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(Dolan)
October 13, 1986
1:00 p.m.

PRESIDENTIAL ADDRESS TO THE NATION
ICELAND MEETING
MONDAY, OCTOBER 13, 1986

Good evening. As most of you know, I have just returned from meetings in Iceland with the leader of the Soviet Union, General Secretary Gorbachev. As I did last year when I returned from the summit conference in Geneva, I want to take a few moments tonight to share with you what took place in these discussions.

But first, let me tell you that from the start of my meetings with Mr. Gorbachev I have always regarded you, the American people, as full participants. Believe me, without your support, none of these talks could have been held, nor could the ultimate aims of American foreign policy -- world peace and freedom -- be pursued. And it is for these aims I went the extra mile to Iceland.

 So, let me report to you, the talks with General Secretary Gorbachev -- lasting more than ~~10~~¹¹ hours -- were hard and tough but extremely useful. During long discussions on both Saturday and Sunday, he and I made considerable headway.

We moved toward agreement on drastically reduced numbers of intermediate range nuclear missiles in both Europe and Asia. We approached agreement on sharply reduced strategic arsenals for both our countries. We made progress in the area of nuclear testing.

Late Sunday, the American delegation recessed and caucused, and returned to the table with the most sweeping and generous arms control proposal in American history. We offered the Soviets a 10-year delay in American deployment of S.D.I., a 10-year program for the complete elimination of all ballistic missiles -- Soviet and American -- from the face of the Earth, and a 10-year delay in the deployment of strategic defense against ballistic missiles. And we took that proposal downstairs to Mr. Gorbachev, and Mr. Gorbachev rejected it.

Instead, he made a non-negotiable demand that the United States end at once all development of a strategic defense for the free world -- that we confine our program strictly to laboratory research. Unless we signed such a commitment, he said, all the agreements of the previous 11-1/2 hours of negotiation were null and void.

That would have killed America's defensive program in its cradle. That would have forfeited our children's opportunity to live in a world free of the fear of nuclear attack. That would have sacrificed the future security interest of the American people, in exchange for a Soviet promise. And this we could not do.

My fellow Americans, my most solemn duty as President is the security of these United States and the safety of the American people. The only issue in my mind was my duty to my country and those I had sworn to protect.

So, again and again, we kept offering and the Soviets kept accepting. And, again and again, we hit the same obstacle. The

Soviets told us their proposals were a single package. They said there would be no deals on any aspect of arms reduction unless we also agreed to their unacceptable terms on the Strategic Defense Initiative. They held other issues hostage while trying to kill our strategic defense.

So we ask -- and the world must ask: Why did Mr. Gorbachev reject our offer?

Why are the Soviets afraid of S.D.I.? Not a single Soviet citizen has anything to fear from an American S.D.I. That defensive system -- even if developed and deployed -- would harm not people, but only ballistic missiles, after they had been fired. It threatens nothing and would harm no one.

In refusing our offer and making his non-negotiable demand on the United States, Mr. Gorbachev refused an historic opportunity to rid the world of the threat of nuclear war. Nevertheless, we have come too far to turn back now. So tonight I call on the Soviet Union to build on the agreements we reached and not to tear down the nearly-complete structure we erected in Iceland because of our differences over the single issue of S.D.I.

We made progress in Iceland. And we will continue to make progress if we pursue a prudent, deliberate, and, above all, realistic approach with the Soviets. Let me remind you that, from the earliest days of our Administration, this has been our policy. We made it clear we had no illusions about the Soviets or their ultimate intentions; we were publicly candid about the critical moral distinctions between totalitarianism and

democracy. We said that the principal objective of American foreign policy is not just the prevention of war but the extension of freedom. And, we stressed our commitment to the growth of democratic government and democratic institutions around the world; that is why we assisted freedom fighters who are resisting the imposition of totalitarian rule in Afghanistan, Nicaragua, Angola, Cambodia, and elsewhere. And, finally, we began work on what I believe most spurred the Soviets to negotiate seriously -- rebuilding our military strength, reconstructing our strategic deterrence, and, above all, beginning work on the strategic defense initiative.

And yet at the same time we set out these foreign policy goals and began working toward them, we pursued another of our major objectives: that of seeking means to lessen tensions with the Soviets, ways to prevent war and keep the peace.

This policy is now paying dividends -- one sign of this in Iceland was the progress on the issue of arms control. For the first time in a long while, Soviet-American negotiations in the area of arms reductions are moving, and moving in the right direction: not just toward arms control, but toward arms reduction.

But for all the progress we made on arms reductions, we must remember there were other issues on the table in Iceland, issues that are fundamental.

One such issue is human rights. As President Kennedy once said, "is not peace, in the ~~last~~ ^{last} analysis, ^{basically} a matter of human rights...?" Only last week, here in the Oval Office, a heroic

champion of human rights, Yuri Orlov, described to me the persecution he suffered for leading an effort simply to get the Soviet government to live up to the solemn commitment on human rights it had signed at Helsinki in 1975. Mr. Orlov's suffering is like that of far too many other individuals in all walks of life inside the Soviet Union -- including those who wish to emigrate.

In Iceland, human rights was a critical part of our agenda. I made it plain that the United States would not seek to exploit improvement in these matters for purposes of propaganda. But I also made it plain, once again, that an improvement of the human condition within the Soviet Union is indispensable for an improvement in bilateral relations with the United States. For a government that will break faith with its own people cannot be trusted to keep faith with foreign powers. If the best and brightest inside the Soviet Union -- like Mr. Orlov -- cannot trust the Soviet Government, how then can the rest of the world? So, I told Mr. Gorbachev -- again in Reykjavik as I had in Geneva -- we Americans place far less weight upon the words that are spoken at meetings such as these, than upon the deeds that follow. When it comes to human rights and judging Soviet intentions, we are all from Missouri: you have got to show us.

Another subject area we took up in Iceland also lies at the heart of the differences between the Soviet Union and America. This is the issue of regional conflicts. I told Mr. Gorbachev that the summit cannot make the American people forget what Soviet actions have meant for the peoples of Afghanistan, Central

America, Africa, and Southeast Asia. Until Soviet policies change, we will make sure that our friends in these areas -- those who fight for freedom and independence -- will have the support they need.

Finally, there was a fourth item. This area was that of bilateral relations, people-to-people contacts. In Geneva last year, we welcomed the signing of several cultural exchange accords; in Iceland, we saw indications of more movement in these areas. But let me say now the United States remains committed to people-to-people programs that could lead to exchanges between not just a few elite but thousands of everyday citizens from both our countries.

So I think then you can see that we did make progress in Iceland on a broad range of topics. We reaffirmed our 4-point agenda; we discovered major new grounds of agreement; we probed again some old areas of disagreement.

And I realize some Americans may be asking tonight: Why not accept Mr. Gorbachev's demand? Why not give up S.D.I. for this agreement?

The answer, my friends, is simple. S.D.I. is America's insurance policy that the Soviet Union would keep the commitments made at Reykjavik. S.D.I. is America's security guarantee -- if the Soviets should -- as they have done too often in the past -- fail to comply with their solemn commitments. S.D.I. is a key to a world without nuclear weapons.

And the American people should reflect themselves on these critical questions.

X How does a defense of the United States threaten the Soviet Union or anyone else? Why are the Soviets so adamant that America remain forever vulnerable to Soviet rocket attack? As of today, we as a free Nation are utterly defenseless against Soviet nuclear missiles -- fired either by accident or by design. Why does the Soviet Union insist that we remain so -- forever?

Now, my fellow Americans, I cannot promise, nor can any President promise, that the talks in Iceland or our future discussions with Mr. Gorbachev will lead inevitably to great breakthroughs or momentous treaty signings.

We will not abandon the guiding principle we took to Reykjavik. We would prefer to have no agreement rather than bring a bad agreement home to the United States.

And on this point, I know you are also interested in the question of whether there will be another summit. There was no indication by Mr. Gorbachev as to when or whether he plans to travel to the United States, as we agreed he would last year in Geneva. I repeat tonight that our invitation stands and that we continue to believe additional meetings would be useful. But that's a decision the Soviets must make.

But whatever the immediate prospects, I can tell you that I am ultimately hopeful about the prospects for progress at the summit and for world peace and freedom. You see, the current summit process is very different from that of previous decades; it is different because the world is different; and the world is different because of the hard work and sacrifice of the American people during the past 5-1/2 years. Your energy has restored and

expanded our economic might, your support has restored our military strength. Your courage and sense of national unity in times of crisis have given pause to our adversaries, heartened our friends, and inspired the world. The Western democracies and the NATO alliance are revitalized and all across the world nations are turning to democratic ideas and the principles of the free market. So because the American people stood guard at the critical hour, freedom has gathered its forces, regained its strength, and is on the march.

So, if there is one impression I carry away with me from these October talks, it is that, unlike the past, we are dealing now from a position of strength, and for that reason we have it within our grasp to move speedily with the Soviets toward even more breakthroughs.

I saw evidence of this in the progress we made in the talks with Mr. Gorbachev. And I saw evidence of it when we left Iceland yesterday, and I spoke to our young men and women at our Naval installation at Keflavik [KEF-la-VICK] -- a critically important base far closer to Soviet naval bases than to our own coastline. As always, I was proud to spend a few moments with them and thank them for their sacrifices and devotion to country. They represent America at her finest: committed to defend not only our own freedom but the freedom of others who would be living in a far more frightening world -- were it not for the strength and resolve of the United States.

See revised
"Wherever the banner of liberty is unfurled, there shall be America's heart, her prayers and her benedictions," John Adams

(4)

once said. He spoke well of our destiny as a Nation. My fellow Americans, we are honored by history, entrusted by destiny with the oldest dream of humanity -- the dream of lasting peace and human freedom.

Another President, Harry Truman, noted that our century had seen two of the most frightful wars in history. He said, "The supreme need of our time is for man to learn to live together in peace and harmony."

It is in pursuit of that dream I went to Geneva a year ago and to Iceland last week; it is in pursuit of that dream I have invited Mr. Gorbachev to visit us here for further discussions. And it is in pursuit of that dream that I thank you now for all the support you have given me, and I again ask for your help and your prayers as we continue our journey toward a world where peace reigns and freedom is enshrined.

Thank you and God bless you.

AMERICA THE QUOTABLE

*Mike Edelhart and
James Tinen*



Facts On File Publications
460 Park Avenue South
New York, N.Y. 10016

"America lives in the heart of every man everywhere who wishes to find a region where he will be free to work out his destiny as he chooses."

President Woodrow Wilson
Speech in New York
May 17, 1915

* * *

"One comes to the United States—always, no matter how often—to see the future. It's what life in one's own country will be like five, ten, twenty years from now."

Ehud Yonay, Israeli
New York Times
Nov. 26, 1972

America and the World

"Whenever the standard of freedom and independence has been or shall be unfurled, there will be America's heart, her benedictions, and her prayers. But she goes not abroad in search of monsters to destroy."

John Quincy Adams
Fourth of July Speech
1821

* * *

"Europeans are... forced to observe the labor of American statesmen somewhat in the way that decrepit Alpine guides, in the village square, might follow through a telescope the progress of a group of young, willing, bold and inexperienced climbers on the smooth face of a mountain."

