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PRESIDENT'S BACKUP COPY;
ADDRESS TO THE NATION
FOLLOWING SUMMIT WITH GENERAL SECRETARY GORBACHEV
THURSDAY, DECEMBER 10, 1987

7

GOOD EVENING. AS I AM SPEAKING TO YOU NOW, GENERAL SECRETARY GORBACHEV IS LEAVING ~~AMERICAN~~ ~~AERSPACE~~ ON HIS RETURN TRIP TO THE SOVIET UNION. HIS DEPARTURE MARKS THE END OF 3 HISTORIC DAYS HERE IN WASHINGTON IN WHICH MR. GORBACHEV AND I CONTINUED TO BUILD A FOUNDATION FOR BETTER RELATIONS BETWEEN OUR GOVERNMENTS AND OUR PEOPLES.

Baron

DURING THESE 3 DAYS WE TOOK A STEP -- ONLY A FIRST STEP, BUT STILL A CRITICAL ONE -- TOWARDS BUILDING A MORE DURABLE PEACE; INDEED, A STEP THAT MAY BE THE MOST IMPORTANT TAKEN SINCE WORLD WAR II TO SLOW DOWN THE ARMS BUILD-UP.

I AM REFERRING TO THE TREATY THAT WE SIGNED TUESDAY AFTERNOON IN THE EAST ROOM OF THE WHITE HOUSE. I BELIEVE THIS TREATY REPRESENTS A LANDMARK IN POST-WAR HISTORY BECAUSE IT IS NOT JUST AN ARMS CONTROL BUT AN ARMS REDUCTION AGREEMENT. UNLIKE TREATIES OF THE PAST, THIS AGREEMENT DOES NOT SIMPLY ESTABLISH CEILINGS FOR NEW WEAPONS; IT ACTUALLY REDUCES THE NUMBER OF SUCH WEAPONS. IN FACT, IT ALTOGETHER ABOLISHES AN ENTIRE CLASS OF U.S. AND SOVIET NUCLEAR MISSILES.

THE VERIFICATION MEASURES IN THIS TREATY ARE ALSO SOMETHING NEW, WITH FAR-REACHING IMPLICATIONS. ON-SITE INSPECTIONS AND SHORT-NOTICE INSPECTIONS WILL BE PERMITTED WITHIN THE SOVIET UNION. AGAIN, THIS IS A FIRST-TIME EVENT, A BREAKTHROUGH.

THAT IS WHY I BELIEVE THIS TREATY WILL NOT ONLY LESSEN THE THREAT OF WAR BUT CAN ALSO SPEED ALONG A PROCESS THAT MAY SOMEDAY REMOVE THAT THREAT ENTIRELY. INDEED, THIS TREATY -- AND ALL THAT WE HAVE ACHIEVED DURING THIS SUMMIT -- SIGNALS A BROADER UNDERSTANDING BETWEEN THE UNITED STATES AND THE SOVIET UNION. IT IS AN UNDERSTANDING THAT WILL HELP KEEP THE PEACE AS WE WORK TOWARDS THE ULTIMATE GOAL OF OUR FOREIGN POLICY: A WORLD WHERE THE PEOPLE OF EVERY LAND CAN DECIDE FOR THEMSELVES THEIR FORM OF GOVERNMENT AND WAY OF LIFE.

YET AS IMPORTANT AS THE I.N.F. TREATY IS, THERE IS A FURTHER AND EVEN MORE CRUCIAL POINT ABOUT THE LAST 3 DAYS AND THE ENTIRE SUMMIT PROCESS: SOVIET-AMERICAN RELATIONS ARE NO LONGER FOCUSED ONLY ON ARMS CONTROL ISSUES; THEY NOW COVER A FAR BROADER AGENDA, ONE THAT HAS -- AT ITS ROOT -- REALISM AND CANDOR.

LET ME EXPLAIN THIS WITH A SAYING I HAVE OFTEN REPEATED: NATIONS DO NOT DISTRUST EACH OTHER BECAUSE THEY ARE ARMED, THEY ARE ARMED BECAUSE THEY DISTRUST EACH OTHER. AND JUST AS REAL PEACE MEANS THE PRESENCE OF FREEDOM AND JUSTICE, AS WELL AS THE ABSENCE OF WAR, SO TOO, SUMMITS MUST BE DISCUSSIONS NOT JUST ABOUT ARMS BUT ABOUT THE FUNDAMENTAL DIFFERENCES THAT CAUSE NATIONS TO BE ARMED.

DEALING THEN WITH THE DEEPER SOURCES OF CONFLICT BETWEEN NATIONS AND SYSTEMS OF GOVERNMENT IS A PRACTICAL AND MORAL IMPERATIVE. THAT IS WHY IT WAS VITAL TO ESTABLISH A BROADER SUMMIT AGENDA, ONE THAT DEALT NOT ONLY WITH ARMS REDUCTIONS BUT ALSO PEOPLE-TO-PEOPLE CONTACTS BETWEEN OUR NATIONS AND -- MOST IMPORTANT -- THE ISSUES OF HUMAN RIGHTS AND REGIONAL CONFLICTS.

THIS IS THE SUMMIT AGENDA WE HAVE ADOPTED. BY DOING SO, WE HAVE DEALT NOT JUST WITH ARMS CONTROL ISSUES BUT ALSO WITH FUNDAMENTAL PROBLEMS SUCH AS SOVIET EXPANSIONISM AND HUMAN RIGHTS VIOLATIONS, AS WELL AS OUR OWN MORAL OPPOSITION TO THE IDEOLOGY THAT JUSTIFIES SUCH PRACTICES. IN THIS WAY, WE HAVE PUT SOVIET-AMERICAN RELATIONS ON A FAR MORE CANDID, AND FAR MORE REALISTIC FOOTING.

IT ALSO MEANS THAT WHILE THERE IS MOVEMENT -- INDEED, DRAMATIC MOVEMENT -- IN THE ARMS REDUCTION AREA, MUCH REMAINS TO BE DONE IN THAT AREA AS WELL AS IN THESE OTHER CRITICAL AREAS I HAVE MENTIONED, ESPECIALLY -- AND THIS GOES WITHOUT SAYING -- IN ADVANCING OUR GOAL OF A WORLD OPEN TO THE EXPANSION OF HUMAN FREEDOM AND THE GROWTH OF DEMOCRATIC GOVERNMENT.

SO, MUCH WORK LIES AHEAD. LET ME EXPLAIN:

-- ON THE MATTER OF REGIONAL CONFLICTS, I SPOKE CANDIDLY WITH MR. GORBACHEV ON THE ISSUES OF AFGHANISTAN, IRAN-IRAQ, CAMBODIA, ANGOLA, AND NICARAGUA. I CONTINUE TO HAVE HIGH HOPES -- AND HE ASSURED ME THAT HE DID TOO -- THAT WE CAN HAVE REAL COOPERATION IN RESOLVING REGIONAL CONFLICTS ON TERMS THAT PROMOTE PEACE AND FREEDOM. THIS IS ESSENTIAL TO A LASTING IMPROVEMENT IN OUR RELATIONS.

-- SO TOO, ON HUMAN RIGHTS, THERE WAS SOME VERY LIMITED MOVEMENT: RESOLUTION OF A NUMBER OF INDIVIDUAL CASES, IN WHICH PRISONERS WILL BE RELEASED OR EXIT VISAS GRANTED. THERE WERE ASSURANCES OF FUTURE, MORE SUBSTANTIAL MOVEMENT, WHICH WE HOPE TO SEE BECOME A REALITY.

-- AND FINALLY WITH REGARD TO THE LAST ITEM ON OUR AGENDA -- SCIENTIFIC, EDUCATIONAL, CULTURAL, AND ECONOMIC EXCHANGES -- WE AGREED TO EXPAND COOPERATION IN WAYS THAT WILL BREAK DOWN SOME OF THE ARTIFICIAL BARRIERS BETWEEN OUR NATIONS. FOR EXAMPLE, AGREEMENT WAS REACHED TO EXPAND AND IMPROVE CIVIL AIR SERVICE BETWEEN OUR TWO COUNTRIES.

BUT LET ME POINT OUT HERE THAT WHILE MUCH WORK IS AHEAD OF US, THE PROGRESS WE HAVE MADE, ESPECIALLY IN ARMS REDUCTION, DOES REFLECT A BETTER UNDERSTANDING BETWEEN OURSELVES AND THE SOVIETS.

IT ALSO REFLECTS SOMETHING DEEPER. YOU SEE, SINCE MY FIRST MEETING WITH GENERAL SECRETARY GORBACHEV IN 1985, I HAVE ALWAYS REGARDED YOU, THE AMERICAN PEOPLE, AS FULL PARTICIPANTS IN OUR DISCUSSIONS. THOUGH IT MAY SURPRISE MR. GORBACHEV TO DISCOVER THAT ALL THIS TIME THERE HAS BEEN A THIRD PARTY IN THE ROOM WITH US, I DO FIRMLY BELIEVE THE PRINCIPAL CREDIT FOR THE PATIENCE AND PERSISTENCE THAT BROUGHT SUCCESS THIS YEAR BELONGS TO YOU, THE AMERICAN PEOPLE.

YOUR SUPPORT OVER THESE LAST 7 YEARS HAS LAID THE BASIS FOR THESE NEGOTIATIONS; YOUR SUPPORT MADE IT POSSIBLE FOR US TO REBUILD OUR MILITARY STRENGTH, TO LIBERATE GRENADA, TO STRIKE HARD AGAINST TERRORISM IN LIBYA, AND MORE RECENTLY, TO PROTECT OUR STRATEGIC INTERESTS AND BOLSTER OUR FRIENDS IN THE PERSIAN GULF. YOUR SUPPORT MADE POSSIBLE OUR POLICY OF HELPING FREEDOM FIGHTERS LIKE THOSE IN AFGHANISTAN, NICARAGUA, ANGOLA, CAMBODIA, AND OTHER PLACES AROUND THE GLOBE.

AND WHEN LAST YEAR AT REYKJAVIK, I REFUSED SOVIET DEMANDS THAT WE TRADE AWAY S.D.I. -- OUR STRATEGIC DEFENSE INITIATIVE THAT COULD ERECT A SPACE SHIELD AGAINST BALLISTIC MISSILES -- YOUR OVERWHELMING SUPPORT MADE IT CLEAR TO THE SOVIET LEADERS THAT THE AMERICAN PEOPLE PREFER NO DEAL TO A BAD DEAL, AND WILL BACK THEIR PRESIDENT ON MATTERS OF NATIONAL SECURITY.

