton, sugar beets, potatoes, vegetables, sunflowers. Minerals: Iron (41% of world reserves), manganese (86%), mercury, potash, arsenic, bauxite, cobalt, chromium, copper, zinc, tin, tungsten, zinc, oil (59%), potassium salts (30%). Cattle and reserves (1980): 67,000,000. Per capita enable land: 2.1 acres. Meat prod. (1980): 63,000 metric tons. Fish prod.: 5.0 million metric tons. Electricity prod. (1980): 1,200 billion kWh. Crude oil prod. (1981 est.): 1,400 million tons. Labor force: 20% service, 29% industry, 21% services.

Foreign Currency: Ruble (Sept. 1981: 71 = \$1 US). Gross national product (1980): \$15 bn. Per capita income (1976): \$2,000. Imports (1980): \$50.19 bn.; exports (1980): \$58.29 bn.; Pol. 6%; Cash, 6%; Bulg. 8%; Exports (1980): Czech, 10%; partners (1980): E. Ger. 10%, Pol. 9%, Bulg. 8%, 7%. National budget (1981 est.): \$31 bn. revenue; \$31 bn. expenditure. Tourists (1977): 4,300,000. Consumer price change in 1979: 0.7%.

Traffic: Airline traffic (1979): 335.3 bn. passenger-km. (change in 1979): 0.7%. Waterway traffic (1979): 335.3 bn. passenger-km. (change in 1979): 0.7%. Roadway traffic (1979): 335.3 bn. passenger-km. (change in 1979): 0.7%. Motor vehicles: 3,349 bn. cars, 7.2 mn. comm. vehicles; manu. (1980): 1.3 mn. passenger cars; 780,000 comm. vehicles. Civil aviation (1980): 160 bn. passenger-km; 3,053 mn. flight ton-km. Child mortality (1979): 18.1. Deaths in 1978: 8.7 mn. Daily newspaper circ. (1980): 308 per 1,000 pop.

Health: Life expectancy at birth (1972): 64 male; 74 female. Births (per 1,000 pop. 1977): 18.1. Deaths (per 1,000 pop. 1977): 9.6. Natural increase (1978): 9%. Hospital beds (per 1,000 pop. 1977): 1.213. Physicians (per 100,000 pop. 1981): 44. Infant mortality (per 1,000 live births 1981): 44. Education (1981): Literacy: 96%. 5-18 in school. 97% teachers per 1,000-37.

The USSR is nominally a federation consisting of 15 union republics, the largest being the Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic. Important positions in the republics are filled by centrally appointed, often ethnic Russians.

Beginning in 1969 the USSR by means of military action negotiated over contiguous territory and independent republics, including all or part of Lithuania, Latvia, Estonia, Poland, Czechoslovakia, Rumania, Germany, Tannu Tuva, and Japan.

The union republics are:

Republic	Area sq. mi.	Pop. (1978)
Russian SFSR	6,593,201	157,000,000
Ukrainian SSR	232,040	46,700,000
Uzbek SSR	185,090	15,000,000
Uzbek SSR	1,084,082	14,000,000
Kazakh SSR	80,164	8,000,000
Byelorussian SSR	33,498	8,000,000
Azerbaijan SSR	26,911	8,000,000
Moldavian SSR	54,019	8,000,000
Tajik SSR	76,942	8,000,000
Kirgiz SSR	26,173	8,000,000
Lithuanian SSR	11,308	8,000,000
Latvian SSR	168,417	8,000,000
Turkmen SSR	24,665	8,000,000
Estonian SSR	17,418	8,000,000

The Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic contains over 50% of the population of the USSR and 60% of its territory. It extends from the old Estonia, Latvia, and Finland borders and the Byelorussian and Ukrainian borders to the shores of the Pacific, and from the Arctic to the Black and Caspian seas and the borders of Mongolia, and Manchuria on the S. Siberia extends part of the RSFSR area. Capital: Moscow.

Parts of eastern and western Siberia have been developed by steel mills, huge dams, oil and gas industries, roads, and highways.

The Ukraine, the most densely populated of the borders on the Black Sea, with Poland, Communist Poland, and Romania on the W and SW. Capital: Kiev.