Luigi Barzini
Americans Are Alone in the World
1953

* * *

"It is ours to set the world its example of right and honor. We cannot fly from our world duties; it is ours to execute the purpose of a fate that has driven us to be greater than our small intentions. We cannot retreat from any soil where Providence has unfurled our banner..."

Albert Beveridge, U.S. senator
Speech in the Senate
1900

* * *

"What makes America unique in our time is that confrontation with the new is part of the daily American experience. For better or worse, the rest of the world learns what is in store for it by observing what happens in the United States."

Zbigniew Brzezinski
Between Two Ages
1970

* * *

"... as Europe comes to admit, which it will soon have to, that the United States is now the ranking world power, its customs and gadgets and manners and literature and ways of doing business will powerfully influence the young."

Alistair Cooke
Talk About America
1968

* * *

"Is the U.S. a great power—or merely a large country?"

Editorial
Dong-A Ilbo (South Korean newspaper)
February, 1968

* * *

"What we call foreign affairs is no longer foreign affairs. It's a local affair. Whatever happens in Indonesia is important to Indiana."

President Dwight D. Eisenhower
Speech to graduating class of Foreign Service
Institute
1959

* * *

"There can be no such thing as Fortress America. If ever we were reduced to the isolation implied by that term we would occupy a prison, not a fortress."

President Dwight D. Eisenhower
State of the Union address
Jan. 9, 1959

* * *

"From the moment of its discovery... America has been, sometimes quite literally, the creation of European wishful thinking."

J. Martin Evans
America: The View From Europe
1976

* * *

"Instead of the ugly Americans we should be labeled the childish Americans, who think that by sharing a half-licked lollypop in our favorite democratic flavor we can make people love us."

Grace Nies Fletcher
In Quest of the Least Coin
1969

* * *

"We are well on our way to becoming a traditional great power—an imperial nation if you will—engaged in the exercise of power for its own sake, exercising it to the limit of our capacity and beyond, filling every vacuum and extending the American 'presence' to the farthest reaches of the earth. And, as with the great empires of the past, as the power grows, it is becoming an end in itself, separated

11-1/2 hours of negotiation - PJB

(Dolan)

October 13, 1986

11:30 a.m.

PRESIDENTIAL ADDRESS TO THE NATION
ICELAND MEETING
MONDAY, OCTOBER 13, 1986

Good evening. As most of you know, I have just returned from meetings in Iceland with the leader of the Soviet Union, General Secretary Gorbachev. As I did last year when I returned from the summit conference in Geneva, I want to take a few moments tonight to share with you what took place in these discussions.

But first, let me tell you that from the start of my meetings with Mr. Gorbachev I have always regarded you, the American people, as full participants. Believe me, without your support, none of these talks could have been held, nor could the ultimate aims of American foreign policy -- world peace and freedom -- be pursued. This faith in the intuitive wisdom of the people and the consent of the governed are the founding principles of our Republic. And it is for these principles, I went the extra mile to Iceland.

So, let me assure you, the talks with General Secretary Gorbachev -- ~~lasting more than 10 hours~~ -- were hard and tough but extremely useful. During long discussions on both Saturday and Sunday, Mr. Gorbachev and I made considerable headway on a number of arms reduction issues.

We moved toward agreement on drastically reduced numbers of intermediate range nuclear missiles in both Europe and Asia. We approached agreement on sharply reduced strategic arsenals for

both our countries. We made progress in the area of nuclear testing.

But there remained toward the end of our talks one area of disagreement. While both sides seek reduction in the number of nuclear missiles and warheads threatening the world, the Soviets insisted that we sign an agreement that would deny to me -- and to future Presidents for 10 years -- the right to develop, test, and deploy a defense against nuclear missiles for the people of the United States. *and our allies* This we would not and could not do.

That was the deadlock at Hofdi House late Sunday afternoon. Then, the American delegation recessed and caucused, and returned to the table with the most sweeping and generous arms control proposal in American history.

We offered the Soviets a 10-year delay in American deployment of S.D.I., and a 10-year program for the complete elimination of all ballistic missiles -- Soviet and American -- from the face of the Earth. We took that proposal downstairs to Mr. Gorbachev, and Mr. Gorbachev rejected it.

Instead, he made a non-negotiable demand that the United States end at once all development of a strategic defense for the free world -- that we confine our program strictly to laboratory research. Unless we signed such a commitment, he said, all the agreements of the previous 12 hours of negotiation were null and void.

That would have killed America's defensive program in its cradle. That would have forfeited our children's opportunity to live in a world free of the fear of nuclear attack. That would

have sacrificed the future security interest of the American people, in exchange for a Soviet promise. And this we could not do.

My fellow Americans, my most solemn duty as President is the security of these United States and the safety of the American people. So, a one-day headline or a glowing cover story was never an issue. The only issue in my mind was my duty to my country and those I had sworn to protect. So again and again we kept offering and the Soviets kept accepting.

And again and again, we hit the same obstacle. The Soviets told us their proposals were a single package. They said there would be no deals unless we also agreed to their terms on the Strategic Defense Initiative. They held other issues hostage while trying to kill the possibility of research progress on strategic defense.

Why did Mr. Gorbachev reject our offer?

Why are the Soviets afraid of S.D.I.? Not a single Soviet citizen has anything to fear from an American S.D.I. That defensive system -- even if developed and deployed -- would harm not people, but only ballistic missiles, after they had been fired. It threatens nothing and would harm no one.

In refusing our offer and making his non-negotiable demand on the United States, Mr. Gorbachev refused an historic opportunity to rid the world of the threat of nuclear war. Nevertheless, we remain dedicated to continuing the peace process. We have come too far to turn back now. So tonight I call on the Soviet Union to build on the agreements we reached

and not to tear down the nearly-complete structure we erected in Iceland because of our differences over the single issue of S.D.I.

We made progress in Iceland. And we will continue to make progress if we pursue a prudent, deliberate, and, above all, realistic approach with the Soviets. Let me remind you that, from the earliest days of our Administration, this has been our policy. We made it clear we had no illusions about the Soviets or their ultimate intentions; we were publicly candid about the critical moral distinctions between totalitarianism and democracy. We said that the principal objective of American foreign policy is not just the prevention of war but the extension of freedom. And, we stressed our commitment to the growth of democratic government and democratic institutions around the world; that is why we assisted freedom fighters who are resisting the imposition of totalitarian rule in Afghanistan, Nicaragua, Angola, Cambodia, and elsewhere. And, finally, we began work on what I believe most spurred the Soviets to negotiate seriously -- rebuilding our military strength, reconstructing our strategic deterrence, and, above all, beginning work on the strategic defense initiative.

And yet at the same time we set out these foreign policy goals and began working toward them, we pursued another of our major objectives: that of seeking means to lessen tensions with the Soviets, ways to prevent war and keep the peace.

This policy is now paying dividends -- one sign of this in Iceland was the progress on the issue of arms control. I cannot

predict the nature or dates of future agreements. I can only repeat that, for the first time in a long while, Soviet-American negotiations in the area of arms reductions are moving, and moving in the right direction: not just toward arms control, but toward arms reduction.

But for all the progress we made on arms reductions, we must remember there were other issues under discussion on the table in Iceland, issues that are even more fundamental. For some time before our talks began, I had been saying that arms control negotiations alone could not bear the full weight of Soviet-American relations; that, as I said, the real cause of the arms competition was political tensions growing out of our deeper differences. In short, doing more about arms control meant talking about more than arms control. So I proposed "umbrella talks" with the Soviets -- to expand the agenda, to go to the real source of the conflict and competition between the Soviets and the West.

(X) One such issue is human rights. As President Kennedy once said, "is not peace, in the ^{last} ~~final~~ analysis, ^{basically} a matter of human rights...?" Only last week, here in the Oval Office, a heroic ok champion of human rights, Yuri Orlov, described to me the persecution he suffered for leading an effort simply to get the Soviet government to live up to the solemn commitment on human rights it had signed at Helsinki in 1975. Mr. Orlov's suffering is like that of far too many other individuals in all walks of life inside the Soviet Union -- including those who wish to emigrate.

In Iceland, human rights was a critical part of our agenda. I can report to you that I made it plain to Mr. Gorbachev that the United States would not seek to exploit improvement in these matters for purposes of propoganda. But I also made it plain, once again, that an improvement of the human condition within the Soviet Union is indispensable for an improvement in bilateral relations with the United States. For a government that will break faith with its own people cannot be trusted to keep faith with foreign powers. If the best and brightest inside the Soviet Union -- like Mr. Orlov -- cannot trust the Soviet Government, how then can the rest of the world? So, I told Mr. Gorbachev -- again in Reykjavik as I had in Geneva -- we Americans place far less weight upon the words that are spoken at meetings such as these, than upon the deeds that follow. When it comes to human rights and judging Soviet intentions, we are all from Missouri: you have got to show us.

Another subject area we took up in Iceland also lies at the heart of the differences between the Soviet Union and America. This is the issue of regional conflicts. I told Mr. Gorbachev that the summit cannot make the American people forget what Soviet actions have meant for the peoples of Afghanistan, Central America, Africa, and Southeast Asia. Until Soviet policies change, we will make sure that our friends in these areas -- those who fight for freedom and independence -- will have the support they need.

Finally, there was a fourth item besides arms reduction, human rights, and the resolution of regional conflicts. This

area was that of bilateral relations, people-to-people contacts. In Geneva last year, we welcomed the signing of several cultural exchange accords; in Iceland, we saw indications of more movement in these areas. But let me say now the United States remains committed to people-to-people programs that could lead to exchanges between not just a few elite but thousands of everyday citizens from both our countries.

So I think then you can see that we did make progress in Iceland on a broad range of topics. We reaffirmed our 4-point agenda; we discovered major new grounds of agreement; we probed again some old areas of disagreement.

Now, my fellow Americans, I cannot promise, nor can any President promise, that the talks in Iceland or our future discussions with Mr. Gorbachev will lead inevitably to great breakthroughs or momentous treaty signings.

We still believe that no agreement is better than a bad agreement. And we must bear in mind the nature of the Soviet regime itself will put many obstacles in our path as we go along. When that happens, we must be prepared, not surprised. We must not permit such developments to disorient our policy or derail our initiatives. We must be deliberate and candid and make it clear that the Soviet Union will be held responsible for its actions. And we must persevere.

And on this point, I know you are also interested in the question of whether there will be another summit. There was no indication by Mr. Gorbachev as to when or whether he plans to travel to the United States, as we agreed he would last year in

Geneva. I repeat tonight that our invitation stands and that we continue to believe additional meetings would be useful. But that's a decision the Soviets must make.

But whatever the immediate prospects, I can tell you that I am ultimately hopeful about the prospects for progress at the summit and for world peace and freedom. You see, the current summit process is very different from that of previous decades; it is different because the world is different; and the world is different because of the hard work and sacrifice of the American people during the past 5-1/2 years. Your energy has restored and expanded our economic might, your support has restored our military strength, and your courage and sense of national unity in times of crisis have given pause to our adversaries, heartened our friends, and inspired the world. The Western democracies and the NATO alliance are revitalized and all across the world nations are turning to democratic ideas and the principles of the free market. So because the American people stood guard at the critical hour, freedom has gathered its forces, regained its strength, and is on the march.