IN SHORT, YOUR SUPPORT FOR OUR FOREIGN POLICY GOALS -- BUILDING A SAFER PEACE AS WE ADVANCE THE CAUSE OF WORLD FREEDOM -- HAS HELPED BRING THE SOVIETS TO THE BARGAINING TABLE. IT MAKES IT POSSIBLE NOW TO HOPE FOR A REAL, FUNDAMENTAL IMPROVEMENT IN OUR RELATIONS.

YOU KNOW, THE QUESTION HAS OFTEN BEEN ASKED WHETHER DEMOCRATIC LEADERS WHO ARE ACCOUNTABLE TO THEIR PEOPLE AREN'T AT A GRAVE DISADVANTAGE IN NEGOTIATING WITH LEADERS OF TOTALITARIAN STATES WHO BEAR NO SUCH BURDEN. BELIEVE ME, I THINK I CAN ANSWER THAT QUESTION, I CAN SPEAK FROM PERSONAL EXPERIENCE. OVER THE LONG RUN, NO LEADER AT THE BARGAINING TABLE CAN ENJOY ANY GREATER ADVANTAGE THAN THE KNOWLEDGE THAT HE HAS BEHIND HIM A PEOPLE WHO ARE STRONG AND FREE -- AND ALERT; AND RESOLVED TO REMAIN THAT WAY. PEOPLE LIKE YOU.

AND IT IS THIS KIND OF INFORMED AND ENLIGHTENED SUPPORT, THIS HIDDEN STRENGTH OF DEMOCRATIC GOVERNMENT, THAT ENABLED US TO DO WHAT WE DID THIS WEEK AT THE WASHINGTON SUMMIT.

NOW THAT THE TREATY HAS BEEN SIGNED, IT WILL BE SUBMITTED TO THE SENATE FOR THE NEXT STEP, THE RATIFICATION PROCESS. I WILL MEET WITH THE LEADERSHIP OF CONGRESS HERE TOMORROW MORNING, AND I AM CONFIDENT THAT THE SENATE WILL NOW ACT IN AN EXPEDITIOUS WAY TO FULFILL ITS DUTY UNDER OUR CONSTITUTION.

TO THIS END, LET ME EXPLAIN THE BACKGROUND. IN THE MID AND LATE 1970's, THE SOVIETS BEGAN TO DEPLOY HUNDREDS OF NEW, MOBILE INTERMEDIATE-RANGE MISSILES, CAPABLE OF DESTROYING MAJOR CITIES AND MILITARY INSTALLATIONS IN EUROPE AND ASIA. THIS ACTION WAS AN UNPROVOKED, NEW DIMENSION OF THE THREAT AGAINST OUR FRIENDS AND ALLIES ON BOTH CONTINENTS, A NEW THREAT TO WHICH THE DEMOCRATIC NATIONS HAD NO COMPARABLE COUNTER.

DESPITE INTENSE PRESSURE FROM THE SOVIETS, NATO PROCEEDED WITH WHAT WE CALLED A "TWO-TRACK POLICY." FIRST, WE WOULD DEPLOY A LIMITED NUMBER OF OUR OWN I.N.F. MISSILES AS A DETERRENT BUT, AT THE SAME TIME, PUSH HARD IN NEGOTIATIONS TO DO AWAY WITH THIS ENTIRELY NEW NUCLEAR THREAT. AND WE SET OUT TO DO THIS WITH A FORMULA I FIRST PUT FORWARD IN 1981 -- IT WAS CALLED THE ZERO-OPTION; IT MEANT THE COMPLETE ELIMINATION OF THESE MISSILES ON BOTH SIDES.

AT FIRST, MANY CALLED THIS A MERE PROPAGANDA PLOY, SOME EVEN HERE IN THIS COUNTRY. BUT WE WERE PERSISTENT, OUR ALLIES STEADFAST, AND EVENTUALLY THE SOVIETS RETURNED TO THE BARGAINING TABLE. THE RESULT IS OUR I.N.F. TREATY.

AS YOU SEE FROM THE MAP ON THE SCREEN NOW, THE SOVIET MISSILES, WHICH WILL BE REMOVED AND ELIMINATED UNDER THE TREATY, HAVE BEEN A MAJOR THREAT TO THE SECURITY OF OUR FRIENDS AND ALLIES ON TWO CONTINENTS, EUROPE AND ASIA. UNDER THE TERMS OF THIS TREATY, WE WILL BE ELIMINATING 400 DEPLOYED WARHEADS WHILE THE SOVIET UNION ELIMINATES 1,600, OR FOUR TIMES AS MANY.

NOW LET ME ALSO POINT OUT THAT THIS DOES NOT, HOWEVER, LEAVE NATO UNPROTECTED. IN FACT, WE WILL MAINTAIN A SUBSTANTIAL DETERRENT FORCE ON THE GROUND, IN THE AIR, AND AT SEA. OUR COMMITMENT TO NATO'S STRATEGY OF BEING ABLE TO RESPOND AS NECESSARY TO ANY FORM OF AGGRESSION REMAINS STEADFAST.

AND WITH REGARD TO VERIFICATION, AS I HAVE MENTIONED, WE HAVE THE BREAKTHROUGHS OF ON-SITE INSPECTIONS AND SHORT-NOTICE INSPECTIONS NOT ONLY AT POTENTIAL MISSILE DEPLOYMENT SITES BUT AT THE FACILITY WHERE THE SOVIET SS-20 MISSILES AND THEIR COMPONENTS HAVE BEEN ASSEMBLED. WE HAVE A VERIFICATION PROCEDURE THAT ASSURES EACH SIDE THAT THE MISSILES OF THE OTHER SIDE HAVE BEEN DESTROYED AND THAT NEW ONES AREN'T BUILT.

HERE, THEN, IS A TREATY THAT SHOWS HOW PERSISTENCE AND CONSISTENCY EVENTUALLY CAN PAY OFF IN ARMS NEGOTIATIONS. AND LET ME ASSURE YOU TOO THAT THIS TREATY HAS BEEN ACCOMPLISHED WITH UNPRECEDENTED CONSULTATION WITH OUR ALLIES AND FRIENDS. I HAVE SPOKEN PERSONALLY WITH THE LEADERS OF THE MAJOR DEMOCRACIES, AS HAS SECRETARY SHULTZ AND OUR DIPLOMATS. THIS TREATY HAS FULL ALLIED SUPPORT.

BUT IF PERSISTENCE IS PAYING OFF IN OUR ARMS REDUCTIONS EFFORTS, THE QUESTION OF HUMAN RIGHTS AND REGIONAL CONFLICTS ARE STILL PROBLEMS IN OUR RELATIONS. BUT I AM PLEASED THAT SOME PROGRESS HAS BEEN MADE IN THESE AREAS ALSO.

NOW IN ADDITION TO THESE CANDID EXCHANGES ON OUR 4-PART AGENDA, MR. GORBACHEV AND I DID DO SOME IMPORTANT PLANNING FOR A MOSCOW SUMMIT NEXT YEAR. WE AGREED THAT WE MUST REDOUBLE OUR EFFORTS TO REACH AGREEMENTS ON REDUCING THE LEVELS OF U.S. AND SOVIET LONG-RANGE OR STRATEGIC NUCLEAR ARMS AS I HAVE PROPOSED IN THE "START" NEGOTIATIONS. HE AND I MADE REAL PROGRESS TOWARD OUR GOAL FIRST AGREED TO AT GENEVA -- TO ACHIEVE DEEP, 50-PERCENT CUTS IN OUR ARSENALS OF THOSE POWERFUL WEAPONS. WE AGREED THAT WE SHOULD BUILD ON OUR EFFORTS TO ACHIEVE AGREEMENT ON A "START" TREATY AT THE EARLIEST POSSIBLE DATE; AND WE HAVE INSTRUCTED OUR DELEGATIONS IN GENEVA ACCORDINGLY.

NOW, I BELIEVE DEEP REDUCTION IN THESE OFFENSIVE WEAPONS -- ALONG WITH THE DEVELOPMENT OF S.D.I. -- WOULD DO MUCH TO MAKE THE WORLD SAFER. FOR THAT REASON, I MADE IT CLEAR THAT OUR S.D.I. PROGRAM WILL CONTINUE, AND THAT WHEN WE HAVE A DEFENSE READY TO DEPLOY -- WE WILL DO SO.

ABOUT THE FUTURE, MR. GORBACHEV AND I ALSO AGREED THAT, AS NUCLEAR WEAPONS ARE REDUCED, IT BECOMES ALL THE MORE IMPORTANT TO REDRESS THE DISPARITIES IN CONVENTIONAL AND CHEMICAL WEAPONS, WHERE THE SOVIETS NOW ENJOY SIGNIFICANT ADVANTAGES OVER THE UNITED STATES AND OUR ALLIES.

I THINK THEN FROM ALL OF THIS YOU CAN SEE NOT ONLY THE DIRECTION OF SOVIET-AMERICAN RELATIONS BUT THE LARGER FRAMEWORK OF AMERICAN FOREIGN POLICY. AS I TOLD THE BRITISH PARLIAMENT IN 1982, WE SEEK TO RID THE WORLD OF THE TWO GREAT NIGHTMARES OF THE POST-WAR ERA: THE THREAT OF NUCLEAR WAR AND THE THREAT OF TOTALITARIANISM.

THAT IS WHY, BY PURSUING S.D.I., WHICH IS A DEFENSE AGAINST OFFENSIVE MISSILES, AND BY GOING FOR ARMS REDUCTION RATHER THAN JUST ARMS CONTROL, WE ARE MOVING AWAY FROM THE SO-CALLED POLICY OF MUTUAL ASSURED DESTRUCTION BY WHICH NATIONS HOLD EACH OTHER HOSTAGE TO NUCLEAR TERROR AND DESTRUCTION.

SO TOO, WE ARE SAYING THAT THE POST-WAR POLICY OF CONTAINMENT IS NO LONGER ENOUGH, THAT THE GOAL OF AMERICAN FOREIGN POLICY IS BOTH WORLD PEACE AND WORLD FREEDOM -- THAT AS A PEOPLE WE HOPE AND WILL WORK FOR A DAY WHEN ALL OF GOD'S CHILDREN WILL ENJOY THE HUMAN DIGNITY THAT THEIR CREATOR INTENDED. I BELIEVE WE GAINED SOME GROUND WITH REGARD TO THAT CAUSE IN THESE LAST FEW DAYS.

