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(Dolan)
November 4, 1985
4:00 p.m.

PRESIDENTIAL ADDRESS: TO THE NATION -- GENEVA SUMMIT

In 48 hours, I will be leaving for Geneva to meet with Mr. Gorbachev, the leader of the Soviet Union. Very few events attract as much attention as summit conferences and I felt it was my duty to report directly to you tonight on this meeting and its significance.

Now, I don't think it's any mystery why most of us regard summit conferences as a good idea. The danger of thermonuclear warfare and the havoc it would wreak are, as President Kennedy put it, a modern sword of Damocles dangling over the head of each of us. The awful reality of these weapons is actually a kind of terrible crescendo to the steady, dehumanizing progress of modern warfare in this century. To a few people here in this office recently, I recalled a hotly debated issue in my own college years -- which by the way also took place in this century -- when 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 attack purely 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. At least today we can say we have fewer illusions: we know if a World War III breaks out the destruction will be vast and devastating with perhaps 90 percent civilian casualties.

Believe me, the office I now occupy leads to serious reflection on all this. Whenever I travel, for example, I am followed by a military aide who carries with him a small black attache case -- "the football" is its nickname. It is a grim reminder of the narrow line our world walks every day because it contains the codes necessary for retaliation to a nuclear attack on the United States.

And this office provides another sobering, even sadder perspective on our world, one I will talk about to Mr. Gorbachev in a few days, one I want to mention to you now. The 23 million lives lost since the end of World War II in conventional and regional conflicts are stark evidence that a strictly nuclear conflict is far from the only danger we face. In recent years, America has had her share of fallen sons; Korea, Vietnam, other military engagements including terrorist attacks have been part of this terrible cost. And many times at this desk I have had to discharge the most difficult duty I have as President: to try and find words of comfort for grieving mothers and fathers. I don't have to tell you how regularly I fail at that; because there are no such words. It's one reason why earlier this year when I visited those places in Europe that had seen so much suffering during World War II, I said a voice could be heard there, a voice from our century and from every century, the same voice I have heard in such sorrow here in this room, the voice of humanity crying out in anguish but in hope for peace -- and for an end to war.

This is why I go to Geneva. For peace. And in hope -- the hope of never having to face that awful option of nuclear retaliation; the hope of never again having to speak from this office to grief-stricken loved ones, the hope that someday our Nation and the Soviet Union and all the people of the world will learn to heed the age-old cry of mankind for peace among all nations.

There is another reason I go to Geneva. It has to do, like the threat of nuclear war, with a danger unique to this century. Part of our heritage as Americans is our Founding Fathers' warning about history's most terrible but, somehow, most easily forgotten lesson; that the abuse of government power has always posed the most serious and enduring threat to the freedom of man.

In the twentieth century, with the development of science and technology and the rise of modern ideology, we have seen a quantum leap in the nature of this danger and the birth of the gravest threat to freedom ever known -- the police state, the totalitarian society.

Now I don't think I have to elaborate on the human suffering and the loss of life totalitarian government has caused in our time. Hitler's concentration camps or Stalin's purges, the Third Reich or the Gulag Archipelago, the advent of totalitarian ideology -- an ideology which justifies any crime or affront to the individual done in the name of the state -- has sparked the worse assaults in history on the human spirit. On this point, my own views have been plainly stated many times in the past; only as recently as a few weeks ago, I spoke of some specific

instances of unacceptable Soviet conduct: the invasion of Afghanistan, one that has cost between 750,000 and one million lives not to mention nearly six million refugees, Soviet intervention in the African nations of Angola and Ethiopia, Soviet attempts to establish a totalitarian regime in Nicaragua and undermine democracy in this hemisphere -- this tragic, unhappy list goes on.

I need not elaborate on this now except to say that in forthrightly opposing such action we Americans have a grave responsibility and bear a special burden. A belief in the dignity of the individual and in his or her worth in the sight of God gave birth to this country; it is central to our being. "Our whole experiment is based on the capacity of the people for self-government," said James Madison. And Thomas Jefferson said more directly: "The mass of men were not born to wear saddles on their backs," and again: "The God who gave us life, gave us liberty as well." This is our past, it is a part of us, we must never deny nor forsake it. If the day ever comes when the leaders of this Nation remain silent in the face of foreign aggression or stop speaking out about the repression of human rights then truly the cause of America -- the cause of freedom -- has been lost, and the great heart of this country has been broken. We Americans know we can never rest as a people nor say our work as a Nation is done until each man, woman and child on earth knows the blessings of liberty.

And this is the second reason I go to Geneva. For freedom. To speak for the right of every people and every nation to choose

their future. I go to Geneva for the right of human beings everywhere to determine their own destiny, to live in the dignity God intended for each of his children.

But let me stress here that not only do I believe this candor and realism on behalf of freedom is our responsibility as Americans, I also think it is essential for success in Geneva. Because if history has shown there is any key to dealing successfully with the Soviets it is this: the Soviets must realize that their counterparts take them seriously and that, above all, 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 and it is both wrong and arrogant to assume that it is. The Soviets have a very different view of the world than we do; they believe a great struggle is already underway in the world and true peace can only be attained with the triumph of communist power. The Soviets sincerely believe then that the march of history is embodied in the Soviet state, and so, to them, the mere existence of the democracies is seen as an obstacle to the ultimate triumph of history and that state. So, from the Soviet perspective, even if the democracies do nothing overt against their interests, just our survival, our mere existence, is considered by them an act of aggression.

And that is why the Soviets tend to misinterpret well-intentioned public statements obscuring the nature of this struggle or minimizing the crucial moral distinction between totalitarianism and democracy. And that is why any sudden shifts in our realistic and long-held views about the Soviets tends to

disrupt the negotiating process. In the past, when such shifts or such statements have been made, the Soviets have either regarded them as a ruse and reacted with distrust or looked on them as hopelessly naive and attempted to exploit the pathetic illusions of their counterparts. In both cases, the peace process and the business of serious negotiations suffered serious setbacks.

So I must be blunt with you tonight; while I go to Geneva for peace and for freedom, I also go to Geneva without illusions. Let us be clear: the fact of this summit conference does not mean the Soviets have forsaken their long-term goals and objectives. Let us never forget, as President Eisenhower put it in his farewell address to the American people; "we face a hostile ideology -- global in scope, atheistic in character, ruthless in purpose and insidious in method."

I do not mention this, however, to sound unduly pessimistic or to paint a heedlessly discouraging picture. Far to the contrary, my mood about this meeting is one of cautious optimism; and while it would be foolhardy to think one summit conference can establish a permanent peace, this conference can, I believe, help begin a permanent process towards peace.

But that is why realism is so essential. For only by leaving our illusions behind and dealing realistically with the Soviets do we have any chance at all for meaningful progress in Geneva. The Soviets understand firmness of mind and will; and I can assure you that the American delegation will lack neither next week in Geneva.

This is the way to progress; as Winston Churchill said after a long experience of negotiating with the Soviets, "The Soviets will try every door in the home, enter all rooms which are not locked and when they come to a house that is barred, if they are unsuccessful in breaking through it, they will withdraw and invite you to dine genially that same evening."

So, because we can neither permit civilization to perish in a nuclear holocaust nor freedom to wither under the steady and relentless assault of totalitarianism, our goals next week in Geneva must be both peace and freedom as well as an end to illusion.

But if nuclear war is an impossible option and so too is a world under totalitarian rule, how then are we to steer between them? How do we confront this dilemma in Geneva and elsewhere? What course are we to chart and what cause is their for hope?

My fellow Americans, I believe there is great cause for hope -- hope that peace and freedom will not only survive but triumph, and perhaps even sooner than any of us had even dared to imagine only a few years ago. I also think it possible that history will record a great paradox about our century: that while it gave birth to the awful menaces of nuclear weapons and totalitarian government and saw so much bloodshed and heartache it was also the century that in its closing decades fostered the greatest movement in human memory towards free institutions and democratic self-rule, the greatest flowering of mankind's age old aspiration for freedom and human dignity.

Consider, for a moment, that at the start of the twentieth century there were only a handful of democracies in the entire world while today there are more than 50 with one-third of the world's population living in freedom. Here in our own hemisphere there is dramatic evidence of this change: more than 90 percent of the people in Latin America are now living under governments that are either democratic or headed in that direction, a dramatic reversal from only a few years ago.

Even the communist world is far from immune to this worldwide movement. In an astonishing turnaround from only a few years ago, China, for example, has adopted sweeping economic reforms. And Eastern European nations are seeking higher standards of living through some free-market techniques; and although for the moment Polish Solidarity has been suppressed we know the hunger of the Polish people for freedom can never be completely stilled.

So we see even in the communist world, the great longing for personal freedom and democratic self-rule, the realization that economic progress is directly tied to the operation of a free market, surfacing again and again. That's because Karl Marx was in one sense right: the demand for economic well-being in this century has brought the masses into conflict with the old political order; only he was wrong about where this conflict would occur. It is the democracies that are vibrant and growing -- bringing to their people higher and higher standards of living even as freedom grows and deepens while the communist

world has economies that stagnate, technology that lags and people who are restless and unhappy with their lives.

In the Soviet Union too, economic difficulties have led to reappraisal and reexamination. Mr. Gorbachev himself has spoken to this issue and I intend to engage him further on this matter when we meet. Without being overly optimistic we should recognize that it has happened before in history: a small ruling elite -- when it meets firm resistance to foreign adventurism -- begins to ponder how to lend more legitimacy to its government by allowing the people more of voice in their own destiny.

And think what this would mean for the prospects of arms control and peace; consider what a process of democratization within the Soviet Union might contribute. Public involvement in the peace initiatives would grow as it has in the West and the enormous Soviet military budget -- nearly 15 percent of the gross national product -- would suddenly be subjected to public scrutiny as it is here in the West. And one of the central difficulties in negotiating arms control agreements -- the problem of verification -- could be dramatically eased. Above all, the suspicion and distrust which is endemic to closed political systems, and which so poisons the mutual pursuit of peace by the Soviet Union and the United States, would be greatly alleviated.