The Ukraine contains the arable black soil wheat-producing section of the Soviet Union. The Donets Basin has large deposits of coal, iron, and tungsten ore.

There are chemical and metals industries. Byelorussia (White Russia). Capital: Minsk. Includes machinery, tools, appliances, textiles, steel, cement, textiles, paper, leather, glass, grain, fax, potatoes, sugar beets.

Azerbaijan boasts near Baku's oil. Its natural wealth includes large deposits of iron, oil, coal, and tungsten.

Moldavia has large harvests since 1979. It is the only one in the USSR producing wine.

Tajikistan has large deposits of cotton, silk, and wool. It is the only one in the USSR producing silk.

Kirgizia has large deposits of wool, silk, and leather. It is the only one in the USSR producing leather.

Lithuania has large deposits of timber. It is the only one in the USSR producing timber.

Latvia has large deposits of timber. It is the only one in the USSR producing timber.

Estonia has large deposits of timber. It is the only one in the USSR producing timber.

high-yield winter wheat is grown, as are fruits. It produces iron, steel, cement, fertilizers, synthetic rubber, electrical and chemical equipment. It borders on Iran and Turkey.

Georgia, in the western part of Transcaucasia, contains the largest manganese mines in the world. There are rich timber resources and coal mines. Basic industries are food, textiles, iron, steel. Grain, tea, tobacco, fruits, grapes are grown. Capital: Tbilisi (Tbilis). Despite massive party and government purges since 1972, legal private enterprises and Georgian nationalism have prospered; attempts to repress them have led to violence.

Armenia is mountainous, sub-tropical, extensively irrigated. Copper, zinc, aluminum, molybdenum, and marble are mined. Important making is important. Capital: Erevan.

Uzbekistan, most important economically of the Central Asia republics, produces 67% of USSR cotton, 50% of rice, 33% of wheat, 34% of strawberries, 85% of hemp. Industries include iron, steel, cars, tractors, TV and radio sets, textiles, food. Mineral wealth includes coal, sulphur, copper, and oil. Capital: Tashkent. Turkmenistan in Central Asia, produces cotton, wheat, carmelite, chemicals. Minerals: oil, coal, sulphur, barite, lime, salt, gas. The Kara Kum desert occupies 60% of the area. Capital: Ashgabat.

Tajikistan borders on China and Afghanistan. Over half its population are Tadzhiks, mostly Muslims, speaking an Iranian dialect. Chief occupations are farming and cattle breeding. Cotton, grain, rice, and a variety of fruits are grown. Heavy industry, based on rich mineral deposits, coal and hydroelectric power, has replaced handicrafts. Capital: Dushanbe.

Uzbekistan extends from the lower reaches of the Volga to the Altai Mts. on the Chinese border. It has vast deposits of coal, oil, iron, lead, zinc, copper, etc. Fish for its major industry are caught in Lake Balkhash and the Caspian Sea. The capital is Alma-Ata. About 50% of the population is Russian or Ukrainian, working in the virgin-grain lands created after 1964, and in the growing industries. Capital: Alma-Ata.

Uzbekistan is the eastern part of Soviet Central Asia, on the border of the Altai Mts. The people breed cattle and horses and grow tobacco, cotton, rice, sugar beets. Industries include steel and instrument making, chemicals. Capital: Frunze.

Uzbekistan is the SW part of the USSR, a fertile black earth country. It grows grain, fruits, vegetables, and tobacco. It has rich deposits of coal, oil, iron, lead, zinc, copper, etc. Fish for its major industry are caught in Lake Balkhash and the Caspian Sea. The capital is Alma-Ata. About 50% of the population is Russian or Ukrainian, working in the virgin-grain lands created after 1964, and in the growing industries. Capital: Alma-Ata.

Uzbekistan is the eastern part of Soviet Central Asia, on the border of the Altai Mts. The people breed cattle and horses and grow tobacco, cotton, rice, sugar beets. Industries include steel and instrument making, chemicals. Capital: Frunze.

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divided into provinces, was established in the 9th century, centering in Novgorod and Kiev.

In the 13th century the Mongols overran the country. It recovered under the grand dukes and princes of Moscow, or Moscow, and by 1480 freed itself from the Tatars. Ivan the Terrible was the first to be formally proclaimed Tsar (1547). Peter the Great (1682-1725), extended the domain and in 1721, founded the Russian Empire.