SINCE MY FIRST DAYS IN OFFICE, I HAVE ARGUED THAT THE FUTURE BELONGS NOT TO REPRESSIVE OR TOTALITARIAN WAYS OF LIFE BUT TO THE CAUSE OF FREEDOM -- FREEDOM OF THE MARKETPLACE, FREEDOM TO SPEAK, ASSEMBLE, AND VOTE. AND WHEN WE SEE THE PROGRESS OF DEMOCRACY IN THESE LAST YEARS -- FROM LATIN AMERICA TO ASIA -- WE MUST BE OPTIMISTIC ABOUT THE FUTURE OF OUR CHILDREN.

WHEN WE WERE TOGETHER IN ICELAND, MR. GORBACHEV TOLD ME THAT THIS SORT OF TALK IS SOMETIMES VIEWED IN THE SOVIET UNION AS A THREAT. I TOLD HIM THEN AND I HAVE SAID SINCE THEN THAT THIS IS NO THREAT AT ALL BUT ONLY A DREAM, THE AMERICAN DREAM.

AND IT IS A DREAM THAT HAS MEANT SO MUCH TO SO MANY -- A DREAM THAT STILL SHINES OUT TO THE WORLD. YOU KNOW A COUPLE OF YEARS AGO, NANCY AND I WERE DEEPLY MOVED BY A STORY TOLD BY FORMER NEW YORK TIMES REPORTER AND GREEK IMMIGRANT, NICHOLAS GAGE. IT IS THE STORY OF ELENI, HIS MOTHER, A WOMAN CAUGHT IN ONE OF THE TERRIBLE STRUGGLES OF THE POST-WAR ERA: THE GREEK CIVIL WAR AT THE END OF WORLD WAR II, A MOTHER WHO WAS TRIED AND EXECUTED BECAUSE SHE SMUGGLED HER CHILDREN OUT TO SAFETY IN AMERICA.

IT IS ALSO THE STORY OF HOW HER SON SECRETLY VOWED TO RETURN TO GREECE SOMEDAY TO TAKE VENGEANCE ON THE MAN WHO HAD SENT HIS MOTHER TO HER DEATH. BUT AT THE END OF THE STORY NICHOLAS GAGE FINDS HE CANNOT EXTRACT THE VENGEANCE HE PROMISED HIMSELF. MR. GAGE WRITES IT WOULD HAVE RELIEVED THE PAIN THAT HAD FILLED HIM FOR SO MANY YEARS, BUT IT WOULD ALSO HAVE BROKEN THE ONE BRIDGE STILL CONNECTING HIM TO HIS MOTHER, THAT PART OF HIM MOST LIKE HER. AS HE TELLS IT: "AND HER FINAL CRY... WAS NOT A CURSE ON HER KILLERS BUT AN INVOCATION OF WHAT SHE DIED FOR, A DECLARATION OF LOVE." THESE SIMPLE LAST WORDS OF MR. GAGE'S MOTHER, OF ELENI, WERE: "MY CHILDREN."

HOW THAT CRY ECHOES DOWN THROUGH THE CENTURIES, A CRY FOR ALL CHILDREN OF THE WORLD, A CRY FOR PEACE, FOR A WORLD OF LOVE AND UNDERSTANDING.

AND IT IS THE HOPE OF HEEDING SUCH WORDS -- THE CALL FOR FREEDOM AND PEACE SPOKEN BY A CHOSEN PEOPLE IN A PROMISED LAND, THE CALL SPOKEN BY THE NAZARENE CARPENTER STANDING AT THE SEA OF GALILEE, THE CARPENTER WHOSE BIRTH INTO THE POVERTY OF A STABLE WE CELEBRATE -- IT IS THESE WORDS THAT WE REMEMBER AS THE HOLIDAY SEASON APPROACHES AND WE REFLECT ON THE EVENTS OF THIS WEEK HERE IN WASHINGTON.

SO, LET US REMEMBER THE CHILDREN, AND THE FUTURE WE WANT FOR THEM. AND LET US NEVER FORGET THAT THIS PROMISE OF PEACE AND FREEDOM -- THE GIFT THAT IS OURS AS AMERICANS -- THE GIFT THAT WE SEEK TO SHARE WITH ALL THE WORLD -- DEPENDS FOR ITS STRENGTH ON THE SPIRITUAL SOURCE FROM WHICH IT COMES.

SO DURING THIS HOLY SEASON, LET US ALSO REFLECT THAT IN THE PRAYERS OF SIMPLE PEOPLE THERE IS MORE POWER AND MIGHT THAN THAT POSSESSED BY ALL THE GREAT STATESMEN OR ARMIES OF THE EARTH. LET US THEN THANK GOD FOR ALL HIS BLESSINGS TO THIS NATION AND ASK HIM FOR HIS HELP AND GUIDANCE; SO THAT WE MIGHT CONTINUE THE WORK OF PEACE AND FOSTER THE HOPE OF A WORLD WHERE HUMAN FREEDOM IS ENSHRINED.


TO SUM UP THEN: THIS SUMMIT WAS A CLEAR SUCCESS;
WE MADE PROGRESS ON EACH ITEM IN OUR FOUR-PART AGENDA.
MR. GORBACHEV AND I HAVE AGREED TO MEET IN SEVERAL
MONTHS IN MOSCOW TO CONTINUE WHAT WE HAVE ACHIEVED
DURING THESE PAST 3 DAYS. I BELIEVE THERE IS REASON
FOR BOTH HOPE AND OPTIMISM.

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WHITE HOUSE STAFFING MEMORANDUM

DATE: 12/10/87 ACTION/CONCURRENCE/COMMENT DUE BY: 12:00 TODAY

SUBJECT: PRESIDENTIAL ADDRESS TO THE NATION: SUMMIT

	ACTION FYI			ACTION FYI	
VICE PRESIDENT	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	FITZWATER	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>
BAKER	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	GRISCOM	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
DUBERSTEIN	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	HOBBS	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
MILLER - OMB	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	HOOLEY	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
BALL	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	KING	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
BAUER	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	RANGE	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
 POWELL	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	RISQUE	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
CRIBB	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	RYAN	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
CRIPPEN	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	SPRINKEL	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
CULVAHOUSE	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	TUTTLE	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
DAWSON	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<u>DOLAN</u>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>
DONATELLI	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<u> </u>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>

REMARKS:

Please provide your comments/recommendations directly to Tony Dolan's office with an infor copy to my office by 12:00 TODAY. Thank you.

RESPONSE:

December 10, 1987

NSC concurs with changes as noted on the attached.

Paul Schott Stevens
 Paul Schott Stevens
 Executive Secretary

Rhett Dawson
 Ext. 2702

(Griscom/Dolan)
December 10, 1987
10:00 a.m.

PRESIDENTIAL ADDRESS TO THE NATION: SUMMIT
THURSDAY, DECEMBER 10, 1987

Good evening. As I am speaking to you now, General Secretary Gorbachev is leaving American airspace on his return trip to the Soviet Union. His departure marks the end of 3 historic days here in Washington -- in which Secretary Gorbachev and I ^{sought to} put in place a foundation for better relations between our governments and our peoples. measures

RR has taken many steps!

During these 3 days we took ^{another} a step -- ~~only a first step~~, ^{but a truly major one} I should point out, ~~but still a critical one~~ -- towards building a more durable peace; indeed, a step ^{which, if followed by others, may someday be seen} ~~that may be the most important~~ ^{as a historic turning point in the effort to halt the growth of arsenals of war,} ~~taken since World War II to slow down the arms race.~~

I am referring to the ~~(arms)~~ treaty that we signed Tuesday afternoon in the East Room of the White House. I believe this treaty represents a landmark in post-war history because it is not just an arms control but an arms reduction agreement. Unlike treaties of the past, this agreement does not simply establish ceilings for new weapons; it actually reduces the number of such weapons. ^{an entire class of US and Soviet} In fact, it altogether abolishes ^{range nuclear} intermediate ~~missiles~~ in Europe and elsewhere. ^{US Soviet} And so, for the first time, we are eliminating an entire class of ~~nuclear weapons~~.

now in existence.

Allies' weapons are not covered

The verification measures in this treaty are also something ^{with far-reaching implications,} new,

On-site inspections and short-notice inspection will be permitted within the Soviet Union, ^{and we will even see a team of resident inspectors on each other's} Again, this is a first-time ^{territory} event, a breakthrough.

That is why I believe this treaty will not only lessen the threat of nuclear war but can also speed along a process that may someday remove that threat entirely. Indeed, this treaty -- and all that we have achieved during this summit -- signals a broader ^{and deeper dialogue} understanding between the United States and the Soviet Union. It is ^{a dialogue} ~~(an understanding)~~ that will help keep the peace as we work towards the ultimate goal of our foreign policy: a world where the people of every land can decide for themselves their form of government and way of life, ^{in a world free of a nuclear threat.}

Condemnium

Not true. Scant progress in other areas

Yet as important as the I.N.F. treaty is, there is a further and even more crucial point about the last 3 days:

Soviet-American relations ^{do not simply consist of} ~~are no longer based strictly on~~ arms control issues; they ^{now cover} ~~cover now on~~ a far broader ^{agenda, on the basis of} ~~basis, one that~~

~~was -- at its root --~~ realism and candor.

Let me explain this with a saying I have often repeated:

Nations do not distrust each other because they are armed, they are armed because they distrust each other. And just as real peace means the presence of freedom and justice, as well as the absence of war, so too, summits must be discussions not just about arms but about the fundamental differences that cause nations to be armed.

Good!

Dealing then with the deeper sources of conflict between nations and systems of government is a practical and moral imperative. That is why it was vital to establish a broader Summit agenda, one that dealt not only with arms ^{reduction} ~~control~~ but ^{also} ~~other issues such as bilateral~~ people-to-people contacts between

our nations and -- most important -- ~~the issues~~ of human rights and regional conflicts.

By adopting this agenda, we are taking up, in our discussions, the core political and moral issues that are at the heart of East-West tensions. And
~~This is the summit agenda we have adopted. By doing so, we have dealt not just with arms control issues but more fundamental problems such as Soviet expansionism and human rights violations, as well as our own moral opposition to the ideology that justifies such practices. In this way, we have put Soviet-American relations on a far more candid, far more realistic, far sounder footing.~~

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It also means that while there is movement -- indeed, dramatic movement -- in ~~the~~ ^{that area, as well as in} arms reduction, ~~are~~ much remains to be done in these other critical areas I have mentioned, especially -- and this goes without saying -- in advancing our goal of a world open to the expansion of human freedom and the growth of democratic government.