Now, don't get me wrong; I hardly think we've reached this situation, not by a long shot. But, my fellow Americans, I do believe that there is a historic trend towards more openness and democracy in the world and that even in communist countries the

momentum is building in this direction. But because, unlike the Soviets, we believe that history has no unalterable laws, we must do all in our power to accelerate this trend. Let us start by understanding the important factors that have contributed to this movement.

To begin with, the health and vigor of the American economy -- with 15 million new jobs -- has been restored; and this in turn had led to a reinvigoration of the world economy, a lessening of international tension and a new appreciation by many nations for the pragmatics of freedom. Many more people and governments understand today that freedom is fruitful, that freedom works. And that is why it is especially important to keep our economy vigorous and expanding by moving here at home on initiatives like deficit reduction and tax reform.

Second, our efforts to restore America's military might has brought with it a new appreciation by the rest of the world for American power, resolve and confidence. But this job is not yet completed. Since the postwar period the American people have sacrificed enormously to provide for the defense of the free world; let us not at the very moment when that willingness to sacrifice is beginning to pay dividends relax our vigilance or vigor.

Third, this item I am about to discuss is actually related to our defense buildup but because I believe it is so vital to the peace process I wanted to treat it separately. As most of you know, the United States and the Soviet Union have for many years used massive nuclear arsenals to hold each other hostage in

a kind of mutual nuclear terror -- one side threatening massive retaliation against the other. This has been known as mutual assured destruction; M-A-D or M.A.D. as the arms control experts call it. I think you will agree there has never been a more apt acronym. As perhaps most of you also know, the United States is now embarked on research and development of new strategic defense system -- an intricate but very workable series of defenses that could provide a shield in outer space against incoming nuclear missiles. We believe this system could be partly deployed at the end of this decade or the early part of the 1990's.

Now we have embarked on this program for a single reason: to end the madness of MAD, the insanity of mutual nuclear terror. Think what the advent of this new space shield -- a defensive system that would kill weapons not people -- could mean to our lives and the lives of our children. For the first time much of the dread of the postwar period would be lifted because we would have some means as a people to protect ourselves from a nuclear attack launched either by design or by mistake.

Now I must tell you when I made the decision to go ahead with this program several years ago, I heard much well-intended advice urging me to either delay or not to take this course at all. But some decisions in any Presidency must be made alone; and it was so in this case. But I think we are already seeing evidence this was the correct course to choose; at first, many derided this proposal as unworkable calling it "star wars"; but as research efforts have continued the system has become increasingly feasible and this negative mood has altered.

The Soviets of course have been working on their own defensive system; much less capable than ours but nonetheless one in which they have moved from the research stage to the deployment stage. They have already, for example, installed a huge new radar system and computer network that would be the brains of any such system, a clear violation of the terms of the A.B.M. Treaty signed by our two countries in 1972. But because they are aware of our technological advantage, the Soviets are deeply frightened by our resolve to move ahead with our space shield; they have launched a massive propaganda offensive designed to convince the world our defensive system is "destabilizing" even as they move vigorously ahead with their own.

So that is why I believe moving forward with our strategic defense initiative and making sure this system is not given up or negotiated away in Geneva is a third important step towards peace and freedom.

Fourth, we must continue with a foreign policy that offers a wide range of peace initiatives even as it speaks out vigorously for freedom. Yes, we have been candid about the difference between the Soviets and ourselves and we have been willing to use our military power when our vital interests were threatened. And I think we can be pleased with the results: for the first time in many years not a single square inch of real estate has been lost to communist aggression, in fact, Grenada has been rescued from such a fate and in at least four other countries freedom fighters are now opposing the rule of totalitarian leaders. But

in addition to these firm foreign policy steps, we have also set in motion a wide series of diplomatic initiatives, perhaps the greatest number of such proposals in our history. They cover a range of areas: strategic nuclear weapons, intermediate nuclear weapons, chemical weapons, mutual troop reductions in Europe, and the list goes on.

And it is in this last area, the business of negotiation between the Soviet Union and the United States that this Geneva meeting takes on a special importance. Too often in the past, the whole burden of Soviet and American relations has rested on one or two arms talks or even arms proposals. And while arms control is absolutely essential it can not be the only area of discussion between the United States and the Soviet Union. That is why I believe this summit conference can move the peace process substantially forward. After careful consultation with our allies, Secretary Shultz flew to Moscow last week and established with the Soviets a four-fold agenda for discussion. So, we will be discussing in Geneva arms control but also human rights; we will be talking with them about bilateral matters such as trade, scientific and cultural exchanges but also regional disputes such as those in Afghanistan, Angola and the other places I have mentioned.

I think this represents a breakthrough. And I am determined to continue in this direction in Geneva by offering the Soviets a series of proposals that while not new when taken individually do make up in their entirety a unique and even revolutionary approach. With this series of "Open World" proposals, I want to

invite the Soviet Union to participate more fully in the effort to reduce secrecy and distrust between nations and construct a more open and constructive relationship.

First, in my United Nations speech of last year I mentioned a proposal for a series of "Umbrella talks" between the Soviets and ourselves on a wide-ranging number of issues. I will once again offer this proposal, suggesting not only regular meetings of the two heads of state but meetings at the cabinet and ministerial level as well.

Second, in the area of arms control we will be discussing a wide series of proposals. In addition to these, I want to formally take up the issue of our strategic defense initiative. But rather than bargaining away this essential system or spending our time in Geneva bickering over who is building what and which side is destabilizing the most; I am going to extend to the Soviets an invitation to share in the fruits of our research and deployment of this space shield.

Third, I will be proposing a wide series of people-to-people exchanges. Unlike the exchanges of the past, however, which were limited to a tiny few on both sides, I will be suggesting to Mr. Gorbachev that we exchange on a yearly basis thousands of our citizens from different community, fraternal and cultural groups; students, religious organizations and so forth.

And fourth and finally, I've noted that Mr. Gorbachev has shown a lively appreciation for America's free press tradition; I can assure you I will be preaching the virtues of some Soviet movement in this direction as well and will ask again, as I did

several years ago in a speech to the British Parliament, for an opportunity to address the Soviet people.

Now I do not think progress on any of these proposals will necessarily be immediate. But I do believe the very fact that such proposals are on the table and under discussion is an event of considerable significance.

To summarize then; I will be going to Geneva for peace and for freedom; without illusions; to put forward a whole series of "Open World" proposals that can help lead to a more open and less distrustful international climate.

I also think the conversations Mr. Gorbachev and I will here together can help alleviate whatever suspicions and misunderstandings now exist between our two sides. You can be sure the Soviet Union knows the United States is not an aggressor and will never strike first against a foreign adversary. As Prime Minister Mulroney of Canada put it recently when he was told the United States was an imperialist Nation -- and I'm using the Prime Minister's words -- "What the hell do you mean 'imperialist nation?'. We have a 5,000 mile border with them and for 172 years there hasn't been a shot fired in anger."

But the great danger in the past has been the failure by our adversaries to remember that while the American people love peace they also love freedom and are always ready to sacrifice for it. That is why I will be stressing to Mr. Gorbachev that the only way war can ever break out between our two countries is through such a grave miscalculation on the part of the Soviets. My first meeting with Mr. Gorbachev, by the way, will be taking place on

the anniversary of the Gettysburg address; so you can be certain I will remind him that the American people are as determined as ever that "government by the people for the people and of the people shall not perish from the earth."

In conclusion, my fellow Americans, while this summit conference marks the culmination of much of our effort in the foreign policy area it is also, in another way, a milestone in a long personal journey. That quotation from James Madison I mentioned earlier was from a speech that marked my first entry into political life, a speech given more than two decades ago. It was a time when many of us anticipated the troubles and difficulties of the years ahead and wondered if America would meet that challenge. She has, of course, and, as I said during the campaign last year, this is not the work of any one man or party the accomplishment is yours; the credit belong to the American people.

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 think you can understand why on the eve of our departure for Geneva my thoughts turn not only to you but her as well: not just for all the support and love she has given me over the years but also because I know how deep the hope of peace is in her heart as it is in the heart of every American mother.

You know recently Nancy and I 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 the Greek communists.

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

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

Here then is what Geneva is really about; the hope of heeding such words, spoken so often in so many different places -- in a desert journey to promised land or by a carpenter at 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 want to remind you again that in the simple prayers of people like ourselves there is far more power

than in the hands of all the great statesmen or armies of the world.

And so, as Thanksgiving approaches, I want to ask each of you to join me again in thanking God for all his blessings to this Nation and ask him to help and guide us so that next week in Geneva the cause of peace and freedom will be served and all of human life ennobled.

God bless you and good night.

instances of unacceptable Soviet conduct: the invasion of Afghanistan, one that has cost between 750,000 and one million lives not to mention nearly six million refugees, Soviet intervention in the African nations of Angola and Ethiopia, Soviet attempts to establish a totalitarian regime in Nicaragua and undermine democracy in this hemisphere -- this tragic, unhappy list goes on.

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their future. I go to Geneva for the right of human beings everywhere to determine their own destiny, to live in the dignity God intended for each of his children.

But let me stress here that not only do I believe this candor and realism on behalf of freedom is our responsibility as Americans, I also think it is essential for success in Geneva. Because if history has shown there is any key to dealing successfully with the Soviets it is this: the Soviets must realize that their counterparts take them seriously and that, above all, 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 and it is both wrong and arrogant to assume that it is. The Soviets have a very different view of the world than we do; they believe a great struggle is already underway in the world and true peace can only be attained with the triumph of communist power. The Soviets sincerely believe then that the march of history is embodied in the Soviet state, and so, to them, the mere existence of the democracies is seen as an obstacle to the ultimate triumph of history and that state. So, from the Soviet perspective, even if the democracies do nothing overt against their interests, just our survival, our mere existence, is considered by them an act of aggression.

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(Dolan)
November 4, 1985
9:30 a.m.

PRESIDENTIAL ADDRESS: TO THE NATION -- GENEVA SUMMIT

In 48 hours, I will be leaving for Geneva to meet with Mr. Gorbachev, the leader of the Soviet Union. Very few events attract as much attention as summit conferences and I felt it was my duty to report directly to you tonight on this meeting and its significance.

