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(Dolan)
October 13, 1986
12:30 a.m.

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

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

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

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

Let me assure you, the talks with General Secretary Gorbachev -- lasting more than 10 hours -- were hard and tough but extremely useful.

7 Why did Mr. Gorbachev reject our offer?


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

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

Nevertheless, we remain dedicated to continuing the peace process. We have come too far to turn back now. So tonight I call on the Soviet Union to build on the agreements we reached and not to tear down ~~(give-up)~~ ^(throw away) that which we have built

(accomplished in so many areas) because of our differences over the ^{single issue of} S.D.I.

Let me just briefly summarize now the progress that has been made. During long discussions on both Saturday and Sunday, Mr. Gorbachev and I made ~~considerable~~ ^{considerable} headway ~~in~~ ⁱⁿ a number of ~~crucial areas of~~ ^{army reduction issues,} ~~arms reductions,~~ ^{away} clearing ~~the~~ ^{the} obstacles and going further than we ever have before. And, you know, as the hours went by we found ourselves agreeing on more and more elements -- and lower and lower levels of weapons.

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

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

Finally, you probably know that Mr. Gorbachev has made nuclear testing one of his most frequent -- and I have sometimes thought, propagandistic -- themes. Yet at Reykjavik we were on the verge of an agreement to begin a completely new set of negotiations on nuclear tests.

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

So you can see that for all the progress we made, these talks ~~also~~ brought home again the truth of the statement that nations do not mistrust each other because they are armed; they are armed because they mistrust each other. The differences between the United States and the Soviet Union are deep and abiding. Obviously, ~~there~~ there are no diplomatic quick-fixes to such profound differences. ^{do} But I believe we made as much progress as we did in Iceland because ~~we followed the~~ ^{all along we have pursued a} prudent, deliberate ~~and~~ ^{and} ~~but~~, above all, realistic approach with the Soviets, ~~that we have pursued~~ ^{made it clear we} ~~we~~ had no illusions about the Soviets or their ultimate intentions; we were publicly candid about the critical moral distinctions between totalitarianism and democracy. We said that the principal objective of American foreign policy is not just the prevention of war but the extension of freedom. And, we stressed our commitment to the growth of democratic government and democratic institutions around the world; that is why we assisted freedom fighters who were resisting the imposition of totalitarian rule in Afghanistan, Nicaragua, Angola, Cambodia and elsewhere.

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

And when we
very believe
American
this
summit
process

And it is all of this that makes this current summit process so very different from that of previous decades, ~~and why I believe~~ ^{and it is all this that} over the long run ~~it~~ ^{holds out the promise of} will bring ~~no~~ ^{my fellow Americans,} dramatic results. ~~It is different~~ ^{it holds out such holds promise, real promise, but only}

~~Yes, the current summit process is different, different~~ ^{very different from that of a few decades or even a few years ago. It is} because the world is ~~different, different~~ because of the hard work and sacrifice of the American people ^{during} over the past

5-1/2 years. ~~Today America's economic and military power is~~ ^{not out is} ~~resurgent.~~ ^{and} the Western democracies and the NATO alliance are revitalized, and all across the world nations are turning to democratic ideas and the principles of the free market. Your energy has restored and expanded our economy, ^{it might,} your support has restored our military strength; and your courage and sense of national unity in times of crisis have given pause to our adversaries, heartened our friends and inspired the world.

Freedom is on the march ~~today~~ ^{on the march} because at its critical hour the American people stood guard while it gathered its forces and regained its strength.

So, if there is one impression I carry away with me from ~~these October talks, it is that we are dealing from a position of~~ ^{they are different from negotiations of the past, that because} strength, ~~in these talks and we have it within our grasp now to~~ ^{and for that reason that is why I believe} move speedily with the Soviets towards even more ~~dramatic~~ breakthroughs.

and

And
today,

unlike the past

As I mentioned, one sign of this in Iceland was the *process*
~~discussion~~ of the key issue of arms control. ~~As I have~~
~~mentioned, we and the Soviets made serious progress.~~ I cannot
predict the nature or dates of future agreements. ~~What~~ I can say *only*
repeat ~~is~~ that for the first time *we + yet* in a long while, Soviet-American
at negotiations in the areas of arms reductions are moving, and
moving in the right direction: not just toward arms control but
arms reduction.

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

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

In Iceland, I made human rights ^{was} a critical part of our discussion, and I can report to you that

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

Another subject area we took up in Iceland ^(1/50) lies at the heart of the differences between the Soviet Union and America. This is the issue of regional conflicts. I told Mr. Gorbachev that the good feeling at summits cannot make the American people forget what Soviet actions have meant for the peoples of Afghanistan, Central America, Africa and Southeast Asia. Until Soviet policies change, we will make sure that our friends in these areas -- those who fight for freedom and independence -- will have the support they need.