So, if there is one impression I carry away with me from these October talks, it is that, unlike the past, we are dealing now from a position of strength, and for that reason we have it within our grasp to move speedily with the Soviets toward even more breakthroughs.

I know such optimism in a century that has seen so much war and suffering seems unwarranted to some. Yet this confidence is based on more than an easy optimism; it springs from a quiet

appreciation for what British author Paul Johnson calls the "enormous reserves" of democratic societies, societies where national unity springs from popular consent.

The resiliency of a free society is one of the comforting lessons of history. And because of you, the American people, those enormous reserves are now making their presence and power felt throughout the world.

I saw evidence of this in the progress we made in the talks with Mr. Gorbachev. And I saw evidence of it when we left Iceland yesterday, and I spoke to our young men and women at our Naval installation at Keflavik [KEF-la-VICK] -- a critically important base far closer to Soviet naval bases than to our own coastline. As always, I was proud to spend a few moments with them and thank them for their sacrifices and devotion to country. They represent America at her finest: committed to defend not only our own freedom but the freedom of others who would be living in a far more frightening world -- were it not for the strength and resolve of the United States.

"Whenever the standard of freedom and independence has been..."

~~"Wherever the banner of liberty is unfurled, there shall be unfurled, there will be America's heart, her prayers and her benedictions,"~~ John Adams ^{Quincy}

once said. He spoke well of our destiny as a Nation. My fellow Americans, we are honored by history, entrusted by destiny with the oldest dream of humanity -- the dream of lasting peace and human freedom.

It is in pursuit of that dream I went to Geneva a year ago and to Iceland last week; it is in pursuit of that dream I have invited Mr. Gorbachev to visit us here for further discussions.



And it is in pursuit of that dream that I thank you now for all the support you have given me, and I again ask for your help and your prayers as we continue our journey toward a world where peace reigns and freedom is enshrined.

Thank you and God bless you.

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Public Papers of the Presidents

Soviet Union-United States Cultural and Educational
Exchanges

Statement by the Principal Deputy Press Secretary to the
President.

22 Weekly Comp. Pres. Doc. 1047

August 5, 1986

LENGTH: 205 words

United States and Soviet Union officials today concluded a week of discussions on expanding cultural, educational, and people-to-people exchanges between our two countries. These discussions were arranged to implement the agreement reached between the President and Soviet leader Gorbachev last year at the Geneva summit to increase cooperation and contacts and to expand opportunities for people in our respective countries to communicate directly with one another. Thirteen cooperative programs in the areas of education, higher education, health, sports, and culture were agreed upon and about 19 more are under active discussion.

A Soviet intergovernmental delegation composed of representatives of the U.S.S.R. Ministries of Foreign Affairs, Culture, Education, Higher Education, Health, and the U.S.S.R. Committee on Sports also met with representatives of 28 private organizations in the United States which will be participating in the exchanges initiative. This reflects the President's conviction that the participation of the American private sector is essential to the success of these programs.

~~The programs agreed upon today are an important step in fulfilling the commitments made by both leaders at Geneva.~~

x3595

**Historic Perspective
AMERICAN DOCTRINES**

In the field of world policy I would dedicate this nation to the policy of the good neighbor—the neighbor who resolutely respects himself and because he does so, respects the rights of others—the neighbor who respects his obligations and respects the sanctity of his agreements in and with a world of neighbors.

*Franklin D. Roosevelt
The Good Neighbor Policy
1933*

Totalitarian regimes imposed upon free peoples, by direct or indirect aggression, undermine the foundations of international peace and hence the security of the United States . . . It must be the policy of the United States to support free peoples who are resisting attempted subjugation by armed minorities or by outside pressures . . . I believe that our help should be primarily through economic and financial aid which is essential to economic stability and orderly political processes.

*[Redacted]
The Truman Doctrine
1947*

**Historic Perspective
AMERICAN DOCTRINES**

Our concern for building a healthy world economy, . . . and . . . for the maintenance of a civilization of free men and institutions, all combine to give us . . . great interest in European recovery . . . These considerations led to the suggestion by Secretary of State George Marshall on June 5, 1947 that further help be given only after the countries of Europe had agreed upon their basic requirements and the steps which they would take in order to give proper effect to additional aid from us.

*[Redacted]
The Marshall Plan
1947*

Let every nation know, whether it wishes us well or ill, that we shall pay any price, bear any burden, meet any hardship, support any friend, oppose any foe, in order to assure the survival and success of liberty.

*John F. Kennedy
1961*

Neither the defense nor the development of other nations can be exclusively or primarily an American undertaking. The nations of each part of the world should assume the primary responsibility for their own well being and they themselves should determine the terms of that well being.

*Richard M. Nixon
The Nixon Doctrine
1970*

DEMOCRACY

Democracy is the assertion of the right of the individual to live and to be treated justly as against any attempt on the part of any combination of individuals to make laws which will overburden him or which will destroy his equality among his fellows in the matter of right or privilege.

Woodrow Wilson
1920

Democracy is more than a form of political organization; it is a human faith.

Herbert Hoover
1928

The deeper purpose of democratic government is to assist . . . its citizens . . . to improve their conditions of life.

Franklin D. Roosevelt
1937

Democracy, the practice of self-government, is a covenant among free men to respect the rights and liberties of their fellows.

Franklin D. Roosevelt
1939

Democracy alone, of all forms of government, enlists the full force of men's enlightened will.

Franklin D. Roosevelt
1941

In a democratic world, as in a democratic nation, power must be linked to responsibility and be aligned to defend and justify itself within the framework of the general good.

Franklin D. Roosevelt
1945

Democracy is based on the conviction that man has moral and intellectual capacity, as well as the inalienable right, to govern himself with reason and justice.

Harry S. Truman
1949

Democracy has proved that social justice can be achieved through peaceful change.

[Redacted]
1949

Democracy, in one word . . . is . . . cooperation.

Dwight D. Eisenhower
1945

Historic Perspective
DEMOCRACY

The dynamic of democracy is the power and purpose of the individual.

John F. Kennedy
1962

"I believe in democracy," said Woodrow Wilson, "because it releases the energy of every human being."

John F. Kennedy
1962

Freedom has many difficulties and democracy is not perfect, but we have never had to put up a wall to keep our people in, to prevent them from leaving us.

John F. Kennedy
"Ich bin ein Berliner" speech
1963

These echoes of history remind us of our roots and our strengths. They also remind us of that special genius of American democracy which at one critical point after another has led us to spot the new road to the future and given us the wisdom and courage to take it.

Richard M. Nixon
1970

Historic Perspective

FREEDOM

Freedom of religion, freedom of the press, freedom of the person under the protection of the habeas corpus; and trial by juries impartially selected—these principles form the bright constellation which has . . . guided our steps through an age of revolution and transformation.

Thomas Jefferson
1801

Dissentions . . . [are] . . . perhaps inseparable from the enjoyment of freedom.

John Quincy Adams
1825

Our ideas of freedom came from many people. The greatest government of the world grew out of the inspiration, energy and ideas which were brought here by the English, the Scotch, the Irish, the Danes, the Swedes, the Germans, the Poles, the Jews, the Italians and others who came to these shores in search of freedom.

Harry S. Truman
1956

The most powerful single force in the world today is neither communism nor capitalism, neither the H-bomb nor the guided missile—it is man's eternal desire to be free and independent.

John F. Kennedy
1957

HUMAN RIGHTS

A bill of rights is what the people are entitled to against every government on earth.

Thomas Jefferson
1787

No man has a natural right to commit aggression on the equal rights of another.

Thomas Jefferson
1816

There are certain rights possessed by each individual American citizen . . . He claims them because he is himself a man, fashioned by the same Almighty hand as the rest of his species.

William Henry Harrison
1841

There are certain individual rights possessed by each individual American citizen which in his compact with the others he has never surrendered.

William Henry Harrison
1841

The man who holds that every human right is secondary to his profit must now give way to the advocate of human welfare.

Theodore Roosevelt
1910

901

What I am interested in is having the Government of the United States more concerned about human rights than property rights. Property is an instrument of humanity; humanity isn't an instrument of property.

Woodrow Wilson
1912

It is not property but the right to hold property, both great and small, which our Constitution guaranteed.

Calvin Coolidge
1925

At the heart of our American system is . . . the ideal that there shall be an opportunity in life, an equal opportunity . . . It holds that . . . [all] . . . have the chance to rise to any position which their character and ability may entitle them.

Herbert Hoover
1936

The first half of the century has been marked by unprecedented and brutal attacks on the rights of man, and by the two most frightful wars in history. The supreme need of our time is for man to learn to live together in peace and harmony.

1949

**The People
HUMAN RIGHTS**

We believe that all men are created equal because they are created in the image of God.

████████████████████
1949

I emphasize the . . . importance . . . of the point dealing with the declaration on human rights. I felt very strongly about the need for a world "bill of rights" something on the order of our own.

████████████████████
1955

Our civil and social rights form a central part of the heritage we are striving to defend on all fronts and with all our strength.

Dwight D. Eisenhower
1953

Although our civil liberties also serve important private purposes—above all they were considered essential to the republican form of government. Such a government required that the consent of the governed be given freely, thoughtfully and intelligently. Without freedom of speech, freedom of assembly, freedom of religion, freedom of the press, equal protection of the laws, and other unalienable rights, men could not govern themselves intelligently.

John F. Kennedy
1959

**The People
HUMAN RIGHTS**

The Universal Declaration of Human Rights guides our actions . . . to ease the plight of those whose basic rights have been denied.

Richard Nixon
1973

We became an independent nation in a struggle for human rights, and there have been many such struggles since then—for the abolition of slavery, for universal suffrage, for racial equality, for the rights of workers, for women's rights. Not all of these struggles have yet been won, but the freedom and vigor of our national public life is evidence of the rights and the liberties we have achieved.

Jimmy Carter
1977

Strengthened international machinery will help us to close the gap between promise and performance in protecting human rights . . . The solemn commitment of the United Nations Charter, of the United Nations Universal Declaration for Human Rights, of the Helsinki Accords . . . must be taken just as seriously as commercial or security commitments.

Jimmy Carter
1977

Areas of Trial
PEACE/NATIONAL DEFENSE

Our objective is to have a well-equipped, active defense force large enough—in concert with the forces of our allies—to deter aggression and to inflict punishing losses on the enemy immediately if we should be attacked.

[REDACTED]
1952

Warfare, no matter what weapons it employs, is a means to an end, and if that end can be achieved by negotiated settlements, . . . there is no need for war.

Harry S. Truman
1955

This . . . [the Marshall Plan] . . . was something new in the history of nations. The traditional practice had always been for the conqueror to strip the defeated countries to make off with whatever spoils were available. Our idea has been to restore the conquered nations . . . to prosperity in the hope that they would understand the futility of aggression as a means of expansion and progress.

Harry S. Truman
1955

The prudent man will not delude himself that his hope for peace guarantees the realization of peace. Even with genuine goodwill, time and effort will be needed to correct the injustices that plague the earth today.