Now, I don't think it's any mystery why most of us regard summit conferences as a good idea. The danger of thermonuclear warfare and the havoc it would wreak are, as President Kennedy put it, a modern sword of Damocles dangling over the head of each of us. The awful reality of these weapons is actually a kind of terrible crescendo to the steady, dehumanizing progress of modern warfare itself in this century. To a few people here in this office recently, I recalled a hotly debated issue in my own college years -- which by the way also took place in this century -- when 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 attack purely 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. At least today we can say we have fewer illusions: we know if a World War III breaks out the destruction will be vast and devastating with perhaps 90 percent civilian casualties.

Believe me, the office I now occupy leads to serious reflection on all this. Whenever I travel, for example, I am followed by a military aide who carries with him a small black attache case -- "the football" is its nickname. It is a grim reminder of the narrow line our world walks every day because it contains the codes necessary for retaliation to a nuclear attack on the United States.

And this office provides another sobering, even sadder perspective on our world, one I will talk about to Mr. Gorbachev in a few days, one I want to mention to you now. The 23 million lives lost since the end of World War II in conventional and regional conflicts are stark evidence that a strictly nuclear conflict is far from the only danger we face. In recent years, America has had her share of fallen sons; Korea, Vietnam, other military engagements including terrorist attacks have been part of this terrible cost. And many times at this desk I have had to discharge the most difficult duty I have as President: to try and find words of comfort for grieving mothers and fathers. I don't have to tell you how regularly I fail at that; only because there are no such words. It's one reason why earlier this year when I visited those places in Europe that had seen so much suffering during World War II, I said a voice could be heard there from our century and from every century, the same voice I have heard in such sorrow here in this room, the voice of humanity crying out in anguish but in hope for peace -- and for the end to war.

This is why I go to Geneva. For peace. In hope -- the hope of never having to face that awful option of nuclear retaliation; the hope of never again having to speak from this office to grief-stricken loved ones, the hope that someday our Nation and the Soviet Union and all the people of the world will learn to heed the age-old cry of mankind for peace among all nations.

There is another reason I go to Geneva. It has to do, like the threat of nuclear war, with a danger unique to this century. Part of our heritage as Americans is are awareness of the dangers of government that overreaches; of mindless bureaucracy, burdensome regulation, stringent taxation and rampant inflation that can stifle personal freedom, economic growth and social excellence. Few knew better than our Founding Fathers that excessive government had brought many nations to economic ruin and led to foreign adventure and war. So, they left us their special appreciation for history's most terrible but, somehow, most easily forgotten lesson: that the abuse of government power has always posed the most serious and enduring threat to the freedom of man.

In the twentieth century, with the development of science and technology and the rise of modern ideology, we have seen a quantum leap in the nature of this danger; we have the birth of the gravest threat to freedom ever known -- the police state, the totalitarian society.

Now I don't think I have to elaborate on the human suffering and the loss of life totalitarian government has caused in this century. Hitler's concentration camps or Stalin's purges, the

Third Reich or the Gulag Archipaelog, the advent of totalitarian ideology -- an ideology which justifies any crime or affront to the individual done in the name of the state -- has sparked the worse assault in history on the human spirit. On this point, my own views have been plainly stated many times in the past; only as recently as a few weeks ago, I spoke of some specific instances of unacceptable Soviet conduct: the invasion of Afghanistan, one that has cost between 750,000 and one million lives not to mention nearly six million refugees, Soviet intervention in the African nations of Angola and Ethiopia, Soviet attempts to establish a totalitarian regime in Nicaragua and undermine democracy in this hemisphere; this tragic, unhappy list goes on.

Transgressions of this sort are not of course a surprise to any of us; I believe the American people have always had a firm grasp of the realities we face in the world. As one friend of mine, Gary Cooper, once put it in his classic American way: "From what I hear about communism I don't like it because it isn't on the level."

But let me stress here that not only do I believe this candor and realism on behalf of freedom is our responsibility as Americans, I also think it makes long-term sense for the negotiation process ^{that} ~~and will be~~ ^{is} essential for success in Geneva. Because if history has shown there is any key to dealing successfully with the Soviets it is this: the Soviets must realize that their counterparts take them seriously and that, above all, 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 and it is both wrong and arrogant to assume that it is. The Soviets have a very different view of the world than we do; they believe a great struggle is already underway in the world and true peace for then can only be attained when communism triumphs. The Soviets sincerely believe then that the march of history is embodied in Soviet power, and so, to them the mere existence of the democracies is seen as an obstacle to the ultimate triumph of history and the Soviet state. And that is why they have a very different definition of aggression than we do. From their perspective, even if the democracies do nothing overt against their interests, just our survival, our mere existence, is considered the Soviets an act of aggression against themselves and against the predetermined course of history.

That is why the Soviets misinterpret any well-intentioned public statements we make minimizing the crucial moral distinction between totalitarianism and democracy; that is why any sudden shifts in our realistic and long-held views about the Soviets tends to disrupt the negotiating process. In the past, when such shifts or such statements have been made, the Soviets have either regarded them as a ruse and reacted with distrust or looked on them as hopelessly naive and attempted to exploit the pathetic illusions of their counterparts. In both cases, the business of serious negotiations has been set back.

All of this is why, after a long experience of negotiating with the Soviets, Winston Churchill advised Western diplomats to

never forget: "The Soviets... [have no understanding of such words as honesty, honor, trust and truth -- in fact, they regard these as negative virtues. They] will try every door in the home, enter all rooms which are not locked and when they come to a house that is barred, if they are unsuccessful in breaking through it, they will withdraw and invite you to dine genially that same evening."

So I must be blunt with you tonight; while I go to Geneva for peace and for freedom, I also go to Geneva without illusions. Let us be clear: the fact of this summit conference does not mean the Soviets have forsaken their long-term goals and objectives. Let us never forget, as President Eisenhower put it in his farewell address to the American people; "we face a hostile ideology -- global in scope, atheistic in character, ruthless in purpose and insidious in method."

I do not mention all this to sound unduly pessimistic, however, or to paint a heedlessly discouraging picture. Far to the contrary, my mood about this meeting is one of cautious optimism and I do believe it would be foolhardy to think one summit conference is going to provide for a permanent peace but I do believe it can help begin a permanent process for peace. Even beyond this, however, I believe there is great cause for hope in the direction of many events now taking place in the world; cause to believe the sacrifices the American people have been making since the end of World War II to preserve freedom are finally paying off. In one sense, this summit conference is evidence of that. That is why we must be realistic about its prospects. For

only by leaving our illusions behind and dealing realistically with the Soviets do we have any chance at all for meaningful progress in Geneva. The Soviets understand firmness of mind and strength of will; and I can assure you that is what they will see on the American side in Geneva.

I need not elaborate on all of this except to say that in forthrightly opposing such action we Americans have a grave responsibility and bear a special burden. A belief in the dignity of the individual and in his or her worth in the sight of God gave birth to this country; it is central to our being. "Our whole experiment is based on the capacity of the people for self-government," said James Madison. And Thomas Jefferson said more directly: "The mass of men were not born to wear saddles on their backs," and again "The God who gave us life, gave us liberty as well." This is our past, it is a part of us, we must never deny nor forsake it. If the day ever comes when the leaders of this Nation remain silent in the face of foreign aggression or stop speaking out about the repression of human rights then truly the cause of America -- the cause of freedom -- has been lost, and the great heart of this country has been broken. We Americans have always stood for freedom and we can never rest as a people nor call our work as a Nation complete until each man, woman and child on earth knows the blessings of liberty.

And this is the second reason I go to Geneva. For freedom. For the right of every people and every nation to choose their future. I go to Geneva to speak to Mr. Gorbachev about the right

of human beings to determine their own destiny and to live in the dignity God intended for each of his children.

Our goals then in Geneva ~~and~~ over the long-term are both peace and freedom. We can neither permit civilization to perish in a nuclear holocaust nor freedom to wither under the steady and relentless assault of totalitarianism.

But if nuclear war is an impossible option and so too is a world under totalitarian rule, how then are we to steer between them? How do we confront this dilemma at Geneva, the dilemma of our times, what course are we to chart and what cause is there for hope? My fellow Americans, I believe there is great cause for hope -- hope that peace and freedom will not only survive but triumph and perhaps even sooner than any of us had even dared to imagine only a few years ago. It is just possible history may well record this as the great paradox of our time; that gave birth to the awful menaces of nuclear weapons and totalitarian government and that the century that saw so much bloodshed and heartache, was also the century that in its closing decades fostered the greatest movement in human memory towards free institutions and democratic self-rule, the greatest flowering of mankind's age old aspiration for freedom and human dignity. Consider, for a moment, that at the start of this century there were only a handful of democracies in the entire world while today there are more than 50 with one-third of the world's population living in freedom. Here in our own hemisphere there is dramatic evidence of this change: more than 90 percent of the people in Latin America are now living under governments that are

either democratic or headed in that direction, a dramatic reversal from only a few years ago.

Even the communist world is far from immune to this worldwide movement. That's because in a sense Karl Marx was right, the demand for economic well-being in this century has brought masses into conflict with the old political order; only Marx was wrong in predicting where this conflict would occur. Contrary to Marx's theory, it is the democracies that are vibrant and growing -- bringing to their people higher and higher standards of living even as freedom grows and deepens. But the communist world is where economies stagnate, technology lags and the people are restless and unhappy with their lives. So we see even in the communist world, the great longing for personal freedom and democratic self-rule, the realization that economic progress is directly tied to the operation of a free market, surfacing again and again. In an astonishing turnaround from only a few years ago, for example, China has adopted sweeping economic reforms. Many Eastern European nations even now are seeking higher and higher standards of living for their people and although for the moment Polish Solidarity has been suppressed we know the hunger of the Polish people for freedom can never be stilled.

In the Soviet Union too, severe economic difficulties are leading to reappraisal and reexamination. Mr. Gorbachev himself has spoken to this issue and I intend to engage him further on this matter when we meet. Without being overly optimistic we should recognize that it has happened before in history: a small

ruling elite -- when it meets firm resistance to adventures against foreign lands -- begins to ponder how to lend more legitimacy to its government by allowing the people more of voice in their own destiny.

