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WITHDRAWAL SHEET

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DOCUMENT NO. AND TYPE	SUBJECT/TITLE	DATE	RESTRICTION
1. draft	2:30 p.m. p. 6 (1p, partial)	10/11/86	P5
2. draft	2:30 p.m. p. 8 (1p. partial)	10/11/86	P5 CCB 12/22/00
COLLECTION:			
SPEECHWRITING, WHITE HOUSE OFFICE OF: Speech Drafts			ggc
FILE FOLDER:			
File 1: Add. to the Nation on Pre-Summit meeting with Gorbachev, 10/23/86 [4 of 6] Box 328 9A-12886			4/20/94

RESTRICTION CODES

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

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

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- F-2 Release could disclose internal personnel rules and practices of an agency [(b)(2) of the FOIA].
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- F-9 Release would disclose geological or geophysical information concerning wells [(b)(9) of the FOIA].
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10/12/86

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Attached is a copy of the Address to the Nation. Comments are due back to Tony Dolan before Air Force One departure with an informational copy to David Chew.

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

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

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

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

These most recent meetings with the Soviet leaders were intended as preparatory meetings, a planning session for a full fledged summit conference to be held when Mr. Gorbachev visits the United States. And tonight I am pleased to report to you that as Mr. Gorbachev and I agreed yesterday in Reykjavik the Soviet leader will be visiting America in the month of _____ next year. It is my hope that at that time both sides can continue the work we have begun together in Geneva and Iceland.

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

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

And yet at the same time we set out these foreign policy goals and began working towards them, we pursued another of our

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

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

Indeed, if there is one impression I carry away with me from these October talks, it is that we are seeing now those first ~~tentative signs~~ ^{shoots} of a ^{coming} harvest of peace and freedom planted by the strength and resolve of the American people and their allies. A harvest that is found not in the simple fact of these ^{negotiations} ~~movements~~ towards human rights, personal freedom and the restraint of ~~brute military force~~ ^{any great power} ~~to sign~~ ^{peace} ~~agreements~~.

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

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

And finally, we launched a research program ^{to develop} and revolutionary new technologies that could destroy ballistic missiles in flight -- looking to a day when the huge arsenals of these missiles would be ^{Rendered} obsolete, and ^{a day when} defense strategies would ^{of peoples, human beings} rely on protection of our peoples rather than on ^{threatening entire} perpetuating ^{populations, nations} their vulnerability. And we offered to the Soviet Union an agreement by which they could join with us in cooperative transition to this ^{a new} new strategic environment of mutual ^{assured} security.

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

I cannot predict the nature or dates of future agreements. What I can say is that for the first time in a long time, Soviet-American negotiations in these areas are moving, and

moving in the right direction: not just ^{Toward} arms control but arms reduction.

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

One such issue is human rights. As President Kennedy once said, "Is not peace, in the final analysis, a matter of human rights . . .?" Only last week, here in the Oval Office, a heroic champion ^{of} human rights, ^{5/} in the Soviet Union, Yuri Orlov, described to me the persecution ^{Simple} he suffered for leading an effort ^{Solemn} to get the Soviet government to live up to the ^{Commitment} human rights agreements ^{on human rights it had} it signed at Helsinki in 1975. Mr. Orlov's suffering is like ^{that} those of far too many other individuals ⁱⁿ of all walks of life in ^{side} the Soviet Union -- including those who wish to emigrate.

And that is why ^{again} I made it plain to Mr. Gorbachev that the United States would not seek to exploit improvement in these matters for purposes of propaganda. But I also make it plain, ^{once again,} that an improvement of the human condition within the Soviet Union is indispensable for an improvement in bilateral relations with the United States. For a government that will break faith with its own people cannot be trusted to keep faith with foreign powers. If the best and brightest inside the Soviet Union --

Page 6

like Mr. Orlov -- cannot trust the Soviet Government, how then can the rest of the world? So, I told Mr. Gorbachev -- again in Reykjavik as I had in Geneva -- we Americans place far less weight upon the words that are spoken at meetings such as these, than upon the deeds that follow. When it comes to human rights and judging Soviet intentions, we are all from Missouri; you have got to show us.

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

9 to 10 ~~So once again, I think these were useful discussions.~~

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

So I think then you can see that we did make progress in Iceland on a broad range of topics. We set a date for a

*We yet believe that no agreement
is better than a bad agreement.*

Page 7

full-fledged summit; we reestablished our four point agenda; we discovered some new grounds of agreement; we probed again some ^{old} areas of disagreement.

Now my fellow Americans, I cannot promise, nor can any President promise, that the talks in Iceland or our future discussions with Mr. Gorbachev here in the United States will lead inevitably to great breakthroughs or momentous treaty signings. *And because we must bear in mind because of the*

an, because of the nature of the Soviet regime itself, many obstacles will be put in our path as we go along. When that happens, we must be prepared, not surprised. We must not permit such developments to disorient our policy or derail our initiatives. We must be deliberate and candid and make it clear, as we did in the recent Danilooff case, that the Soviet Union will be held responsible for its actions.

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

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

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I saw evidence of this when we left Iceland yesterday, and I spoke to our young men and women at our Naval installation ~~at Keflavik~~ ^{base} there -- a critically important base ~~far~~ ^{more} closer to Soviet naval ports than to our own coastline. As always, I was proud to spend a few moments with them and thank them for their sacrifices and devotion to country. They represent America at its best:

^{the} committed to defend not only our own freedom but also the freedom ~~of other peoples who look to America for~~ of our allies and all the world; committed to maintaining the strength and resolve that makes possible productive negotiations with adversaries.

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

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

Thank you and God bless you.

The Freedom of others who stand for living in a free world. Frightening when were it not for the strength and resolve of the United States.

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

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

And that is why I made it plain to Mr. Gorbachev that the United States would not seek to exploit improvement in these matters for purposes of propaganda. But I also make it plain that an improvement of the human condition within the Soviet Union is indispensable for an improvement in bilateral relations with the United States. For a government that will break faith with its own people cannot be trusted to keep faith with foreign powers. If the best and brightest inside the Soviet Union --

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like Mr. Orlov -- cannot trust the Soviet Government, how then can the rest of the world? So, I told Mr. Gorbachev -- again in Reykjavik as I had in Geneva -- we Americans place far less weight upon the words that are spoken at meetings such as these, than upon the deeds that follow. When it comes to human rights and judging Soviet intentions, we are all from Missouri; you have got to show us.

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

So once again, I think these were useful discussions.

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

So I think then you can see that we did make progress in Iceland on a broad range of topics. We set a date for a

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full-fledged summit; we reestablished our four point agenda; we discovered some new grounds of agreement; we probed again some areas of disagreement.

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

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

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

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

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

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

Thank you and God bless you.