Dwight D. Eisenhower
1956

Areas of Trial
PEACE/NATIONAL DEFENSE

We must never become so preoccupied with our desire for military strength that we neglect those areas of economic development, trade, diplomacy, education, ideas and principles where the foundation of real peace must be laid.

Dwight D. Eisenhower
1958

To achieve this peace we seek to prevent war at any place and in any dimension. If, despite our best efforts, a local dispute should flare into armed hostilities, the next problem would be to keep the conflict from spreading, and to compromising freedom. In support of these objectives, we maintain forces of great power and flexibility.

Dwight D. Eisenhower
1959

We look upon this shaken earth, and we declare our firm and fixed purpose—the building of a peace with justice in a world where moral law prevails.

John F. Kennedy
1961

Making peace is a tough, difficult, slow business—often much tougher and much slower than making war.

Lyndon B. Johnson
1968

The World
WORLD PERSPECTIVE

In his last message on the State of the Union . . . President Roosevelt said: "This new year of 1945 can be the greatest year of human achievement in human history" . . . All these hopes and more were fulfilled in 1945 . . . The plain fact is that civilization was saved in 1945 by the United Nations.


1946

We are convinced that the preservation of peace between nations requires a United Nations Organization composed of all the peace-loving nations of the world who are willing jointly to use force, if necessary, to insure peace.


1946

We are persuaded by necessity and by belief that the strength of all free peoples lies in unity; their danger in discord.

Dwight D. Eisenhower
1953

We must use our skills and knowledge and, at times, our substance, to help others rise from misery, however far the scene of suffering may be from our shores.

Dwight D. Eisenhower
1957

The World
WORLD PERSPECTIVE

With both sections of this divided world in possession of unbelievably destructive weapons, mankind approaches a state where mutual annihilation becomes a possibility. No other fact of today's world equals this in importance—it colors everything we say, plan and do.

Dwight D. Eisenhower
1960

As a nation, we think not of war but of peace; not of crusades but of covenants of cooperation; not of pageantry of imperialism but of pride of new states freshly risen to independence.

John F. Kennedy
1959

Already the United Nations has become both the measure and the vehicle of man's most generous impulses.

John F. Kennedy
1961

Our basic goal remains the same: A peaceful world community of free and independent states—free to choose their own system, so long as it does not threaten the freedom of others.

John F. Kennedy
1962

**The Future
CHANGE**

Social justice . . . has become a definite goal and ancient governments are beginning to heed the call. Thus, the American people do not stand alone in the world in their desire for change.

Franklin D. Roosevelt
1935

Throughout the world new ideas are challenging the old.


1948

The Second World War radically changed the power relationships of the world. Nations once great were left shattered and weak; channels of communication, routes of trade, political and economic ties of many kinds were ripped apart.


1953

There was another question posed for us at the war's end, which . . . concerned the future course of democracy: Could the machinery of government and politics in this Republic be changed, improved, adapted rapidly enough . . . to carry . . . through . . . the vast new complicated undertakings called for in our time?

(Continued on page 147)

**The Future
CHANGE**

(Continued from page 146)

We have answered this question . . . with . . . The reorganization of Congress in 1946; the unification of our armed services, beginning in 1947; the closer integration of foreign and military policy through the National Security Council created that same year; and the Executive reorganizations, before and after the Hoover-Acheson Commission report in 1949.

Harry S. Truman
1953

Change is the inexorable law of life.

Dwight D. Eisenhower
1953

We now stand in the vestibule of a vast new technological age.

Dwight D. Eisenhower
1959

Even now a rocket moves toward Mars. It reminds us the world will not be the same for our children, or even for ourselves in a short span of years.

Lyndon B. Johnson
1965

*Conrad's
Changes*

10/4/86
(Dolan)
October 13, 1986
1:30 p.m.

PRESIDENTIAL ADDRESS TO THE NATION
ICELAND MEETING
MONDAY, OCTOBER 13, 1986

Good evening. As most of you know, I have just returned from meetings in Iceland with the leader of the Soviet Union, General Secretary Gorbachev. As I did last year when I returned from the summit conference in Geneva, I want to take a few moments tonight to share with you what took place in these discussions.

But first, let me tell you that from the start of my meetings with Mr. Gorbachev I have always regarded you, the American people, as full participants. Believe me, without your support, none of these talks could have been held, nor could the ultimate aims of American foreign policy -- world peace and freedom -- be pursued. And it is for these aims I went the extra mile to Iceland.

(X) So, let me report to you, the talks with General Secretary Gorbachev -- lasting more than ¹¹10 hours -- were hard and tough but extremely useful. During long discussions on both Saturday and Sunday, he and I made considerable headway. We moved toward agreement on drastically reduced numbers of intermediate range nuclear missiles in both Europe and Asia. We approached agreement on sharply reduced strategic arsenals for both our countries. We made progress in the area of nuclear testing.

But there remained toward the end of our talks one area of disagreement. While both sides sought reduction in the number of nuclear missiles and warheads threatening the world, the Soviets

insisted that we sign an agreement that would deny to me -- and to future Presidents for 10 years -- the right to develop, test, and deploy a defense against nuclear missiles for the people of the United States. ~~at once, all development of~~ This we would not and could not do.

That was the deadlock at Hofdi House late Sunday afternoon. Then, the American delegation recessed and caucused, and they returned to the table with the most sweeping and generous arms control proposal in American history.

We offered the Soviets a 10-year delay in American deployment of S.D.I. and a 10-year program for the complete elimination of all ballistic missiles -- Soviet and American -- from the face of the Earth. We took that proposal downstairs to Mr. Gorbachev, and Mr. Gorbachev rejected it.

Instead, he made a non-negotiable demand that the United States ~~end at once, all development of~~ a strategic defense for the free world -- that we confine our program strictly to laboratory research. Unless we signed such a commitment, he said, all the agreements of the previous ^{11-1/2} ~~12~~ hours of negotiation were null and void.

That would have killed America's defensive program in its cradle. That would have forfeited our children's opportunity to live in a world free ^{from} of the fear of nuclear attack. That would have sacrificed the future security interest^s of the American people, in exchange for a Soviet promise. And this we could not do.

My fellow Americans, my most solemn duty as President is the security of these United States and the safety of the American

135
Dud

and our Allies.
people. The only issue in my mind was my duty to my country and those I had sworn to protect.

So, again and again, we kept offering and the Soviets kept accepting. And, again and again, we hit the same obstacle. The Soviets told us their proposals were a single package. They said there would be no deals on any aspect of arms reduction unless we also agreed to their unacceptable terms on the Strategic Defense Initiative. They held other issues hostage while trying to kill our strategic defense.

So we ask -- and the world must ask: Why did Mr. Gorbachev reject our offer?

Why are the Soviets afraid of S.D.I.? Not a single Soviet citizen has anything to fear from an American S.D.I. That defensive system -- even if developed and deployed -- would harm not people, but only ballistic missiles, after they had been fired. It threatens nothing and would harm no one.

In refusing our offer and making his non-negotiable demand on the United States, Mr. Gorbachev refused an historic opportunity to *reduce radically* ~~aid the world of~~ the threat of nuclear war. Nevertheless, we have come too far to turn back now. So tonight I call on the Soviet Union to build on the agreements we reached and not to tear down the nearly-complete structure we *discussed* ~~erected~~ in Iceland because of our differences over the single issue of S.D.I.

We made progress in Iceland. And we will continue to make progress if we pursue a prudent, deliberate, and, above all, realistic approach with the Soviets. Let me remind you that,

from the earliest days of our Administration, this has been our policy. We made it clear we had no illusions about the Soviets or their ultimate intentions; we were publicly candid about the critical moral distinctions between totalitarianism and democracy. We said that the principal objective of American foreign policy is not just the prevention of war but the extension of freedom. And, we stressed our commitment to the growth of democratic government and democratic institutions around the world; that is why we assisted freedom fighters who are resisting the imposition of totalitarian rule in Afghanistan, Nicaragua, Angola, Cambodia, and elsewhere. And, finally, we began work on what I believe most spurred the Soviets to negotiate seriously -- rebuilding our military strength, reconstructing our strategic deterrence, and, above all, beginning work on the strategic defense initiative.

And yet at the same time we set out these foreign policy goals and began working toward them, we pursued another of our major objectives: that of seeking means to lessen tensions with the Soviets, ways to prevent war and ~~keep the~~ peace.

This policy is now paying dividends -- one sign of this in Iceland was the progress on the issue of arms control. For the first time in a long while, Soviet-American negotiations in the area of arms reductions are moving, and moving in the right direction: not just toward arms control, but toward arms reduction.

And SDI is ~~an~~ not an
→ obstacle, but an inducement
to finally getting the Soviets to reduce.

But for all the progress we made on arms reductions, we must remember there were other issues on the table in Iceland, issues that are fundamental.

One such issue is human rights. As President Kennedy once said, ^{arms} "Is not peace, in the ^{last} ~~final~~ ^{basic} analysis, a matter of human rights...?" Only last week, here in the Oval Office, a heroic champion of human rights, Yuri Orlov, described to me the persecution he suffered for leading an effort simply to get the Soviet government to live up to the solemn commitment on human rights it had signed at Helsinki in 1975. Mr. Orlov's suffering is like that of far too many other individuals in all walks of life inside the Soviet Union -- including those who wish to emigrate.

In Iceland, human rights was a critical part of our agenda. I made it plain that the United States would not seek to exploit improvement in these matters for purposes of propaganda. But I also made it plain, once again, that an improvement of the human condition within the Soviet Union is indispensable for an improvement in bilateral relations with the United States. For a government that will break faith with its own people cannot be trusted to keep faith with foreign powers. If the best and brightest inside the Soviet Union -- like Mr. Orlov -- cannot trust the Soviet Government, how then can the rest of the world? So, I told Mr. Gorbachev -- again in Reykjavik as I had in Geneva -- we Americans place far less weight upon the words that are spoken at meetings such as these, than upon the deeds that

follow. When it comes to human rights and judging Soviet intentions, we are all from Missouri: you have got to show us.

Another subject area we took up in Iceland also lies at the heart of the differences between the Soviet Union and America. This is the issue of regional conflicts. I told Mr. Gorbachev that the summit cannot make the American people forget what Soviet actions have meant for the peoples of Afghanistan, Central America, Africa, and Southeast Asia. Until Soviet policies change, we will make sure that our friends in these areas -- those who fight for freedom and independence -- will have the support they need.

Finally, there was a fourth item. This area was that of bilateral relations, people-to-people contacts. In Geneva last year, we welcomed ~~the signing of~~ several cultural exchange ~~agreements~~ accords; in Iceland, we saw indications of more movement in these areas. But let me say now the United States remains committed to people-to-people programs that could lead to exchanges between not just a few elite but thousands of everyday citizens from both our countries.

So I think then you can see that we did make progress in Iceland on a broad range of topics. We reaffirmed our 4-point agenda; we discovered major new grounds of agreement; we probed again some old areas of disagreement.

And I realize some Americans may be asking tonight: Why not accept Mr. Gorbachev's demand? Why not give up S.D.I. for this agreement?