~~So once again, I think these were useful discussions.~~

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

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

So I think then you can see that we did make progress in Iceland on a broad range of topics. We reaffirmed our four point agenda, ~~arms reduction, human rights, regional conflicts and bilateral contacts;~~ we discovered major new grounds of agreement; we probed again some old areas of disagreement.

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

^{still} We believe that no agreement is better than a bad agreement. [^] And we must bear in mind ~~because of~~ the nature of the Soviet regime itself, ^{will not} many obstacles ~~will be put~~ in our path as we go along. When that happens, we must be prepared, not surprised. We must not permit such developments to disorient our policy or derail our initiatives. We must be deliberate and candid and make it clear that the Soviet Union will be held responsible for its actions. ⁵

And we must persevere. ^{Insert A} ^{Finally} ^{But whatever the immediate prospects,} I can tell you that I am ultimately hopeful about the prospects for world peace and freedom. I know such optimism in a century that has seen so much war and suffering seems unwarranted to some. Yet this confidence is

based on more than an easy optimism; it springs from a quiet appreciation for what British author, Paul Johnson calls the "enormous reserves" of democratic societies, societies where national unity springs from popular consent.

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

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

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

It is in pursuit of that dream I went to Geneva a year ago and to Iceland last week; it is in pursuit of that dream I have

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

Thank you and God bless you.

insert
A

And on this point,

I know you are also interested in the question of whether there will be another summit.

There was no indication by Mr. Gorbachev as to when or whether he plans to travel to the United States. I repeat ^{tonight that} our invitation stands ~~and that we~~ continue to believe additional meetings would be useful. But that is a decision the Soviets must make.

as
we
expect
he
would
last
year
in
Glasgow

~~(DOLAN)~~
~~10/13/86~~
~~12:40 a.m.~~

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

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

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

~~Well, let me assure you, they were not in the room with General Secretary Gorbachev for over 10 hours as I was. These talks were hard and tough but extremely useful.~~ ^{stet} ^{10/13/86} ^{the talks} ^{in Iceland} ^{were}

Why did Mr. Gorbachev reject our offer?

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

In refusing our offer, and making his non-negotiable demand on the United States, Mr. Gorbachev refused an historic opportunity to rid the world of the threat of nuclear war resulting from attack by ballistic nuclear missiles. ~~We remain~~ ^(We remain) dedicated to continuing the peace process. We have come too far to turn back now. ^{So tonight} I call on the Soviet Union to build on the agreements we reached and not to tear down ~~that~~ ^{(sacrifice) (give up)} which we have built ^{(accomplished) in so many areas} because of our differences. ^(over SDI) Let me just briefly summarize the progress that has been made. ~~First~~, (NSC INSERT) - 2b

So you can see that ^(we made) ~~But~~ for all the progress made these talks also brought home again the truth of the statement that nations do not mistrust each other because they are armed; they are armed because they mistrust each other. The differences between the United States and the Soviet Union are deep and abiding. Obviously, there are no diplomatic quick-fixes to such profound differences. ^{But} And I believe we made as much progress as we did in Iceland because we followed the prudent, deliberate, ^{but} above

NSC
insert

And you know, as the hours went by
we found ourselves agreeing on more
and more elements -- and lower and
lower levels of weapons.

During long discussions on both Saturday and Sunday, Mr. Gorbachev and I made ~~dramatic~~ ^{headway} progress in a number of crucial areas of arms reductions. We cleared away obstacles ~~to progress,~~ and ~~went~~ ^{going} further than we ever have before ~~in taking up the tough~~ ^{issues of nuclear arms control.}

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

You may also recall that ^{last year} in Geneva he and I instructed our negotiators to seek an interim agreements on cutting intermediate nuclear missiles in both Europe and Asia. This has been one of the most controversial and divisive East-West issues in the life of my Administration, yet at Reykjavik we cut through the rhetoric of the past, and were able to agree on drastic cuts in these forces, outlawing them altogether in Europe and allowing only 100 warheads on such missiles worldwide.

Finally, you probably know that Mr. Gorbachev has made nuclear testing one of his most frequent -- and I have sometimes thought, propagandistic -- themes. Yet at Reykjavik we were on the verge of an agreement to begin a completely new set of negotiations on nuclear tests.

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

As a result, Soviet SS-20 missiles
would be reduced from approximately 400
to only 33.