Western ideas and the beginnings of modernization spread through the huge Russian empire in the 18th and early 20th centuries. But political evolution failed to keep pace.

Military reverses in the 1905 war with Japan and in World War I led to the breakdown of the Tsarist regime. The 1917 Revolution began in March with a series of sporadic strikes for higher wages by factory workers. A provisional democratic government under Prince Georgi Lvov was established but was quickly followed in May by the second provisional government, led by Alexander Kerensky. The Kerensky government, and the freely-elected Constituent Assembly were overthrown in a Communist coup led by Vladimir Ilyich Lenin Nov. 7, 1917.

Lenin's death, Jan. 21, 1924, resulted in an internal power struggle from which Joseph Stalin eventually emerged as the absolute ruler of Russia. Stalin secured his position at first by ending a "purge" trials, mass executions, and mass exiles to work camps. These measures resulted in millions of deaths, according to most estimates.

Germany and the USSR signed a non-aggression pact Aug. 1939. Nazi forces launched a massive invasion of the Soviet Union, June 1941. Notable heroic episodes were the "500 days" siege of Leningrad, lasting to Jan. 1944, and causing 1,000,000 deaths; the city was never taken. Russian winter counterattacks, 1941 to '42 and 1942 to '43, stopped the German advance. Turning point was the failure of German troops to take and hold Stalingrad, Sept. 1942 to Feb. 1943. With British and U.S. Lend-Lease aid and sustaining great casualties, the Russians drove the Axis from eastern Europe and the Baltics in the next 2 years.

After Stalin died, Mar. 5, 1953, Nikita Khrushchev was elected first secretary of the Central Committee. In 1956 he condemned Stalin, "De-Stalinization" of the country on all levels was effected after Stalin's body was removed from the Lenin-Stalin tomb in Moscow.

Under Khrushchev the open antagonism of Poles and Hungarians toward domination by Moscow was brutally expressed in 1956. He advocated peaceful co-existence with the capitalist countries but continued arming the USSR with nuclear weapons. He ended the Cuban revolution under Fidel Castro but withdrew Soviet missiles from Cuba during confrontation by U.S. Pres. Kennedy, Sept.-Oct. 1962.

The USSR, the U.S., and Great Britain initiated a joint treaty July 25, 1963, banning above-ground nuclear tests. Khrushchev was suddenly deposed, Oct. 1964, and replaced as party first secretary by Leonid I. Brezhnev, and as premier by Aleksandr N. Kosygin.

In Aug. 1968 Russian, Polish, East German, Hungarian, and Bulgarian military forces invaded Czechoslovakia to put a curb on liberalization policies of the Czech government. The USSR declared it had a duty to intervene in nations where socialism was "imposed" according to the "Brezhnev Doctrine."

The USSR in 1971 continued heavy arms shipments to Egypt. The USSR entered most of the 20,000 Soviet military personnel in that country to leave. When Egypt and Syria attacked Israel in Oct. 1973, the USSR launched huge arms airlifts to the 2 Arab nations. In 1974, the Soviet replenished the arms used or lost by the Syrians in the 1973 war, and continued some shipments to Egypt.

Massive Soviet military aid to North Vietnam in the late 1960s and early 1970s helped assure Communist victories throughout Indo-China. Soviet arms aid and advisers were sent to several African countries in the 1970s, including Algeria, Angola, Somalia, and Ethiopia.

In 1972, the U.S. and USSR reached temporary agreements to freeze intercontinental missiles at their current levels, to limit defensive missiles to 200 each and to cooperate on health, environmental, space, trade, and science.

Meanwhile, under Brezhnev, student intellectuals were repressed and purge-type trials resumed.

A limitation on grain sales, imposed by Pres. Carter, Jan. 4, 1980, in response to the Soviet invasion of Afghanistan, was lifted, Apr. 24, 1981, by the Reagan administration. The Afghan

invasion of Afghanistan, in 1979, was a major turning point in the Cold War. The Soviet invasion of Afghanistan, in 1979, was a major turning point in the Cold War. The Soviet invasion of Afghanistan, in 1979, was a major turning point in the Cold War.