STAFFING SHEET

10/12/86

REGAN

POINDEXTER

BUCHANAN

HENKEL

SPEAKES

THOMAS

CHEW

DAWSON

DOLAN

Attached is a copy of the Address to the Nation. Comments are due back to Tony Dolan before Air Force One departure with an informational copy to David Chew.

(DOLAN)

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

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

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

But first, let me say it's good to be home, and remind you that from the very start of my meetings with Mr. Gorbachev I have always regarded you, the American people, as full participants. I know it may surprise the General Secretary to learn that all this time there was a third party in the room, but, believe me, without your support and participation, none of these talks could have been held, nor could the ultimate aims of American foreign policy -- world peace and freedom -- be pursued. I am reporting to you tonight because this faith in the intuitive wisdom of the people and the consent of the governed are the founding principles of our Republic. And it is for these principles, I went that extra mile to Iceland.

Let me begin by pointing out one important way in which the discussions I've just returned from in Iceland were unlike the earlier ones in Geneva: they were not a full-blown summit conference; they were preparatory meetings, a planning session

for a future summit conference. Iceland was a base camp before the summit.

You see, when Mr. Gorbachev and I met for the first time last year in Geneva we quickly settled one question the experts thought would be troublesome. While we were out walking together I told him that I would like him to see the United States and invited him to visit, and he said: "I accept." And then he told me he would like me to see the Soviet Union and invited me. And I said: "I accept." And so, the supposedly thorny question of future summits and their locations was settled as simply as that; I think you can see why face-to-face discussions between leaders of nations are frequently helpful.

But in Geneva, we did leave one critical matter unresolved: the exact date of those future conferences. So in Iceland, this was our top agenda item. I am pleased to report to you tonight that we made progress, that -- as agreed in Geneva a year ago -- the next summit will take place here in the United States and -- as Mr. Gorbachev and I agreed yesterday in Reykjavik -- the Soviet leader will be visiting America in the month of _____ next year. I told Mr. Gorbachev this was a good time to visit us here because(e.g.Mr. Thomas will be on vacation, and the mess will have a full supply of chocolate chip cookies.)

I just wish the other items on our agenda could have been as easily resolved. Don't mistake me; the Iceland talks were useful and quite productive -- more so than I believe either party originally anticipated. So let me at this point express to the people of Iceland the profound gratitude of the United States

government; without all they did on such short notice ~~to make~~ these discussions could not have been as successful as they were.

Let me also add that we saw another welcome development in Iceland: serious evidence of Soviet willingness to negotiate on matters that up until now had been stalemated. In a few moments, I want to report to you on some of the areas where we saw movement.

But, first, it is my duty as President to point out that for all the progress made in Iceland, these talks were sobering -- they brought home again the truth of the statement that nations do not mistrust each other because they are armed; they are armed because they mistrust each other. My fellow Americans, we must remember that the differences between the United States and the Soviet Union are deep and abiding and, as I have candidly told Mr. Gorbachev himself, our view of the source of that mistrust remains the same: the Soviet Union's record of attempting to impose its ideology and rule on the world.

Because there are no diplomatic quick-fixes to such profound differences, we adopted in Iceland the prudent, realistic and above all deliberate approach with the Soviets that we have pursued from the earliest days of our administration. You may remember that early in our first term instead of rushing into negotiations, we made it clear that we had no illusions about the Soviets or their ultimate intentions; we were publicly candid about the critical moral distinctions between totalitarianism and democracy. We said that the principal objective of American foreign policy is not just the prevention of war but the extension of freedom. And, we stressed our commitment to the

growth of democratic government and democratic institutions around the world; that is why we assisted freedom fighters who were resisting the imposition of totalitarian rule in Afghanistan, Nicaragua, Angola and other nations.

And yet at the same time we set out these foreign policy goals and began working towards them, we pursued another of our major objectives: that of seeking means to lessen tensions with the Soviets, ways to prevent war and keep the peace. As I say, we adopted a deliberate, step-by-step approach towards Soviet-American relations, gradually expanding and then intensifying the areas of mutual and multinational negotiation. Eventually, this steady approach paid off, it led to last year's summit conference in Geneva and the decision to schedule two other summit conferences in the future; and it lead to the recent stop in Iceland for planning and preparation.

So we have been deliberate; we have been realistic. We have been candid with the Soviets; we have been candid about the Soviets. We have been without illusions; we have been without false expectations. And all of this makes this current summit process so very different from that of previous decades.

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

America is no longer under siege. To the contrary, today America's economic and military power is resurgent, the Western

democracies and the NATO alliance are revitalized, and all across the world nations are turning to democratic ideas and the principles of the free market.

Yes, the atmosphere surrounding the current summit process is different, it is different because the world is different; different because of the hard work and the sacrifice of the American people over the past five and one half years. Your energy has restored and expanded our economy, your self-sacrifice has sustained our military build-up; and your courage and sense of national unity in times of crisis like Lebanon and Grenada has warned our adversaries, heartened our friends and inspired the world. Freedom is on the march today; and it is on the march because -- in its critical hour, at the point of maximum danger it regained its strength and gathered its forces because you, the American people, stood steadfast in its defense.

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

One startling evidence of this in Iceland was the entirely new nature of our discussions on the key issue of arms control. In past years, arms control negotiations had become a kind of international sting operation -- the Soviets would agree to stabilize some categories of weapons and then use loopholes to

greatly expand weapons not directly covered by our agreements. In the era of the 60s and 70s, for example, while the US reduced its deployment of nuclear warheads by 7,800 and lowered its megatonnage or explosive power by 75%, the the Soviets added more than 8,000 nuclear warheads to its arsenal of strategic missiles alone -- and half of these were added after the SALT II arms control treaty was signed in 1979. And, while the United States developed no new missiles, the Soviets developed several generations of strategic weapons of all kinds -- indeed, in just a few years they had pointed a thousand new warheads on medium range missiles at the cities of Europe. As one American Secretary of Defense put it: "We built and they built. We stopped and they kept building." Here then was the worst perversion of all: arms control agreements that justified the arms race, intensified it, and guaranteed Soviet superiority.

That is why in the early 1980s the United States sought to restore strategic balance with the Soviets by deploying weapons systems like the MX missile and the B-I bomber as well as install new medium range Cruise and Pershing missiles in Europe.

But even as we took these steps, I resolved that never again would arms control agreements be used to justify an arms buildup. That is why I put forth a series of new proposals calling not just for arms control but for arms reduction. We called for a 50% reduction in strategic missiles and similar reductions in the medium range weapons that are so threatening to our allies in Europe. And in related fields such as nuclear testing and chemical and biological weapons we proposed equally sweeping reductions.

And finally, we began to develop new technologies that could destroy strategic missiles in mid flight -- thereby looking to a day when the huge arsenals of these missiles would be obsolete. And we offered to the Soviet Union an agreement by which they could share in our technology and deployment of our Strategic Defense System.