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

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

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

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

all, realistic approach with the Soviets that we have pursued from the earliest days of our administration. We had no illusions about the Soviets or their ultimate intentions; we were publicly candid about the critical moral distinctions between totalitarianism and democracy. We said that the principal objective of American foreign policy is not just the prevention of war but the extension of freedom. And, we stressed our commitment to the growth of democratic government and democratic institutions around the world; that is why we assisted freedom fighters who were resisting the imposition of totalitarian rule in Afghanistan, Nicaragua, Angola Cambodia and elsewhere.

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

And it is all of this that makes this current summit process so very different from that of previous decades. ~~And why I believe over the long run it will bring~~ ~~America is no longer under seige. To the contrary,~~ ~~today America's economic and military power is resurgent, the Western democracies and the NATO alliance are revitalized, and all across the world nations are turning to democratic ideas and the principles of the free market.~~

vs dramatic results

LET

Set

Yes, the ~~atmosphere surrounding the~~ current summit process is different, different because the world is different; different because of the hard work and sacrifice of the American people over the past five and one half years. Your energy has restored and expanded our economy, your ~~self-sacrifice~~ *support* has restored our military strength; and your courage and sense of national unity

all

in times of crisis have given pause to our adversaries, heartened our friends and inspired the world. Freedom is on the march today; because at its critical hour the American people stood guard while it gathered its forces and regained its strength.

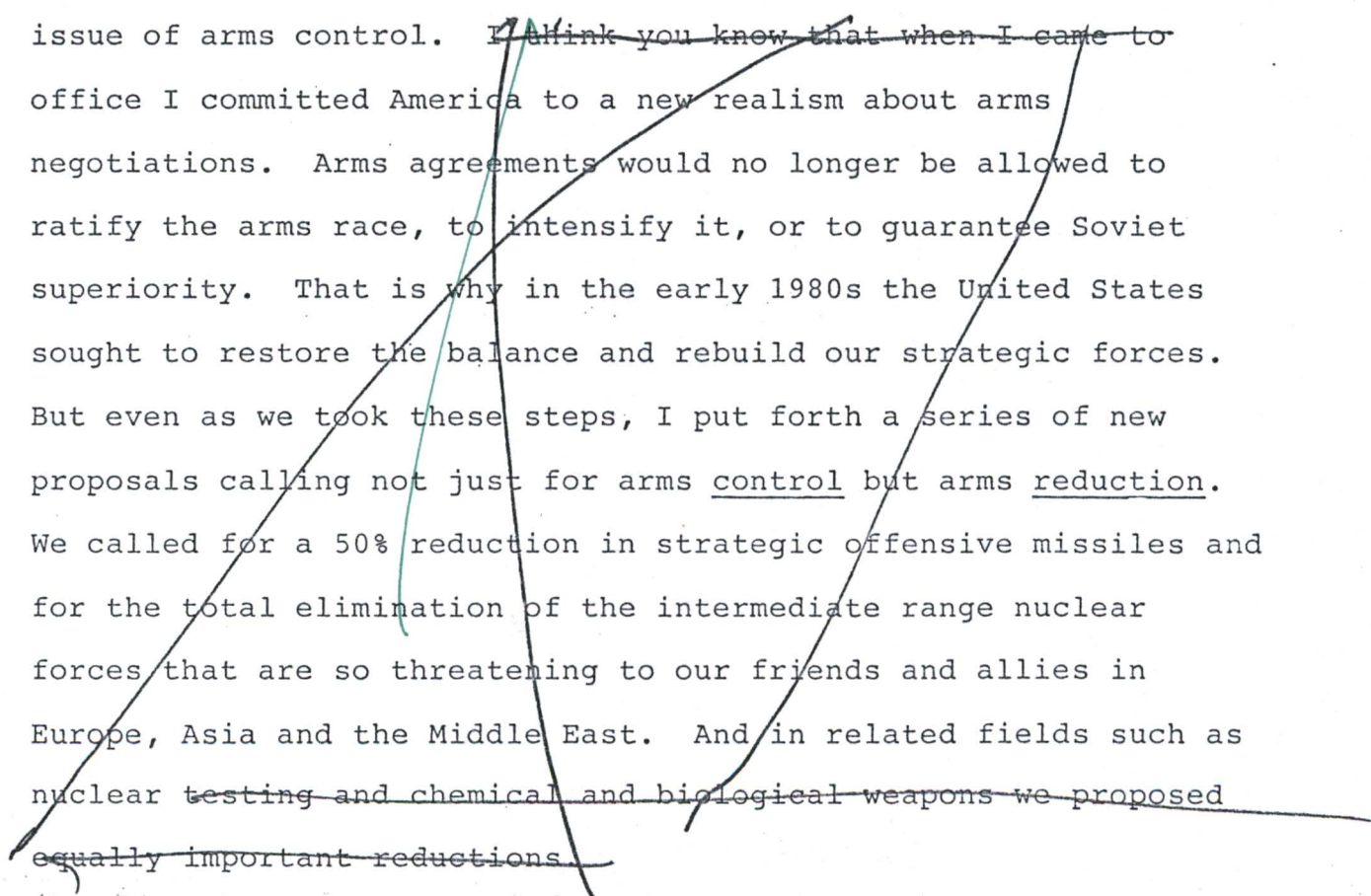
Indeed, if there is one impression I carry away with me from these October talks, it is that ~~we are seeing now those first tentative signs of a harvest of peace and freedom planted by the comprehensive even more dramatic breakthroughs.~~ ~~strength and resolve of the American people and their allies.~~ ~~A~~