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JANUARY							FEBRUARY							MARCH							APRIL						
S	M	T	W	T	F	S	S	M	T	W	T	F	S	S	M	T	W	T	F	S	S	M	T	W	T	F	S
2	3	4	5	6	7	①	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	③	4	5	6	7	8	9
9	10	11	12	13	14	15	13	14	15	16	17	18	19	13	14	15	16	17	18	19	10	11	12	13	14	15	16
16	17	18	19	20	21	22	20	②	22	23	24	25	26	20	21	22	23	24	25	26	17	18	19	20	21	22	23
23	24	25	26	27	28	29	27	28						27	28	④	30	31			24	25	26	27	28	29	30

MAY							JUNE							JULY							AUGUST						
S	M	T	W	T	F	S	S	M	T	W	T	F	S	S	M	T	W	T	F	S	S	M	T	W	T	F	S
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	1	2	3	4				3	④	5	6	7	8	9	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
8	9	10	11	12	13	14	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	7	8	9	10	11	12	13
15	16	17	18	19	20	21	12	13	14	15	16	17	18	17	18	19	20	21	22	23	14	15	16	17	18	19	20
22	23	24	25	26	27	28	19	20	21	22	23	24	25	24	25	26	27	28	29	30	21	22	23	24	25	26	27
29	⑤	31					26	27	28	29	30			24	25	26	27	28	29	30	28	29	30	31			

SEPTEMBER							OCTOBER							NOVEMBER							DECEMBER											
S	M	T	W	T	F	S	S	M	T	W	T	F	S	S	M	T	W	T	F	S	S	M	T	W	T	F	S					
					1	2	3						1							1	2	3	4	5						1	2	3
4	⑥	5	6	7	8	9	10	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	6	7	⑧	9	10	11	12	4	5	6	7	8	9	10				
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18	19	20	21	22	23	24	16	17	18	19	20	21	22	20	21	22	23	⑫	25	26	18	19	20	21	22	23	24					
25	26	27	28	29	30			23	24	25	26	27	28	29	27	28	29	30				⑬	26	27	28	29	30	31				
								30	31																							

Jan. 1 — New Year's Day; Feb. 21 — Washington's Birthday; March 29 — Passover; April 3 — Easter; May 30 — Memorial Day; July 1 — Canada Day; July 4 — Independence Day; Sept. 5 — Labor Day; Sept. 17 — Yom Kippur; Oct. 10 — Columbus Day; Nov. 8 — Election Day; Nov. 24 — Thanksgiving Day; Dec. 25 — Christmas Day.

Metric Conversion Chart—Approximations

When you know	Multiply by	To find	Sym- bol	Sym- bol	When you know	Multiply by	To find	Sym- bol
Length								
inches	0.04	centimeters	in	in	centimeters	*2.5	inches	cm
feet	0.4	centimeters	ft	ft	feet	30	centimeters	cm
yards	3.3	feet	yd	yd	yards	0.9	meters	m
meters	1.1	yards	m	mi	miles	1.6	kilometers	km
kilometers	0.6	miles	mi					
Area								
square centimeters	0.16	square inches	cm ²	in ²	square inches	6.5	sq. centimeters	cm ²
square meters	1.2	square yards	m ²	yd ²	square feet	0.09	square meters	m ²
square kilometers	0.4	square miles	km ²	mi ²	square yards	0.8	square meters	m ²
hectares (10,000m ²)	2.5	acres	ha	mi ²	square miles	2.6	sq. kilometers	km ²
				acres		0.4	hectares	ha
Mass (weight)								
grams	0.035	ounce	g	oz	ounces	28	grams	g
kilograms	2.2	pounds	kg	lb	pounds	0.45	kilograms	kg
tonnes (1000kg)	1.1	short tons	t		short tons (2000 lb)	0.9	tonnes	t
Volume								
fluid ounces	0.03	fluid ounces	fl oz	fl oz	teaspoons	5	milliliters	ml
pints	2.1	pints	pt	pt	tablespoons	15	milliliters	ml
quarts	1.06	quarts	qt	qt	fl oz fluid ounces*	30	milliliters	ml
gallons (U.S.)	0.26	gallons (U.S.)	gal (U.S.)	gal (U.S.)	cups	0.24	liters	l
gallons (Imp.)	0.22	gallons (Imp.)	gal (Imp.)	gal (Imp.)	pints	0.47	liters	l
cubic feet	35	cubic feet	ft ³	ft ³	quarts	0.95	liters	l
cubic meters	1.3	cubic yards	m ³	yd ³	gallons (U.S.)	3.8	liters	l
					gallons (Imp.)	4.5	liters	l
					ft ³ cubic feet	0.03	cubic meters	m ³
					yd ³ cubic yards	0.76	cubic meters	m ³
Temperature (exact)								
Fahrenheit temp.	9/5 (+32)	Fahrenheit temp.	F	F				
Temperature (exact) to Metric								
Fahrenheit temp. (-32)	5/9	Celsius temp.	F	°C				
		of remainder						

