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WITHDRAWAL SHEET

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| DOCUMENT NO. AND TYPE | SUBJECT/TITLE | DATE | RESTRICTION |
|--|---|---------|---------------------------|
| 1. memo | William F. Martin to David Chew, re NSC comments on address to the nation | 11/7/85 | P5 12/22/00 |
| COLLECTION: SPEECHWRITING, WHITE HOUSE OFFICE OF: Speech Drafts | | | kdb |
| FILE FOLDER: Address to the Nation-Geneva Summit (Dolan)(White) November 14, 1985 [4 of 5] OA 11126 Box 255 | | | 8/16/95 |

RESTRICTION CODES

Presidential Records Act - [44 U.S.C. 2204(a)]

- P-1 National security classified information [(a)(1) of the PRA].
- P-2 Relating to appointment to Federal office [(a)(2) of the PRA].
- P-3 Release would violate a Federal statute [(a)(3) of the PRA].
- P-4 Release would disclose trade secrets or confidential commercial or financial information [(a)(4) of the PRA].
- P-5 Release would disclose confidential advice between the President and his advisors, or between such advisors [(a)(5) of the PRA].
- P-6 Release would constitute a clearly unwarranted invasion of personal privacy [(a)(6) of the PRA].

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- F-6 Release would constitute a clearly unwarranted invasion of personal privacy [(b)(6) of the FOIA].
- F-7 Release would disclose information compiled for law enforcement purposes [(b)(7) of the FOIA].
- F-8 Release would disclose information concerning the regulation of financial institutions [(b)(8) of the FOIA].
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LAST

Buchanan

NBC 11:25 p.m.

PRESIDENTIAL ADDRESS: TO THE NATION -- GENEVA SUMMIT

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

sketch

for peace

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

sketch

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

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

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

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

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

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

Peace Is Indivisible

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

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

Putting the Nuclear Genie Back ...

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

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

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

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

{Full compliance}

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

The Regional Agenda -- Ending Wars Now Underway

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

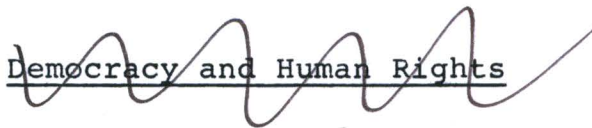
Thus today, there is no peace in Afghanistan; no peace in Cambodia; no peace in Angola; no peace in Ethiopia, and no peace in Nicaragua. These wars have claimed hundreds of thousands of lives and threaten to spill over national frontiers.

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

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

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

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


Democracy and Human Rights

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

Let me summarize, ⁿthem, the vision and hopes that we carry with us to Genva.

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

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

Again, the elements of that agenda are these:

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

Thank you, God bless you and good night.

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

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

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

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

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NATIONAL SECURITY COUNCIL
WASHINGTON, D.C. 20506

9030

November 7, 1985

MEMORANDUM FOR DAVID CHEW

FROM:

WILLIAM F. MARTIN *WFM*

SUBJECT:

NSC Comments on Address to the Nation

Attached are NSC comments on the revised November 14th Address to the Nation. There are very minor factual corrections on p9.

We continue to feel strongly that the references on pages 2-3 to "the football" should be deleted. This focuses the discussion on the hardware of war rather than its political causes-- a point we have been trying to make for some time. Our approach stresses that we should be dealing with the causes of war and the tensions engendered by Soviet behavior, rather than the existence of nuclear or other weapons. For this reason, it would be better to have another kind of reminder of the awesome reality, possibly a reference to the Cuban missile crisis or to the President's thoughts and feelings on the eve of the Grenada action.

cc: Ben Elliott

Judy + Mandel
Called in green D's
11/8 11:45 Sam

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

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

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

My mission, stated simply, is a mission for peace. It is to engage the new Soviet leader in what I hope will be a dialogue for peace that endures as long as my Presidency -- and beyond. It is to sit down across from Mr. Gorbachev and try to map, together, a common causeway over the no-man's land of mistrust and hostility that separates our societies and nations.