E. J. STARR

~~But while I have not ^{yet} ~~been able to~~ report to you the significant progress we have made in these areas in addition to arms control.~~

No!
=

-- ~~On the matter of regional conflicts,~~ I spoke candidly with Mr. Gorbachev ^{regional conflicts, especially} on the burning issue of Afghanistan. The Soviet invasion and occupation of that sovereign nation, an act condemned overwhelmingly by every session of the United Nations General Assembly, is a matter of utmost concern to the United States.

While Mr. Gorbachev assured me of his desire to withdraw his troops, he would not tell me when that withdrawal would begin or end. On the Iran-Iraq war, the Soviets regrettably refused to commit themselves even this will be completed. This is essential toward... to start work on an enforcement resolution in the UN Security Council that might pressure Iran to end that war.

Aid Economic - 4 -

~~Go too~~ On the ~~issue of~~ human rights, ~~we continued the~~ resolution of a number of individual cases, in which prisoners are now released or exit visas granted. ~~There were assurances of future, more substantial movement, which we hope to see become a reality.~~ ^{there was some very limited movement --} And finally with regard to the last item on our agenda --

scientific, educational and cultural exchanges -- we agreed to expand cooperation in ways ~~that~~ ^{break down some of the artificial barriers} ~~we signed several important agreements~~ ^{For example, agreement was reached} ~~that~~ ^{will increase such contacts between our nations. (example)} ~~that~~ ^{to expand and improve civil air transport services between our two countries.}

As I ~~say~~ ^{signified} the progress ~~we made~~ ^{made} on this broad front, ~~reflects a~~ ^{of course, would} ~~mean a more reliable~~ ^{mean a more reliable} ~~basis for understanding~~ ^{better relations} between ourselves and the Soviets.

Make it hypothetical, because it ain't actual

But it ^{would} also reflects something deeper as well. You see, since ~~the summit process began~~ ^{my first meeting with Gorbachev} in 1985, I have always regarded you, the American people, as full participants in our discussions. Though it may surprise Mr. Gorbachev to discover that all this time there has been a third party in the room with us, I do firmly believe the principal credit for the patience and persistence that brought success this year belongs to you, the American people.

Your support over these last 7 years has laid the basis for these negotiations, your support made it possible for us to rebuild our military strength; to liberate Grenada, to ~~to~~ ^{Strike hard} against terrorism in Libya, and more recently, to protect our strategic interests ^{and bolster our friends} in the Persian Gulf. Your support made possible our policy of providing aid to freedom fighters like those in Afghanistan, Nicaragua, ^{Angola, Cambodia,} and other places around the globe. And when last year at Reykjavik, I refused Soviet demands that we trade away S.D.I. -- our Strategic Defense Initiative ^{might someday give us a defense} ~~that could erect a space shield~~ ^{ballistic} against ~~incoming~~ ^{incoming} missiles -- your overwhelming support made it clear to the Soviet leaders that the American people prefer no deal to a bad deal and will back their

Good!

Accuracy

We're not satisfied with present state of peace

President on matters of national security. In short, your support for our foreign policy goals -- ~~the preservation of peace~~ ^{building a safer} as we advance the cause of world freedom -- ~~have~~ ^{has} helped bring the Soviets to the bargaining table, ~~and made possible the success of this summit.~~ ^{It makes it now to hope for a real, fundamental improvement in our relations.}

You know, the question has often been asked whether democratic leaders who are accountable to their people aren't at a grave disadvantage in negotiating with leaders ~~(of totalitarian states)~~ who bear no such burden. Believe me, I think I can answer that question, I can speak from personal experience. Over the long run, no leader at the bargaining table can enjoy any greater advantage than the knowledge he has behind him a people who are strong and free -- and alert; and resolved to remain that way. People like you.

And it is this kind of informed and enlightened support, this hidden strength of democratic government that enabled us to do what we did this week at the Washington summit.

And that's why tonight I am again asking your support. In a very short time, the treaty I signed with Mr. Gorbachev will go to the United States Senate for ratification. And I am asking you tonight to tell your Senators this treaty has your full support.

To this end, let me explain the background. In the mid and late 1970's, the Soviets began to deploy hundreds of new, ^{mobile} intermediate ^{-range} ~~missiles~~, ^{the triple-warhead SS-20's,} ~~most of them mobile,~~ ^{capable of destroying} that were ~~targeted on~~ ^{major} cities and military installations in Europe, ^{and Asia.} This action ^{was an unprovoked,} ~~gravely~~ ^{new dimension of the threat against our friends + allies in both continents, a} ~~upset the balance of power in Europe; they represented a totally~~

Approved

top
(below)

new ~~nuclear~~ threat ~~(to Europe and Japan)~~ ^{to} for which the democratic nations had no comparable ^{Cou Wtr.} deterrent.

Despite intense pressure from the Soviets, NATO proceeded with what we called a "two-track policy." First, we would deploy ^{a limited number of} ~~our own intermediate~~ ^{INF} missiles as a deterrent but at the same time, push hard in negotiations to do away with this entirely new ^{nuclear threat.} ~~and unprecedented nuclear escalation.~~ And we ^{set out} ~~proposed~~ to do this with ^{a formula} ~~something~~ I first proposed in 1981 -- it was called the zero-option; it meant the complete elimination of ^{these} ~~intermediate~~ missiles on both sides.

"proposed"
twice

At first, ^{many} ~~the Soviets~~ called this a mere propaganda ploy, ~~and~~ ^{our allies steadfast,} some even here in this country, ~~agreed.~~ But we were persistent, and eventually the Soviets returned to the bargaining table. The result is our I.N.F. treaty.

As you see from the map on the screen now, the Soviet missiles which will be removed and eliminated under the treaty have been a major threat to the security of our friends and allies on two continents, Europe and Asia. Under the terms of this treaty, we will be eliminating ^{about} 400 deployed warheads while the Soviet Union eliminates ^{some} 1,600, or 4 times more.

Now let me also point out that this does not, however, leave ^{the Alliance} ~~naked.~~ ^{the United States maintains its} ~~NATO without nuclear deterrent.~~ In fact, ^{we still have thousands} ~~of battlefield nuclear weapons in Europe~~ ^{substantial deterrent force on the ground, on aircraft, at sea, and in British and French} ~~allies are modernizing their own nuclear deterrent forces.~~

And with regard to verification, as I have mentioned, we have the breakthroughs of on-site inspections and short-notice inspections not only at potential missile ^{deployment} sites but at the ^{facility} ~~factories~~ where the ^{Soviet SS-20} missiles and their components ^{have been established.} ~~are produced.~~

Accuracy

Our commitment to NATO's strategy of being able to respond as necessary to any form of aggression remains steadfast.

We have a verification procedure that assures each side that the missiles of the other side have been destroyed ^{and that new ones aren't built.}

Here, then, is a treaty that shows how persistence and consistency eventually can pay off in arms negotiations. And let me assure you too that this treaty has been accomplished with unprecedented consultation with our allies ^{and friends.} I have spoken

personally with the leaders of the major ~~European~~ ^{diplomats.} democracies as ^{have Vice President Bush,} Secretary Shultz, and our ~~NATO and diplomatic personnel.~~ ^{'allied} This treaty has ~~their~~ ^{full} support.

But if persistence is paying off in our arms reductions efforts ^{WARs and conflicts in many parts of the world, and the question of} let me also say that with your continued support we are ^{human rights, are still problems in our relations. Real improvement in} making progress in the areas of regional conflicts and human ^{These areas would give an enormous boost to the overall relationship.} rights.

Now I have already mentioned that Mr. Gorbachev and I have discussed the importance of Soviet troop withdrawals from Afghanistan. Once again, let me only state that progress on this front is vital to the improvement of Soviet-American relations.

In addition to Afghanistan, I can also report to you tonight that ^{we candidly with the Soviet} ~~It spoke with Mr. Gorbachev,~~ ^{policy} about Soviet ~~intervention~~ in other critical regions ~~of strategic chokepoints.~~ In Angola, where ^{combat advisors and 37,000} Soviet ~~aids and 40,000~~ of Castro's Cuban mercenaries sustain an unpopular ~~and totalitarian~~ Communist regime; in Cambodia where armed resistance continues to ^{Hanoi's occupation and control;} North Vietnam's brutal rule and, most of all, here in our own hemisphere, in the Central American nation of Nicaragua.

On this point, I must candidly report to you some disappointing news: our efforts to get the Soviets to remove

+ Japan
"Their" is ambiguous

No
We've
not!

Not
him but
others

Not
following

Not sure it came up at Summit

their military personnel from Nicaragua ^{have been} were not successful. Nor were our efforts to stop the flow of Soviet ^{economic} ~~arms~~ and military aid -- now totaling over \$1 billion ^{a year} -- to the Communist Sandinista regime in Nicaragua. At this critical time in Central America, this lack of movement was discouraging to me and to all who support the cause of democracy for all Central Americans.

So tonight, I must tell you of my firm resolve to stand by those brave Nicaraguans fighting for freedom. I will urge Congress in the strongest terms to continue aid to the freedom fighters -- which expires just before Christmas. If Congress will not support this request, ~~and join with me in sending a~~

Undercuts US-Soviet prospects to

~~strong signal both to Managua and Moscow~~, then our country will be making a serious mistake ^{sending a wrong signal to Moscow about the} ~~that could extinguish the flame of~~ ^{profitability of their aggressive policies around the world, just at a time} ~~freedom in Nicaragua~~ ^{not just now but for generations to come.} ~~When the Soviet leadership may be reassessing those policies in the light of domestic~~

not only betraying the hopes for democracy in Nicaragua, but

Now in addition to ~~making the progress, that I have already~~ ^{these candid exchanges} ~~outlined~~ on our 4-part agenda, Mr. Gorbachev and I did do some

Give RR the credit

important planning for ~~the~~ ^{the} Moscow summit next year. We agreed that we must redouble our efforts to reach agreements on reducing the levels of U.S. and Soviet long-range ^{or strategic,} nuclear ^{arms as I} ~~weapons now~~ ^{have proposed} ~~under discussion~~ in the START negotiations. ^{He} ~~General Secretary~~ ~~Gorbachev~~ and I reaffirmed this week our commitment -- made at

Remember, we have them for deterrence

Reykjavik -- to achieve deep, 50 percent cuts in our arsenals of those ^{powerful} ~~frightening~~ weapons. We agreed that we should build on our efforts to achieve agreement on a START treaty at the earliest possible date; and we have instructed our delegations in Geneva accordingly.