The answer, my friends, is simple. S.D.I. is America's insurance policy that the Soviet Union would keep the commitments made at Reykjavik. S.D.I. is America's security guarantee -- if the Soviets should -- as they have done too often in the past -- fail to comply with their solemn commitments. S.D.I. is a key to a world without nuclear weapons.

And the American people should reflect themselves on these critical questions.

How does a defense of the United States threaten the Soviet Union or anyone else? Why are the Soviets so adamant that America remain forever vulnerable to Soviet rocket attack? As of today, we as a free Nation are utterly defenseless against Soviet nuclear missiles -- fired either by accident or by design. Why does the Soviet Union insist that we remain so -- forever?

Now, my fellow Americans, I cannot promise, nor can any President promise, that the talks in Iceland or our future discussions with Mr. Gorbachev will lead inevitably to great breakthroughs or momentous treaty signings.

→ We will not abandon the guiding principle we took to Reykjavik. We would prefer to have no agreement rather than bring a bad agreement home to the United States.

And on this point, I know you are also interested in the question of whether there will be another summit. There was no indication by Mr. Gorbachev as to when or whether he plans to travel to the United States, as we agreed he would last year in Geneva. I repeat tonight that our invitation stands and that we

continue to believe additional meetings would be useful. But that's a decision the Soviets must make.

But whatever the immediate prospects, I can tell you that I am ultimately hopeful about the prospects for progress at the summit and for world peace and freedom. You see, the current summit process is very different from that of previous decades; it is different because the world is different; and the world is different because of the hard work and sacrifice of the American people during the past 5-1/2 years. Your energy has restored and expanded our economic might, your support has restored our military strength. Your courage and sense of national unity in times of crisis have given pause to our adversaries, heartened our friends, and inspired the world. The Western democracies and the NATO alliance are revitalized and all across the world nations are turning to democratic ideas and the principles of the free market. So because the American people stood guard at the critical hour, freedom has gathered its forces, regained its strength, and is on the march.

So, if there is one impression I carry away with me from these October talks, it is that, unlike the past, we are dealing now from a position of strength, and for that reason we have it within our grasp to move speedily with the Soviets toward even more breakthroughs.

I saw evidence of this in the progress we made in the talks with Mr. Gorbachev. And I saw evidence of it when we left Iceland yesterday, and I spoke to our young men and women at our Naval installation at Keflavik [KEF-la-VICK] -- a critically

important base far closer to Soviet naval bases than to our own coastline. As always, I was proud to spend a few moments with them and thank them for their sacrifices and devotion to country. They represent America at her finest: committed to defend not only our own freedom but the freedom of others who would be living in a far more frightening world -- were it not for the strength and resolve of the United States.

"Wherever the banner of liberty is unfurled, there shall be America's heart, her prayers and her benedictions," John Adams once said. He spoke well of our destiny as a Nation. My fellow Americans, we are honored by history, entrusted by destiny with the oldest dream of humanity -- the dream of lasting peace and human freedom.

Another President, Harry Truman, noted that our century had seen two of the most frightful wars in history. He said, "The supreme need of our time is for man to learn to live together in peace and harmony."

It is in pursuit of that dream I went to Geneva a year ago and to Iceland last week; it is in pursuit of that dream I have invited Mr. Gorbachev to visit us here for further discussions. And it is in pursuit of that dream that I thank you now for all the support you have given me, and I again ask for your help and your prayers as we continue our journey toward a world where peace reigns and freedom is enshrined.

Thank you and God bless you.

(Reagan)

ADDRESS TO THE NATION ON ICELAND

Good evening. I'm sure most, if not all, of you know I'm just back from Iceland where at the invitation of General Secretary Gorbachev of the Soviet Union, I met with him to discuss the grave problems facing our two countries. I'm reporting to you on the outcome of those meetings because in a very real sense you are full participants in such meetings. They have to do with the kind of world we'll all live in, whether we'll continue to be free and at peace.

Before I report on our talks though, allow me to set the stage by explaining two things that were very much a part of our talks, one, a treaty, and the other a defense against nuclear missiles which we are trying to develop. You've heard their titles a thousand times -- the A.B.M. treaty and S.D.I. Those letters stand for anti-ballistic missile and strategic defense initiative.

Some years ago, the U.S. and the Soviet Union agreed to limit any defense against nuclear missile attacks to the emplacement in one location in each country of a small number of anti-aircraft type missiles capable of intercepting and shooting down incoming nuclear missiles, ^{a² 2/14} thus leaving our real defense a policy called Mutual Assured Destruction, meaning if one side launched a nuclear attack, the other side could retaliate. This mutual threat of destruction was believed to be a deterrent against either side striking first.

So here we sit with thousands of nuclear warheads targeted on each other and capable of wiping out both our countries. The Soviets deployed the few non-nuclear anti-ballistic missiles around Moscow as the treaty permitted. Our country didn't bother deploying because the threat of nationwide annihilation made such limited defense seem useless.

X For some years now, we have been aware that the Soviets have been ^{devaluing} researching a nationwide defense. They have installed a great radar system at Krasnoyarsk (?) which we believe is designed to provide radar guidance for ~~non-nuclear anti-ballistic~~ ^{detection & tracking} ~~systems~~ ^{systems} protecting the entire nation. This is a violation of the A.B.M. treaty.

Believing that a policy of mutual destruction and slaughter of their citizens and ours was uncivilized, I asked our military a few years ago to study and see if there was a practical way to destroy ^{ballistic} (nuclear) missiles as they left their silos rather than to just destroy people. This is what we call S.D.I. and our scientists researching such a system are convinced it is practical and that several years down the road we can have such a system ready to deploy. Incidentally, we are not violating the A.B.M. treaty which permits such research. If and when we deploy, the treaty also allows withdrawal from the treaty upon 6 months' notice. S.D.I., let me make it clear, is not a nuclear weapon.

So here we are at Iceland for our second such meeting. In the first and in the months in between, we have discussed ways to reduce and in fact eliminate nuclear weapons entirely. We and the Soviets have had teams of negotiators in Geneva trying to

work out a mutual agreement on how we could reduce or eliminate nuclear weapons. So far, no success.

On Saturday and Sunday, General Secretary Gorbachev and his foreign minister Shevernadze and Secretary of State George Shultz and I met for more than ¹¹10 hours. We didn't limit ourselves to just arms reductions. We discussed what we call violation of human rights on the part of the Soviets, refusal to let people emigrate from Russia so they can practice their religion without being persecuted, letting people go to rejoin their families, husbands and wives separated by national borders should be allowed to reunite. In much of this the Soviet Union is violating another treaty -- the Helsinki ~~pact~~^{accord} they had signed in 1975. Yuri Orlov whose freedom we just obtained was imprisoned for pointing out to his government its violations of the pact, its refusal to let citizens leave their country or return.

We also discussed regional matters such as Afghanistan, Angola, Nicaragua, and Cambodia.

But by their choice, the main subject was arms control. We discussed the emplacement of intermediate range missiles in Europe and Asia and seemed to be in agreement ^{that} they could be reduced and possibly eliminated. Both sides seemed willing to find a way to reduce even to zero the strategic missiles we have aimed at each other. This then brought up the subject of S.D.I. and whether deployment of such a system would violate A.B.M. I offered a proposal that we continue our present research and if and when we reached the stage of testing we would sign now a treaty that would permit Soviet observation of such tests. And

if the program was practical we would both eliminate our offensive missiles and then we would make available the S.D.I. system to the Soviets and others. I explained that even though we would have done away with our offensive weapons, having the defense would protect against cheating or the possibility of a madman sometime deciding to create nuclear missiles. After all, the world now knows how to make them. I likened it to our keeping our gas masks even though the nations of the world had outlawed poison gas after World War I.

We seemed to be making progress on reducing weaponry, although the General Secretary was registering opposition to S.D.I. and proposing a pledge to observe A.B.M. for a number of years as the day was ending.

Secretary Shultz suggested we turn over the notes our note-takers had been making of everything we'd said to our respective teams and let them work through the night to put them together and find just where we were in agreement and what differences separated us. With respect and gratitude I can inform you they worked until 2 a.m.

Yesterday (Sunday morning) ^{the} our four came together again and took up the report of our two teams. It was most promising. They proposed a 10-year period in which we began with the reduction of all nuclear explosive devices, bombs, cruise missiles, intermediate range, short range, and strategic missiles. They would be reduced 50 percent in the first 5 years and totally eliminated in the next 5. During that time we would proceed with research, development and testing of S.D.I. All

done in conformity with A.B.M. provisions. At the 10-year point we would invoke the clause permitting 6 months notice, at which time we would proceed to deploy, at the same time permitting the Soviets to do likewise.

Here the debate began. The General Secretary wanted wording that in effect would have kept us from developing the S.D.I. for the entire 10 years. In effect, he was killing S.D.I. and unless I agreed, all that work toward eliminating nuclear weapons went down the drain -- cancelled.

I told him I had pledged to the American people that I would not trade away S.D.I. -- there was no way I could tell our people their government would not protect them against nuclear destruction. I went to Reykjavik determined that everything was negotiable except two things, our freedom and our future.

I am still optimistic that a way will be found. The door is open and the opportunity to begin eliminating the nuclear threat is within reach.

Handwritten: *Carol American University Texas*
CAROL
(Dolan)
October 13, 1986
1:30 a.m.

PRESIDENTIAL REMARKS: ADDRESS TO THE NATION
ICELAND MEETING
MONDAY, OCTOBER 13, 1986

Pres. address
to the Nation
8:00 pm 10/13/86
W.H. Scheduling

Good evening. As most of you know, I have just returned from meetings with the leader of the Soviet Union, General Secretary Gorbachev, in Iceland. As I did last year when I returned from the summit conference in Geneva, I want to take a few moments tonight to share with you what took place in these discussions.

RR met in Reykjavik Iceland 10/11 - 10/12 w/ Gen. Sec. Gorbachev
Presidential documents 11/21/85
Address before joint session of Congress following Geneva Summit.

But first, let me tell you that from the start of my meetings with Mr. Gorbachev I have always regarded you, the American people, as full participants. Believe me, without your support and participation, none of these talks could have been held, nor could the ultimate aim of American foreign policy -- world peace and freedom -- be pursued. This faith in the intuitive wisdom of the people and the consent of the governed are the founding principles of our Republic. And it is for these principles, I went the extra mile to Iceland.

Declaration of Independ. "...deriving their just powers from the Consent of the governed"

[And that was easy to do, because I think you know I have a basic trust in the intelligence of the American people and I have always believed that if given the facts, (you) will always make the right decision. I mention this because I know there are some already demanding to know why I would not give up our Defense Initiative and charging the United States caused a breakdown in our talks in Iceland. I noticed the press, even before I left Iceland was reporting we were to blame for not reaching an agreement.]

Strategic

(X)

Let me assure you, the talks with General Secretary Gorbachev -- lasting more than 10 hours -- were hard and tough but extremely useful. In several critical areas, we made progress. We moved toward agreement on drastically reduced numbers of intermediate range nuclear missiles in both Europe and Asia. We approached agreement on sharply reduced strategic arsenals for both our countries. We made progress in the area of nuclear testing.