*1 in = 2.54 cm (exactly)

THE WORLD ALMANAC & BOOK OF FACTS 1983



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**THE
HISTORICAL
ENCYCLOPEDIA
OF
WORLD WAR II**

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D

DALADIER, Edouard (1884-1970).

Daladier was premier of France at the time of the Munich Pact, which he signed. In 1940, while serving as minister of war, he was interned by the Vichy government. In 1943 Daladier was taken to Germany, where he was imprisoned until the end of the war.

DALTON, Hugh (later Lord) (1887-1962).

Dalton was a British socialist. As minister of economic warfare from May 1940 to February 1942, Dalton took charge of the formation and early work of the Special Operations Executive. He served as minister of trade from 1942 to 1945 and as minister of finance from 1945 to 1947.

DALUEGE, Kurt (1897-1946).

An SS general, Daluge took over as the executioner of Czechoslovakia after Heydrich's assassination. He was executed as a war criminal in Prague in 1946.

DANSEY, Sir Claude (1876-1947).

Dansey was a British secret staff officer. He served as deputy head of MI-6 in charge of work in western Europe from 1940 to 1945. Dansey was noted for his deceptively affable manner.

DANZIG.

Given the status of a free city by the Treaty of Versailles, Danzig provided Poland with an outlet to the Baltic Sea. Hitler attacked Poland when it refused to allow Danzig to be reincorporated into Germany (see *Fall Weiss*).

DARLAN, Francois (1881-1942).

Darlan, a bitter enemy of England, was appointed admiral of the French fleet in 1939 and minister of the navy in June 1940. After the German occupation of France, he was named by Marshal Petain as his eventual successor. Darlan became head of the government, minister of foreign affairs and minister of the interior after Laval's disgrace in December 1940. He collaborated with Germany in the Syrian campaign, remaining in his ministry post after Laval's return in

April 1942. Surprised in Algiers by the Allied landing on November 8, 1942, he went over to the Allies. On December 24 he was executed by a student acting on the order of the Resistance.

DARNAND, Joseph (1897-1945).

Darnand, a militant member of the *Action française* party and of the fascist *Cagoule*, became head of the *Legion des Combattants des Alpes-Maritimes* in 1940. He founded the *Service d'ordre legionnaire* and, in January 1942, *Milice française* to organize, in cooperation with the German police, the armed battle against the Resistance. Darnand became an officer in the *Waffen-SS*, and was named general secretary to the maintenance of order in December 1943. Later he became a member of the Sigmaringen Governmental Commission. On October 3, 1945 he was condemned to death and executed.

DEAT, Marcel (1894-1955).

Deat, a French professor, was elected a Socialist deputy in 1926. He was a founder of the French Socialist Party in 1933 and became minister of the air force in 1936. In 1939 he advocated cooperation with Germany, opposed France's entry into the war and converted the newspaper *L'Oeuvre* into the organ of the pacifists of the left. As head of the *Rassemblement national populaire*, he embraced Nazi principles, at the same time warring against the domestic policies of Petain. In March 1944 he became minister of labor and then a member of the Sigmaringen Governmental Commission. After the Allied occupation of France, he took refuge in an Italian monastery, where he died on January 5, 1955.

DEATHS.

It is impossible to make an accounting, even an approximate one, of the human costs of the war. How, for example, can one compute the number of civilian dead in the USSR, in China, in Malaya, in Burma, in the islands of the Pacific, in the Philippines or in any part of the world seared by the fighting or the passions it evoked? It has been estimated that the conflict

DEATHS

exacted a price of between 45 million and 50 million dead, among whom some 5.7 million were regarded as members of undesirable races and another five million were political prisoners in concentration camps.