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

But because each of these areas involves complex technology, I cannot predict the nature or dates of future agreements. What I can say is that for the first time, Soviet American negotiations in these areas are headed in the right direction: not just arms control but arms reduction.

In addition to this, there has been another beneficial and dramatic change in this summit process. For some time before our talks began, I had been saying that arms control negotiations alone could not bear the full weight of Soviet America relations; that problems in arms negotiations should not be permitted to thwart or imperil the entire Soviet-American relationship. I also noted that negotiations in other areas could sometimes assist in speeding up the arms reduction process. In short, doing more about arms control meant talking more than arms control. So I proposed "umbrella talks" with the Soviets -- negotiations with a broad based agenda. That is why we sought to expand the negotiating agenda -- to go to the source of political tension between the Soviets and ourselves: violations of human rights by the Soviets and military intervention -- either

directly by the Soviets or by their proxy states -- in the affairs of other nations.

It is just such an agenda that Secretary Shultz brought back with him from Moscow before last year's Geneva summit. For the first time, we had on the table those issues that went to the heart of our political tensions with the Soviet Union -- human rights and regional conflicts.

For Iceland, human rights was the first and the major item on our agenda. Only last week, here in the Oval Office, a noted Russian human rights leader, Yuri Orlov, described to me his suffering under the Soviet system; he was persecuted for leading an effort to get the Soviet government to live up to the human rights agreements it signed at Helsinki in 1975. Mr. Orlov's suffering is like those of far too many other scientists, intellectuals and artists in the Soviet Union.

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

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

Another area we took up in Iceland, a second issue at the heart of the differences between the Soviet and American sides, is that of regional conflicts. As I said to Mr. Gorbachev it would simply be unthinkable for world leaders to meet in splendid isolation even as the people of Afghanistan, Central America, Africa and Southeast Asia undergo the terrible sufferings resulting from Soviet invasion or military intervention. Again, our three part proposals for limiting regional conflicts were a critical agenda item. And (INSERT -- Afghanistan)

So once again, I think you can see there was some movement.

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

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

Now my fellow Americans, I cannot promise, nor can any President promise, that the talks in Iceland or our future

discussions with Mr. Gorbachev here in the United States will lead inevitably to great breakthroughs or momentous treaty signings. Indeed, we must bear in mind that because of the nature of the Soviet regime itself, many obstacles will be put in our path. When that happens, we must be prepared, not surprised. We must not permit such developments to disorient our policy or derail our initiatives. We must be deliberate and candid. We must make it clear, as we did in the recent Daniloff case, that the Soviet Union will be held responsible for its actions.

I can tell you that I am ultimately hopeful about the prospects for world peace and freedom. I know such optimism in a century that has seen so much war and suffering brought on by totalitarian rule seems unwarranted to some. Yet this confidence is based on more than an easy optimism; it springs from a quiet realization that totalitarian or militarist societies enjoy only initial advantages over free nations, advantages that, as British author Paul Johnson points out, are far outweighed by the "enormous reserves" of democratic societies, societies where national unity springs from popular consent. The resiliency of a free society is one of the comforting lessons of all history, Mr. Johnson writes. "Grant it a breathing space and it will quickly develop a strategy of survival and form the instruments of victory. In the long run," he writes "it holds all the moral and intellectual cards and these are decisive in combination."

And because you, the American people, have given the cause of freedom that breathing space it so desperately needed, freedom does now hold the winning cards. And throughout the world, those

"enormous reserves" of free societies are making their presence and power felt.

I saw evidence of this when we left Iceland yesterday, and I spoke to our young men and women at our Naval installation there -- a critically important base far closer to Soviet naval ports than our own coastline. As always, I was proud to spend a few moments with them and thank them for the sacrifices and devotion to country.

But I must tell you that as I looked out on their faces I also thought of their families back home and the thousands of other faces I have seen in my journeys through America. On the trips from the airport when our motorcade travels down the highways, many Americans interrupt their day to greet us, to say hello; school children waving flags in front of their schools, laborers in blue overalls from garages and warehouses; office workers standing in their shirt sleeves; housewives with toddlers in their front yards. Always I remember those faces and I like to say how good it is for us to get out of Washington, to move across America, to see again towns and neighborhoods, baseball diamonds and football fields. And I say, too, I am thankful -- thankful for the gift of the real America, the gift of coming home again.

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

together and bring to every people and every land the blessings of peace and freedom.

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

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

Thank you and God bless you.

(DOLAN)

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

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

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

But first, let me remind you that from the very start of my meetings with Mr. Gorbachev I have always regarded you, the American people, as full participants. ~~I know it may surprise the General Secretary to learn that all this time there was a third party in the room, but,~~ ^B believe me, without your support and participation, none of these talks could have been held, nor could the ultimate aims of American foreign policy -- world peace and freedom -- be pursued. This faith in the intuitive wisdom of the people and the consent of the governed are the founding principles of our Republic. And it is for these principles, I went that extra mile to Iceland.

~~Now~~ ^T these most recent meetings with the Soviet leaders were intended as preparatory meetings, a planning session for a full fledged summit conference to be held when Mr. Gorbachev visits the United States. And tonight I am pleased to report to you that as Mr. Gorbachev and I agreed yesterday in Reykjavik the Soviet leader will be visiting America in the month of _____

^{full summit conference.}
~~to be held. It is my hope, we will build on what~~
next year. ~~I told Mr. Gorbachev this was a good time to visit us~~
~~we have achieved already achieved.~~
~~here because~~

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

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

fighters who were resisting the imposition of totalitarian rule in Afghanistan, Nicaragua, Angola Cambodia and elsewhere.

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

~~But~~ we have been deliberate; we have been realistic. We have been candid with the Soviets; we have been candid about the Soviets. We have been without illusions; we have been without false expectations. ^{it is} And all of this ^{that} makes this current summit process so very different from that of previous decades. ←

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

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

Yes, the atmosphere surrounding the current summit process is different, different because of the hard work and the sacrifice of the American people over the past five and one half years. Your energy has restored and expanded our economy, your self-sacrifice has ^{restored} ~~sustained~~ our ^{long neglected} military ^{strength;} ~~build-up~~; and your courage and sense of national unity in times of crisis like

Lebanon and Grenada have^{ve} given pause to our adversaries, heartened our friends and inspired the world. Freedom is on the march today; and it is on the march because -- in its critical hour, at the point of maximum danger -- it regained its strength and gathered its forces while you, the American people, stood steadfast in its defense.

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

One sign of this in Iceland was the discussion of the key issue of arms control. I think you know that when I came to office I committed America to a new realism about arms negotiations. Arms agreements would no longer be allowed to justify the arms race, to intensify it, or to guarantee Soviet superiority. That is why in the early 1980s the United States sought to restore the strategic balance with new weapons systems like the MX missile, the B-1 bomber as well as new medium range cruise and Pershing missiles in Europe.