But there remained towards the end of our talks one area of disagreement. While both sides seek reduction in the number of nuclear missiles and warheads threatening the world, the Soviets insisted that we sign an agreement that would deny to me -- and to future Presidents for 10 years -- the right to develop, test, and deploy a defense against nuclear missiles, (for the people of the United States. - and our allies!)

This was a variation on an old Soviet position and it was unacceptable. So to break the deadlock Sunday afternoon, we made to General Secretary Gorbachev the most sweeping and generous arms control proposal in history -- complete elimination by both sides of all ballistic missiles over a period of 10 years. And if the General Secretary would agree with us to rid the world of these most destructive of weapons, I said we would offer a 10-year delay in any deployment of S.D.I. If the Soviet Union would agree with the United States, I said, to eliminate all offensive missiles, the United States would not deploy the defensive system Mr. Gorbachev says he fears.

Mr. Gorbachev said he could accept this offer only on one condition. That we halt all our work on strategic defense for the United States -- except laboratory research. That would have killed America's defensive program in its cradle. That would have forfeited our children's opportunity to live in a world free of the fear of nuclear attack. That would have sacrificed the future security interest of the American people, in exchange for a Soviet promise. And this we could not do.

Why did Mr. Gorbachev reject our offer?

Why are the Soviets afraid of S.D.I.? Not a single Soviet citizen has anything to fear from an American S.D.I. That defensive system -- once developed and deployed -- would harm not people, but only ballistic missiles, after they had been fired. It threatens nothing and would harm no one.

In refusing our offer, and making his non-negotiable demand on the United States, Mr. Gorbachev refused an historic opportunity to rid the world of the threat of nuclear war resulting from attack by ballistic nuclear missiles.

Nevertheless, we remain dedicated to continuing the peace process. We have come too far to turn back now. So tonight I call on the Soviet Union to build on the agreements we reached and not to tear down (throw away) that which we have built (accomplished in so many areas) because of our differences over the single issue of S.D.I.

Let me just briefly summarize now the progress that has been made. During long discussions on both Saturday and Sunday, Mr. Gorbachev and I made considerable headway on a number of arms

ballistic
nuclear

reduction issues, clearing away obstacles and going further than we ever have before. And, you know, as the hours went by we found ourselves agreeing on more and more elements -- and lower and lower levels of weapons.

(X) You may recall, for instance, that a year ago in Geneva we agreed on the goal of 50-percent cuts in our strategic nuclear arms forces. Well, this weekend in Reykjavik we went further -- agreeing at last on more precise numbers for these cuts and on the precise period -- 5 years -- in which they would be made. Some people had been suggesting that the road to agreement was to try for smaller cuts over a longer period. But we held to our proposal of deep cuts as soon as possible -- and we made it stick. Under our plan, heavy missiles, the most dangerous weapons in the Soviet arsenal, would be cut in half. I was especially glad to see that Mr. Gorbachev agreed with me on this.

Pres. docs.
Joint Statement
11/21/85

You may also recall that last year in Geneva he and I instructed our negotiators to seek an interim agreement on cutting intermediate nuclear missiles in both Europe and Asia. This has been one of the most controversial and divisive East-West issues in the life of my Administration; yet at Reykjavik we cut through the rhetoric of the past, and were able to agree on drastic cuts in these forces, outlawing them altogether in Europe and allowing only 100 warheads on such missiles worldwide. As a result, Soviet SS-20 missiles would be reduced from approximately 400 to only 33.

Finally, you probably know that Mr. Gorbachev has made nuclear testing one of his most frequent -- and I have sometimes

thought, propagandistic -- themes. Yet at Reykjavik we were on the verge of an agreement to begin a completely new set of negotiations on nuclear tests.

Message Post
We didn't have every detail settled, but all these were real achievements. Yet again and again we hit the same obstacle. The Soviets told us their proposals were a single package. They said there would be no deals unless we also agreed to their terms on the Strategic Defense Initiative. They held other issues hostage, while trying to kill the possibility of research progress on strategic defense.

So you can see that for all the progress we made, these talks brought home again the truth of the statement that nations do not mistrust each other because they are armed; they are armed because they mistrust each other. The differences between the United States and the Soviet Union are deep and abiding. Obviously, there are no diplomatic quick-fixes to such profound differences.

But I do believe we made as much progress as we did in Iceland because we continued our pursuit of a prudent, deliberate and above all, realistic approach with the Soviets. From the earliest days of our Administration, we made it clear we had no illusions about the Soviets or their ultimate intentions; we were publicly candid about the critical moral distinctions between totalitarianism and democracy. We said that the principal objective of American foreign policy is not just the prevention of war but the extension of freedom. And, we stressed our commitment to the growth of democratic government and democratic

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past tense
institutions around the world; that is why we assisted freedom fighters who were resisting the imposition of totalitarian rule in Afghanistan, Nicaragua, Angola, Cambodia and elsewhere.

(x) And yet at the same time ^{that} we set out these foreign policy goals and began working towards them, we pursued another of our major objectives: that of seeking means to lessen tensions with the Soviets, ways to prevent war and keep the peace.

And it is all of this that makes this current summit process so very different from that of previous decades and over the long run holds out the promise of dramatic results. And, believe me, my fellow Americans, the promise of such progress is due to the hard work and sacrifice of the American people during the past 5-1/2 years. Your energy has restored and expanded our economic might, your support has restored our military strength; and your courage and sense of national unity in times of crisis have given pause to our adversaries, heartened our friends, and inspired the world. The Western democracies and the NATO alliance are revitalized and all across the world nations are turning to democratic ideas and the principles of the free market. And today, freedom is on the march because at its critical hour the American people stood guard as it gathered its forces and regained its strength.

So, if there is one impression I carry away with me from these October talks, it is that, unlike the past, we are dealing now from a position of strength, and for that reason we have it within our grasp to move speedily with the Soviets towards even more breakthroughs.

As I mentioned, one sign of this in Iceland was the progress on the key issue of arms control. I cannot predict the nature or dates of future agreements. I can only repeat that for the first time in a long while, Soviet-American negotiations in the area of arms reductions are moving, and moving in the right direction: not just toward arms control but arms reduction.

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Now, I want to note here that for some time before our talks began, I had been saying that arms control negotiations alone could not bear the full weight of Soviet-American relations; that, as I said, the real cause of the arms competition was political tensions growing out of our deeper differences. In short, doing more about arms control meant talking about more than arms control. So I proposed "umbrella talks" with the Soviets -- to expand the agenda, to go to the real source of the conflict and competition between the Soviets and the West.

One such issue is human rights. As President Kennedy once said, "Is not peace, in the final analysis, a matter of human rights...?" Only last week, here in the Oval Office, a heroic champion of human rights, Yuri Orlov, described to me the persecutions he suffered for leading an effort simply to get the Soviet government to live up to the solemn commitment on human rights it had signed at Helsinki in 1975. Mr. Orlov's suffering is like that of far too many other individuals in all walks of life inside the Soviet Union -- including those who wish to emigrate.

Presidential Documents
10/7/86
Meeting with Human Rights Leaders

In Iceland, human rights was a critical part of our agenda. I can report to you that I made it plain to Mr. Gorbachev that

Post 10/13/86
transcript of interview w/Secretary Shultz

the United States would not seek to exploit improvement in these matters for purposes of propaganda. But I also make it plain, once again, that an improvement of the human condition within the Soviet Union is indispensable for an improvement in bilateral relations with the United States. For a government that will break faith with its own people cannot be trusted to keep faith with foreign powers. If the best and brightest inside the Soviet Union -- like Mr. Orlov -- cannot trust the Soviet Government, how then can the rest of the world? So, I told Mr. Gorbachev -- again in Reykjavik as I had in Geneva -- we Americans place far less weight upon the words that are spoken at meetings such as these, than upon the deeds that follow. When it comes to human rights and judging Soviet intentions, we are all from Missouri; you have got to show us.

Another subject area we took up in Iceland also lies at the heart of the differences between the Soviet Union and America. This is the issue of regional conflicts. I told Mr. Gorbachev that the good feeling at summits cannot make the American people forget what Soviet actions have meant for the peoples of Afghanistan, Central America, Africa and Southeast Asia. Until Soviet policies change, we will make sure that our friends in these areas -- those who fight for freedom and independence -- will have the support they need.

Finally, there was a fourth item besides arms reduction, human rights, and the resolution of regional conflicts. This area was that of bilateral relations, people-to-people contacts. In Geneva last year, we welcomed the signing of several cultural

exchange accords; in Iceland, we saw indications of more movement in these areas. But let me say now the United States remains committed to people-to-people programs that could lead to exchanges between not just a few elites but thousands of everyday citizens from both our countries.

So I think (then) you can see that we did make progress in Iceland on a broad range of topics. We reaffirmed our four-point agenda; we discovered major new grounds of agreement; we probed again some old areas of disagreement.

Now, my fellow Americans, I cannot promise, nor can any President promise, that the talks in Iceland or our future discussions with Mr. Gorbachev will lead inevitably to great breakthroughs or momentous treaty signings.

We still believe that no agreement is better than a bad agreement. And we must bear in mind the nature of the Soviet regime itself will put many obstacles in our path as we go along. When that happens, we must be prepared, not surprised. We must not permit such developments to disorient our policy or derail our initiatives. We must be deliberate and candid and make it clear that the Soviet Union will be held responsible for its actions. And we must persevere.

And on this point, I know you are also interested in the question of whether there will be another summit. There was no indication by Mr. Gorbachev as to when or whether he plans to travel to the United States, as we agreed he would last year in Geneva. I repeat tonight that our invitation stands and that we continue to believe additional meetings would be useful. But

that's a decision the Soviets must make.

But whatever the immediate prospects, I can tell you that I am ultimately hopeful about the prospects for world peace and freedom. I know such optimism in a century that has seen so much war and suffering seems unwarranted to some. Yet this confidence is based on more than an easy optimism; it springs from a quiet appreciation for what British author, Paul Johnson calls the "enormous reserves" of democratic societies, societies where national unity springs from popular consent.

A History of the English People; Paul Johnson; New York, Harper & Row, page 49

The resiliency of a free society is one of the comforting lessons of history. And because of you, the American people, those enormous reserves are now making their presence and power felt throughout the world.

I saw evidence of this in the progress we made in the talks with Mr. Gorbachev. And I saw evidence of it when we left Iceland yesterday, and I spoke to our young men and women at our Naval installation at Keflavik [KEF-la-VICK] -- a critically important base far closer to Soviet naval bases than to our own coastline. As always, I was proud to spend a few moments with them and thank them for their sacrifices and devotion to country. They represent America at her finest: committed to defend not only our own freedom but the freedom of others who would be living in a far more frightening world -- were it not for the strength and resolve of the United States.)

"Wherever the banner of liberty is unfurled, there shall be America's heart, her prayers and her benedictions," John Adams once said. He spoke well of our destiny as a Nation. My fellow

America the Quotable page

Quincy

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Americans, we are honored by history, entrusted by destiny with the oldest dream of humanity -- the dream of lasting peace and human freedom.

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K. It is in pursuit of that dream I went to Geneva a year ago and to Iceland last week; ^{end} it is in pursuit of that dream I have invited Mr. Gorbachev to visit us here for further discussions. And it is in pursuit of that dream that I thank you now for all the support you have given me, and I again ask for your help and your prayers as we continue our journey towards a world where peace reigns and freedom is enshrined.