These figures, however, account only for those who were killed directly as a result of the war, not those for whom it was an indirect cause of death by hunger, neglect, emotional shock or despair. The number of these deaths cannot even be guessed at.

The Dutch publication *Statistisch Bulletin van het Centraal Bureau voor de Statistiek*, No 83, 48, states the problem very well for the Netherlands and, for that matter, any other country involved in the war: "Setting the number of Dutch victims of the war at 210,000 does not take into account those for whose death the war was indirectly responsible. The proof is the following. In our country the mortality rate was 8.6 per 1,000 inhabitants in 1938, 8.5 in 1939, 8.5 in 1946, 8.1 in 1947. If we accept the average annual rate of 8.6 per 1,000 for the years of 1940 to 1946, we arrive at the figure of 468,000 dead in the course of that period. But there actually were 747,000 deaths. There was therefore an excess of about 280,000 deaths during the war over the deaths in peacetime, or 70,000 more than the 210,000 who were the war's direct victims."

The approximate figures presented here relate only to those who died because of the war before August 15, 1945. But what do we know of those who died after the end of hostilities as a result of those hostilities?

During World War I the number of noncombatants who lost their lives was very small as a percentage of the total dead. By contrast, the civil war in Russia between 1917 and 1920 and the Spanish civil war of 1936-39 claimed a very high number of innocent victims. The number of noncombatant dead during World War II was of necessity still greater, including as it must the deaths resulting from the racial persecution of the Jews, the Gypsies and the Slavs and those buried under the rubble left by air raids.

It should be borne in mind that estimates of the number of war-related deaths are often exaggerated and contradictory. Some include Resistance fighters killed in combat and those who were executed or died from abuse in concentration camps, as well as ordinary soldiers, under the heading of "combatants," which is logical. Others, however, confuse Resistance fighters with the innocent victims of the war, which is completely unjustified, on the assumption that most of the resisters were civilians. Still others include in the same figure active resisters who died in deportation, forced or voluntary laborers sent to Germany from their own countries and those killed by Allied bombs. Finally, there are lists of war casualties that for

some curious reason ignore sailors in the merchant marine, so many of whom were lost (see *Atlantic, Battle of the*).

To be sure, it is often difficult to distinguish between active resisters and passive victims, especially in the smaller countries in central or southeastern Europe or in China. Clearly, in a total war, where the distinction between civilian and military is blurred or nonexistent, what makes sense is simply to list the total number of deaths in each country without classification as civilian or military. The figures given here were compiled after careful study and are presented in the order of magnitude except for the United States and the United Kingdom and their territories or dominions that did not experience occupation.

From the available data the USSR, between June 22, 1941 and August 15, 1945, lost 18 million to 20 million citizens, one-third of whom were civilians, including 1.2 million Jews.

German and Austrian losses amounted to more than six million dead, of which 3.25 million were in the armed forces. Among the civilians were 140,000 Jews and 130,000 non-Jews, resisters or victims of racial persecution. 6 m
3.25 million

Poland occupies third place. The exact number of her losses is not known, although it certainly exceeds five million. Among Jews alone the figure has been calculated at between 2.3 million and 2.9 million.

Between 1937 and 1945 China and Japan suffered 2.5 million and 2.0 million dead, respectively, between 1937 and 1945.

Yugoslavia is sixth, with 1.7 million dead.

The British Commonwealth had at least 615,000 dead, classified in the following way: the United Kingdom, 468,000, of whom 398,000 were combatants and 70,000 civilians (of the latter, 60,595 died under bombardment in Great Britain, the others in Malta, Malaya, etc., or in German or Japanese internment camps); Canada, 39,400; Australia, 29,400; New Zealand, 12,300; South Africa, 8,700; India, 36,100; the colonies, 21,100. For the dominions and the colonies, the figures are for combatants only; the number of civilian victims in Southeast Asia is unknown.