^{but} But even as we took these steps, I put forth a series of new proposals calling not just for arms control but for arms reduction. We called for a 50% reduction in strategic offensive missiles and for the total elimination of the intermediate range nuclear forces that are so threatening to our allies in Europe

and Asia. And in related fields such as nuclear testing and chemical and biological weapons we proposed equally important reductions.

And finally, we launched a research program and revolutionary new technologies that could destroy ballistic missiles in flight -- looking to a day when the huge arsenals of these missiles would be obsolete, and defense strategies would rely on protection ^{lot} our peoples rather than on perpetuating their vulnerability. And we offered to the Soviet Union an agreement by which they could join with us in cooperative transition to this new strategic environment of mutual security.

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

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

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

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

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

Another subject area we took up in Iceland lies at the heart of the differences between the Soviet Union and America. This is the issue of regional conflicts. I told Mr. Gorbachev that no summit good feeling can make the American people forget what Soviet actions have meant for the people of Afghanistan, Central

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

So once again, I think these were useful discussions.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

of our allies and all the world; committed to maintaining the strength and resolve that makes possible productive negotiations with adversaries.

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

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

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

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

Thank you and God bless you.

(DOLAN)

October 11, 1986

2:30 p.m. (Iceland)

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

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

But first, let me ~~say it's good to be home, and~~ remind you that from the very start of my meetings with Mr. Gorbachev I have always regarded you, the American people, as full participants. I know it may surprise the General Secretary to learn that all this time there was a third party in the room, but, believe me, without your support and participation, none of these talks could have been held, nor could the ultimate aims of American foreign policy -- world peace and freedom -- be pursued. ~~I am reporting to you tonight because~~ This faith in the intuitive wisdom of the people and the consent of the governed are the founding principles of our Republic. And it is for these principles, I went that extra mile to Iceland.

And let me at this point express to the people of our old ally, Iceland, the profound gratitude of the United States, ~~without all the magnificent arrangements they put together on such short notice these discussions could not have been as successful as they were.~~ Now these ^{most recent} meetings with the Soviet

negotiations, we made it clear that we had no illusions about the Soviets or their ultimate intentions; we were publicly candid about the critical moral distinctions between totalitarianism and democracy. We said that the principal objective of American foreign policy is not just the prevention of war but the extension of freedom. And, we stressed our commitment to the growth of democratic government and democratic institutions around the world; that is why we assisted freedom fighters who were resisting the imposition of totalitarian rule in Afghanistan, Nicaragua, Angola, ^{Cambodia and elsewhere.} ~~and other nations.~~

And yet at the same time we set out these foreign policy goals and began working towards them, we pursued another of our major objectives: that of seeking means to lessen tensions with the Soviets, ways to prevent war and keep the peace. As I say, we adopted a deliberate, step-by-step approach towards Soviet-American relations, gradually expanding and then intensifying the areas of mutual and multinational negotiation. Eventually, this steady approach paid off, it led to last year's summit conference in Geneva and the decision to schedule two other summit conferences in the future; and it ~~lead~~ ^{led} to the recent stop in Iceland for planning and preparation.

So we have been deliberate; we have been realistic. We have been candid with the Soviets; we have been candid about the Soviets. ~~We have been without illusions; we have been without false expectations.~~ And all of this makes this current summit process so very different from that of previous decades.

~~And there has been another difference. To my mind the crucial difference.~~ You see, my fellow Americans, ~~no longer are~~ ^{America is no longer under} ~~51270--~~

the Soviets surprising America at every turn; no longer are they making us react hastily to their threats or respond weakly to their adventures or stand humiliated by every nickel-and-dime dictator under their influence.

✓ ~~America is no longer under siege.~~ To the contrary, today America's economic and military power is resurgent, the Western democracies and the NATO alliance are revitalized, and all across the world nations are turning to democratic ideas and the principles of the free market.

Yes, the atmosphere surrounding the current summit process is different, ~~it is different because~~ the world is different; different because of the hard work and the sacrifice of the American people over the past five and one half years. Your energy has restored and expanded our economy, your self-sacrifice has sustained our military build-up; and your courage and sense of national unity in times of crisis like Lebanon and Grenada has given ^{praise} ~~praise~~ to our adversaries, heartened our friends and inspired the world. Freedom is on the march today; and it is on the march because -- in its critical hour, at the point of maximum danger ^{while} ~~it~~ it regained its strength and gathered its forces ~~because~~ you, the American people, stood steadfast in its defense.

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

ours if, as a people, we persevere in the spirit that has brought us so far.

One sign of this in Iceland was the discussion of the key issue of arms control. I think you know that when I came to office I committed America to a new realism about ~~arms~~ *arms* negotiations. Arms agreements would no longer be allowed to justify the arms race, to intensify it, or to guarantee Soviet superiority. That is why in the early 1980s the United States sought to restore the strategic balance ~~with new weapons systems~~ like the MX missile, the B-1 bomber as well as new medium range cruise and Pershing missiles in Europe.

But even as we took these steps, I put forth a series of new proposals calling not just for arms control but for arms reduction. We called for a 50% reduction in strategic offensive missiles and for the total elimination of the intermediate range nuclear forces that are so threatening to our allies in Europe and Asia. And in related fields such as nuclear testing and chemical and biological weapons we proposed equally important reductions.

And finally, we launched a research program and revolutionary new technologies that could destroy ballistic missiles in flight -- looking to a day when the huge arsenals of these missiles would be obsolete, and defense strategies would rely on protection our peoples rather than on perpetuating their vulnerability. And we offered to the Soviet Union an agreement by which they could join with us in cooperative transition to this new strategic environment of mutual security.

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

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

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

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

And that is why I made it plain to Mr. Gorbachev that the United States would not seek to exploit improvement in these

matters for purposes of propaganda. But I also make it plain that an improvement of the human condition within the Soviet Union is indispensable for an improvement in bilateral relations with the United States. For a government that will break faith with its own people cannot be trusted to keep faith with foreign powers. If the best and brightest inside the Soviet Union cannot trust the Soviet Government, how then can the rest of the world?

So, I told Mr. Gorbachev -- again in Reykjavik as I had in Geneva -- we Americans place far less weight upon the words that are spoken at meetings such as these, than upon the deeds that

follow. *When it comes to judging Soviet intentions, we are all from Missouri; you have got to show us.*

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

So once again, I think these were useful discussions.

Finally, there was a fourth item besides arms reduction, human rights and the resolution of regional conflicts. This area was that of bilateral or people-to-people contacts. In Geneva last year, we welcomed the signing of several cultural exchange accords; in Iceland, we saw indications of more movement in these areas. But let me say now the United States remains committed to people-to-people ^{programs} exchanges that could lead to exchanges between

not just selected elites but thousands of everyday citizens from both our countries.