Now, I believe deep reductions in these offensive weapons -- along with the development of ^{effective defenses, under} S.D.I. -- would do much to make the world ^{far safer.} ~~safe from nuclear war. So while I was pleased the Soviets~~

~~dropped their insistence that we abandon S.D.I. however~~ I remain concerned over ^{however, Soviet} their efforts to limit our vital ^{an effective} research in ^{SDI.} this area. I reiterated the point that providing a strategic

defense ~~is~~ is too important to restrict the promise it holds for the future. ^{And remember, the Soviets have been working on such defenses for some time, as the General Secretary has now admitted.}

About the future, Mr. Gorbachev and I also agreed that as nuclear weapons are reduced, it becomes all the more important to ^{redress the disparities} ~~address other arms control issues including~~ conventional and chemical weapons, ^{where} ~~weapons in which~~ the Soviets now enjoy significant advantages over the United States, ^{and its allies.}

I think then from all of this you can see not only the direction of Soviet-American relations but the larger framework of ^{American} ~~our~~ foreign policy. As I told the British Parliament in 1981, we seek to rid the world of the two great nightmares of the post-war era: the threat of nuclear war and the threat of totalitarianism. That is why by ^{pursuing} ~~building~~ S.D.I., which is a defense against offensive missiles, and by going for arms reduction rather than just arms control, we are moving away from the so-called policy of Mutual Assured Destruction ^{by which} ~~where~~ nations hold each other hostage to nuclear terror and destruction. So too, we are saying that the post-war policy of containment is no longer enough, that the goal of American foreign policy is both ^{a safer} ~~world~~ peace and world freedom -- that as a people we hope and will work for a day when all of God's children will enjoy the

No, they haven't. ABM Treaty play aims at same result.

NA get "building" it.

human dignity that their creator intended, a dignity best assured on this Earth by free and democratic government, *and human rights.*

I have heard some say that this is a philosophy of "rollback" of communism. But this is the wrong description because it concedes the idea that ^{the} direction of history has been towards totalitarianism. Since my first days in office, I have argued that the future belongs not to repressive or totalitarian ways of life but to the cause of freedom -- freedom of the marketplace, freedom to speak, assemble, and vote. And when we see the progress of democracy in these last years -- from ^{Latin} ~~Central~~ America to Asia -- we must be optimistic about the future of our children.

When we were together in Iceland, Mr. Gorbachev told me that this sort of talk is sometimes viewed in the Soviet Union as a threat. I have said since then that this is no threat at all but only a dream, the American dream.

And it is a dream that has meant so much to so many -- a dream that still shines out to the world. You know a few years ago, Nancy and I were deeply moved by a story told by former New York Times reporter and Greek immigrant, Nicholas Gage. It is the story of Eleni, his mother, a woman caught in one of the terrible struggles of the post-war era: the Greek civil war at the end of World War II, a mother who was tried and executed ^[by Communists] because she smuggled her children out to safety in America.

It is also the story of how her son secretly vowed to return to Greece someday to take vengeance on the man who had sent his mother to her death. But at the end of the story Nicholas Gage

finds he cannot extract the vengeance he promised himself. Mr. Gage writes it would have relieved the pain that had filled him for so many years but it would also have broken the one bridge still connecting him to his mother, that part of him most like her. As he tells it: "the final cry of my mother....was not a curse on her killers but an invocation of what she died for, a declaration of love." These simple last words of Mr. Gage's mother, of Eleni, were: "My children."

How that cry echoes down through the centuries, a cry for all children of the world, a cry for peace, for a world of love and understanding.

And it is the hope of heeding such words -- the call for freedom and peace spoken by a chosen people (on a desert journey to) a promised land, the call spoken by the Nazarene carpenter standing at the Sea of Galilee -- it is these words that we remember as the holiday season approaches and we reflect on the events of this week here in Washington.

So, let us remember the children, and the future we want for them. And let us never forget that this promise of peace and freedom -- the gift that is ours as Americans -- the gift that we seek to share with the entire world -- depends for its strength on the spiritual source from which it came.

So during this holy season, let us also recall that in the prayers of simple people there is more power and might than that of all the great statesmen or armies of the Earth. Let us then thank God for all his blessings to this Nation and ask him for his help and guidance; so that we might continue the work of

Hanukkah
is
not
Exodus
(That's
Passover)

TG comments

(Griscom/Dolan)
December 9, 1987
9:00 p.m.

PRESIDENTIAL ADDRESS TO THE NATION: SUMMIT
THURSDAY, DECEMBER 10, 1987

Good evening. As I am speaking to you now, General Secretary Gorbachev is leaving American airspace on his return trip to the Soviet Union. His departure marks the end of 3 historic days here in Washington, ~~---~~ in which Secretary Gorbachev and I put in place a foundation for better relations between our governments and our peoples.

During these 3 days we took a step -- only a first step, I should point out, but still a critical one -- towards building a more durable peace; indeed, a step that may be the most important taken since World War II to slow down the arms race.

I am referring to the arms treaty that we signed Tuesday afternoon in the East Room of the White House. I believe this treaty represents a landmark in post-war history because it is not just an arms control but an arms reduction agreement. Unlike treaties of the past, this agreement does not simply establish ceilings for new weapons; it actually reduces the number of such weapons. In fact, it altogether abolishes intermediate missiles in Europe and elsewhere. And so, for the first time, we are eliminating an entire class of nuclear weapons.

The verification measures in this treaty are also something new. On-site inspections and short-notice inspection will be permitted within the Soviet Union. Again, this is a first-time event, a breakthrough.

That is why I believe this treaty will not only lessen the threat of nuclear war but can also speed along a process that may someday remove that threat entirely. Indeed, this treaty -- and all that we have achieved ~~in the past 3 days~~ ^{during this summit} -- signals a broader understanding between the United States and the Soviet Union. It is an understanding that will help keep the peace as we work towards the ultimate goal of our foreign policy: a world where the people of every land can decide for themselves their form of government and way of life.

Yet as important as the I.N.F. treaty is, there is a further and even more crucial point about the last 3 days: Soviet-American relations are no longer based strictly on arms control issues, they rest now on a far broader basis, one that has -- at its root -- realism and candor.

Let me explain this with a saying I have often repeated: Nations do not distrust each other because they are armed, they are armed because they distrust each other. And just as real peace means the presence of freedom and justice, as well as the absence of war, so too, summits must be discussions not just about arms but about the fundamental differences that cause nations to be armed.

Dealing then with the deeper sources of conflict between nations and systems of government is a practical and moral imperative. That is why it was vital to establish a broader Summit agenda, one that dealt not only with arms control but other issues such as bilateral, people-to-people contacts between

our nations and -- most important -- the issues of human rights and regional conflicts.

This is the summit agenda we have adopted. By doing so, we have dealt not just with arms control issues but more fundamental problems such as Soviet expansionism and human rights violations, as well as our own moral opposition to the ideology that justifies such practices. In this way, we have put Soviet-American relations on a far more candid, far more realistic, far sounder footing.

It also means that while there is movement -- indeed, dramatic movement -- in the arms reduction area, much remains to be done in these other critical areas I have mentioned, especially -- and this goes without saying -- in advancing our goal of a world open to the expansion of human freedom and the growth of democratic government.

But while much work lies ahead, I am pleased to report to you the significant progress we have made in these area in addition to arms control.

-- On the matter of regional conflicts, I spoke candidly with Mr. Gorbachev on the burning issue of Afghanistan. The Soviet invasion and occupation of that sovereign nation, an act condemned overwhelmingly by every session of the United Nations General Assembly, is a matter of utmost concern to the United States. I can tell you that ~~Mr. Gorbachev confirmed to me that Soviet forces will leave Afghanistan and.....~~

⊛ -- So too on the issue of human rights, we continued the progress made at earlier summits. (insert) ^{beef up here}

the Soviets must set an exact date to begin withdrawing its troops and an exact period of time when this will be completed. is essential toward

*date + period for withdrawal
reaffirmed this summit*

→ -- And finally with regard to the last item on our agenda --
bilateral (^{issues} ~~or people to people contacts~~) -- we signed several
important agreements that will increase such contacts between our
nations. ~~summit~~ (put in the examples here)

As I say the progress we made on this broad front reflects a better basis for understanding between ourselves and the Soviets. But it also reflects something deeper as well. You see, since the summit process began in 1985, I have always regarded you, the American people, as full participants in our discussions. Though it may surprise Mr. Gorbachev to discover that all this time there has been a third party in the room with us, I do firmly believe the principal credit for the patience and persistence that brought success this year belongs to you, the American people.

→ ~~Possible~~ Your support over these last 7 years has laid the basis for these negotiations, your support made it possible for us to rebuild our military strength; to liberate Grenada, to move against terrorism in Libya, and more recently, to protect our strategic interests in the Persian Gulf. Your support made possible our policy of providing aid to freedom fighters like those in Afghanistan, Nicaragua, and other places around the globe. And when last year at Reykjavik, I refused Soviet demands that we trade away S.D.I. -- our Strategic Defense Initiative that would erect a space shield against incoming missiles -- your overwhelming support made it clear to the Soviet leaders that the American people prefer no deal to a bad deal and will back their President on matters of national security. In short, your

support for our foreign policy goals ~~— peace through strength as~~ ||
~~we advance the cause of world freedom~~ have helped bring the
Soviets to the bargaining table and made possible the success of
this summit.

You know, the question has often been asked whether
democratic leaders who are accountable to their people aren't at
a grave disadvantage in negotiating with leaders of totalitarian
states who bear no such burden. Believe me, I think I can answer
that question, I can speak from personal experience. Over the
long run, no leader at the bargaining table can enjoy any greater
advantage than the knowledge he has behind him a people who are
strong and free -- and alert; and resolved to remain that way.
People like you.

And it is this kind of informed and enlightened support,
this hidden strength of democratic government that enabled us to
do what we did this week at the Washington summit.

And that's why tonight I am again asking your support. In a
very short time, the treaty I signed with Mr. Gorbachev will go
to the United States Senate for ratification. And I am asking
you tonight to tell your Senators this treaty has your full
support.

To this end, let me explain the background. In the mid and
late 1970's, the Soviets began to deploy hundreds of new
intermediate missiles, most of them mobile, that were targeted on
cities and military installations in Europe. This action gravely
upset the balance of power in Europe; they represented a totally

new nuclear threat to Europe and Japan for which the democratic nations had no comparable deterrent.

Despite intense pressure from the Soviets, NATO proceeded with what we called a "two-track policy." First, we would deploy our own intermediate missiles as a deterrent but at the same time, push hard in negotiations to do away with this entirely new and unprecedented nuclear escalation. And we proposed to do this with something I first proposed in 1981 -- it was called the zero-option; it meant the complete elimination of intermediate missiles on both sides.