now *we are dealing from a position of strength if there were talks and*
we have it within our grasp
to move speedily forward with the Soviets towards
strength and resolve of the American people and their allies.

~~harvest that is found not in the simple fact of these negotiations but in the movement towards human rights, personal freedom and the restraint of brute military force that they represent.~~

As I mentioned,

One sign of this in Iceland was the discussion of the key issue of arms control. ~~I think you know that when I came to office I committed America to a new realism about arms negotiations. Arms agreements would no longer be allowed to ratify the arms race, to intensify it, or to guarantee Soviet superiority. That is why in the early 1980s the United States sought to restore the balance and rebuild our strategic forces. But even as we took these steps, I put forth a series of new proposals calling not just for arms control but arms reduction. We called for a 50% reduction in strategic offensive missiles and for the total elimination of the intermediate range nuclear forces that are so threatening to our friends and allies in Europe, Asia and the Middle East. And in related fields such as nuclear testing and chemical and biological weapons we proposed~~ ~~equally important reductions.~~



~~And finally, we launched a research program to develop revolutionary new technologies that could destroy ballistic missiles in flight -- looking to a day when the huge arsenals of these missiles would be rendered obsolete, a day, when national defense strategies rely on protecting people rather than threatening entire populations. And we offered to the Soviet Union an agreement by which they could join with us in cooperative transition to a new strategic environment of mutual assured security.~~

~~All this was on the table in Iceland. And, I am pleased to report to you that in several areas, the Soviets made serious responses.~~ *As I have mentioned, we only progress.*

I cannot predict the nature or dates of future agreements.

What I can say is that for the first time in a long ~~time~~ *while,* Soviet-American negotiations in these ~~areas~~ *of arms reductions* are moving, and moving in the right direction: not just toward arms control but arms reduction.

while

Now,

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

One such issue is human rights. As President Kennedy once said, "Is not peace, in the final analysis, a matter of human

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

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

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

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

So once again, I think these were useful discussions.

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

So I think then you can see that we did make progress in Iceland on a broad range of topics. ~~We set a date for a full-fledged summit;~~ *We reaffirmed* we reestablished our four point agenda; we discovered *major* some new grounds of agreement; we probed again some old areas of disagreement,

Now my fellow Americans, I cannot promise, nor can any President promise, that the talks in Iceland or our future discussions with Mr. Gorbachev ~~here in the United States~~ will lead inevitably to great breakthroughs or momentous treaty signings. *highly* ~~We yet~~ believe that no agreement is better than a bad agreement. And we must bear in mind because of the nature of the Soviet regime itself, many obstacles will be put in our path as we go along. When that happens, we must be prepared, not surprised. We must not permit such developments to disorient our

policy or derail our initiatives. We must be deliberate and candid and make it clear, ~~as we did in the recent Daniloff case,~~ that the Soviet Union will be held responsible for its actions.

And we must persevere. I can tell you that I am ultimately hopeful about the prospects for world peace and freedom. I know such optimism in a century that has seen so much war and suffering ~~brought on by totalitarian rule~~ seems unwarranted to some. Yet this confidence is based on more than an easy optimism; it springs from a quiet ~~realization that totalitarian or militarist societies enjoy only initial advantages over free nations, advantages that,~~ ^{appreciation for what} as British author Paul Johnson ^{calls} ~~points~~ out, are far outweighed by the "enormous reserves" of democratic societies, societies where national unity springs from popular consent.

The resiliency of a free society is one of the comforting lessons of history. And because of you, the American people, those enormous reserves are now making their presence and power felt throughout the world. ~~we saw evidence in the progress we made is~~ ^{the talks w/ Mr. Gorbachev and} I saw evidence of this when we left Iceland yesterday, and I spoke to our young men and women at our Naval installation at Keflavik [KEF-la-VICK] -- a critically important base far closer to Soviet naval bases than to our own coastline. As always, I was proud to spend a few moments with them and thank them for their sacrifices and devotion to country. They represent America at her finest: committed to defend not only our own freedom but the freedom of others who would be living in a far more frightening world -- were it not for the strength and resolve of the United States.