Thank you and God bless you.

THE WHITE HOUSE

Office of the Press Secretary
(Fallston, Maryland)

For Immediate Release

December 4, 1985

REMARKS OF THE PRESIDENT
TO FALLSTON HIGH SCHOOL STUDENTS AND FACULTY

Fallston High School
Fallston, Maryland

10:17 A.M. EST

THE PRESIDENT: Thank you, Alyson, and thank you all very much. Governor Hughes, Senator Mathias, Representative Bentley, and the representatives of the Board of Education, the administration, the faculty, and you, the student body -- believe me, it is good to be here.

It's great to be here at Fallston High School, home of the Cougars -- (laughter) -- and the Cougar cheerleaders who I understand will be competing in a big contest this evening. I hope you can all get out to Sunrise for that event. I wish I could be there. (Laughter.)

You know, I've only been out of school a few years, but -- (laughter) -- they tell me that things have changed quite a bit in the meantime. There's one thing that I bet, though, hasn't changed. When you heard that you'd have to cancel your scheduled class for a special assembly, well, I hope you weren't too disappointed. (Laughter.)

I know I've been looking forward to this chance to speak to you because I've got a very important mission that I want young Americans to be a part of. Let me first just give a little background.

As you know, Nancy and I returned almost two weeks ago from Geneva where I had several lengthy meetings with General Secretary Gorbachev of the Soviet Union. I had more than fifteen hours of discussions with him, including five hours of private conversation just between the two of us. I found him to be a determined man, but one who is willing to listen. And I told him about America's deep desire for peace and that we do not threaten the Soviet Union and that I believe the people of both our countries want the same thing -- a safer and better future for themselves and their children. You know, people don't start wars, governments do.

Our meeting should be of special importance to all of you. I know you're concerned about the future, about the growth in nuclear arsenals, about injustice and persecution of fellow human beings, and about threats to peace around the world. Well, it is because I shared that concern that I went to Geneva to begin a dialogue for peace with Mr. Gorbachev.

We talked about many things -- the need to cut the number of offensive nuclear weapons on each side, the wars of independence being waged by freedom fighters against Soviet-backed regimes around the world, human rights, and how we could improve our overall relationship.

MORE

I also stressed to Mr. Gorbachev how our nation's commitment to the Strategic Defense Initiative -- our research and development of a non-nuclear, high-tech shield that would protect us against ballistic missiles, and how we were committed to that. I told him that SDI was a reason to hope, not to fear -- that the advance of technology, which originally gave us ballistic missiles may soon be able to make them obsolete. I told him that with SDI history had taken a positive turn, that men of good will should be rejoicing, that our deliverance from the awful threat of nuclear weapons may be on the horizon, and I suggested to him that I saw the hand of Providence in that. What could be more moral than a system based on protecting human life rather than destroying it? I could no more negotiate away SDI than I could barter with your future. As I told Mr. Gorbachev, as far as I'm concerned, a defense shield is an insurance policy for your future, and I think he understood our sincerity on this issue.

We were realistic going into these meetings with the Soviets. The United States and the Soviet Union are as different as any two nations can be. These differences are based on opposing philosophies and values, and no differences could be more profound or meaningful. It is virtually impossible for us to understand their system and how, over these more than 70 years it has imposed a way of thinking on their people.

So we didn't expect miracles. But we wanted these talks, if possible, to plant these seeds of hope in our relationship, a hope that some day, perhaps, might blossom into a real peace, a lasting peace, resting upon the only foundation on which a true peace can be built -- the indestructible foundation of human freedom. And I was determined to see if we could begin to narrow some of our differences and even come to some agreements where there was common ground. I believe we've made a good start.

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This is the mission I've come to speak to you about. One of the most exciting developments to come out of Geneva was Mr. Gorbachev's agreement to people-to-people exchanges. We're still negotiating the specifics, and it remains to be seen how much the Soviets will be willing to open up their closed society. But our objective is massive exchange programs between private citizens in both countries -- between people, not government bodies. Let's allow the people of the Soviet Union and the people of the United States to get to know each other, without governments getting in the way.

And that's one reason I am here today -- to encourage young people like you from across the country to take part in these people-to-people exchanges as never before in our history. I believe such contacts are an essential part of our building a lasting foundation for peace, because true peace must be based on openness and people talking to each other rather than about each other, and the peace must also be based on understanding. And that is why I proposed to Mr. Gorbachev that we let young people from each country spend time in the other's schools, universities, summer camps, and homes. Americans would be able to see for themselves what life is like in the Soviet Union. And their young people could see for themselves the freedom and openness of our society -- and that we do not bear the people of the Soviet Union any ill will.

So, we'll establish scholarship funds to make it possible for the best and the brightest of both countries to take part in these exchanges. We will also exchange teachers to impart a deeper understanding of our respective histories, cultures, and languages -- where we have much to learn from one another. We'll resume cooperation in cancer research to combat one of the century's most hated diseases. And we can jointly prepare for the demands of the 21st century with a cooperative program for the development of educational software.

It won't be all work and no play: we'll have regular meets in various sports and increased television coverage of these sports events. We can't eliminate competition from our relationship, but we can channel some of it to the playing fields and courts rather than the international arena. These programs and others that may be worked out will not solve all the problems that exist between us. But they can be a beginning to building communities of trust and understanding. If Soviet mistrust of our country is at the bottom of some of the tension between us, then I know that even a few hours spent with America's open and eager younger generation would dispel mistrust in even the most suspicious soul. So, those who participate in these programs will be our good will ambassadors to the Soviet Union.

I know that all of you have dreams and hopes for the future. For some, there are dreams of college and a challenging career. For others, a good job, a car, a house of your own. And most of you, I'm sure, plan to marry and raise a family. All these dreams can come true if we have peace.

Twice in my lifetime I have seen world wars that robbed our young people of their dreams. And the awesome power of nuclear weapons makes me even more determined to see that it doesn't happen again. As I've said many times before, a nuclear war cannot be won and must never be fought.

So, I went to Geneva to set a course for enduring peace. And while I can't say that the path is clear, we've made a start. Mr. Gorbachev and I agreed to press on in several arms control areas where there is common ground, especially to achieve deep reductions in nuclear arsenals. We will also continue talking about our differences on regional issues. And we had a heart-to-heart talk about human rights.

These are the cornerstones on which peace, and your future, rest. You and young people like you have a vital role in bringing about a better future by keeping America strong and by helping draw the people of the United States and the Soviet Union closer together. And we will continue the dialogue begun at Geneva to reach agreements for deep reductions in nuclear arsenals with strict compliance, to help support an end to the regional conflicts that carry the seeds of wider wars and to uphold the ideal of human rights and justice for all peoples.

Mr. Gorbachev, as the leader of the Soviet Union -- the new leader -- has held out the promise of change. He has said that he wants better relations between our two nations. Well, what better way than allowing people to travel freely back and forth? Let's begin, at the very least, to draw back the barriers that separate our peoples from one another.

We're asking for no more than what the Soviets have already agreed to in the Helsinki Accords. Freedom of movement and information, contact between peoples -- the Soviet Union has already signed its name to a commitment to these things.

We should have no illusions that people-to-people contact will solve all the problems, however, that exist between us. The Soviet Union is not a democracy. The hopes and aspirations of the Soviet people have little or no direct effect on government policy. But these changes are a beginning to building a better world, one based on better human understanding. You can have a vital role in bringing about this better future, in drawing the people of our two nations closer together. It's an exciting adventure, one that will not be completed this year or next. But we must begin somewhere. And with God's help, we may reach that free and peaceful world that we all desire.

I promise the young people of America that I will see to it that information on these people-to-people exchanges is widely disseminated. I want all of you, throughout America, to have a chance to meet and get to know your counterparts in the Soviet Union so that you can tell them all about this great country of ours.

And we'll continue our efforts to reach agreements for deep reductions in nuclear arsenals with strict compliance, to help support an end to regional conflicts, and to see to it that human rights are respected. Together, we can build a future that will be safer and more secure for you and your children.

I couldn't but -- one point in our discussions privately with General Secretary Gorbachev -- when you stop to think that we're all God's children, wherever we may live in the world, I couldn't help but say to him, just think how easy his task and mine might be in these meetings that we held if suddenly there was a threat to this world from some other species from another planet outside in the universe. We'd forget all the little local differences that we have between our countries and we would find out once and for all that we really are all human beings here on this earth together.

Well, I don't suppose we can wait for some alien race to come down and threaten us. But I think that between us we can bring about that realization. Thank you all. God bless you all.
(Applause.)

END

10:31 A.M. EST

(Reagan/Dolan)
October 13, 1986
5:30 p.m.

PRESIDENTIAL ADDRESS TO THE NATION
ICELAND MEETING
MONDAY, OCTOBER 13, 1986

Good evening. As most of you know, I have just returned from meetings in Iceland with the leader of the Soviet Union, General Secretary Gorbachev. As I did last year when I returned from the summit conference in Geneva, I want to take a few moments tonight to share with you what took place in these discussions.

The implications of these talks are enormous and only just beginning to be understood. We proposed the most sweeping and generous arms control proposal in history. We offered the complete elimination of all ballistic missiles -- Soviet and American -- from the face of the Earth by 1996. ^{Even though} ~~While~~ we parted company with this American offer still on the table, we are closer than ever before to agreements that could lead to a safer world without nuclear weapons.

But first, let me tell you that, from the start of my meetings with Mr. Gorbachev, I have always regarded you, the American people, as full participants. Believe me, without your support, none of these talks could have been held, nor could the ultimate aims of American foreign policy -- world peace and freedom -- be pursued. And it is for these aims I went the extra mile to Iceland.

Before I report on our talks though, allow me to set the stage by explaining two things that were very much a part of our talks; one, a treaty and the other, a defense against nuclear

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missiles which we are trying to develop. You've heard their titles a thousand times -- the A.B.M. treaty and S.D.I. Those letters stand for anti-ballistic missile and strategic defense initiative.

Some years ago, the U.S. and the Soviet Union agreed to limit any defense against nuclear missile attacks to the emplacement in one location in each country of a small number of missiles capable of intercepting and shooting down incoming nuclear missiles. Thus leaving our real defense a policy called Mutual Assured Destruction, meaning if one side launched a nuclear attack, the other side could retaliate. This mutual threat of destruction was believed to be a deterrent against either side striking first.

So here we sit with thousands of nuclear warheads targeted on each other and capable of wiping out both our countries. The Soviets deployed the few anti-ballistic missiles around Moscow as the treaty permitted. Our country didn't bother deploying because the threat of nationwide annihilation made such limited defense seem useless.

For some years now we have been aware that the Soviets ^{may} ~~have~~ been developing a nationwide defense. They have installed a large modern radar at Krasnoyarsk which we believe is a critical part of a radar system designed to provide radar guidance for anti-ballistic missiles protecting the entire nation. This is a violation of the A.B.M. treaty.