At first, the Soviets called this a mere propaganda ploy and some even here in this country agreed. But we were persistent and eventually the Soviets returned to the bargaining table. The result is our I.N.F. treaty.

As you see from the map on the screen now, the Soviet missiles which will be removed and eliminated under the treaty have been a major threat to the security of our friends and allies on two continents, Europe and Asia. Under the terms of this treaty, we will be eliminating 400 deployed warheads while the Soviet Union eliminates 1,600 or 4 times more.

Now let me also point out that this does not, however, leave NATO without nuclear deterrent. In fact, we still have thousands of battlefield nuclear weapons in Europe.

And with regard to verification, as I have mentioned, we have the breakthroughs of on-site inspections and short-notice inspections not only at potential missile sites but at the factories where the missiles and their components are produced.

Tony: Is this the case?
Colin was not aware of this.

~~And finally~~ we have a verification procedure that assures each side that the missiles of the other side have been destroyed. ~~And here the world will witness a remarkable sight.~~

After we have removed the warheads, the United States will start firing off our intermediate missiles from the West Coast of Europe into the Atlantic Ocean. Simultaneously, the Soviets will begin launching their missiles eastward, where they will burn out and fall harmlessly into the wastes of Siberia.

Here then will ^{is a treaty} ~~be one missile launch for peace~~, one that shows how persistence and consistency eventually can pay off in arms negotiations. And let me assure you too that this treaty has been accomplished with unprecedented consultation with our allies. I have spoken personally with the leaders of the major European democracies as has Secretary Shultz and our NATO and diplomatic personnel. This treaty has their full support.

But if persistence is paying off in our arms reductions efforts let me also say that with your continued support we are making progress in the areas of regional conflicts and human rights.

Now I have already mentioned that Mr. Gorbachev and I have discussed the importance of Soviet troop withdrawals from Afghanistan. Once again, let me only state that progress on this front is vital to the improvement of Soviet-American relations. In addition to Afghanistan, I can also report to you tonight that I spoke with Mr. Gorbachev about Soviet intervention in other critical regions or strategic chokepoints. In Angola, where Soviet aid and 40,000 of Castro's Cuban mercenaries sustain an

unpopular and tottering Communist regime; in Cambodia where armed resistance continues to North Vietnam's brutal rule; and, most of all, here in our own hemisphere, in the Central American nation of Nicaragua.

On this point, many of you may not be aware that the Soviet Union has poured in more than \$1 billion of military aid to prop up the Communist Sandinista regime in Nicaragua. With this aid and with the help of Soviet bloc advisers, the Sandinista Communists have built a gigantic military machine that oppresses its own people and wages aggression against the neighboring democratic nations of Guatemala, El Salvador, Honduras, and Costa Rica.

Now I have often said that the establishment of a Soviet base camp for subversion on the mainland of North America -- only a 2-day drive from our own border -- is intolerable. Only a few years ago, that seemed the bleak prospect we would have to deal with. But then the Nicaraguan people -- angry at how the Communists had betrayed their democratic revolution of 1978 and taken control of the government -- organized resistance to the Sandinistas. ~~Known as the contras, these freedom fighters now comprise the largest peasant armies in history of this hemisphere.~~ With our assistance they have waged a heroic fight against the Communists and forced them not only to come to the bargaining table but, under the terms of a peace plan worked out last September in Guatemala, to enact limited democratic reforms. Thanks to these freedom fighters and the democratic leaders of the Central American nations involved in the Guatemalan peace

See INSERT

INSERT
for 8-9
S

On this point, I must candidly report to you some disappointing news: our efforts to get the Soviets to remove their military personnel from Nicaragua were not successful. Nor were our efforts to stop the flow of Soviet arms and military aid -- now totaling over \$1 billion -- to the Communist Sandinista regime in Nicaragua. At this critical time in Central America, this lack of movement was discouraging to me and to all who support the cause of democracy for all Central Americans.

So tonight, I must tell you of my firm resolve to stand by those brave Nicaraguans fighting for freedom. I will urge Congress in the strongest terms to continue aid to the freedom fighters -- which expires just before Christmas. If Congress will not support this request and join with me in sending a strong signal both the Managua and Moscow, then our country will be making a serious mistake that could extinguish the flame of freedom in Nicaragua -- not just now but for generations to come.

self-determination for their countries) particularly where foreign troops have intervened to install or prop up regimes lacking popular support.

Now let me talk on the third issue on the summit agenda, that of human rights. As I say, since our first discussion in 1985, progress has been made and in recent months, our human rights dialogue with the Soviets has become much broader. Without in any way dismissing the important and welcome steps taken recently by the Soviet Union to improve policy and performance in this area, I made it clear to Mr. Gorbachev that much more must be done in this area to open the way for a more normal relationship between our countries. Here, political, artistic, and especially religious freedom are key. And we will continue to urge the Soviets to allow all those who wish to leave the country to do so freely. On all of this, we will not be satisfied with sporadic gestures or half measures; the human rights issue will not be put to rest until our present concerns are resolved, and new ones cease to emerge.

edit

And finally let me briefly address the fourth item on the summit agenda: that of bilateral, people-to-people contacts between our two nations. On bilateral issues, Mr. Gorbachev and I expressed our satisfaction at the growing number of private exchanges which are affording our citizens unprecedented opportunities to learn about each other. This is a worthwhile investment in future relations; and we signed a number of bilateral agreements on ___ and ___. Also, Nancy and I are looking forward to seeing the Soviet Union next year where

edit

~~continued from previous page~~

~~Mr. Gorbachev and I will take up the unfinished work of this summit. And he we also challenge the Soviets may...~~

Now in addition to making the progress, that I have already outlined on our 4-part agenda, Mr. Gorbachev and I did do some important planning for the ~~summit~~ Moscow ^{next year} summit. We agreed that we must redouble our efforts to reach agreements on reducing the levels of U.S. and Soviet long-range nuclear weapons now under discussion in the START negotiations. General Secretary Gorbachev and I reaffirmed this week our commitment -- made at Reykjavik -- to achieve deep, 50 percent cuts in our arsenals of those frightening weapons. We agreed that we should ~~accelerate~~ ^{build on} our efforts to achieve agreement on a START treaty ~~by the time of the Moscow summit~~ ^{at the earliest possible date;} and we have instructed our delegations in Geneva accordingly.

but some time more planning is effort to limit on research. As I go

Now, I believe deep reductions in these offensive weapons -- along with the development of S.D.I. -- would do much to make the world safe from nuclear war. ^{so while I was pleased} ~~which is why I am also glad to~~

~~report to you the the Soviets have now dropped their insistence that we abandon S.D.I.;~~ ~~but they continue to insist in efforts to limit our research~~ ~~that we abandon S.D.I.;~~ ~~Indeed, Mr. Gorbachev has admitted that the Soviets are building their own.~~ ^{I reiterated the point that} ~~providing a strategic defensive shield is too important to restrict the promise its holds for the future~~

About the future, Mr. Gorbachev and I also agreed that as nuclear weapons are reduced; it becomes all the more important to address other arms control issues including conventional and chemical weapons, weapons in which the Soviets now enjoy significant advantages over the United States.

I think then from all of this you can see not only the direction of Soviet-American relations but the larger framework

~~...however...~~
I remain concerned ~~they~~ over their efforts to limit our ~~...research in this area.~~

of our foreign policy. As I told the British Parliament in 1981, we seek to rid the world of the two great nightmares of the post-war era: the threat of nuclear war and the threat of totalitarianism. That is why by building S.D.I., which is a defense against offensive missiles and by going for arms reduction rather than just arms control, we are moving away from the so-called ~~M.A.D. policy~~, the policy of Mutual Assured Destruction where nations hold each other hostage to nuclear terror and destruction. So too, we are saying that the post-war policy of containment is no longer enough, that the goal of American foreign policy is both world peace and world freedom -- that as a people we hope and will work for a day when all of God's children will enjoy the human dignity that their creator intended, a dignity best assured on this Earth by free and democratic government.

I have heard some say that this is a philosophy of "rollback" of communism. But this is the wrong description because it concedes the idea that direction of history has been towards totalitarianism. Since my first days in office, I have argued that the future belongs not to repressive or totalitarian ways of life but to the cause of freedom -- freedom of the marketplace, freedom to speak, assemble, and vote. And when we see the progress of democracy in these last years -- from Central America to Asia -- we must be optimistic about the future of our children.

When we were together in Iceland, Mr. Gorbachev told me that this sort of talk is sometimes viewed in the Soviet Union as a

threat. I have said since then that this is no threat at all but only a dream, the American dream.

And it is a dream that has meant so much to so many -- a dream that still shines out to the world. You know a few years ago, Nancy and I were deeply moved by a story told by former New York Times reporter and Greek immigrant, Nicholas Gage. It is the story of Eleni, his mother, a woman caught in one of the terrible struggles of the post-war era: the Greek civil war at the end of World War II, a mother who was tried and executed because she smuggled her children out to safety in America.

It is also the story of how her son secretly vowed to return to Greece someday to take vengeance on the man who had sent his mother to her death. But at the end of the story Nicholas Gage finds he cannot extract the vengeance he promised himself. Mr. Gage writes it would have relieved the pain that had filled him for so many years but it would also have broken the one bridge still connecting him to his mother, that part of him most like here. As he tells it: "the final cry of my mother....was not a curse on her killers but an invocation of what she died for, a declaration of love." These simple last words of Mr. Gage's mother, of Eleni, were: "My children."

How that cry echoes down through the centuries, a cry for all children of the world, a cry for peace, for a world of love and understanding.

And it is the hope of heeding such words -- the call for freedom and peace spoken by a chosen people on a desert journey to a promised land, the call spoken by the Nazarene carpenter

standing at the Sea of Galilee -- it is these words that we remember as the holiday season approaches and we reflect on the events of this week here in Washington.

So, let us remember the children, and the future we want for them. And let us never forget that this promise of peace and freedom -- the gift that is ours as Americans -- the gift that we seek to share with the entire world -- depends for its strength on the spiritual source from which it came.

So during this holy season, let us also recall that in the prayers of simple people there is more power and might than that of all the great statesmen or armies of the Earth. Let us then thank God for all his blessings to this Nation and ask him for his help and guidance; so that we might continue the work of peace and foster the hope of a world where human freedom is enshrined.

peace and foster the hope of a world where human freedom is enshrined.