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

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

Thank you and God bless you.

Current Draft

(DOLAN)
October 12, 1986
4:00 p.m. (Iceland)

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MONDAY, OCTOBER 13, 1986

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

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

These most recent meetings with the Soviet leaders were intended as preparatory meetings, a planning session for a full fledged summit conference to be held when Mr. Gorbachev visits the United States. But tonight I am pleased to report to you that these discussions went far beyond just preparation; indeed they were far more productive than I believe either side originally anticipated. These talks were hard and tough but extremely useful.

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

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

The Soviet position is not new but we are hopeful that we can approach an agreement in this area as well, an area which is important to both our peoples. This is one of the issues I hope we can explore in our summit meeting when, as we agreed yesterday in Iceland, Mr. Gorbachev visits the United States in ____.

But, these talks were also sobering -- they brought home again the truth of the statement that nations do not mistrust each other because they are armed; they are armed because they mistrust each other. The differences between the United States and the Soviet Union are deep and abiding and, as I have candidly told Mr. Gorbachev himself, our view of the source of that mistrust remains the same: the Soviet Union's record of attempting to impose its ideology and rule on the world.

Obviously then, there are no diplomatic quick-fixes to such profound differences. And I believe we were successful in Iceland because we followed the prudent, deliberate, but above

all realistic approach with the Soviets that we have pursued from the earliest days of our administration. We had no illusions about the Soviets or their ultimate intentions; we were publicly candid about the critical moral distinctions between totalitarianism and democracy. We said that the principal objective of American foreign policy is not just the prevention of war but the extension of freedom. And, we stressed our commitment to the growth of democratic government and democratic institutions around the world; that is why we assisted freedom fighters who were resisting the imposition of totalitarian rule in Afghanistan, Nicaragua, Angola Cambodia and elsewhere.

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

And it is all of this that makes this current summit process so very different from that of previous decades. America is no longer under seige. To the contrary, today America's economic and military power is resurgent, the Western democracies and the NATO alliance are revitalized, and all across the world nations are turning to democratic ideas and the principles of the free market.

Yes, the atmosphere surrounding the current summit process is different, different because the world is different; different because of the hard work and sacrifice of the American people over the past five and one half years. Your energy has restored and expanded our economy, your self-sacrifice has restored our military strength; and your courage and sense of national unity

in times of crisis have given pause to our adversaries, heartened our friends and inspired the world. Freedom is on the march today; because at its critical hour the American people stood guard while it gathered its forces and regained its strength.

Indeed, if there is one impression I carry away with me from these October talks, it is that we are seeing now those first tentative signs of a harvest of peace and freedom planted by the strength and resolve of the American people and their allies. A harvest that is found not in the simple fact of these negotiations but in the movement towards human rights, personal freedom and the restraint of brute military force that they represent.

One sign of this in Iceland was the discussion of the key issue of arms control. I think you know that when I came to office I committed America to a new realism about arms negotiations. Arms agreements would no longer be allowed to ratify the arms race, to intensify it, or to guarantee Soviet superiority. That is why in the early 1980s the United States sought to restore the balance and rebuild our strategic forces. But even as we took these steps, I put forth a series of new proposals calling not just for arms control but arms reduction. We called for a 50% reduction in strategic offensive missiles and for the total elimination of the intermediate range nuclear forces that are so threatening to our friends and allies in Europe, Asia and the Middle East. And in related fields such as nuclear testing and chemical and biological weapons we proposed equally important reductions.

And finally, we launched a research program to develop revolutionary new technologies that could destroy ballistic missiles in flight -- looking to a day when the huge arsenals of these missiles would be rendered obsolete, a day, when national defense strategies rely on protecting people rather than threatening entire populations. And we offered to the Soviet Union an agreement by which they could join with us in cooperative transition to a new strategic environment of mutual assured security.

All this was on the table in Iceland. And, I am pleased to report to you that in several areas, the Soviets made serious responses. (INSERT)

I cannot predict the nature or dates of future agreements. What I can say is that for the first time in a long time, Soviet-American negotiations in these areas are moving, and moving in the right direction: not just toward arms control but arms reduction.

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

One such issue is human rights. As President Kennedy once said, "Is not peace, in the final analysis, a matter of human

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

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

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

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

So once again, I think these were useful discussions.

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

So I think then you can see that we did make progress in Iceland on a broad range of topics. We set a date for a full-fledged summit; we reestablished our four point agenda; we discovered some new grounds of agreement; we probed again some old areas of disagreement.