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

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

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

free society is one of the comforting lessons of all history, Mr. Johnson writes. "Grant it a breathing space and it will quickly develop a strategy of survival and form the instruments of victory. ~~In the long run," he writes "it holds all the moral and intellectual cards and these are decisive in combination."~~

And because you, the American people, have given the cause of freedom that breathing space ~~it so desperately needed, freedom does now hold the winning cards.~~ ^{and} And throughout the world, those enormous reserves of free societies are making their presence and power felt.

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

But I must tell you that as I looked out on their faces I also thought of their families back home and the thousands of other faces I have seen in my journeys through America. ^{You know} On the ^{our nation's cities} trips from the airport ^{when our motorcade travels down the} highways, many Americans interrupt their day to greet us, ^{to say} ~~hello;~~ ⁴ school children waving flags in front of their schools, ² laborers in blue overalls from garages and warehouses; ³ office workers standing in their shirt sleeves; ¹ housewives with toddlers in their front yards. Always I remember those faces and I like

to say how good it is for us to get out of Washington, ~~to move~~
~~across America, to see again towns and neighborhoods, baseball~~
~~diamonds and football fields. And I say, too, I am thankful --~~
h.v. ✓ grateful I am
thankful for the gift of the real America, the gift of coming
home again.

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

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

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

Thank you and God bless you.

(DOLAN)

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

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

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

But first, let me say it's good to be home, and remind you that from the very start of my meetings with Mr. Gorbachev I have always regarded you, the American people, as full participants. I know it may surprise the General Secretary to learn that all this time there was a third party in the room, but, believe me, without your support and participation, none of these talks could have been held, nor could the ultimate aims of American foreign policy -- world peace and freedom -- be pursued. I am reporting to you tonight because this faith in the intuitive wisdom of the people and the consent of the governed are the founding principles of our Republic. And it is for these principles, I went that extra mile to Iceland.

~~Let me begin by pointing out one important way in which the discussions I've just returned from in Iceland were unlike the earlier ones in Geneva: they were not a full-blown summit conference; they were preparatory meetings, a planning session~~

And let me at this point express to the people of our old ally Iceland the profound gratitude of the United States, without all the magnificent arrangements on such short notice these discussions could not have been as successful as they were.

~~for a future summit conference, Iceland was a base camp before the summit.~~

Full fledged to be held when Mr. Gorbachev visits

the United States

~~You see, when Mr. Gorbachev and I met for the first time last year in Geneva we quickly settled one question the experts thought would be troublesome. While we were out walking together I told him that I would like him to see the United States and invited him to visit, and he said: "I accept." And then he told me he would like me to see the Soviet Union and invited me. And I said: "I accept." And so, the supposedly thorny question of future summits and their locations was settled as simply as that; I think you can see why face-to-face discussions between leaders of nations are frequently helpful.~~

~~But in Geneva, we did leave one critical matter unresolved: the exact date of those future conferences. So in Iceland, this was our top agenda item. I am pleased to report to you tonight that we made progress, that -- as agreed in Geneva a year ago --~~

~~the next summit will take place here in the United States and --~~
that ~~as Mr. Gorbachev and I agreed yesterday in Reykjavik the Soviet leader will be visiting America in the month of _____ next year. I told Mr. Gorbachev this was a good time to visit us here because (e.g. Mr. Thomas will be on vacation, and the mess will have a full supply of chocolate chip cookies.)~~

I just wish the other items on our agenda could have been as easily resolved. Don't mistake me; the Iceland talks were useful and quite productive -- more so than I believe either party originally anticipated. ~~So let me at this point express to the people of Iceland the profound gratitude of the United States~~

~~government; without all they did on such short notice to make these discussions could not have been as successful as they were.~~

Let me also add that we saw another welcome development in Iceland: serious evidence of Soviet willingness to negotiate on matters that up until now had been stalemated. In a few moments, I want to report to you on some of the areas where we saw movement.

91 But, first, it is my duty as President to point out that for all the progress made in Iceland, ^{the} ~~these talks~~ were sobering -- they brought home again the truth of the statement that nations do not mistrust each other because they are armed; they are armed because they mistrust each other. My fellow Americans, we must ~~remember that~~ ^{the} differences between the United States and the Soviet Union are deep and abiding and, as I have candidly told Mr. Gorbachev himself, our view of the source of that mistrust remains the same: the Soviet Union's record of attempting to impose its ideology and rule on the world. ^{Q 159}

Because there are no diplomatic quick-fixes to such profound differences, we adopted in Iceland the prudent, realistic and above all deliberate approach with the Soviets that we have pursued from the earliest days of our administration. You may remember that early in our first term instead of rushing into negotiations, we made it clear that we had no illusions about the Soviets or their ultimate intentions; we were publicly candid about the critical moral distinctions between totalitarianism and democracy. We said that the principal objective of American foreign policy is not just the prevention of war but the extension of freedom. And, we stressed our commitment to the

growth of democratic government and democratic institutions around the world; that is why we assisted freedom fighters who were resisting the imposition of totalitarian rule in Afghanistan, Nicaragua, Angola and other nations.

And yet at the same time we set out these foreign policy goals and began working towards them, we pursued another of our major objectives: that of seeking means to lessen tensions with the Soviets, ways to prevent war and keep the peace. As I say, we adopted a deliberate, step-by-step approach towards Soviet-American relations, gradually expanding and then intensifying the areas of mutual and multinational negotiation. Eventually, this steady approach paid off, it led to last year's summit conference in Geneva and the decision to schedule two other summit conferences in the future; and it led to the recent stop in Iceland for planning and preparation.

So we have been deliberate; we have been realistic. We have been candid with the Soviets; we have been candid about the Soviets. We have been without illusions; we have been without false expectations. And all of this makes this current summit process so very different from that of previous decades.

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

America is no longer under siege. To the contrary, today America's economic and military power is resurgent, the Western

Page 5

democracies and the NATO alliance are revitalized, and all across the world nations are turning to democratic ideas and the principles of the free market.

Yes, the atmosphere surrounding the current summit process is different, it is different because the world is different; different because of the hard work and the sacrifice of the American people over the past five and one half years. Your energy has restored and expanded our economy, your ~~self-sacrifice~~ ^{stet} has sustained our military build-up; and your courage and sense of national unity in times of crisis like Lebanon and Grenada has ~~given pause to our~~ ^{given pause to our} ~~warned our~~ adversaries, heartened our friends and inspired the world. Freedom is on the march today; and it is on the march because -- in its critical hour, at the point of maximum danger it regained its strength and gathered its forces because you, the American people, stood steadfast in its defense.