The losses of Rumania, Hungary and Czechoslovakia were 665,000, 450,000 and 380,000 respectively. There are two reasons for the relative magnitudes of these figures. The first was that Slovaks, Rumanians, and Hungarians were forced by the Germans to furnish large troop contingents to the Russian front; and second, that there were many Jews in those countries and practically all were killed. The losses in another small country, Greece, were also high, but for other reasons—its population endured the most terrible famine plaguing Europe during the war. Of the na-

tion's 620,000 dead, 360,000 were victims of starvation.

The U.S. lost 323,000, of whom only 2,000 were civilians who died in Japanese concentration camps, on the seas, etc. In addition to the American dead were thousands of Filipino casualties.

The dead of France and the French Union approached 580,000, with 150,000 soldiers or sailors killed in action and 39,000 in captivity; 24,000 Resistance fighters killed in action and 30,000 shot or massacred in France; 200,000 political, racial, or laborer deportees to Germany; and 133,000 civilian victims of military operations, half of them killed in bombing raids.

Military and civilian dead in Italy exceeded 400,000—250,000 while the country was allied with Germany and 150,000 after September 1943, when it joined the Allies. Of these 150,000 dead, 75,000 partisans and military personnel died in action against the enemy, 41,000 military men and political prisoners died in Germany, thousands of civilians were massacred in reprisals or killed by bombardment, and 15,000 Jews were murdered.

Dutch losses came to 209,648 at a minimum, not counting the unknown number of dead in Japanese camps. Of these, 33,948 were members of the land, air and naval forces and the merchant marine or were Resistance fighters who were killed confronting the enemy, who died in the process of deportation or who were executed. The other 175,700 were civilians, including 104,800 Jews. Several thousand nonwhite Dutch civilians also died. Belgian losses were 54,747, of whom 25,479 were in the military and 29,268 were civilians, including 1,100 Belgian Jews. To these figures should also be added 30,000 non-Belgian Jews who had lived in Belgium and died in deportation. Casualties in Luxembourg amounted to 7,000 dead, including resisters killed in the ranks of the Allied armies, Jews and other civilians.

These statistics for the French, Dutch, Belgians and Luxembourgers who fell victim to the war do not include some 50,000 nationals of these countries—38,000 of whom were French—who were killed in the *Wehrmacht* ranks as impressed soldiers or as volunteers in Nazi or collaborator auxiliaries. Several hundred Swiss, Swedes, and other western Europeans, together with a larger number of Spaniards (the *Azu/* Division) and still more Russians, fell fighting on the German side. These deaths are normally counted in with the losses suffered by the armed forces of the Reich. Casualties among the French Resistance included 2,000 Italians and 1,500 Spaniards, as well as Germans, Austrians, Poles, Rumanians, Britons, Belgians, Dutch, and Luxembourgers; some Russians and other nationals died in the ranks of the Belgian

Resistance movement. All these various allegiances, national and ideological, complicate the problem of categorizing the casualty lists.

The death toll in Finland was 90,000; in Bulgaria, 20,000; in Albania, 20,000; in Norway, 10,000; in Denmark, 7,000; and in Brazil, 1,200.

H. Bernard

DE BONO, Emilio (1866-1944).

An Italian general, De Bono was one of the *quadrumvirs* of the "march on Rome" of 1922. After Mussolini took power, De Bono became, in turn, director general of the secret police, head of the Fascist Militia, governor of Tripolitania, minister of the colonies, high commissioner of Eritrea and Somalia (in January 1935) and chief of operations against Ethiopia (in October 1935). He was eventually replaced in this last position by Badoglio. With Italo Balbo he opposed Italy's alliance with Hitler; he voted with the majority of the Fascist Grand Council against Mussolini in July 1943. De Bono was condemned to death by the tribunal of the Republic of Salò (see Italy) and shot in Verona on January 11, 1944.

DECEPTION.

Already an ancient device of war in the days of the Trojan horse, deception remains a most effective weapon. The British made particularly good use of deception during World War II.

Wavell, much impressed with some successful deceptions that had been carried out against the Turks in 1917, set up at his headquarters in Cairo in 1939 a body designed to startle the Italians and called, uninformatively, the "A Force." Soon it had both Graziani and Aosta thoroughly confused. (Good deceptions are usually aimed personally at an opposing commander, if enough is known about him and his prejudices.)