Now my fellow Americans, I cannot promise, nor can any President promise, that the talks in Iceland or our future discussions with Mr. Gorbachev here in the United States will lead inevitably to great breakthroughs or momentous treaty signings. We yet believe that no agreement is better than a bad agreement. And we must bear in mind because of the nature of the Soviet regime itself, many obstacles will be put in our path as we go along. When that happens, we must be prepared, not surprised. We must not permit such developments to disorient our

policy or derail our initiatives. We must be deliberate and candid and make it clear, as we did in the recent Daniloff case, that the Soviet Union will be held responsible for its actions.

And we must persevere. I can tell you that I am ultimately hopeful about the prospects for world peace and freedom. I know such optimism in a century that has seen so much war and suffering brought on by totalitarian rule seems unwarranted to some. Yet this confidence is based on more than an easy optimism; it springs from a quiet realization that totalitarian or militarist societies enjoy only initial advantages over free nations, advantages that, as British author Paul Johnson points out, are far outweighed by the "enormous reserves" of democratic societies, societies where national unity springs from popular consent.

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

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

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

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

Thank you and God bless you.

(DOLAN)
October 12, 1986
9:00 a.m. (Iceland)

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

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I just wish the other items on our agenda in Iceland could have been as easily resolved. Don't mistake me; the Iceland talks were useful and quite productive -- more so than I believe either party originally anticipated. But, they were also sobering -- they brought home again the truth of the statement that nations do not mistrust each other because they are armed; they are armed because they mistrust each other. The differences between the United States and the Soviet Union are deep and abiding and, as I have candidly told Mr. Gorbachev himself, our view of the source of that mistrust remains the same: the Soviet Union's record of attempting to impose its ideology and rule on the world.

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Thank you and God bless you.

(DOLAN)
October 12, 1986
1:00 p.m. (Iceland)

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

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(DOLAN)

October 11, 1986
2:30 p.m. (Iceland)

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

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

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

These most recent meetings with the Soviet leaders were intended as preparatory meetings, a planning session for a full fledged summit conference to be held when Mr. Gorbachev visits the United States. And tonight I am pleased to report to you that as Mr. Gorbachev and I agreed yesterday in Reykjavik the Soviet leader will be visiting America in the month of _____ next year for a full summit conference. It is my hope, we will build on what we have already achieved.

I just wish the other items on our agenda in Iceland could have been as easily resolved. Don't mistake me; the Iceland talks were useful and quite productive -- more so than I believe either party originally anticipated. But, they were also sobering -- they brought home again the truth of the statement that nations do not mistrust each other because they are armed; they are armed because they mistrust each other. The differences between the United States and the Soviet Union are deep and abiding and, as I have candidly told Mr. Gorbachev himself, our view of the source of that mistrust remains the same: the Soviet Union's record of attempting to impose its ideology and rule on the world.

But because there are no diplomatic quick-fixes to such profound differences, we adopted in Iceland the prudent, realistic and above all deliberate approach with the Soviets that we have pursued from the earliest days of our administration. You may remember that early in our first term instead of rushing into negotiations, we made it clear that we had no illusions about the Soviets or their ultimate intentions; we were publicly candid about the critical moral distinctions between totalitarianism and democracy. We said that the principal objective of American foreign policy is not just the prevention of war but the extension of freedom. And, we stressed our commitment to the growth of democratic government and democratic institutions around the world; that is why we assisted freedom fighters who were resisting the imposition of totalitarian rule in Afghanistan, Nicaragua, Angola Cambodia and elsewhere.

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

And it is all of this that makes this current summit process so very different from that of previous decades. We have been deliberate; we have been realistic. We have been candid with the Soviets; we have been candid about the Soviets.

But there has been another difference; to my mind, the crucial difference. You see, my fellow Americans, America is no longer under siege -- no longer are the Soviets surprising America at every turn; no longer are they making us react hastily to their threats or respond weakly to their adventures or stand humiliated by every nickel-and-dime dictator under their influence.

To the contrary, today America's economic and military power is resurgent, the Western democracies and the NATO alliance are revitalized, and all across the world nations are turning to democratic ideas and the principles of the free market.

Yes, the atmosphere surrounding the current summit process is different, different because of the hard work and the sacrifice of the American people over the past five and one half years. Your energy has restored and expanded our economy, your self-sacrifice has restored our military strength; and your courage and sense of national unity in times of crisis like Lebanon and Grenada have given pause to our adversaries, heartened our friends and inspired the world. Freedom is on the march today; and it is on the march because -- in its critical

hour, at the point of maximum danger -- it regained its strength and gathered its forces while you, the American people, stood steadfast in its defense.