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

One ~~startling~~ ^{Sign} evidence of this in Iceland was the ~~entirely~~ ^{new nature of our discussions} of the key issue of arms control. ~~I think you know that when I came to office~~ ^{I think you know that when I came to office} In past years, arms control negotiations had become a kind of ~~I committed America to a new realism~~ ^{I committed America to a new realism} international stinging operation -- the Soviets would agree to ~~stabilize some categories of weapons and then use loopholes to~~ ^{about arms negotiations.}

~~greatly expand weapons not directly covered by our agreements.~~
~~In the era of the 60s and 70s, for example, while the US reduced~~
~~its deployment of nuclear warheads by 7,800 and lowered its~~
~~megatonnage or explosive power by 75%, the the Soviets added more~~
~~than 8,000 nuclear warheads to its arsenal of strategic missiles~~
~~alone -- and half of these were added after the SALT II arms~~
~~control treaty was signed in 1979. And, while the United States~~
~~developed no new missiles, the Soviets developed several~~
~~generations of strategic weapons of all kinds -- indeed, in just~~
~~a few years they had pointed a thousand new warheads on medium~~
~~range missiles at the cities of Europe. As one American~~
~~Secretary of Defense put it: "We built and they built. We~~
~~stopped and they kept building."~~ Here then was the worst
~~perversion of all:~~ ^{Arms} ~~Arms Control~~ ^{would no longer be allowed to justify} agreements that justified the
~~arms race,~~ ^{to} ~~intensified it,~~ ^{or to} ~~and guaranteed Soviet superiority.~~

Get to
the
point

^{with new weapons systems like the}
~~That is why in the early 1980s the United States sought to~~
~~restore strategic balance with the Soviets by deploying weapons~~
~~systems like the MX missile, the B-1 bomber as well as new medium~~
~~range Cruise and Pershing missiles in Europe.~~ ^{new medium range Cruise and Pershing missiles in Europe.}

^{When I came into office,}
~~But even as we took these steps, I resolved that never again~~
~~would arms control agreements be used to justify an arms buildup.~~

~~That is why~~ I put forth a series of new proposals calling not
just for arms control but for arms reduction. We called for a
50% reduction in strategic ^{offensive} missiles and ^{for the total elimination of the} ~~similar reductions in the~~

^{intermediate -} ~~medium range weapons~~ ^{nuclear forces} that are so threatening to our allies in
^{and Asia,} Europe. And in related fields such as nuclear testing and
chemical and biological weapons we proposed equally ^{important} ~~sweeping~~
reductions.

Not in
testing
(which we
want to
keep doing)

And finally, we ~~began to develop~~ ^{launched a research program in revolutionary} new technologies that could destroy ~~strategic~~ ^{ballistic} missiles in ~~mid~~ flight -- ~~thereby~~ looking to a day when the huge arsenals of these missiles would be obsolete, and defense strategies would rely on protecting our peoples rather than on perpetuating their vulnerability. And we offered to the Soviet Union an agreement by which they could ~~share in our technology and deployment of our Strategic Defense System.~~ ^{join with us in a cooperative transition to this new strategic environment of mutual security.}

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

~~But because each of these areas involves complex technology,~~

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

~~In addition to this, there has been another beneficial and dramatic change in this summit process.~~ For some time before our talks began, I had been saying that arms control negotiations

alone could not bear the full weight of Soviet-American relations; that ^{as I said, the real cause of the arms competition was political} problems in arms negotiations should not be permitted to ~~thwart or imperil the entire Soviet-American relationship.~~ ^{distrust growing out of political tensions, growing out of our}

~~also noted that negotiations in other areas could sometimes assist in speeding up the arms reduction process.~~ In short,

doing more about arms control meant talking ^{about} more than arms control. So I proposed "umbrella talks" with the Soviets --

~~Negotiations with a broad-based agenda.~~ That is why we sought to expand the negotiating agenda, ^{real} to go to the ^{to source} sources of political tension between the Soviets and ourselves. ~~violations of human rights by the Soviets and military intervention -- either~~

Can Condense

~~directly by the Soviets or by their proxy states -- in the affairs of other nations.~~

~~It is just such an agenda that Secretary Shultz brought back with him from Moscow before last year's Geneva summit. For the first time, we had on the table those issues that went to the heart of our political tensions with the Soviet Union -- human rights and regional conflicts.~~

One such core issue is human rights. As John Kennedy once said, "is not peace, in the final analysis, a matter of human rights ...?"
~~For Iceland, human rights was the first and the major item on our agenda. Only last week, here in the Oval Office, a noted champion of~~ *heroic*
~~Russian human rights leader,~~ *in the Soviet Union,* Yuri Orlov, described to me ~~his~~ *the*
~~persecution he suffered~~
~~suffering under the Soviet system; he was persecuted for leading an effort to get the Soviet government to live up to the human rights agreements it signed at Helsinki in 1975. Mr. Orlov's suffering is like those of far too many other~~ *individuals, of all walks of life,*
~~intellectuals and artists in the Soviet Union,~~ *including those who wish to emigrate.*

Not just the elite types

And that is why I made it plain to Mr. Gorbachev that the United States would not seek to exploit improvement in these matters for purposes of propaganda. But I also make it plain that an improvement of the human condition within the Soviet Union is indispensable for an improvement in bilateral relations with the United States. For a government that will break faith with its own people cannot be trusted to keep faith with foreign powers. *stet* ~~(If the best and brightest inside the Soviet Union cannot trust the Soviet Government, how then can the rest of the world?)~~ *stet* *stet*

Have to mention emigration somewhere

Bad phrase

So, I told Mr. Gorbachev -- again in Reykjavik as I had in Geneva -- we Americans place far less weight upon the words that are spoken at meetings such as these, than upon the deeds that

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

Trim

Another ^{subject} ~~area~~ we took up in Iceland ^{lies} ~~a second issue~~ at the heart of the differences between the Soviet and American ^{Unrm} ~~sides~~. ^{This is the} ~~is that~~ of regional conflicts. ^{I told} ~~As I said to Mr. Gorbachev~~ ^{that no summit} ~~it~~ ^{good feeling can make the American people forget what Soviet actions have meant for} ~~would simply be unthinkable for world leaders to meet in splendid~~
~~isolation even as~~ the people of Afghanistan, Central America, Africa and Southeast Asia, ^{Until Soviet policies change, we will make sure that} ~~undergo the terrible sufferings~~
~~our friends -- those who fight for freedom and independence -- will have the~~ resulting from Soviet invasion or military intervention. Again, ~~support they need~~ ^{at a UN system also in encouraging political dialogue} ~~our three part proposals for limiting regional conflicts were a~~
~~critical agenda item.~~ And (INSERT -- Afghanistan)

So once again, I think ^{these were useful discussions.} ~~you can see there was some movement.~~

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

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

Now my fellow Americans, I cannot promise, nor can any President promise, that the talks in Iceland or our future

discussions with Mr. Gorbachev here in the United States will lead inevitably to great breakthroughs or momentous treaty signings. Indeed, we must bear in mind that because of the nature of the Soviet regime itself, many obstacles will be put in our path. When that happens, we must be prepared, not surprised. We must not permit such developments to disorient our policy or derail our initiatives. We must be deliberate and candid. We must make it clear, as we did in the recent Danilooff case, that the Soviet Union will be held responsible for its actions.