Another group whose name revealed little about it—"Colonel Turner's department"—contributed significantly to the air defense of the United Kingdom in 1939-41 by doing much to confuse Goering. Trick fires on the ground, for example, once encouraged the *Luftwaffe*, which thought it was raiding Portsmouth, to drop its entire bomb load on nearby Hayling Island. Three cows were killed, instead of several hundred people; no naval damage at all was done. Less obvious, more intricate damage was done to the *Luftwaffe*'s special navigating equipment by teams of wireless experts using the British Broadcasting Corporation's television transmitter.

Deception units used camouflage, of course, but deception was much more than a tactical detail that could be left to a unit camouflage officer to arrange.

Familiar Quotations

*A collection of passages, phrases and
proverbs traced to their sources in
ancient and modern literature*

FIFTEENTH AND 125TH ANNIVERSARY EDITION
REVISED AND ENLARGED

John Bartlett

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— a way which if followed the world will forever applaud and God must forever bless.

Ib.

Beware of rashness, but with energy and sleepless vigilance go forward and give us victories

Letter to Major General Joseph Hooker [January 26, 1863]

2 The Father of Waters again goes unvexed to the sea.

Letter to James C. Conkling [August 26, 1863]

3 I have endured a great deal of ridicule without much malice; and have received a great deal of kindness, not quite free from ridicule. I am used to it.

Letter to James H. Hackett [November 2, 1863]

4 Fourscore and seven years ago our fathers brought forth on this continent, a new nation, conceived in Liberty, and dedicated to the proposition that all men are created equal.

Now we are engaged in a great civil war, testing whether that nation or any nation so conceived and so dedicated can long endure. We are met on a great battlefield of that war. We have come to dedicate a portion of that field, as a final resting place for those who here gave their lives that that nation might live. It is altogether fitting and proper that we should do this.

But, in a larger sense, we cannot dedicate—we cannot consecrate—we cannot hallow—this ground. The brave men, living and dead, who struggled here, have consecrated it far above our poor power to add or detract. The world will little note nor long remember what we say here, but it can never forget what they did here. It is for us, the living, rather to be dedicated here to the unfinished work which they who fought here have thus far so nobly advanced. It is rather for us to be here dedicated to the great task remaining before us—that from these honored dead we take increased devotion to that cause for which they gave the last full measure of devotion; that we here highly resolve that these dead shall not have died in vain; that this nation, under God, shall have a new birth of freedom; and that government of the people, by the people, for the people, shall not perish from the earth.¹

Address at Gettysburg [November 19, 1863]

¹See Wycliffe, 143:12; Webster, 450:14; Disraeli, 501:6; Garrison, 505:19; and Parker, 537:15.

5 The President last night had a dream. He was in a party of plain people and as it became known who he was they began to comment on his appearance. One of them said, "He is a common-looking man." The President replied, "Common-looking people are the best in the world: that is the reason the Lord makes so many of them."

From Letters of John Hay and Extracts from His Diary, edited by C. L. HAY [December 23, 1863]

6 I claim not to have controlled events, but confess plainly that events have controlled me.

Letter to A. G. Hodges [April 4, 1864]

7 The world has never had a good definition of the word liberty. And the American people just now are much in want of one. We all declare for liberty; but in using the same word we do not mean the same thing. With some, the word liberty may mean for each man to do as he pleases with himself and the product of his labor; while with others the same word may mean for some men to do as they please with other men and the product of other men's labor. Here are two, not only different, but incompatible things, called by the same name, liberty. And it follows that each of the things is by the respective parties called by two different and incompatible names, liberty and tyranny.

The shepherd drives the wolf from the sheep's throat, for which the sheep thanks the shepherd as his liberator, while the wolf denounces him for the same act. . . . Plainly the sheep and the wolf are not agreed upon a definition of liberty.

Address at the Sanitary Fair, Baltimore [April 18, 1864]

8 I do not allow myself to suppose that either the convention or the League have concluded to decide that I am either the greatest or best man in America, but rather they have concluded that it is not best to swap horses while crossing the river, and have further concluded that I am not so poor a horse that they might not make a botch of it in trying to swap.

Reply to the National Union League [June 9, 1864]

9 Truth is generally the best vindication against slander.

Letter to Secretary Stanton, refusing to dismiss Postmaster-General Montgomery Blair [July 18, 1864]