That is why I can report to you tonight that the fruit of your work was evident in Iceland. Indeed, if there is one impression I carry away with me from these October talks, it is that we are seeing now those first tentative signs of harvest, a harvest of peace and freedom planted by the strength and resolve of the American people and their allies, a harvest that can be ours if, as a people, we persevere in the spirit that has brought us so far.

One sign of this in Iceland was the discussion of the key issue of arms control. I think you know that when I came to office I committed America to a new realism about arms negotiations. Arms agreements would no longer be allowed to justify the arms race, to intensify it, or to guarantee Soviet superiority. That is why in the early 1980s the United States sought to restore the strategic balance but even as we took these steps, I put forth a series of new proposals calling not just for arms control but for arms reduction. We called for a 50% reduction in strategic offensive missiles and for the total elimination of the intermediate range nuclear forces that are so threatening to our allies in Europe and Asia. And in related fields such as nuclear testing and chemical and biological weapons we proposed equally important reductions.

And finally, we launched a research program and revolutionary new technologies that could destroy ballistic missiles in flight -- looking to a day when the huge arsenals of

these missiles would be obsolete, and defense strategies would rely on protection of our peoples rather than on perpetuating their vulnerability. And we offered to the Soviet Union an agreement by which they could join with us in cooperative transition to this new strategic environment of mutual security.

All this was on the table in Iceland. And, I am pleased to report to you that in several of these areas, the Soviets made serious responses. (INSERT)

I cannot predict the nature or dates of future agreements. What I can say is that for the first time in a long time, Soviet-American negotiations in these areas are moving, and moving in the right direction: not just arms control but arms reduction.

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

One such issue is human rights. As John Kennedy once said, "Is not peace, in the final analysis, a matter of human rights . . .?" Only last week, here in the Oval Office, a heroic champion human rights in the Soviet Union, Yuri Orlov, described to me the persecution he suffered for leading an effort to get the Soviet government to live up to the human rights agreements it signed at

Helsinki in 1975. Mr. Orlov's suffering is like those of far too many other individuals of all walks of life in the Soviet Union -- including those who wish to emigrate.

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

Another subject area we took up in Iceland lies at the heart of the differences between the Soviet Union and America. This is the issue of regional conflicts. I told Mr. Gorbachev that no summit good feeling can make the American people forget what Soviet actions have meant for the people of Afghanistan, Central America, Africa and Southeast Asia. Until Soviet policies change, we will make sure that our friends in these areas -- those who fight for freedom and independence -- will have the support they need. And (INSERT -- Afghanistan)

So once again, I think these were useful discussions.

Finally, there was a fourth item besides arms reduction, human rights and the resolution of regional conflicts. This area was that of bilateral or people-to-people contacts. In Geneva last year, we welcomed the signing of several cultural exchange accords; in Iceland, we saw indications of more movement in these areas. But let me say now the United States remains committed to people-to-people that could lead to exchanges between not just selected elites but thousands of everyday citizens from both our countries.

So I think then you can see that we did make progress in Iceland on a broad range of topics. We set a date for a full-fledged summit; we reestablished our four point agenda; we discovered some new grounds of agreement; we probed again some areas of disagreement.

Now my fellow Americans, I cannot promise, nor can any President promise, that the talks in Iceland or our future discussions with Mr. Gorbachev here in the United States will lead inevitably to great breakthroughs or momentous treaty signings. Indeed, we must bear in mind that because of the nature of the Soviet regime itself, many obstacles will be put in our path as we go along. When that happens, we must be prepared, not surprised. We must not permit such developments to disorient our policy or derail our initiatives. We must be deliberate and candid. We must make it clear, as we did in the recent Daniloff case, that the Soviet Union will be held responsible for its actions.

I can tell you that I am ultimately hopeful about the prospects for world peace and freedom. I know such optimism in a

century that has seen so much war and suffering brought on by totalitarian rule seems unwarranted to some. Yet this confidence is based on more than an easy optimism; it springs from a quiet realization that totalitarian or militarist societies enjoy only initial advantages over free nations, advantages that, as British author Paul Johnson points out, are far outweighed by the "enormous reserves" of democratic societies, societies where national unity springs from popular consent. The resiliency of a free society is one of the comforting lessons of all history, Mr. Johnson writes. "Grant it a breathing space and it will quickly develop a strategy of survival and form the instruments of victory."

And because of you, the American people, have given the cause of freedom that breathing space; and throughout the world those enormous reserves of free societies are making their presence and power felt.