And think what this would mean for the prospects of arms control and peace; consider what a process of democratization within the Soviet Union might contribute. Public involvement in the peace movement would grow as it has in the West and the enormous Soviet military budget -- nearly 15 percent of the gross national product -- would suddenly be subjected to public scrutiny as it is here in the West. And the problem of verification -- one of the central difficulties in negotiating arms control agreements -- could be dramatically eased. Above all, the suspicion and distrust which is endemic to closed political systems, and which so poisons the pursuit of peace by the Soviet Union and the United States, would be greatly alleviated.

Now, don't get me wrong, I don't think we've reached this situation at all, not by a long shot. But my fellow Americans I do believe ^{the} momentum is building, that there is a historic trend towards freedom and more openness, ^{in the world} even in communist countries. But because ^{because} unlike the Soviets ^{that} we know history has no unalterable laws, that what happens in the world depends on ^{and we can} our freely exercised choices, I want to cite some of the reasons for this trend and explain how I think we can add to ^{it} ~~their~~ momentum.

To begin with, the health and vigor of the American economy -- with 15 million new jobs -- has been restored; and

this in turn had led to a reinvigoration of the world economy, a lessening of international tension and a new appreciation by many nations for the pragmatics of freedom: many more people and governments understand today that freedom is fruitful, that freedom works. And that is why it is especially important here at home to keep our economy vigorous and expanding by moving forward with initiatives like deficit reduction and tax reform.

Second, our efforts to restore America's military might has brought with it a new appreciation by the rest of the world for American power, resolve and confidence. But this job is not yet completed, as I mentioned earlier, since the postwar period the American people have sacrificed enormously to provide for the defense of the free world; let us not now at the very moment when that willingness to sacrifice is beginning to pay dividends relax our vigilance or vigor.

Third, this item I am about to discuss is actually related to our defense buildup but because I believe it is so revolutionary and so vital to promoting real arms control and moving us down the path to peace I wanted to treat it separately. As most of you know, the United States and the Soviet Union have for many years used massive nuclear arsenals to hold each other hostage in a kind of mutual nuclear terror, with one side threatening massive retaliation against the other. This has been known as mutual assured destruction; M-A-D or MAD as the arms control experts call it; I think you ^{will} agree there has never been a more apt acronym. As perhaps most of you also know, the United States is now embarked on research and development of new

strategic defense system -- an intricate but very workable series of defenses that could provide a shield in outer space against incoming nuclear missiles. We believe this system could be partly deployed at the end of this decade or the early part of the 1990's.

Now we have embarked on this program for a single reason to end the madness of MAD, the insanity of mutual nuclear terror. Think what the advent of this new space shield -- a defensive system that would kill weapons not people -- could mean in our lives and the lives of our children. For the first time much of the dread of the postwar period would be lifted, we would have some assurance as a people that we would have a means to protect ourselves from nuclear attack launched either by design or by miscalculation or accident.

Now I must tell you when I made the decision to go ahead with this program several years ago I heard much well-intended advice urging me not to delay or not take this course at all. But there are some decisions in the Presidency that can be only made alone and this in this case I had to exercise that option. When the first announcement was made, many derided this proposal as unworkable calling it "star wars"; but as our research has continued and the system looks increasingly workable this negative mood by some is changing.

The Soviets of course have been working on their own defensive system; much less capable than ours but nonetheless they have moved from the research stage to the deployment stage. They have already, for example, installed a huge new radar system

and computer network that would be the brains of any such system, an installation that is a clear violation of the terms of the A.B.M. Treaty signed by our two countries in 1972. But aware of our technological advantage, the Soviets are suddenly deeply frightened by our resolve to move ahead with our own space shield and have launched a massive propaganda offensive designed to convince the world we are destabilizing relations with our space shield even as they move vigorously ahead with their own system.

So that is why it is essential to move forward with our strategic defense initiative and why this system cannot be given up or negotiated away in Geneva or anywhere else.

Fourth, we must continue with a foreign policy that offers a wide range of peace initiatives even as it speaks out vigorously for freedom. Yes, we have been candid about the difference between the Soviets and ourselves and we have been willing to use our military power when our vital interests were threatened. I think we can be happy with the results: for the first time in many years not a single square inch of real estate has been lost to communist aggression, in fact Grenada has been rescued from such a fate and in at least four other countries freedom fighters are now threatening the rule of totalitarian leaders. But in addition to this firm foreign policy we have also set in motion on a whole host of fronts a wide series of diplomatic initiatives perhaps the greatest number of arms control proposal in our history. They cover a whole range of areas: strategic nuclear weapons, intermediate nuclear weapons, chemical weapons, mutual troop reductions in Europe, and the list goes on.

(Dolan)
November 3, 1985
11:00 p.m.

PRESIDENTIAL ADDRESS: TO THE NATION -- GENEVA SUMMIT

In 48 hours, I will be leaving for Geneva to meet with Mr. Gorbachev, the leader of the Soviet Union. Very few events attract as much attention as summit conferences and I felt it was my duty to report directly to you tonight on this meeting and its significance.

Now, I don't think it's any mystery why most of us regard summit conferences as a good idea. The danger of thermonuclear warfare and the havoc it would wreak are, as President Kennedy put it, a modern sword of Damocles dangling over the head of each of us. The awful reality of these weapons is actually a kind of terrible crescendo to the steady, dehumanizing progress of modern warfare itself in this century. To a few people here in this office recently, I recalled a hotly debated issue in my own college years -- which by the way also took place in this century -- when 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 attack purely 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. At least today we can say we have fewer illusions: we know if a World War III breaks out the destruction will be vast and devastating with perhaps 90 percent civilian casualties.

Believe me, the office I now occupy leads to serious reflection on all this. Whenever I travel, for example, I am followed by a military aide who carries with him a small black attache case -- "the football" is its nickname. It is a grim reminder of the narrow line our world walks every day because it contains the codes necessary for retaliation to a nuclear attack on the United States.

And this office provides another sobering, even sadder perspective on our world, one I will talk about to Mr. Gorbachev in a few days, ~~but~~ ^{and one I} want to mention to you now. The 23 million lives lost since the end of World War II in conventional and regional conflicts are stark evidence that a strictly nuclear conflict is far from the only danger we face. In recent years, America has had her share of fallen sons; Korea, Vietnam, other military engagements including terrorist attacks have been part of this terrible cost. And many times at this desk I have had to discharge the most difficult duty I have as President: to try and find words of comfort for grieving mothers and fathers. I don't have to tell you how regularly I fail at that; only because there are no such words. ~~And~~ ^{It's} one reason why earlier this year when I visited those places in Europe that had seen so much suffering during World War II, I said a voice could be heard there ~~a voice~~ from our century and from every century, the same voice I have heard in such sorrow here in this room, the voice of humanity crying out in anguish but in hope for peace -- and for the end to war.

This is why I go to Geneva. For peace. In hope, ~~the~~ the hope of never having to face that awful option of nuclear retaliation; the hope of never again having to speak from this office to grief-stricken loved ones, the hope that someday our Nation and the Soviet Union and all the people of the world will learn to heed the age-old cry of mankind for peace among all nations.

There is another reason I go to Geneva. It has to do, like the threat of nuclear war, with a danger unique to this century. Part of our heritage as Americans is are awareness of the dangers of government that overreaches; of mindless bureaucracy, burdensome regulation, stringent taxation and rampant inflation that can stifle personal freedom, economic growth and social excellence. Few knew better than our Founding Fathers that excessive government had brought many nations to economic ruin and led to foreign adventure and war. So, they left us their special appreciation for history's most terrible but, somehow, most easily forgotten lesson: that the abuse of government power has always posed the most serious and enduring threat to the freedom of man.

In the twentieth century, with the development of science and technology and the rise of modern ideology, we have seen a quantum leap in the nature of this danger; we have the birth of the gravest threat to freedom ever known -- the police state, the totalitarian society.

Now I don't think I have to elaborate on the human suffering and the loss of life totalitarian government has caused in this century. Hitler's concentration camps or Stalin's purges, the

Third Reich or the Gulag Archipaelog, the advent of totalitarian ideology -- an ideology which justifies any crime or affront to the individual done in the name of the state -- has sparked the worse assault in history on the human spirit. On this point, my own views have been plainly stated many times in the past; only as recently as a few weeks ago, I spoke of some specific instances of ~~unacceptable~~ Soviet conduct: the invasion of Afghanistan, one that has cost between 750,000 and one million lives not to mention nearly six million refugees, Soviet intervention in the African nations of Angola and Ethiopia, Soviet attempts to establish a totalitarian regime in Nicaragua and undermine democracy in this hemisphere; this tragic, unhappy list goes on.

But let me stress here that not only do I believe this candor and realism on behalf of freedom is our responsibility as Americans, I also think it makes ^{over the long-term} ~~over the long-term~~ for ^{diplomatic progress} ~~diplomatic progress~~ and will be essential for success in Geneva. (Because if history has shown there is any key to dealing successfully with the Soviets it is this: the Soviets must realize that their counterparts take them seriously and that, above all, 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 and it is both wrong and arrogant to assume that it is. The Soviets have a very different view of the world than we do; they believe a great struggle is already underway in the world and ^{true} "peace" for them can only be attained when communism triumphs. The Soviets sincerely believe then that the march of history is embodied in Soviet power, and so, to them the mere existence of the

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That is why the Soviets misinterpret any well-intentioned public statements we make minimizing the crucial moral distinction between totalitarianism and democracy; that is why any sudden shifts in our realistic and long-held views about the Soviets tends to disrupt the negotiating process. In the past, when such shifts ~~are engaged in~~ or such statements made, the Soviets have either regarded them as a ruse and reacted with distrust or looked on them as hopelessly naive and attempted to exploit the ~~the~~ ~~pathetic~~ ~~exploit our illusions~~ ~~and~~ ~~their counter-part.~~ In both cases, the business of serious negotiations has been set back.