WHITE HOUSE STAFFING MEMORANDUM



DATE: 12/10/87 ACTION/CONCURRENCE/COMMENT DUE BY: 12:00 TODAY

SUBJECT: PRESIDENTIAL ADDRESS TO THE NATION: SUMMIT

	ACTION FYI			ACTION FYI	
VICE PRESIDENT	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	FITZWATER	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>
BAKER	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	GRISCOM	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
DUBERSTEIN	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	HOBBS	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
MILLER - OMB	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	HOOLEY	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
BALL	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	KING	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
BAUER	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	RANGE	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
POWELL	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	RISQUE	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
CRIBB	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	RYAN	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
CRIPPEN	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	SPRINKEL	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
CULVAHOUSE	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	TUTTLE	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
DAWSON	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	DOLAN	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>
DONATELLI	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>		<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>

REMARKS:

Please provide your comments/recommendations directly to Tony Dolan's office with an infor copy to my office by 12:00 TODAY. Thank you.

RESPONSE:

Changes recommended:

*P3
P5 (notification insert + attache
-c (info to usien) in Ball*

Rhett Dawson
Ext. 202

(Griscom/Dolan)
December 10, 1987
10:00 a.m.

PRESIDENTIAL ADDRESS TO THE NATION: **SUMMIT**
THURSDAY, DECEMBER 10, 1987

Good evening. As I am speaking to you now, General Secretary Gorbachev is leaving American airspace on his return trip to the Soviet Union. His departure marks the end of 3 historic days here in Washington -- in which Secretary Gorbachev and I put in place a foundation for better relations between our governments and our peoples.

During these 3 days we took a step -- only a first step, I should point out, but still a critical one -- towards building a more durable peace; indeed, a step that may be the most important taken since World War II to slow down the arms race.

I am referring to the arms treaty that we signed Tuesday afternoon in the East Room of the White House. I believe this treaty represents a landmark in post-war history because it is not just an arms control but an arms reduction agreement. Unlike treaties of the past, this agreement does not simply establish ceilings for new weapons; it actually reduces the number of such weapons. In fact, it altogether abolishes intermediate missiles in Europe and elsewhere. And so, for the first time, we are eliminating an entire class of nuclear weapons.

The verification measures in this treaty are also something new. On-site inspections and short-notice inspection will be permitted within the Soviet Union. Again, this is a first-time event, a breakthrough.

That is why I believe this treaty will not only lessen the threat of nuclear war but can also speed along a process that may someday remove that threat entirely. Indeed, this treaty -- and all that we have achieved during this summit -- signals a broader understanding between the United States and the Soviet Union. It is an understanding that will help keep the peace as we work towards the ultimate goal of our foreign policy: a world where the people of every land can decide for themselves their form of government and way of life.

Yet as important as the I.N.F. treaty is, there is a further and even more crucial point about the last 3 days:

Soviet-American relations are no longer based strictly on arms control issues, they rest now on a far broader basis, one that has -- at its root -- realism and candor.

Let me explain this with a saying I have often repeated: Nations do not distrust each other because they are armed, they are armed because they distrust each other. And just as real peace means the presence of freedom and justice, as well as the absence of war, so too, summits must be discussions not just about arms but about the fundamental differences that cause nations to be armed.

Dealing then with the deeper sources of conflict between nations and systems of government is a practical and moral imperative. That is why it was vital to establish a broader Summit agenda, one that dealt not only with arms control but other issues such as bilateral, people-to-people contacts between

our nations and -- most important -- the issues of human rights and regional conflicts.

This is the summit agenda we have adopted. By doing so, we have dealt not just with arms control issues but more fundamental problems such as Soviet expansionism and human rights violations, as well as our own moral opposition to the ideology that justifies such practices. In this way, we have put Soviet-American relations on a far more candid, far more realistic, far sounder footing.

It also means that while there is movement -- indeed, dramatic movement -- in the arms reduction area, much remains to be done in these other critical areas I have mentioned, especially -- and this goes without saying -- in advancing our goal of a world open to the expansion of human freedom and the growth of democratic government.

But while much work lies ahead, I am pleased to report to you the ~~significant~~ progress we have made in these area in addition to arms control.

-- On the matter of regional conflicts, I spoke candidly with Mr. Gorbachev on the burning issue of Afghanistan. The Soviet invasion and occupation of that sovereign nation, an act condemned overwhelmingly by every session of the United Nations General Assembly, is a matter of utmost concern to the United States. I can tell you that the Soviets must set an exact date to begin withdrawing its troops and an exact period of time when this will be completed. This is essential toward...

-- So too on the issue of human rights, we continued the progress made at earlier summits. (insert)

-- And finally with regard to the last item on our agenda -- bilateral issues -- we signed several important agreements that will increase such contacts between our nations. (example)

As I say the progress we made on this broad front reflects a better basis for understanding between ourselves and the Soviets. But it also reflects something deeper as well. You see, since the summit process began in 1985, I have always regarded you, the American people, as full participants in our discussions. Though it may surprise Mr. Gorbachev to discover that all this time there has been a third party in the room with us, I do firmly believe the principal credit for the patience and persistence that brought success this year belongs to you, the American people.

Your support over these last 7 years has laid the basis for these negotiations, your support made it possible for us to rebuild our military strength; to liberate Grenada, to move against terrorism in Libya, and more recently, to protect our strategic interests in the Persian Gulf. Your support made possible our policy of providing aid to freedom fighters like those in Afghanistan, Nicaragua, and other places around the globe. And when last year at Reykjavik, I refused Soviet demands that we trade away S.D.I. -- our Strategic Defense Initiative that would erect a space shield against incoming missiles -- your overwhelming support made it clear to the Soviet leaders that the American people prefer no deal to a bad deal and will back their

President on matters of national security. In short, your support for our foreign policy goals -- the preservation of peace as we advance the cause of world freedom -- have helped bring the Soviets to the bargaining table and made possible the success of this summit.

You know, the question has often been asked whether democratic leaders who are accountable to their people aren't at a grave disadvantage in negotiating with leaders of totalitarian states who bear no such burden. Believe me, I think I can answer that question, I can speak from personal experience. Over the long run, no leader at the bargaining table can enjoy any greater advantage than the knowledge he has behind him a people who are strong and free -- and alert; and resolved to remain that way. People like you.

And it is this kind of informed and enlightened support, this hidden strength of democratic government that enabled us to do what we did this week at the Washington summit.

~~And that's why tonight I am again asking your support. In a very short time, the treaty I signed with Mr. Gorbachev will go to the United States Senate for ratification. And I am asking you tonight to tell your Senators this treaty has your full support.~~

To this end, let me explain ^{to you} the background. In the mid and late 1970's, the Soviets began to deploy hundreds of new intermediate missiles, most of them mobile, that were targeted on cities and military installations in Europe. This action gravely upset the balance of power in Europe; they represented a totally

Insert attached

new nuclear threat to Europe and Japan for which the democratic nations had no comparable deterrent.

Despite intense pressure from the Soviets, NATO proceeded with what we called a "two-track policy." First, we would deploy our own intermediate missiles as a deterrent but at the same time, push hard in negotiations to do away with this entirely new and unprecedented nuclear escalation. And we proposed to do this with something I first proposed in 1981 -- it was called the zero-option; it meant the complete elimination of intermediate missiles on both sides.

At first, the Soviets called this a mere propaganda ploy and some even here in this country agreed. But we were persistent and eventually the Soviets returned to the bargaining table. The result is our I.N.F. treaty.

As you see from the map on the screen now, the Soviet missiles which will be removed and eliminated under the treaty have been a major threat to the security of our friends and allies on two continents, Europe and Asia. Under the terms of this treaty, we will be eliminating 400 deployed warheads while the Soviet Union eliminates 1,600 or 4 times more.

Now let me also point out that this does not, however, leave NATO without nuclear deterrent. In fact, we still have thousands of battlefield nuclear weapons in Europe.

And with regard to verification, as I have mentioned, we have the breakthroughs of on-site inspections and short-notice inspections not only at potential missile sites but at the factories where the missiles and their components are produced.

We have a verification procedure that assures each side that the missiles of the other side have been destroyed.

Here then is a treaty that shows how persistence and consistency eventually can pay off in arms negotiations. And let me assure you too that this treaty has been accomplished with unprecedented consultation with our allies. I have spoken personally with the leaders of the major European democracies as has Secretary Shultz and our NATO and diplomatic personnel. This treaty has their full support.

But if persistence is paying off in our arms reductions efforts let me also say that with your continued support we are making progress in the areas of regional conflicts and human rights.

Now I have already mentioned that Mr. Gorbachev and I have discussed the importance of Soviet troop withdrawals from Afghanistan. Once again, let me only state that progress on this front is vital to the improvement of Soviet-American relations. In addition to Afghanistan, I can also report to you tonight that I spoke with Mr. Gorbachev about Soviet intervention in other critical regions or strategic chokepoints. In Angola, where Soviet aid and 40,000 of Castro's Cuban mercenaries sustain an unpopular and tottering Communist regime; in Cambodia where armed resistance continues to North Vietnam's brutal rule; and, most of all, here in our own hemisphere, in the Central American nation of Nicaragua.

On this point, I must candidly report to you some disappointing news: our efforts to get the Soviets to remove

their military personnel from Nicaragua were not successful. Nor were our efforts to stop the flow of Soviet arms and military aid -- now totaling over \$1 billion -- to the Communist Sandinista regime in Nicaragua. At this critical time in Central America, this lack of movement was discouraging to me and to all who support the cause of democracy for all Central Americans.

So tonight, I must tell you of my firm resolve to stand by those brave Nicaraguans fighting for freedom. I will urge Congress in the strongest terms to continue aid to the freedom fighters -- which expires just before Christmas. If Congress will not support this request and join with me in sending a strong signal both to Managua and Moscow, then our country will be making a serious mistake that could extinguish the flame of freedom in Nicaragua -- not just now but for generations to come.

Now in addition to ~~making the progress, that I have already~~ ^{the items I have} outlined on our 4-part agenda, Mr. Gorbachev and I did do some important planning for the Moscow summit next year. We agreed that we must redouble our efforts to reach agreements on reducing the levels of U.S. and Soviet long-range nuclear weapons now under discussion in the START negotiations. General Secretary Gorbachev and I reaffirmed this week our commitment -- made at Reykjavik -- to achieve deep, 50 percent cuts in our arsenals of those frightening weapons. We agreed that we should build on our efforts to achieve agreement on a START treaty at the earliest possible date; and we have instructed our delegations in Geneva accordingly.