I saw evidence of this when we left Iceland yesterday, and I spoke to our young men and women at our Naval installation there -- a critically important base far closer to Soviet naval ports than to our own coastline. As always, I was proud to spend a few moments with them and thank them for their sacrifices and devotion to country. They represent America at its best: committed to defend not only our own freedom but also the freedom of our allies and all the world; committed to maintaining the strength and resolve that makes possible productive negotiations with adversaries.

But I must tell you that as I looked out on their faces I also thought of their families back home and the thousands of

other faces I have seen in my journeys through America. You know on these trips in our nations' cities; when our motorcade travels down the highways, many Americans interrupt their day to greet us: office workers standing in their shirt sleeves; laborers in blue overalls from garages and warehouses; housewives in their front yards; children waving flags in front of their schools. Always I remember those faces and I like to say how good it is for us to get out of Washington, and how grateful I am for the gift of the real America, the gift of coming home again.

Flying back last night from Iceland you can well imagine I was grateful again for the gift of a land like this. But I must tell you I also thought about other faces I have seen in my journeys -- the faces of the people of Iceland and of so many other nations around the world -- faces filled with hope, hope that the leaders of the world might someday work together and bring to every people and every land the blessings of peace and freedom.

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

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

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And it is all of this that makes this current summit process so very different from that of previous decades. America is no longer under seige. To the contrary, today America's economic and military power is resurgent, the Western democracies and the NATO alliance are revitalized, and all across the world nations are turning to democratic ideas and the principles of the free market.

Yes, the atmosphere surrounding the current summit process is different, different because the world is different; different because of the hard work and sacrifice of the American people over the past five and one half years. Your energy has restored and expanded our economy, your self-sacrifice has restored our military strength; and your courage and sense of national unity in times of crisis have given pause to our adversaries, heartened our friends and inspired the world. Freedom is on the march today; because at its critical hour the American people stood guard while it gathered its forces and regained its strength.

Indeed, if there is one impression I carry away with me from these October talks, it is that we are seeing now those first shoots of a coming harvest of peace and freedom planted by the strength and resolve of the American people and their allies. A harvest that is found not in the simple fact of these negotiations but in the movement towards human rights, personal freedom and the restraint of brute military force. *that they represent.*

One sign of this in Iceland was the discussion of the key issue of arms control. I think you know that when I came to

office I committed America to a new realism about arms negotiations. Arms agreements would no longer be allowed to ratify the arms race, to intensify it, or to guarantee Soviet superiority. That is why in the early 1980s the United States sought to restore the balance and rebuild our strategic forces. But even as we took these steps, I put forth a series of new proposals calling not just for arms control but arms reduction. We called for a 50% reduction in strategic offensive missiles and for the total elimination of the intermediate range nuclear forces that are so threatening to our friends and allies in Europe, Asia and the Middle East. And in related fields such as nuclear testing and chemical and biological weapons we proposed equally important reductions.

And finally, we launched a research program to develop revolutionary new technologies that could destroy ballistic missiles in flight -- looking to a day when the huge arsenals of these missiles would be rendered obsolete, a day, when national defense strategies ~~would~~ rely on protecting people rather than threatening entire populations. And we offered to the Soviet Union an agreement by which they could join with us in cooperative transition to a new strategic environment of mutual assured security.

All this was on the table in Iceland. And, I am pleased to report to you that in several areas, the Soviets made serious responses. (INSERT)

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

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

Thank you and God bless you.

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

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

(DOLAN)
October 12, 1986
9:00 a.m. (Iceland)

PRESIDENTIAL REMARKS: ADDRESS TO THE NATION
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I just wish the other items on our agenda in Iceland could have been as easily resolved. Don't mistake me; the Iceland talks were useful and quite productive -- more so than I believe either party originally anticipated. But, they were also sobering -- they brought home again the truth of the statement that nations do not mistrust each other because they are armed; they are armed because they mistrust each other. The differences between the United States and the Soviet Union are deep and abiding and, as I have candidly told Mr. Gorbachev himself, our view of the source of that mistrust remains the same: the Soviet Union's record of attempting to impose its ideology and rule on the world.

But because there are no diplomatic quick-fixes to such profound differences, we adopted in Iceland the prudent, realistic and above all deliberate approach with the Soviets that we have pursued from the earliest days of our administration. We had no illusions about the Soviets or their ultimate intentions; we were publicly candid about the critical moral distinctions between totalitarianism and democracy. We said that the principal objective of American foreign policy is not just the prevention of war but the extension of freedom. And, we stressed our commitment to the growth of democratic government and democratic institutions around the world; that is why we assisted freedom fighters who were resisting the imposition of totalitarian rule in Afghanistan, Nicaragua, Angola Cambodia and elsewhere.

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Thank you and God bless you.