I can tell you that I am ultimately hopeful about the prospects for world peace and freedom. I know such optimism in a century that has seen so much war and suffering brought on by totalitarian rule seems unwarranted to some. Yet this confidence is based on more than an easy optimism; it springs from a quiet realization that totalitarian or militarist societies enjoy only initial advantages over free nations, advantages that, as British author Paul Johnson points out, are far outweighed by the "enormous reserves" of democratic societies, societies where national unity springs from popular consent. The resiliency of a free society is one of the comforting lessons of all history, Mr. Johnson writes. "Grant it a breathing space and it will quickly develop a strategy of survival and form the instruments of victory. In the long run," he writes "it holds all the moral and intellectual cards and these are decisive in combination."

And because you, the American people, have given the cause of freedom that breathing space it so desperately needed, freedom does now hold the winning cards. And throughout the world, those

"enormous reserves" of free societies are making their presence and power felt.

I saw evidence of this when we left Iceland yesterday, and I spoke to our young men and women at our Naval installation there -- a critically important base far closer to Soviet naval ports than our own coastline. As always, I was proud to spend a few moments with them and thank them for ~~the~~^{their} sacrifices and

devotion to country. *They represent America at its best: committed to defend not only our own freedom but also the freedom of allies; committed to maintaining the strength and resolve that make possible productive negotiations with adversaries.*

But I must tell you that as I looked out on their faces I also thought of their families back home and the thousands of other faces I have seen in my journeys through America. On the trips from the airport when our motorcade travels down the highways, many Americans interrupt their day to greet us, to say hello; school children waving flags in front of their schools, laborers in blue overalls from garages and warehouses; office workers standing in their shirt sleeves; housewives with toddlers in their front yards. Always I remember those faces and I like to say how good it is for us to get out of Washington, to move across America, to see again towns and neighborhoods, baseball diamonds and football fields. And I say, too, I am thankful -- thankful for the gift of the real America, the gift of coming home again.

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

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together and bring to every people and every land the blessings of peace and freedom.

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

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

Thank you and God bless you.

(DOLAN)
October 10, 1986
2:30 p.m. (Iceland)

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

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

But first, let me say it's good to be home and remind you that from the very start of my meetings with Mr. Gorbachev I have always regarded you, the American people, as full participants in our talks. I know it may surprise the General Secretary to learn that all this time there was a third party in the room, but, believe me, without your support and participation, none of these talks could have been held, nor could the ultimate aims of American foreign policy, world peace and freedom be pursued. .

And ^{this} ~~it's because~~ faith in the intuitive wisdom of the people ^{this belief is} and the consent of the governed ^{is} the founding principles of our ^{one why} Republic ~~that I went to Iceland and that I am~~ reporting to you tonight. So let me begin by pointing out an important way in which the discussions I've just returned from in Iceland were unlike the earlier ones in Geneva: they were not a full-blown summit conference; they were preparatory meetings, a planning session, for a future summit conference.

You see, when Mr. Gorbachev and I met for the first time last year in Geneva we quickly settled one question the experts thought would be troublesome. While we were out walking together I told him that I would like him to see the United States and invited him to visit, ^{and} he said: "I accept." And then he told me he would like me to see the Soviet Union and invited me. And I said: "I accept." And so, the supposedly thorny question of future summits and their location ^{was} settled as simply as that; I think you can see why face-to-face discussions between leaders of nations are frequently helpful.

But we did leave one critical matter unresolved in Geneva: the exact date of those future conferences. So in Iceland, this was our top agenda item. I am pleased to report to you tonight that we made progress. As agreed in Geneva a year ago, the next summit will take place here in the United States and -- as Mr. Gorbachev and I agreed yesterday in Reykjavik -- he will be visiting America sometime in the month of _____ ~~X~~ next (this) year. I told Mr. Gorbachev this was a good time to visit us here because ~~Insert~~ (e.g. the mess will have a full supply of chocolate chip cookies; Mr. Thomas will be on vacation.)

I just wish the other items on our agenda could have been as easily resolved. Don't mistake me; the Iceland talks were useful and quite productive -- more so than I believe either party originally anticipated. And by the way, at this point let me express to the people of Iceland the deep gratitude of the

United States government for all they did on such short notice to make these discussions ^{successful} ~~possible~~. And let me also add that we saw another welcome development in Iceland: serious evidence of Soviet willingness to negotiate on matters that up until now had ~~been~~ ^{at a negotiating} remained stalemated.

In a few moments, I want to address some of the ~~specific~~ areas where we saw movement. But, first, ^{it is my duty as president to} point out that for all the progress made in Iceland, these talks were sobering -- they brought home again the truth of the statement that nations do not mistrust each other because they are armed; they are armed because they mistrust each other. My fellow Americans, ^{we must always remember} ~~it is my duty as President to remind you~~ that the differences between the United States and the Soviet Union remain deep and abiding and, as I have ~~never hesitated~~ ^{so} to point out to Mr. Gorbachev, ^{himself} our view of the source of that mistrust remains the same: the Soviet Union's record of attempting to impose its ideology and rule on the world.

And that is why in Iceland we ^{did} ~~pursued~~ ^{we've done} what ^{we've done} from earliest days ^{we've done} ~~this administration~~ ^{we've done} ~~had been~~ prudent, realistic and, above all, deliberate approach toward negotiations with the Soviets. You may remember that ^{early in our first term} ~~instead of rushing into negotiations~~ ^{early} ~~in our first term~~ ^{it}, we made ~~clear~~ ^{clear} ~~early in our first term~~ that we had no illusions about the Soviets or their ultimate intentions; we were publicly candid about the critical moral distinctions between totalitarianism and democracy; we said that the principal objective of American foreign policy is not just the prevention of war but the extension of freedom. And, we stressed our commitment to the growth of democratic government and democratic

institutions around the world; and we assisted freedom fighters ^{that is why}
ⁱⁿ Afghanistan, Nicaragua, Angola and other places who were
 resisting ~~the imposition of~~ ^{the imposition of} totalitarian rule. ^{say}

And yet at the same time we set out and ~~began work on~~ ^{we began work on them,} these
 foreign policy goals. We also pursued another of our major
 objectives: that of seeking ~~ways~~ ^{means} to lessen tensions with the
 Soviets, ^{ways} ~~means~~ to prevent war and keep the peace. ^{As I say,} we adopted a
 deliberate, step-by-step approach towards Soviet-American
 relations, gradually expanding and then intensifying the areas of
 mutual and multinational negotiation. Eventually, this steady
 approach paid off, it led to last year's summit conference in
 Geneva and the decision to schedule two other summit conferences
 in the future.

And that is what I believe makes this current summit
 process so very different from that of previous decades. We have been
 without illusions; we have been without false expectations. We
 have been candid with the Soviets; we have been candid about the
 Soviets. We have been realistic; we have been deliberate.