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

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

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

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

To a few people here in this office, I recently recalled a hotly debated issue in my college years. Some of us strenuously argued that in the advent of another world war no civilized person would ever obey an order to bomb civilian targets. Humanity, we were certain, would never come to that. Well, World War II and 34 million civilian casualties later we were all sadly, tragically wiser. Today, we have no such illusions. We know if World War III ever breaks out, the toll in human life and suffering would be catastrophic.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

Progress ⁱⁿ on these four ^{areas}~~questions~~ depends upon whether Moscow is willing to meet us halfway. Success at Geneva should not be measured by the short-term agreements that come out of the summit. Only the passage of time -- the months and years X

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

X

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

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

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

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

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

In 1977, and again in 1981 the United States proposed to the Soviet Union deep reciprocal cuts in strategic forces. These offers were rejected, out-of-hand. The following year, we proposed the complete elimination of ^{a whole category of} all intermediate ^{range} nuclear forces, ^{two years later we revisited & proposed a treaty for} and a global ban on chemical weapons. These proposals, ^{thus far,} too, produced the same negative response. ^{Moreover,} Then, ^{the Geneva} in 1983, the Soviet Union got up and walked out of arms control negotiations altogether.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

These proposals will not bridge our differences, but people-to-people contacts can build genuine ^{constituencies for peace} ~~peace~~ movements in both countries. X

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

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

As Prime Minister Mulroney of Canada put it recently when told the United States was an imperialist Nation -- and I'm using the Prime Minister's words -- "What the hell [devil] do you mean 'imperialist nation?'. We have a 4,000 mile border between us and for 172 years there hasn't been a shot fired in anger."

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

Thank you, God bless you and good night.

WHITE HOUSE STAFFING MEMORANDUM

DATE: 11/7/85 ACTION/CONCURRENCE/COMMENT DUE BY: 5:00 P.M. TODAY

SUBJECT: REVISED TV ADDRESS TO THE NATION: GENEVA SUMMIT
 (11/7 - 2:00 p.m. draft)

| | ACTION FYI | | | ACTION FYI | |
|----------------|-------------------------------------|-------------------------------------|----------|-------------------------------------|-------------------------------------|
| VICE PRESIDENT | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | OGLESBY | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| REGAN | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input checked="" type="checkbox"/> | | | |
| MILLER | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | RYAN | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| BUCHANAN | <input checked="" type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | SPEAKES | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input checked="" type="checkbox"/> |
| CHAVEZ | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | SPRINKEL | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| CHEW | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input checked="" type="checkbox"/> | SVAHN | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| DANIELS | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | THOMAS | <input checked="" type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| FIELDING | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | TUTTLE | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| HENKEL | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | ELLIOTT | | |
| HICKS | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | _____ | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| KINGON | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | _____ | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| LACY | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | _____ | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| McFARLANE | <input checked="" type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | _____ | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> |

REMARKS:

Please provide any edits directly to Ben Elliott by 5:00 p.m. tonight with an information copy to my office. Thank you.

RESPONSE:

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

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

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

My mission, stated simply, is a mission for peace. It is to engage the new Soviet leader in what I hope will be a dialogue for peace that endures as long as my Presidency -- and beyond. It is to sit down across from Mr. Gorbachev and try to map, together, a common causeway over the no-man's land of mistrust and hostility that separates our societies and nations.

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

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

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

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

To a few people here in this office, I recently recalled a hotly debated issue in my college years. Some of us strenuously argued that in the advent of another world war no civilized person would ever obey an order to bomb civilian targets. Humanity, we were certain, would never come to that. Well, World War II and 34 million civilian casualties later we were all sadly, tragically wiser. Today, we have no such illusions. We know if World War III ever breaks out, the toll in human life and suffering would be catastrophic.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

Progress on these four questions depends upon whether Moscow is willing to meet us halfway. Success at Geneva should not be measured by the short-term agreements that come out of the summit. Only the passage of time -- the months and years

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

Thank you, God bless you and good night.

WHITE HOUSE STAFFING MEMORANDUM

DATE: 11/6/85 ACTION/CONCURRENCE/COMMENT DUE BY: 4:00 P.M. TODAY

REVISED

SUBJECT: ADDRESS TO THE NATION: GENEVA SUMMIT
(11/6 - 2:15 a.m. draft)

| | ACTION FYI | | | ACTION FYI | |
|----------------|-------------------------------------|-------------------------------------|----------|-------------------------------------|-------------------------------------|
| VICE PRESIDENT | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | OGLESBY | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| REGAN | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input checked="" type="checkbox"/> | | | |
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| DANIELS | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | THOMAS | <input checked="" type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> |
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REMARKS:

please provide your comments directly to Ben Elliott by 4:00 p.m. today with an information copy to my office.

Thank you.

RESPONSE:

David L. Chew
Staff Secretary
Ext. 2702

(Dolan/Buchanan/Elliott)
November 6, 1985
2:15 a.m.