~~And,~~ all of this is why, after a long experience of negotiating with the Soviets, Winston Churchill advised Western diplomats to never forget: "The Soviets... [have no understanding of such words as honesty, honor, trust and truth -- in fact, they regard these as negative virtues. They] will try every door in the home, enter all rooms which are not locked and when they come to a house that is barred, if they are unsuccessful in breaking through it, they will withdraw and invite you to dine genially that same evening."

So I must be blunt with you tonight; while I go to Geneva for peace and for freedom, I also go to Geneva without illusions.

Let us be clear!

The fact of this summit conference does not mean the Soviets have forsaken their long-term goals and objectives. Let us never forget, as President Eisenhower put it in his farewell address to the American people; "we face a hostile ideology -- global in scope, atheistic in character, ruthless in purpose and insidious in method."

I do not mention all this to sound unduly pessimistic, however, or to paint a heedlessly discouraging picture. ^{Fail} To the ^{my mood about this meeting is one of cautious optimism and} contrary, in a few moments I want to explain why I believe there

~~is great cause for hope and why I believe that while this summit conference cannot provide for a permanent peace it can lead to a~~ ^{I do not believe it can help} ^{to think} ^{would be too hard} ^{begin} ^{is going to} ^{Even beyond this, however, I believe there is great} ^{cause} ^{for} ^{hope} ⁱⁿ ^{the} ^{direction} ^{of} ^{many} ^{events} ^{now} ^{taking} ^{place} ⁱⁿ ^{the} ^{world;} ^{cause} ^{to} ^{believe} ^{the} ^{sacrifices} ^{the} ^{American} ^{people} ^{have} ^{been} ^{making} ^{since} ^{the} ^{end} ^{of} ^{World} ^{War} ^{II} ^{to} ^{preserve} ^{freedom} ^{and} ^{peace} ⁱⁿ ^{the} ^{world.} ^{only} ^{by} ^{leaving} ^{our} ^{illusions} ^{behind} ^{and} ^{dealing} ^{realistically} ^{with} ^{the} ^{Soviets} ^{do} ^{we} ^{have} ^{any} ^{chance} ^{at} ^{all} ^{for} ^{this} ^{kind} ^{of} ^{progress} ⁱⁿ ^{Geneva.} ^{The} ^{Soviets} ^{understand} ^{the} ^{firmness} ^{of} ^{mind} ^{and} ^{strength} ^{of} ^{will;} ^{and} ^I ^{can} ^{assure} ^{you} ^{that} ^{is} ^{what} ^{they} ^{will} ^{see} ^{on} ^{the} ^{American} ^{side} ⁱⁿ ^{Geneva.} ^{[I} ^{know} ^{some} ^{say} ^{you} ^{the} ^{people} ^{aren't} ^{capable} ^{of} ^{handling} ^{the} ^{paradox} ^{of} ^{having} ^{to} ^{negotiate} ^{with} ^{the} ^{Soviets} ^{even} ^{as} ^{we} ^{disapprove} ^{of} ^{their} ^{government} ^{and} ^{its} ^{actions.} ^{Well,} ^I ^{think} ^{most} ^{of} ^{you} ^{know} ^{that} ^I ^{have} ^{never} ^{been} ^{much} ^{for} ^{the} ^{conventional} ^{wisdom} ^{here} ⁱⁿ ^{the} ^{Capitol;} ^{and,} ^{you} ^{know,} ^{I've} ^{also} ^{always} ^{had} ^{the} ^{odd} ^{idea} ^{that} ^{not} ^{only} ^{can} ^{the} ^{people} ^{handle} ^{the} ^{truth,} ^{they} ^{know} ^a ^{lot} ^{more} ^{about} ^{it} ^{than} ^{the} ^{seers} ^{and} ^{sayers} ^{along} ^{the} ^{Potomac.} ^{Armed} ^{with} ^{common} ^{sense} ^{and}

~~only by leaving our illusions behind and dealing realistically with the Soviets do we have any chance at all for this kind of progress in Geneva. The Soviets understand the firmness of mind and strength of will; and I can assure you that is what they will see on the American side in Geneva.~~

[I know some say you the people aren't capable of handling the paradox of having to negotiate with the Soviets even as we disapprove of their government and its actions.

Well, I think most of you know that I have never been much for the conventional wisdom here in the Capitol; and, you know, I've also always had the odd idea that not only can the people handle the truth, they know a lot more about it than the seers and sayers along the Potomac. Armed with common sense and

In one sense, this summit conference is evidence of that. That is why we must be realistic about its prospects. War II to preserve freedom and peace in the world. only by leaving our illusions behind and dealing realistically with the Soviets do we have any chance at all for this kind of progress in Geneva.

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cause for hope in the direction of many events now taking place in the world; cause to believe the sacrifices the American people have been making since the end of World War II to preserve freedom and peace in the world. only by leaving our illusions behind and dealing realistically with the Soviets do we have any chance at all for this kind of progress in Geneva.

unencumbered by capital chic, you the people have never had illusions about the Soviet system; as a friend of mine, Gary Cooper, put it in his classically American way: "From what I hear about communism I don't like it because it isn't on the level." And you have always taken seriously the reality of Soviet power and the threat it poses to world freedom.

That's why one of the greatest dislocations that ever took place in our body politic occurred in the late 70's when some here in Washington permitted our military power to decline and suggest that our fears about communism were overblown. The American people knew this was wrong and they were gravely disturbed as the Soviets moved to take advantage of such naivete. And that's why you have so strongly supported this Administration in our defense buildup and our pursuit of a vigorous foreign, such as our actions in Grenada or our recent response to the hijacking of an Italian ship and the murder of an American passenger.

So to those who say don't speak so openly because the people won't understand; I say the people already understand and that they can be trusted. No policy and especially no foreign policy can be successfully carried out by a democratic government without the support of the people. So to those who say don't frighten the people can't understand; I respond: trust the people the people already understand.]

I need not elaborate on all of this except to say we Americans have a grave responsibility and bear a ^{special} serious burden.

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History may well record this ^{as the} great paradox of our time; that the century that saw so much bloodshed and heartache ^{that} and gave birth to the awful menaces of nuclear weapons and totalitarian

government, was also the century that ~~fostered~~ ^{fostered} in its closing decades ^{human menors} the greatest movement in history towards free institutions and democratic self-rule, the greatest flowering of mankind's age old aspiration for freedom and human dignity.

Consider, for ^{a word} ~~example~~ that while at the start of this century there were only a handful of democracies in the entire world ^{think} there are today ^{there are} more than 50 with one-third of the world's population ^{is freedom} ~~is~~ living under democratic rule. Here in our own

hemisphere there is dramatic evidence of this change: more than 90 percent of the people in Latin America are now living under ^{that are either} governments with democratic rule or ~~governments~~ headed in that direction, a dramatic reversal from only a few years ago.

Even the communist world is far from immune to this worldwide movement. That's because in a sense Marx was right, the demand for economic well-being has brought masses into conflict with the old political order; only he was wrong about predicting where this conflict would occur. Contrary to Marx's ~~prediction~~ ^{is} it is the democracies that are vibrant and growing -- bringing to their people higher and higher standards of living even as freedom grows and deepens, ~~while it is~~ ^{is} the communist world where economies stagnate, technology lags and the people are restless and unhappy with their lives. So we see even in the communist world, the great longing for personal freedom and democratic self-rule, the realization that economic progress is directly tied to the operation of a free market, surfacing again and again. In an astonishing turnaround from only a few years ago, for example, China has adopted sweeping economic reforms. Many Eastern European nations even now are seeking higher and higher standards of living for their people and although for the moment Polish Solidarity has been suppressed we know the heart of the Polish people is ~~with her freedom and that by will be heard~~ ^{is} ~~from again.~~ ^{from again.}

In the Soviet Union too, severe economic difficulties are leading to reappraisal and reexamination. Mr. Gorbachev himself has spoken to this issue and I intend to engage him further on this matter when we meet. Without being overly optimistic we should recognize that it has happened before in history: a small ruling elite -- ~~if~~ ^{when} it meets ~~resistance~~ ^{resistance} to ~~foreign~~ ^{foreign} adventures ~~and~~

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And think what this would mean for the prospects of arms control and peace; Consider what a process of democratization within the Soviet Union might contribute. Public involvement in the peace movement would grow as it has in the West and the enormous Soviet military budget nearly 15 percent of the gross national product would suddenly be subjected to public scrutiny as it is here in the West. And the problem of verification -- one of the central difficulties in negotiating arms control agreements -- could be dramatically eased. Above all, the suspicion and distrust which is endemic to closed political systems, and which so poisons the pursuit of peace by the Soviet Union and the United States, would be greatly alleviated.

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(Dolan)
November 3, 1985
10:00 p.m.

PRESIDENTIAL ADDRESS: TO THE NATION -- GENEVA SUMMIT

In 48 hours, I will be leaving for Geneva to meet with Mr. Gorbachev, the leader of the Soviet Union. Very few events attract as much attention as summit conferences and I felt it was my duty to report directly to you tonight on this meeting and its significance.

Now, I don't think it's any mystery why most of us regard summit conferences as a good idea. The danger of thermonuclear warfare and the havoc it would wreak ^{is,} as President Kennedy put it, a modern sword of Damocles dangling over the head of each of us. The awful reality of these weapons is actually a kind of terrible crescendo to the steady, dehumanizing progress of modern warfare itself in this century. To a few people here in this office recently, I recalled a hotly debated issue in my own college years -- which by the way also took place in this century -- when 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 attack purely 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. At least today we can say we have fewer illusions: we know if a World War III breaks out the destruction will be vast and devastating with perhaps 90 percent civilian casualties.

Believe me, the office I now occupy leads to serious reflection on all this. Whenever I travel, for example, I am followed by a military aide who carries with him a small black attache case -- "the football" is its nickname. It is a grim reminder of the narrow line our world walks every day because it contains the codes necessary for retaliation to a nuclear attack on the United States.