And there has been one other crucial difference. ^{see,} you see,
 my fellow Americans, the atmosphere surrounding these ^{summit} meetings is
 different because the world is different; and the world is
 different because of ^{what} you, the American people, ~~and what~~ you have
 achieved during these past five and a half years. ^{we are} ~~we are~~ no
 longer ^{are we} permitting ourselves to be surprised by the Soviets at
 every turn, no longer ^{are we} permitting ourselves to react hastily to
 their threats or respond weakly to their adventures or ~~to~~ be
 humiliated by every nickel-and-dime dictator under their
 influence.

~~Today~~, America ~~is~~ ^{Free} no longer under siege. To the contrary,

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

Today, freedom has a chance. Your energy in expanding America's economy, your willingness as a people to make the sacrifices to sustain our military strength has allowed the United States to play its historical role and assist in the struggle for world freedom. And, finally, in moments of crisis such as Lebanon and Grenada your sense of national unity has warned our adversaries heartened our allies and inspired the world. Let there be no doubt: freedom today is on the march ~~and it is on the march~~ because the American people have stood fast in its defense. *You have given freedom a chance.*

And if there is one impression I carry away with me from these October talks recently concluded in Iceland, it is that we are seeing now the first signs of harvest, a harvest of peace and freedom that ~~will surely~~ ^{can} be ours if we persevere in the spirit ~~that has characterized the United States~~ of strength and resolve ~~of~~ the last five and one half years.

and its allies during

United States government for all they did on such short notice to make to these discussions possible. ^{And} let me also add as well ^{we welcomed} ~~that on some points at at least we saw evidence of Soviet willingness to negotiate seriously and that we also welcomed this development.~~ ^{that we saw another development welcome development in Iceland; serious on matters that up until} ~~you they had had~~ ^{remained} ~~stalemated.~~

In a few moments, I want to address some of these specific areas where we ^{saw} ~~saw~~ some movement. But, first let me point out that for all the progress made in Iceland, these talks were sobering -- they brought home to me again the truth of the statement ^{that} nations do not mistrust each other because they are armed; they are armed because they mistrust each other. My fellow Americans, ^{it is my duty as president to remind you} ~~let us bear in mind that the differences~~ between the United States and the Soviet Union remain deep and abiding and, as I have never hesitated to point out to Mr. Gorbachev, our view of the source of that mistrust remains the same: the Soviet Union's record of attempting to impose its ideology and rule on the world.

And that is why ^{in Iceland we pursued what from the} ~~from its earliest days~~ ^{of this} ~~this~~ administration ^{been} ~~has taken~~ a prudent, realistic and, above all, deliberate approach toward negotiations with the Soviets. ^{you may remember that} ~~Instead of rushing into negotiations,~~ ^{and in our first term} ~~we made clear early in our first term~~ that we had no illusions about the Soviets or their ultimate intentions; we were publicly candid about the critical moral distinctions between totalitarianism and democracy; we said again that the principal objective of American foreign policy is not just the prevention of war but the extension of freedom. And ~~finally,~~ we stressed our commitment to the growth of democratic government and democratic institutions around the world; ^{and we}

assisted freedom fighters in Afghanistan, Nicaragua, Angola and other places who were resisting the imposition of totalitarian rule ~~on their people~~

And yet at the same time we ~~were setting out~~ ^{and began work} these foreign

^{On these foreign} policy goals ~~and working towards them~~ we also pursued another of

our major objectives: that of seeking ways to lessen tensions with the Soviets, ^{means} ways to prevent war and keep the peace. ~~So we~~ adopted a deliberate, step-by-step approach towards Soviet-American relations, gradually expanding and then intensifying the areas of mutual and multinational negotiation. Eventually this steady approach paid off, it led to last year's summit conference in Geneva and the decisions ^{to} to schedule two other summit conferences in the future.

And that is what I believe makes this current summit process so very different from that of previous decades. ⁽²⁾ We have been candid with the Soviets ^{we have candid} and about the Soviets. ⁽¹⁾ We have ~~been~~ ^{are} without illusions ^{we have been} or false expectations. We have been realistic; and deliberate.

^{And} But there has been one other crucial difference -- you see, my fellow Americans, these ^{atmosphere surrounding these} meetings are different because the ~~atmosphere~~

~~is different the~~ world is different; And the world is different because of what you, the American people, ^{and what you} have achieved during these past five and a half years. Freedom now has a chance. ^{We Americans} America is no longer under siege ^{we are} we are no longer permitting ourselves to be surprised by the Soviets at every turn, no longer permitting ourselves to react hastily to their threats or respond weakly to their adventures. ⁽¹⁾ ~~no longer permitting ourselves to be~~ humiliated by every nickel-and-dime dictator under their influence.

~~And today, freedom is a chance.~~

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

Today freedom has

In all of this, the United States continues to play its historical role, to assist in the struggle for world freedom.

It is your energy in you have

showing in

expanding America's economic power, your willingness as a people to make the sacrifices that have sustained America's military strength

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have allowed the United States to play its historical role and assist in the struggle for world freedom.

And finally, your sense of national unity in moments of crisis such as

warned our adversaries

Lebanon and Grenada have inspired the world and kept freedom prospering.

Let there be no doubt

Freedom today is on the march and it is on the march because of you.

The American people have put it there.

stood first in its defense.

All of this is now reflected in Soviet American relations,

especially the summit process and our recent talks in Iceland.

And if there is one impression I carry away with me from the recent October talks in Iceland, it is that all this is now reaping a harvest.

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peace and freedom

of harvest,

the first indications that America's strength and resolve is speeding up the process of peace.

that will surely come if we persevere
if ~~we~~^{we} the human people continue

~~the struggle, and~~
~~survival of the human people~~

in the struggle, resolve and ~~creation~~
of the past 5½ years.

(DOLAN)

October 10, 1986
2:30 p.m. (Iceland)

PRESIDENTIAL REMARKS: ADDRESS TO THE NATION
ICELAND MEETING
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And it's because ~~of these founding principles of our~~ republic, faith in the intuitive wisdom of the people and the consent of the governed ^{are the founding principles of a republic} that I am reporting to you tonight. So let me begin by pointing out ^{an important way in which} that the discussions I've just returned from in Iceland were unlike Geneva ^{the earlier ones in} in one essential way: they were not a full-blown summit conference; they were

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can see why face-to-face discussions between leaders of nations

~~can be so useful.~~ ^{are frequently helpful.}

But ~~in Geneva~~ we did leave one critical matter unresolved; ^{in Geneva:}

the exact date of those future conferences. So in Iceland, this

was our top agenda item. I am pleased to report to you tonight

that we ^{made progress.} ~~were successful in resolving this issue.~~ As agreed in

Geneva a year ago, the next summit will take place here in the

United States and -- as Mr. Gorbachev and I agreed yesterday in

Reykjavik -- he will be visiting America sometime in the month of

_____ of next (this) year. I told Mr. Gorbachev this was a

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