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

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

My mission, stated simply, is a mission for peace. It is to engage the new Soviet leader in what I hope will be a dialogue for peace that endures as long as my Presidency. It is to sit down across from Mr. Gorbachev and try to map, together, a common causeway over the no-man's land of suspicion and mistrust and hostility that separates our societies and nations.

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

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

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

Yet, much of what it has taken us all most of a lifetime to build could be shattered and destroyed in half an hour in a nuclear exchange with the Soviet Union. The danger of thermonuclear war and the havoc it would wreak, as President Kennedy put it, remains a modern sword of Damocles dangling over all of us. The awful reality of these weapons is a kind of terrible crescendo to the steady, dehumanizing progress of warfare in this century.

To a few people here in this office, I recently recalled a hotly debated issue in my college years. Some of us strenuously argued that in the advent of another world war no civilized person, and certainly no American, would ever obey an order to bomb civilian targets. Humanity, we were certain, would never come to that. Well, World War II and 34 million civilian casualties later we were all sadly, tragically wiser. Today, we have no such illusions. We know if World War III ever breaks out, civilian casualties could reach 80 percent of the population.

To occupy this office is to live with that reality every day. Whenever I travel I am followed by a military aide who

carries a small black attache case -- "the football" is its nickname. It is a grim reminder of the narrow line our world walks every day. It contains the codes necessary for retaliation to a nuclear attack on the United States. And I am sure a young Russian officer walks next to Mr. Gorbachev -- with the same assignment.

This, then, is why I go to Geneva. For peace. In the hope of never having to face the awful option of nuclear retaliation. In the hope of never having again to speak to the parents or wives of American servicemen killed in some military engagement or terrorist attack -- as I did at the time of Grenada and at the time of Beirut.

The full agenda for the summit has now been set down by Secretary Shultz and Foreign Minister Shervarnadze.

We hope to make at least some progress with the Soviet leadership, on the four fronts of our agreed-upon agenda: First, reducing the danger of nuclear confrontation and the stockpiles of nuclear weapons. Second, resolving those regional conflicts in Asia, Africa and Central America that carry the seeds of a wider war. Third, inaugurating an unprecedented series of people-to-people exchanges. Fourth, I intend to engage Mr. Gorbachev directly on the question of Soviet violations of human rights guaranteed in the Helsinki Accords -- those fundamental, God-given rights without which the prospects for peace are always tenuous at best.

Even as we talk about peace, we must remember its indispensable elements. If peace were merely the absence of

military conflict, then there has been peace between the United States and the Soviet Union for the seven decades of our common history.

But that, as we know, is neither an accurate nor full accounting of our relationship.

For our part, we Americans believe that true peace must rest upon the pillars of individual freedom, human rights and national self-determination. Free and democratic peoples do not go to war against one another in the twentieth century. Peace also depends upon a respect for the rule of law and the sanctity of contract. Nations that have broken one treaty after another -- whether on nuclear arms or chemical weapons or human rights -- should expect to be treated with skepticism when they insist that a new disarmament agreement remains the sum of their international ambitions. Great powers that wage wars of imperial aggression against defenseless neighbors to their south are not persuasive when they profess their intentions are only benign and peaceful toward better-armed neighbors to the West.

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

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

Not only is this affirmation of freedom our responsibility as Americans, it is essential for success in Geneva. If history has shown there is any key to dealing successfully with the Soviets it is this: The Soviets must realize that we harbor no illusions about their ultimate goals and intentions. The Soviet mind is not the mirror image of the American or the Western mind. The Soviets have a very different view of the world. They believe a great struggle is underway and true peace can only be attained with the final triumph of communist power. They believe the march of history is embodied in the Soviet state. So, to them, the continued existence of the great democracies is seen as an obstacle to the ultimate triumph of history and that state.

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

I do not mean, however, to sound unduly pessimistic. While it would be foolhardy to think one summit conference can

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

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

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

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

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

We see the flame rising in places like Afghanistan and Angola where brave people risk their lives for the liberties we have enjoyed since birth. We even see the dream flickering in the captive nations of Eastern Europe. In Poland, men and women of great faith and spirit -- the members of Solidarity, the faithful of the Catholic Church -- rise up to struggle again and again for better lives and a future of hope for their children.

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

It is faith -- faith in a loving God who, despite all the trials of the 20th century, has raised up the smallest believers

to stand taller than the most powerful state. And it is freedom -- freedom for people to dream, to take great risks to reap the rewards of their initiative and unique abilities to excel.

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

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

The re-building of America's military might has rekindled the world's respect for American power, confidence and resolve.