And this office provides another sobering, even sadder perspective on our world, one I will talk about to Mr. Gorbachev in a few days but want to mention to you now. The 23 million lives lost since the end of World War II in conventional and regional conflicts are stark evidence that a strictly nuclear conflict is far from the only danger we face. In recent years, America has had her share of fallen sons; Korea, Vietnam, other military engagements including terrorist attacks have been part of this terrible cost. And many times at this desk I have had to discharge the most difficult duty I have as President: to ^{try and} find ~~the~~ words of comfort for grieving mothers and fathers. I don't have to tell you how regularly I fail at that; ^{only} ~~that's~~ because there are no such words. And it's one reason why earlier this year when I visited those places in Europe that had seen so much suffering during World War II, I said a voice could be heard there, a voice from our century and from every century, the same voice I have heard in such sorrow here in this room, the voice of humanity crying out in anguish but in hope for peace -- and for the end to war.

This is why I go to Geneva. For peace. ~~And~~ ^{In} hope; ^{The} hope of never having to face that awful option of nuclear retaliation; the hope of never again having to speak from this office to grief-stricken loved ones, the hope that someday our Nation and the Soviet Union and all the people of the world will learn to heed the age-old cry of mankind for peace among all nations.

There is another reason I go to Geneva. It has to do, like the threat of nuclear war, with a danger unique to this century. Part of our heritage as Americans is are awareness of the dangers of government that overreaches; of mindless bureaucracy, burdensome regulation, stringent taxation and rampant inflation that can stifle personal freedom, economic growth and social excellence. Few knew better than our Founding Fathers that excessive government had brought many nations to economic ruin and led to foreign adventure and war. So, they left us their special appreciation for history's most terrible but, somehow, most easily forgotten lesson: that the abuse of government power has always posed the most serious and enduring threat to the freedom of man.

In the twentieth century, with the development of science and technology and the rise of modern ideology, we have seen a quantum leap in the nature of this danger ^{we have} and the birth of the gravest threat to freedom ever known -- the police state, the totalitarian society.

Now I don't think I have to elaborate on the human suffering and the loss of life totalitarian government has caused in this

century. Hitler's concentration camps or Stalin's purges, the Third Reich or the Gulag Archipaelog, the advent of totalitarian ideology -- an ideology which justifies any crime or affront to the individual done in the name of the state -- has sparked the worse assault in history on the human spirit. ~~And~~ ^{now} on this point, my own views have been plainly stated in the past; only as recently as a few weeks ago, I spoke of some specific instances of Soviet conduct: the invasion of Afghanistan, one that has cost between 750,000 and one million lives not to mention nearly six million refugees, Soviet intervention in the African nations of Angola and Ethiopia, Soviet attempts to establish a totalitarian regime in Nicaragua and undermine democracy in this hemisphere; ^{fratricide, unhelping} the list goes on. Great A

I mention ~~all~~ ^{now} this, however, because I think most of you know this candor about communism by myself and other members of my Administration ^{is seen by some as disruptive at the diplomatic process,} has been criticized by some who, although they ~~surely~~ ^{do not} deny the reality of what we say do sincerely believe such topics are best left alone or at least in obscurity where they are less unpleasant and less likely to disrupt the diplomatic process.

Now, I have always thought this view wrong but with the Geneva meeting only a few days away I fell it is especially important to explain ~~why~~ ^{But} ~~it~~ ^{is} history has shown there is any key to dealing successfully with the Soviets it is this: the Soviets must realize that their counterparts take them seriously and that, above all, ~~they~~ ^{we} harbor no illusions about ultimate ~~Soviet~~ ^{their} goals and intentions. The Soviet mind is not the mirror

But let me stress that I do not believe

this candor and realism is our responsibility as I also think it makes sense to lay them out for the American people because

image of the American or the Western mind and it is both wrong and arrogant to assume that it is. The Soviets sincerely believe that the march of history is embodied in Soviet power, and so, to them the mere existence of the democracies is seen as an obstacle to the ultimate triumph of history and the Soviet state. So, you see, the Soviets have a very different view of the world than we do; they believe a great struggle is already underway in the world and peace can only be attained when communism triumphs. ^{live for them} ~~So, too, they~~ have a very different definition of aggression than we do. From their perspective, even if the democracies do nothing overt against ~~the Soviets~~ ^{their interests,} just our survival, our mere existence, is considered by ~~them~~ ^{the Soviets} as an act of aggression against themselves and against ~~the~~ ^{the} predetermined course of history.

That is why any sudden shifts in our realistic and long-held views about the Soviets tends to disrupt the negotiating process;

^{That is} and why the Soviets misinterpret any well-intentioned public statements we make minimizing the crucial moral distinction between totalitarianism and democracy. In the past, when such shifts

statements have been made, the Soviets have either regarded them as a ruse and reacted with distrust or looked on ~~such statements~~ ^{from} as hopelessly naive and ~~reacted by forgetting about serious~~ ^{attempted to exploit our illusions.} In both cases, ~~the hope of a serious negotiating~~ ^{the business} negotiating and returning instead a kind of compulsive ~~exploitation of those who harbor illusions about them and the~~ ^{or} nature of the world struggle. ^{serious negotiation has been} ^{ret} ^{made.}

^{And,} All of this is why, after a long experience of negotiating with the Soviets, Winston Churchill advised Western diplomats to never forget: "The Soviets... [have no understanding of such

are made engaged in or such

words as honesty, honor, trust and truth -- in fact, they regard these as negative virtues. They] will try every door in the home, enter all rooms which are not locked and when they come to a house that is barred, if they are unsuccessful in breaking through it, they will withdraw and invite you to dine genially that same evening."

So I ~~wanted to~~ ^{must} be blunt with you tonight; I go to Geneva with ~~no~~ ^{out} illusions, and I urge you not to have any either. ~~One summit conference does not even establish a permanent process for peace, let alone permanent peace itself. Nor does the fact of a summit conference mean the essential nature of the struggle now going on in the world has been changed, or that the Soviets have forsaken their long-term goals and objectives. Let us never forget, as President Eisenhower put it in his farewell address to the American people; "we face a hostile ideology -- global in scope, atheistic in character, ruthless in purpose and insidious in method."~~

while I go to Geneva from Paris and for Dresden, I also

I do not mention all this to sound unduly pessimistic or to paint a heedlessly discouraging picture, ^{in a few minutes} to the contrary, I ^{want,} ~~am~~ sure, it is only by leaving our illusions behind and dealing realistically with the Soviets do we have any chance of meaningful progress ~~at all~~ ^{at all for this kind of} in Geneva. They understand the firmness of mind and strength of will; ^{and can} I assure you that is what they will see from the American side in Geneva.

Want to explain why I believe summit conference cannot provide permanent peace

~~And there is a second reason why those of us in government must continue to be candid about the dangers we face abroad and again it is a reply to those who say we must not speak frankly~~

for the summit conference is a order; this conference will not lead to a permanent peace if we lead to a permanent process for peace

~~And there is a second reason why those of us in government must continue to be candid about the dangers we face abroad and again it is a reply to those who say we must not speak frankly~~

Bracket → *I know some say you*
~~about the Soviets because~~ you the people aren't capable of
handling the paradox of having to negotiate with the Soviets even
as we disapprove of their government and its actions.

Well, I think most of you know that I have never been much
for the conventional wisdom here in the Capitol; and, you know,
I've also always had the odd idea that not only can the people
handle the truth, they know a lot more about it than the seers
and sayers along the Potomac. Armed with common sense and
unencumbered by capital chic, you the people have never had
illusions about the Soviet system; as a friend of mine, Gary
Cooper, put it in his classically American way: "From what I
hear about communism I don't like it because it isn't on the
level." And you have always taken seriously the reality of
Soviet power and the threat it poses to world freedom.

That's why one of the greatest dislocations that ever took
place in our body politic occurred in the late 70's when some
here in Washington permitted our military power to decline and
suggest that our fears about communism were overblown. The
American people knew this was wrong and they were gravely
disturbed as the Soviets moved to take advantage of such naivete.
And that's why you have so strongly supported this Administration
in our defense buildup and our pursuit of a vigorous foreign,
such as our actions in Grenada or our recent response to the
hijacking of an Italian ship and the murder of an American
passenger.

So to those who say don't speak so openly because the
people won't understand; I say the people already understand and

that they can be trusted. No policy and especially no foreign policy can be successfully carried out by a democratic government without the support of the people. So to those who say don't frighten the people can't understand; I respond: trust the people, the people already understand.