Now, I believe deep reductions in these offensive weapons -- along with the development of S.D.I. -- would do much to make the world safe from ^{the threat of} nuclear war. So while I was pleased the Soviets dropped their insistence that we abandon S.D.I. -- however -- I remain concerned over their efforts to limit our vital research in this area. I reiterated the point that providing a strategic defensive shield is too important to restrict the promise it holds for the future.

About the future, Mr. Gorbachev and I also agreed that as nuclear weapons are reduced; it becomes all the more important to address other arms control issues including conventional and chemical weapons, weapons in which the Soviets now enjoy significant advantages over the United States.

I think then from all of this you can see not only the direction of Soviet-American relations but the larger framework of our foreign policy. As I told the British Parliament in 1981, we seek to rid the world of the two great nightmares of the post-war era: the threat of nuclear war and the threat of totalitarianism. That is why by building S.D.I., which is a defense against offensive missiles and by going for arms reduction rather than just arms control, we are moving away from the so-called policy of Mutual Assured Destruction where nations hold each other hostage to nuclear terror and destruction. So too, we are saying that the post-war policy of containment is no longer enough, that the goal of American foreign policy is both world peace and world freedom -- that as a people we hope and will work for a day when all of God's children will enjoy the

human dignity that their creator intended, a dignity best assured on this Earth by free and democratic government.

I have heard some say that this is a philosophy of "rollback" of communism. But this is the wrong description because it concedes the idea that direction of history has been towards totalitarianism. Since my first days in office, I have argued that the future belongs not to repressive or totalitarian ways of life but to the cause of freedom -- freedom of the marketplace, freedom to speak, assemble, and vote. And when we see the progress of democracy in these last years -- from Central America to Asia -- we must be optimistic about the future of our children.

When we were together in Iceland, Mr. Gorbachev told me that this sort of talk is sometimes viewed in the Soviet Union as a threat. I have said since then that this is no threat at all but only a dream, the American dream.

And it is a dream that has meant so much to so many -- a dream that still shines out to the world. You know a few years ago, Nancy and I were deeply moved by a story told by former New York Times reporter and Greek immigrant, Nicholas Gage. It is the story of Eleni, his mother, a woman caught in one of the terrible struggles of the post-war era: the Greek civil war at the end of World War II, a mother who was tried and executed because she smuggled her children out to safety in America.

It is also the story of how her son secretly vowed to return to Greece someday to take vengeance on the man who had sent his mother to her death. But at the end of the story Nicholas Gage

finds he cannot extract the vengeance he promised himself. Mr. Gage writes it would have relieved the pain that had filled him for so many years but it would also have broken the one bridge still connecting him to his mother, that part of him most like here. As he tells it: "the final cry of my mother...was not a curse on her killers but an invocation of what she died for, a declaration of love." These simple last words of Mr. Gage's mother, of Eleni, were: "My children."

How that cry echoes down through the centuries, a cry for all children of the world, a cry for peace, for a world of love and understanding.

And it is the hope of heeding such words -- the call for freedom and peace spoken by a chosen people on a desert journey to a promised land, the call spoken by the Nazarene carpenter standing at the Sea of Galilee -- it is these words that we remember as the holiday season approaches and we reflect on the events of this week here in Washington.

So, let us remember the children, and the future we want for them. And let us never forget that this promise of peace and freedom -- the gift that is ours as Americans -- the gift that we seek to share with the entire world -- depends for its strength on the spiritual source from which it came.

So during this holy season, let us also recall that in the prayers of simple people there is more power and might than that of all the great statesmen or armies of the Earth. Let us then thank God for all his blessings to this Nation and ask him for his help and guidance; so that we might continue the work of

peace and foster the hope of a world where human freedom is enshrined.

INSERT ON RATIFICATION

Now that the treaty has been signed, it will be submitted to the Senate for the next step, the ratification process. I will meet with the Leadership of the Congress here tomorrow morning, and I am confident that the Senate will now act in an expeditious way to fulfill its duty under our Constitution.

P 5 #3

WHITE HOUSE STAFFING MEMORANDUM

DATE: 12/10/87 ACTION/CONCURRENCE/COMMENT DUE BY: 12:00 TODAY

SUBJECT: PRESIDENTIAL ADDRESS TO THE NATION: SUMMIT

	ACTION	FYI		ACTION	FYI
VICE PRESIDENT	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	FITZWATER	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>
BAKER	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	GRISCOM	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
DUBERSTEIN	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	HOBBS	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
MILLER - OMB	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	HOOLEY	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
BALL	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	KING	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
BAUER	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	RANGE	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
██████████ POWELL	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	RISQUE	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
CRIBB	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	RYAN	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
CRIPPEN	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	SPRINKEL	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
CULVAHOUSE	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	TUTTLE	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
DAWSON	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<u>DOLAN</u>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>
DONATELLI	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	_____	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>

REMARKS:

Please provide your comments/recommendations directly to Tony Dolan's office with an infor copy to my office by 12:00 TODAY. Thank you.

RESPONSE:

→ See changes / comments

(Griscom/Dolan)
December 10, 1987
10:00 a.m.

PRESIDENTIAL ADDRESS TO THE NATION: SUMMIT
THURSDAY, DECEMBER 10, 1987

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That is why I believe this treaty will not only lessen the threat of nuclear war but can also speed along a process that may someday remove that threat entirely. Indeed, this treaty -- and all that we have achieved during this summit -- signals a broader understanding between the United States and the Soviet Union. It is an understanding that will help keep the peace as we work towards the ultimate goal of our foreign policy: a world where the people of every land can decide for themselves their form of government and way of life.

Yet as important as the I.N.F. treaty is, there is a further and even more crucial point about the last 3 days: Soviet-American relations are no longer based strictly on arms control issues, they rest now on a far broader basis, one that has -- at its root -- realism and candor.

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Dealing then with the deeper sources of conflict between nations and systems of government is a practical and moral imperative. That is why it was vital to establish a broader Summit agenda, one that dealt not only with arms control but other issues such as bilateral, people-to-people contacts between

our nations and -- most important -- the issues of human rights and regional conflicts.

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But while much work lies ahead, I am pleased to report to you the significant progress we have made in these area in addition to arms control.

-- On the matter of regional conflicts, I spoke candidly with Mr. Gorbachev on the burning issue of Afghanistan. The Soviet invasion and occupation of that sovereign nation, an act condemned overwhelmingly by every session of the United Nations General Assembly, is a matter of utmost concern to the United States. I can tell you that the Soviets must set an exact date to begin withdrawing its troops and an exact period of time when this will be completed. This is essential ~~to the success of our~~
~~anti-Soviet~~

-- So too on the issue of human rights, we continued the progress made at earlier summits. (insert) (NSC to provide)

-- And finally with regard to the last item on our agenda -- bilateral issues -- we signed several important agreements that will increase such contacts between our nations. (example) → NSC to provide

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President on matters of national security. In short, your support for our foreign policy goals -- the preservation of peace as we advance the cause of world freedom -- have helped bring the Soviets to the bargaining table and made possible the success of this summit.

You know, the question has often been asked whether democratic leaders who are accountable to their people aren't at a grave disadvantage in negotiating with leaders of totalitarian states who bear no such burden. Believe me, I think I can answer that question, I can speak from personal experience. Over the long run, no leader at the bargaining table can enjoy any greater advantage than the knowledge he has behind him a people who are strong and free -- and alert; and resolved to remain that way. People like you.

And it is this kind of informed and enlightened support, this hidden strength of democratic government that enabled us to do what we did this week at the Washington summit.

And that's why tonight I am again asking your support. In a very short time, the treaty I signed with Mr. Gorbachev will go to the United States Senate for ratification. And I am asking you tonight to tell your Senators this treaty has your full support.

To this end, let me explain the background. In the mid and late 1970's, the Soviets began to deploy hundreds of new intermediate missiles, most of them mobile, that were targeted on cities and military installations in Europe. This action gravely upset the balance of power in Europe; they represented a totally

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their military personnel from Nicaragua were not successful. Nor were our efforts to stop the flow of Soviet arms and military aid -- now totaling over \$1 billion -- to the Communist Sandinista regime in Nicaragua. At this critical time in Central America, this lack of movement was discouraging to me and to all who support the cause of democracy for all Central Americans.

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human dignity that their creator intended, a dignity best assured on this Earth by free and democratic government.

I have heard some say that this is a philosophy of "rollback" of communism. But this is the wrong description because it concedes the idea that direction of history has been towards totalitarianism. Since my first days in office, I have argued that the future belongs not to repressive or totalitarian ways of life but to the cause of freedom -- freedom of the marketplace, freedom to speak, assemble, and vote. And when we see the progress of democracy in these last years -- from Central America to Asia -- we must be optimistic about the future of our children.

When we were together in Iceland, Mr. Gorbachev told me that this sort of talk is sometimes viewed in the Soviet Union as a threat. I have said since then that this is no threat at all but only a dream, the American dream.

And it is a dream that has meant so much to so many -- a dream that still shines out to the world. You know a few years ago, Nancy and I were deeply moved by a story told by former New York Times reporter and Greek immigrant, Nicholas Gage. It is the story of Eleni, his mother, a woman caught in one of the terrible struggles of the post-war era: the Greek civil war at the end of World War II, a mother who was tried and executed because she smuggled her children out to safety in America.

It is also the story of how her son secretly vowed to return to Greece someday to take vengeance on the man who had sent his mother to her death. But at the end of the story Nicholas Gage

finds he cannot extract the vengeance he promised himself. Mr. Gage writes it would have relieved the pain that had filled him for so many years but it would also have broken the one bridge still connecting him to his mother, that part of him most like here. As he tells it: "the final cry of my mother....was not a curse on her killers but an invocation of what she died for, a declaration of love." These simple last words of Mr. Gage's mother, of Eleni, were: "My children."

How that cry echoes down through the centuries, a cry for all children of the world, a cry for peace, for a world of love and understanding.

And it is the hope of heeding such words -- the call for freedom and peace spoken by a chosen people on a desert journey to a promised land, the call spoken by the Nazarene carpenter standing at the Sea of Galilee -- it is these words that we remember as the holiday season approaches and we reflect on the events of this week here in Washington.

So, let us remember the children, and the future we want for them. And let us never forget that this promise of peace and freedom -- the gift that is ours as Americans -- the gift that we seek to share with the entire world -- depends for its strength on the spiritual source from which it came.

So during this holy season, let us also recall that in the prayers of simple people there is more power and might than that of all the great statesmen or armies of the Earth. Let us then thank God for all his blessings to this Nation and ask him for his help and guidance; so that we might continue the work of

peace and foster the hope of a world where human freedom is enshrined.