And, now, a new idea filled with promise that may prove vital to peace. As most of you know, the United States and the Soviet Union have for decades used massive nuclear arsenals to hold each other hostage in a kind of mutual terror -- each side threatening massive retaliation against the other.

It's called mutual assured destruction; M-A-D or MAD as the arms control experts call it. As most of you know, the United States is now determined to lead mankind out of this prison of terror, to research and test a new system -- a non-nuclear defense that could provide a survival shield against incoming missiles; that would destroy weapons not people; that would protect our entire planet from nuclear weapons launched by design or by mistake.

America today has a foreign policy that not only speaks out for peace and freedom, but vigorously works for them as well. In

these past five years, not one square inch of real estate has been lost to communist aggression; and, Grenada has been liberated and set free.

So we look to the future with optimism, and we go to Geneva with confidence. We know that the differences between the United States and the Soviet Union are deep and abiding. But we share a common interest in dealing with those differences peacefully.

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

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

In 1977, the United States proposed reciprocal deep cuts in strategic forces, but these were immediately rejected by Moscow. In 1981, my Administration proposed deep reductions in strategic forces. Again, the Soviet leadership rejected that proposal. Then, in 1983, the Soviet Union unilaterally walked out of the negotiations.

I am pleased with the interest expressed by the new Soviet leadership in reducing offensive weapons. Let me repeat tonight what I announced last week: The United States is prepared to reduce offensive weapons by over 50 percent, provided both sides make comparable and verifiable reductions resulting in equivalent strength with no first strike capability.

If we both reduce the weapons of war there would be no losers, only winners. And ultimately the whole world would benefit if we could mutually find a way to abandon offensive

weapons in exchange for survival shields that would render nuclear weapons forever obsolete.

But nuclear arms control is only a partial answer: Since World War II, 20 million people have died in regional wars; not a single one perished from nuclear attack. The Soviet use of force directly and through its proxies has made the world a dangerous place for free men.

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

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

The Soviet Union faces an historic crossroads in Geneva: to show the world by its deeds; to help us stop the killing; to make a lasting contribution to U.S.- Soviet relations.

This would be a true Geneva breakthrough. But we can do more, and I'm determined to try. I intend to offer the Soviets a comprehensive proposal to reduce secrecy, lessen distrust and bring forth a more "Open World."

I will propose to Mr. Gorbachev that we exchange thousands of our citizens from different fraternal, religious, educational and cultural groups.

These people-to-people contacts can do much to bring our nations together. We are going to suggest the exchange of at least 5,000 undergraduates each year for two semesters of study, and a youth exchange involving at least 5,000 secondary school students who would live with a host family and attend schools or summer camps. We also look to increase scholarship programs, improve language studies, develop new sister city relationships, establish cultural centers and libraries and increase athletic and sporting competitions.

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

If Soviet spokesmen and commentators are free to appear on American television, and to be published and read routinely in the American press, are not American officials entitled to at least some access to the Soviet press?

While these proposals will not bridge our differences, people-to-people contact can build constituencies for peace in both our countries.

The conversations Mr. Gorbachev and I will have can help allay the suspicions that now exist. You can be sure I will reaffirm in Geneva what the Soviet leadership already knows: the United States is not an aggressor; we will never strike first against a foreign adversary. As Prime Minister Mulroney of Canada put it recently when told the United States was an

imperialist Nation -- and I'm using the Prime Minister's words -- "What the hell [devil] do you mean 'imperialist nation?'. We have a 4,000 mile border with them and for 172 years there hasn't been a shot fired in anger."

A great danger in the past has been the failure by our adversaries to remember that while the American people love peace, we love freedom more -- and always stand ready to sacrifice for it. The only way major war can ever break out between our two countries is through this sort of miscalculation. By the way, our first meeting will be on the anniversary of the address at Gettysburg, where Mr. Lincoln reminded the world that "government by the people for the people and of the people shall not perish from the earth."

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

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

It is also the story of her son, Nicholas Gage, who grew up to become a reporter with the New York Times and who secretly vowed to return to Greece someday to take vengeance on the man who sent his mother to her death. But at the dramatic end of the story, Nick Gage finds he cannot extract the vengeance he has promised himself. To do so, Mr. Gage writes, might have relieved

the pain that had filled him for so many years but it would also have broken the one bridge still connecting him to his mother and the part of him most like her. As he tells it: "her final cry... was not a curse on her killers but an invocation of what she died for, a declaration of love: 'my children.'"

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

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

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

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

Thank you, God bless you and good night.