Bracket

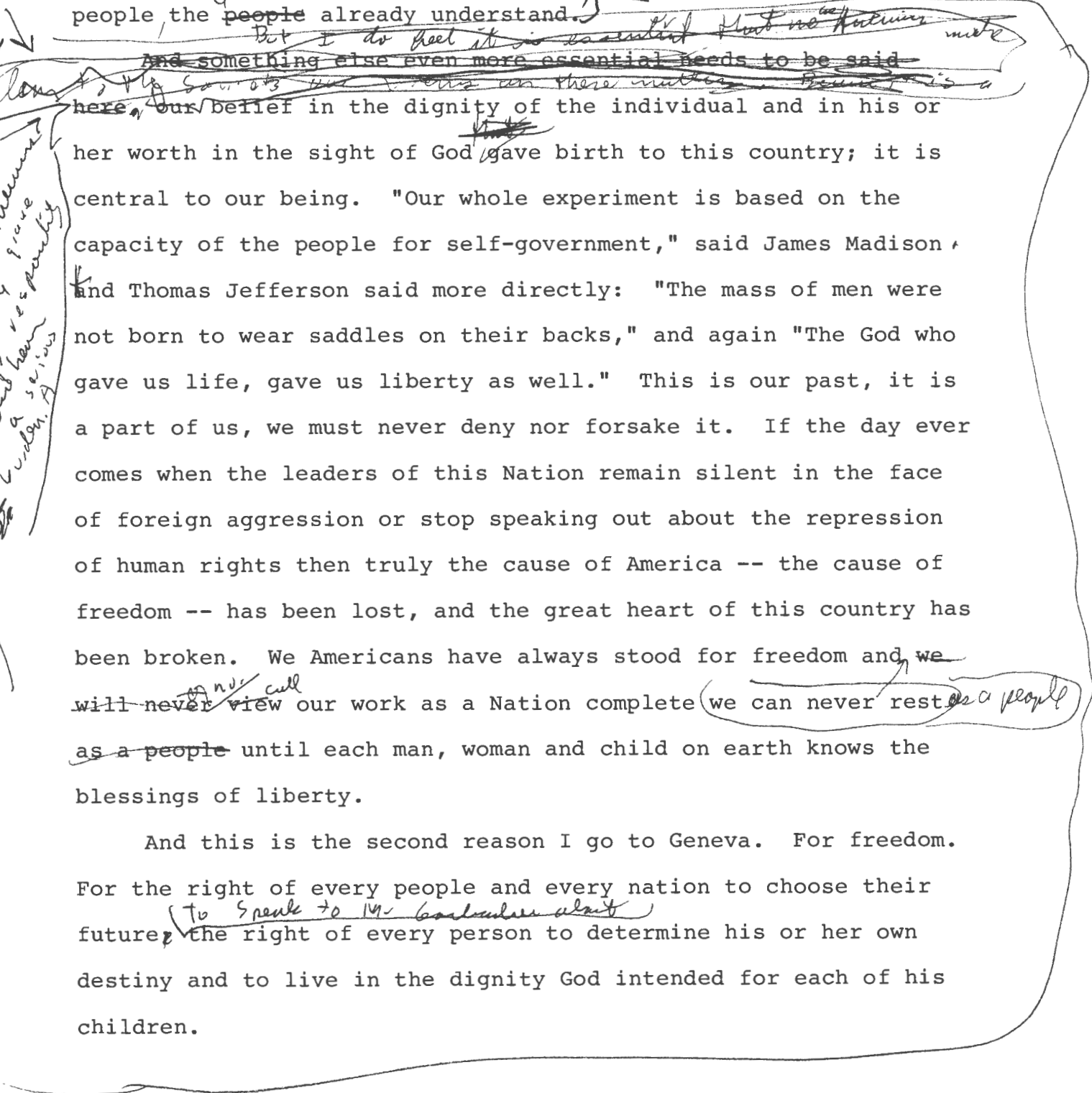
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~~But I do feel it is essential that we Americans make~~
~~And something else even more essential needs to be said~~
~~here, our belief in the dignity of the individual and in his or~~
her worth in the sight of God gave birth to this country; it is central to our being. "Our whole experiment is based on the capacity of the people for self-government," said James Madison, and Thomas Jefferson said more directly: "The mass of men were not born to wear saddles on their backs," and again "The God who gave us life, gave us liberty as well." This is our past, it is a part of us, we must never deny nor forsake it. If the day ever comes when the leaders of this Nation remain silent in the face of foreign aggression or stop speaking out about the repression of human rights then truly the cause of America -- the cause of freedom -- has been lost, and the great heart of this country has been broken. We Americans have always stood for freedom and we will never view our work as a Nation complete (we can never rest as a people) as a people until each man, woman and child on earth knows the blessings of liberty.

And this is the second reason I go to Geneva. For freedom. For the right of every people and every nation to choose their future, the right of every person to determine his or her own destiny and to live in the dignity God intended for each of his children.

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(Dolan)
November 4, 1985
7:30 p.m.

PRESIDENTIAL ADDRESS: TO THE NATION -- GENEVA SUMMIT

In 48 hours, I will be leaving for Geneva to meet with Mr. Gorbachev, the leader of the Soviet Union. Few events attract as much attention as summit conferences and I felt it my duty to report directly to you tonight on this meeting and its significance.

Now, I don't think it's any mystery why most of us regard summit conferences as a good idea. The danger of thermonuclear warfare and the havoc it would wreak are, as President Kennedy put it, a modern sword of Damocles dangling over the head of each of us. The awful reality of these weapons is actually a kind of terrible crescendo to the steady, dehumanizing progress of modern warfare in this century. To a few people here in this office recently, I recalled a hotly debated issue in my own college years -- which by the way also took place in this century -- when 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 attack purely 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. At least today we can say we have fewer illusions: we know if a World War III breaks out the destruction will be vast and devastating with perhaps 90 percent civilian casualties.

Believe me, the office I now occupy leads to serious reflection on all this. Whenever I travel, for example, I am followed by a military aide who carries with him a small black attache case -- "the football" is its nickname. It is a grim reminder of the narrow line our world walks every day because it contains the codes necessary for retaliation to a nuclear attack on the United States.

And this office provides another sobering, even sadder perspective on our world. The 23 million lives lost since the end of World War II in conventional and regional conflicts are stark evidence that a strictly nuclear conflict is far from the only danger we face. In recent years, America has had her share of fallen sons; Korea, Vietnam, other military engagements including terrorist attacks have been part of this terrible cost. And many times at this desk I have had to discharge the most difficult duty I have as President: to try and find words of comfort for grieving mothers and fathers. I don't have to tell you how regularly I fail at that; because there are no such words. It's one reason why earlier this year when I visited those places in Europe that had seen so much suffering during World War II, I said a voice could be heard there, a voice from our century and from every century, the same voice I have heard in such sorrow here in this room, the voice of humanity crying out in anguish but in hope for peace -- and for an end to war.

This is why I go to Geneva. For peace. And in hope -- the hope of never having to face that awful option of nuclear retaliation and of never again having to speak from this office

to grief-stricken loved ones. The hope too of seeking to work with the Soviet Union to reduce and eventually eliminate the danger of nuclear destruction, to relax those regional tensions that can lead to wider conflict, to enhance respect for human rights and to expand the peace process itself by involving more directly the citizens of both our nations. And on this latter point I want to mention in a few moments the specific new proposals I have in mind.

There is another reason I go to Geneva. It has to do, like the threat of nuclear war, with a danger unique to this century. Part of our heritage as Americans is our Founding Fathers' warning about history's most terrible but, somehow most easily forgotten lesson; that the abuse of government power has always posed the most serious and enduring threat to the freedom of man.

In the twentieth century, with the development of science and technology and the rise of modern ideology, we have seen a quantum leap in the nature of this danger and the birth of the gravest threat to freedom ever known -- the police state, the totalitarian society.

Now I don't think I have to elaborate on the human suffering totalitarian government has caused in our time. Hitler's concentration camps or Stalin's forced famines, the Third Reich or the Gulag Archipelago. The advent of totalitarian ideology -- an ideology that justifies any crime or affront to the individual done in the name of the state -- has sparked the worst assaults in history on the human spirit. On this point, my own views have been plainly stated many times. Only as recently as a few weeks

ago at the United Nations, I spoke of some specific instances of unacceptable Soviet conduct: the invasion of Afghanistan that has cost between 750,000 and one million lives not to mention nearly six million refugees, Soviet intervention in the African nations of Angola and Ethiopia, Soviet attempts to establish a totalitarian regime in Nicaragua. This tragic, unhappy list goes on.

I need not elaborate on this now except to say that in forthrightly opposing such action we Americans have a grave responsibility and bear a special burden. A belief in the dignity of the individual and in his or her worth in the sight of God gave birth to this country; it is central to our being. "Our whole experiment is based on the capacity of the people for self-government," said James Madison. And Thomas Jefferson said; "The mass of men were not born to wear saddles on their backs," and again: "The God who gave us life, gave us liberty as well." This is our past, it is a part of us, we must never deny nor forsake it. If the day ever comes when the leaders of this Nation remain silent in the face of foreign aggression or stop speaking out about the repression of human rights then truly the cause of America -- the cause of freedom -- has been lost, and the great heart of this country has been broken. We Americans know we can never rest as a people nor say our work as a Nation is done until each man, woman and child on earth knows the blessings of liberty.

And this is the second reason I go to Geneva. For freedom. To speak for the right of every people and every nation to choose

their future. I go to Geneva for the right of human beings everywhere to determine their own destiny, to live in the dignity God intended for each of his children.

But let me stress here that not only do I believe this candor and realism on behalf of freedom is our responsibility as Americans, I also think it is essential for success in Geneva. Because if history has shown there is any key to dealing successfully with the Soviets it is this: the Soviets must realize that their counterparts take them seriously and 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 and it is both wrong and arrogant to assume that it is. The Soviets have a very different view of the world than we do; they believe a great struggle is already underway in the world and true peace can only be attained with the triumph of communist power. The Soviets sincerely believe that the march of history is embodied in the Soviet state, and so, to them, the mere existence of the democracies is seen as an obstacle to the ultimate triumph of history and that state. So, from the Soviet perspective, even if the democracies do nothing overt against their interests, just our survival, our mere existence, is considered by them an act of aggression.

And that is why the Soviets tend to misinterpret well-intentioned public statements obscuring the nature of this struggle or minimizing the crucial moral distinction between totalitarianism and democracy. And that is why any sudden shifts in our realistic and long-held views about the Soviets tends to

disrupt the negotiating process. In the past, when such shifts or such statements have been made, the Soviets have either regarded them as a ruse and reacted with distrust, or looked on them as hopelessly naive and attempted to exploit the pathetic illusions of their counterparts. In both cases, the peace process and the business of serious negotiations have suffered.

So I must be blunt with you tonight; while I go to Geneva for peace and for freedom, I also go to Geneva without illusions. Let us be clear: the fact of this summit conference does not mean the Soviets have forsaken their long-term goals and objectives. Let us never forget, as President Eisenhower put it in his farewell address to the American people; "we face a hostile ideology -- global in scope, atheistic in character, ruthless in purpose and insidious in method."

I do not mention this, however, to sound unduly pessimistic or to paint a needlessly discouraging picture. Far to the contrary, my mood about this meeting is one of cautious optimism. While it would be foolhardy to think one summit conference can establish a permanent peace, this conference can, I believe, help begin a permanent process toward peace.

But that is why realism is so essential. For only by leaving our illusions behind and dealing realistically with the Soviets do we have any chance at all for meaningful progress in Geneva.

This is the way to progress; as Winston Churchill said after a long experience of negotiating with the Soviets, "The Soviets will try every door in the home, enter all rooms which are not

locked and when they come to a house that is barred, if they are unsuccessful in breaking through it, they will withdraw and invite you to dine genially that same evening."

Our goals next week in Geneva then must be both peace and freedom as well as an end to illusion. But because we can neither permit civilization to perish in a nuclear holocaust nor freedom to wither under the steady and relentless assault of totalitarianism, how do we confront this dilemma in Geneva and elsewhere? If nuclear war is an impossible option and so too is a world under totalitarian rule, how then are we to steer between them? What course are we to chart and what cause is their for hope?