Believing that a policy of mutual destruction and slaughter of their citizens and ours was uncivilized, I asked our military

a few years ago to study and see if there was a practical way to destroy nuclear missiles after their launch but before they can reach their targets rather than to just destroy people. This is the goal for what we call S.D.I. and our scientists researching such a system are convinced it is practical and that several years down the road we can have such a system ready to deploy. Incidentally we are not violating the A.B.M. treaty which permits such research. If and when we deploy, the treaty also allows withdrawal from the treaty upon 6 months' notice. S.D.I., let me make it clear, is ~~(not pursuing)~~ a non-nuclear defense.

So here we are at Iceland for our second such meeting. In the first and in the months in between, we have discussed ways to reduce and in fact eliminate nuclear weapons entirely. We and the Soviets have had teams of negotiators in Geneva trying to work out a mutual agreement on how we could reduce or eliminate nuclear weapons. So far, no success.

On Saturday and Sunday, General Secretary Gorbachev and his Foreign Minister Shevardnadze and Secretary of State George Shultz and I met for nearly 10 hours. We didn't limit ourselves to just arms reductions. We discussed what we call violation of human rights on the part of the Soviets, refusal to let people emigrate from Russia so they can practice their religion without being persecuted, letting people go to rejoin their families, husbands and wives separated by national borders being allowed to reunite. In much of this the Soviet Union is violating another agreement -- the Helsinki accords they had signed in 1975. Yuri Orlov, whose freedom we just obtained, was imprisoned for

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pointing out to his government its violations of the pact, its refusal to let citizens leave their country or return.

We also discussed regional matters such as Afghanistan, Angola, Nicaragua, and Cambodia.

But by their choice the main subject was arms control. We discussed the emplacement of intermediate range missiles in Europe and Asia and seemed to be in agreement they could be drastically reduced. Both sides seemed willing to find a way to reduce even to zero the strategic ballistic missiles we have aimed at each other. This then brought up the subject of S.D.I. I offered a proposal that we continue our present research and if and when we reached the stage of testing we would sign now a treaty that would permit Soviet observation of such tests. And if the program was practical we would both eliminate our offensive missiles and then we would share the benefits of advanced defenses. I explained that even though we would have done away with our offensive ballistic missiles, having the defense would protect against cheating or the possibility of a madman sometime deciding to create nuclear missiles. After all, the world now knows how to make them. I likened it to our keeping our gas masks even though the nations of the world had outlawed poison gas after World War I.

We seemed to be making progress on reducing weaponry although the General Secretary was registering opposition to S.D.I. and proposing a pledge to observe A.B.M. for a number of years as the day was ending.

Secretary Shultz suggested we turn over the notes our note-takers had been making of everything we'd said to our respective teams and let them work through the night to put them together and find just where we were in agreement and what differences separated us. With respect and gratitude, I can inform you they worked through the night till 6:30 a.m..

Yesterday, Sunday morning, Mr. Gorbachev and I, with our foreign ministers, came together again and took up the report of our two teams. It was most promising. The Soviets had asked for a 10-year delay in the deployment of S.D.I. programs. In an effort to see how we could satisfy their concerns while protecting our principles and security, we proposed a 10-year period in which we began with the reduction of all strategic nuclear arms, bombers, air-launched cruise missiles, intercontinental ballistic missiles, submarine launched ballistic missiles and the weapons they carry. They would be reduced 50 percent in the first 5 years. During the next 5 years, we would continue by eliminating all remaining offensive ballistic missiles, of all ranges. During that time we would proceed with research, development and testing of S.D.I. All done in conformity with A.B.M. provisions. At the 10-year point, with all ballistic missiles eliminated, we could proceed to deploy advanced defenses, at the same time permitting the Soviets to do likewise.

Here the debate began. The General Secretary wanted wording that in effect would have kept us from developing the S.D.I. for the entire 10 years. In effect, he was killing S.D.I. and unless

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I agreed, all that work toward eliminating nuclear weapons would go down the drain -- cancelled.

I told him I had pledged to the American people that I would not trade away S.D.I. -- there was no way I could tell our people their government would not protect them against nuclear destruction. I went to Reykjavik determined that everything was negotiable except two things, our freedom and our future.

I am still optimistic that a way will be found. The door is open and the opportunity to begin eliminating the nuclear threat is within reach.

So you can see, we made progress in Iceland. And we will continue to make progress if we pursue a prudent, deliberate, and, above all, realistic approach with the Soviets. From the earliest days of our Administration, this has been our policy. We made it clear we had no illusions about the Soviets or their ultimate intentions. We were publicly candid about the critical moral distinctions between totalitarianism and democracy. We declared the principal objective of American foreign policy to be not just the prevention of war but the extension of freedom. And, we stressed our commitment to the growth of democratic government and democratic institutions around the world. That is why we assisted freedom fighters who are resisting the imposition of totalitarian rule in Afghanistan, Nicaragua, Angola, Cambodia, and elsewhere. And, finally, we began work on what I believe most spurred the Soviets to negotiate seriously -- rebuilding our military strength, reconstructing our strategic deterrence, and, above all, beginning work on the Strategic Defense Initiative.

And yet at the same time we set out these foreign policy goals and began working toward them, we pursued another of our major objectives: that of seeking means to lessen tensions with the Soviets, and ways to prevent war and keep the peace.

This policy is now paying dividends -- one sign of this in Iceland was the progress on the issue of arms control. For the first time in a long while, Soviet-American negotiations in the area of arms reductions are moving, and moving in the right direction: not just toward arms control, but toward arms reduction.

But for all the progress we made on arms reductions, we must remember there were other issues on the table in Iceland, issues that are fundamental.

As I mentioned, one such issue is human rights. As President Kennedy once said, "And, is not peace, in the last analysis, basically a matter of human rights...?"

I made it plain that the United States would not seek to exploit improvement in these matters for purposes of propaganda. But I also made it plain, once again, that an improvement of the human condition within the Soviet Union is indispensable for an improvement in bilateral relations with the United States. For a government that will break faith with its own people cannot be trusted to keep faith with foreign powers. So, I told Mr. Gorbachev -- again in Reykjavik as I had in Geneva -- we Americans place far less weight upon the words that are spoken at meetings such as these, than upon the deeds that follow. When it

comes to human rights and judging Soviet intentions, we are all from Missouri: you have got to show us.

Another subject area we took up in Iceland also lies at the heart of the differences between the Soviet Union and America. This is the issue of regional conflicts. Summit meetings cannot make the American people forget what Soviet actions have meant for the peoples of Afghanistan, Central America, Africa, and Southeast Asia. Until Soviet policies change, we will make sure that our friends in these areas -- those who fight for freedom and independence -- will have the support they need.

Finally, there was a fourth item. This area was that of bilateral relations, people-to-people contacts. In Geneva last year, we welcomed several cultural exchange accords; in Iceland, we saw indications of more movement in these areas. But let me say now the United States remains committed to people-to-people programs that could lead to exchanges between not just a few elite but thousands of everyday citizens from both our countries.

So I think then you can see that we did make progress in Iceland on a broad range of topics. We reaffirmed our 4-point agenda; we discovered major new grounds of agreement; we probed again some old areas of disagreement.

1730 + And let me return again to the S.D.I. issue.

I realize some Americans may be asking tonight: Why not accept Mr. Gorbachev's demand? Why not give up S.D.I. for this agreement?

The answer, my friends, is simple. S.D.I. is America's insurance policy that the Soviet Union would keep the commitments

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made at Reykjavik. S.D.I. is America's security guarantee -- if the Soviets should -- as they have done too often in the past -- fail to comply with their solemn commitments. S.D.I. is what brought the Soviets back to arms control talks at Geneva and Iceland. S.D.I. is the key to a world without nuclear weapons.

The Soviets understand this. They have devoted far more resources for a lot longer time than we, to their own S.D.I. The world's only operational missile defense today surrounds Moscow, the capital of the Soviet Union. What Mr. Gorbachev was demanding at Reykjavik was that the United States agree to a new version of a 14-year-old A.B.M. treaty that the Soviet Union has already violated. I told him we don't make those kinds of deals in the United States.

And the American people should reflect on these critical questions.

How does a defense of the United States threaten the Soviet Union or anyone else? Why are the Soviets so adamant that America remain forever vulnerable to Soviet rocket attack? As of today, all free nations are utterly defenseless against Soviet missiles -- fired either by accident or design. Why does the Soviet Union insist that we remain so -- forever?

So, my fellow Americans, I cannot promise, nor can any President promise, that the talks in Iceland or any future discussions with Mr. Gorbachev will lead inevitably to great breakthroughs or momentous treaty signings.

10.

We will not abandon the guiding principle we took to Reykjavik. We prefer no agreement than to bring home a bad agreement to the United States.

And on this point, I know you are also interested in the question of whether there will be another summit. There was no indication by Mr. Gorbachev as to when or whether he plans to travel to the United States, as we agreed he would last year in Geneva. I repeat tonight that our invitation stands and that we continue to believe additional meetings would be useful. But that's a decision the Soviets must make.

But whatever the immediate prospects, I can tell you that I am ultimately hopeful about the prospects for progress at the summit and for world peace and freedom. You see, the current summit process is very different from that of previous decades; it is different because the world is different; and the world is different because of the hard work and sacrifice of the American people during the past 5-1/2 years. Your energy has restored and expanded our economic might; your support has restored our military strength. Your courage and sense of national unity in times of crisis have given pause to our adversaries, heartened our friends, and inspired the world. The Western democracies and the NATO alliance are revitalized and all across the world nations are turning to democratic ideas and the principles of the free market. So because the American people stood guard at the critical hour, freedom has gathered its forces, regained its strength, and is on the march.

11.

So, if there is one impression I carry away with me from these October talks, it is that, unlike the past, we are dealing now from a position of strength, and for that reason we have it within our grasp to move speedily with the Soviets toward even more breakthroughs.

Our ideas are out there on the table. They won't go away. We are ready to pick up where we left off. Our negotiators are heading back to Geneva, and we are prepared to go forward whenever and wherever the Soviets are ready. So, there is reason -- good reason -- for hope.

I saw evidence of this in the progress we made in the talks with Mr. Gorbachev. And I saw evidence of it when we left Iceland yesterday, and I spoke to our young men and women at our Naval installation at Keflavik [KEF-la-VICK] -- a critically important base far closer to Soviet naval bases than to our own coastline. As always, I was proud to spend a few moments with them and thank them for their sacrifices and devotion to country. They represent America at her finest: committed to defend not only our own freedom but the freedom of others who would be living in a far more frightening world -- were it not for the strength and resolve of the United States.

"Whenever the standard of freedom and independence has been... unfurled, there will be America's heart, her benedictions, and her prayers," John Quincy Adams once said. He spoke well of our destiny as a Nation. My fellow Americans, we are honored by history, entrusted by destiny with the oldest

dream of humanity -- the dream of lasting peace and human freedom.

Another President, Harry Truman, noted that our century had seen two of the most frightful wars in history. And that "The supreme need of our time is for man to learn to live together in peace and harmony."

It is in pursuit of that ideal I went to Geneva a year ago and to Iceland last week. And it is in pursuit of that ideal that I thank you now for all the support you have given me, and I again ask for your help and your prayers as we continue our journey toward a world where peace reigns and freedom is enshrined.

Thank you and God bless you.