My fellow Americans, I believe there is great cause for hope -- hope that peace and freedom will not only survive but triumph, and perhaps even sooner than any of us had even dared to imagine only a few years ago. I also think it possible that history will record a great paradox about our century: that while it gave birth to the awful menaces of nuclear weapons and totalitarian government and saw so much bloodshed and heartache it was also the century that in its closing decades fostered the greatest movement in human memory towards free institutions and democratic self-rule, the greatest flowering of mankind's age old aspiration for freedom and human dignity.

Consider, for a moment, that at the start of the twentieth century there were only a handful of democracies in the entire world while today there are more than 50 with one-third of the world's population living in freedom. Here in our own hemisphere

there is dramatic evidence of this change: more than 90 percent of the people in Latin America are now living under governments that are either democratic or headed in that direction, a dramatic reversal from only a few years ago.

Even the communist world is far from immune to this worldwide movement. In an astonishing turnaround from only a few years ago, China, for example, has adopted sweeping economic reforms. Eastern European nations are seeking higher standards of living through free-market techniques. Although for the moment Polish Solidarity has been suppressed we know the hunger of the Polish people for freedom can never be completely stilled.

So we see even in the communist world, the great longing for personal freedom and democratic self-rule, the realization that economic progress is directly tied to the operation of a free market, surfacing again and again. That's because Karl Marx was in one sense right: the demand for economic well-being in this century has brought the masses into conflict with the old political order; only he was wrong about where this conflict would occur. It is the democracies that are vibrant and growing -- bringing to their people higher and higher standards of living even as freedom grows and deepens while the communist world has economies that stagnate, technology that lags and people who are restless and unhappy with their lives.

In the Soviet Union too, economic difficulties have led to reappraisal and reexamination. Mr. Gorbachev himself has spoken to this issue and I intend to engage him further on this matter when we meet. Without being overly optimistic we should

recognize that it has happened before in history: a small ruling elite -- when it meets firm resistance to foreign adventurism -- begins to ponder how to lend more legitimacy to its government by allowing the people more of voice in their own destiny.

Now, don't get me wrong; I hardly think we've reached this situation, not by a long shot. But, my fellow Americans, I do believe that there is a historic trend towards more openness and democracy in the world and that even in communist countries the momentum is building. But because, unlike the Soviets, we believe that history has no unalterable laws, we must do all in our power to accelerate this trend. Let us start by understanding the important factors that have contributed to this movement.

To begin with, the health and vigor of the American economy -- with 15 million new jobs -- has been restored; and this in turn had led to a reinvigoration of the world economy, a new appreciation by many nations for the pragmatic benefits of freedom.

Second, our efforts to restore America's military might has brought with it a new appreciation by the rest of the world for American power, resolve and confidence.

Third, this item I am about to discuss is actually related to our defense buildup but because I believe it is so vital to the peace process I wanted to treat it separately. As most of you know, the United States and the Soviet Union have for many years used massive nuclear arsenals to hold each other hostage in a kind of mutual nuclear terror -- one side threatening massive

retaliation against the other. This has been known as mutual assured destruction; M-A-D or M.A.D. as the arms control experts call it. I think you will agree there has never been a more apt acronym. As perhaps most of you also know, the United States is now embarked on research and development of new strategic defense system -- an intricate but workable series of defenses that could provide a survival shield in outer space against incoming nuclear missiles. We believe this system could be ready for deployment at the end of this decade or the early part of the 1990's.

Now we have embarked on this program for a single reason: to end the madness of M.A.D., the insanity of mutual nuclear terror. Think what the advent of this new space shield -- a defensive system that would kill weapons not people -- could mean to our lives and the lives of our children. For the first time much of the dread of the postwar period would be lifted because we would have some means as a people to protect ourselves from a nuclear attack launched either by design or by mistake.

Fourth, we must continue with a foreign policy that offers a wide range of peace initiatives even as it speaks out vigorously for freedom. Yes, we have been candid about the difference between the Soviets and ourselves and we have been willing to use our military power when our vital interests were threatened. And I think we can be pleased with the results: for the first time in many years not a single square inch of real estate has been lost to communist aggression, in fact, Grenada has been rescued from such a fate and in at least four other countries freedom fighters are now opposing the rule of totalitarian leaders. But

in addition to these firm foreign policy steps, we have also set in motion a wide series of diplomatic initiatives, perhaps the greatest number of such proposals in our history. They cover a range of areas: strategic nuclear weapons, intermediate nuclear weapons, chemical weapons, mutual troop reductions in Europe. The list goes on.

It is in this last area, the business of negotiation between the Soviet Union and the United States that this Geneva meeting takes on a special importance. Too often in the past, the whole burden of Soviet and American relations has rested on one or two arms talks or even arms proposals. And while arms control is essential it can not be the only area of discussion. That is why I believe this summit conference can move the peace process substantially forward. After careful consultation with our allies, Secretary Shultz flew to Moscow last week and established with the Soviets a four-fold agenda. So, we will be discussing in Geneva arms control but also human rights; we will be talking with them about bilateral matters such as trade, scientific and cultural exchanges but also regional conflicts such as those in Afghanistan, Angola, Ethiopia and Nicaragua.

I think this represents a breakthrough. And I am determined to continue in this direction in Geneva by offering the Soviets a series of proposals that make up in their entirety a unique and even revolutionary approach. With this series of "Open World" proposals, I want to invite the Soviet Union to participate more fully in the effort to reduce secrecy and distrust between nations and construct a more open and constructive relationship.

First, in my United Nations speech of last year I mentioned a proposal for a series of "Umbrella talks" between the Soviets and ourselves on a wide-ranging number of issues. I will once again offer this proposal, suggesting not only regular summit meetings of the two heads of state but meetings at the cabinet and ministerial level as well.

Second, in the area of arms control I want to formally take up the issue of our strategic defense initiative. But rather than bargaining away this essential system or spending our time in Geneva bickering over who is building what and which side is destabilizing the other; I am going to extend to the Soviets an invitation to share in the fruits of our research for the deployment of this space shield.

Third, I will be proposing a wide series of people-to-people exchanges. Unlike the exchanges of the past, however, which were limited to a tiny number on both sides, I will be suggesting to Mr. Gorbachev that we exchange on a yearly basis thousands of our citizens from different community, fraternal and cultural groups; students, religious organizations and so forth.

This series of people-to-people exchanges can I believe do much to bring the people of both our nations together. In this area we are going to suggest for example the exchange of at least 5,000 undergraduates each year for two semesters of study as well a youth exchange involving at least 5,000 secondary school age youngsters who would live with a host family and attend schools or summer camps. We also look to increase scholarship programs, to improve language studies, to develop and expand sister city

relationships, to establish cultural centers and libraries and to increase bi-national athletic exchanges and sporting competitions.

In the areas of science, space and technology we would also seek to inaugurate more joint space flights and establish joint medical research projects and institutes in each of our countries. In the communications area, in particular, we would like to see a far more extensive contact including more appearances by representatives of both our countries in the other's mass media. I've noted that Mr. Gorbachev has shown a lively appreciation for America's free press tradition; I can assure you I will be preaching the virtues of some Soviet movements in this direction as well and will ask again, as I did several years ago in a speech to the British Parliament, for an opportunity to address the Soviet people.

Now I do not think these proposals will by themselves solve the world's problems or end our differences; but I do believe more people-to-people contact between our nations can help build constituencies for peace and freedom in both our nations.

To summarize then; I will be going to Geneva for peace and for freedom; without illusions; to put forward a whole series of "Open World" proposals that can lead to less distrust and suspicion in the international climate.

I also think the conversations Mr. Gorbachev and I will here together can help alleviate whatever suspicions and misunderstandings now exist between our two sides. You can be sure the Soviet Union knows the United States is not an aggressor

and will never strike first against a foreign adversary. As Prime Minister Mulroney of Canada put it recently when he was told the United States was an imperialist Nation -- and I'm using the Prime Minister's words -- "What the hell 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."

But the great danger in the past has been the failure by our adversaries to remember that while the American people love peace, they also love freedom and are always ready to sacrifice for it. That is why I will be stressing to Mr. Gorbachev that the only way war can ever break out between our two countries is through this sort of miscalculation. My first meeting with Mr. Gorbachev, by the way, will be taking place on the anniversary of the Gettysburg address; so you can be certain I will remind him that the American people are as determined as ever that "government by the people for the people and of the people shall not perish from the earth."

In conclusion, my fellow Americans, while this summit conference marks the culmination of much of our effort in the foreign policy area it is also, in another way, a milestone in a personal journey. That quotation from James Madison I mentioned earlier was from a speech that marked my entry into political life, a speech given more than two decades ago. It was a time when many of us anticipated the troubles and difficulties of the years ahead and wondered if America would meet that challenge. She has, of course; and, as I said during the campaign last year, this is not the work of any one man or

party. The accomplishment is yours; the credit belongs to you the American people.

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 think you can understand why on the eve of our departure for Geneva my thoughts turn not only to you but to her as well: not just for all the support and love she has given me over the years but also because I know how deep the hope of peace is in her heart, as it is in the heart of every American mother.

You know recently Nancy and I 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 the Greek communists.

It is also the story of her son, Nicholas Gage, who grew up to become an investigative reporter with the New York Times and who secretly vowed to return to Greece someday to take vengeance on the man who had 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. Mr. Gage writes it would have relieved the pain that had filled him for so many years but it would also have broken the one bridge still connecting him to his mother and the part of him most like her. As he tells it: "her final cry, before the bullets of the firing squad tore into her, 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 fellowmen.

Here then is what Geneva is really about; the hope of heeding such words, spoken so often in so many different places -- in a desert journey to a promised land, or 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 want to remind you again that in the simple prayers of people like yourselves there is far more power than in the hands of all the great statesmen or armies of the world.

And so, as Thanksgiving approaches, I want to ask each of you to join me again in thanking God for all his blessings to this Nation and ask him to help and guide us as we meet next week in Geneva that the cause of peace and freedom will be served and all of humanity ennobled.

God bless you and good night.