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THE WHITE HOUSE  
Office of the Press Secretary

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For Immediate Release

October 13, 1986

ADDRESS BY THE PRESIDENT  
TO THE NATION

The Oval Office

8:00 P.M. EDT

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

The implications of these talks are enormous and only just beginning to be understood. We proposed the most sweeping and generous arms control proposal in history. We offered the complete elimination of all ballistic missiles -- Soviet and American -- from the face of the Earth by 1996. While we parted company with this American offer still on the table, we are closer than ever before to agreements that could lead to a safer world without nuclear weapons.

But first, let me tell you that, from the start of my meetings with Mr. Gorbachev, I have always regarded you, the American people, as full participants. Believe me, without your support, none of these talks could have been held, nor could the ultimate aims of American foreign policy -- world peace and freedom -- be pursued. And it is for these aims I went the extra mile to Iceland.

Before I report on our talks though, allow me to set the stage by explaining two things that were very much a part of our talks, one a treaty and the other a defense against nuclear missiles which we are trying to develop. Now you've heard their titles a thousand times -- the ABM Treaty and SDI. Those letters stand for, ABM, anti-ballistic missile, SDI, strategic defense initiative.

Some years ago, the United States and the Soviet Union agreed to limit any defense against nuclear missile attacks to the emplacement in one location in each country of a small number of missiles capable of intercepting and shooting down incoming nuclear missiles, thus leaving our real defense -- a policy called Mutual Assured Destruction, meaning if one side launched a nuclear attack, the other side could retaliate. And this mutual threat of destruction was believed to be a deterrent against either side striking first.

So here we sit with thousands of nuclear warheads targeted on each other and capable of wiping out both our countries. The Soviets deployed the few anti-ballistic missiles around Moscow as the treaty permitted. Our country didn't bother deploying because the threat of nationwide annihilation made such a limited defense seem useless.

For some years now we have been aware that the Soviets may be developing a nationwide defense. They have installed a large modern radar at Krasnoyarsk which we believe is a critical part of a radar system designed to provide radar guidance for anti-ballistic missiles protecting the entire nation. Now this is a violation of the ABM Treaty.

MORE

Believing that a policy of mutual destruction and slaughter of their citizens and ours was uncivilized, I asked our military a few years ago to study and see if there was a practical way to destroy nuclear missiles after their launch but before they can reach their targets rather than to just destroy people. Well, this is the goal for what we call SDI and our scientists researching such a system are convinced it is practical and that several years down the road we can have such a system ready to deploy. Now, incidentally, we are not violating the ABM Treaty which permits such research. If and when we deploy the treaty -- also allows withdrawal from the Treaty upon six months' notice. SDI, let me make it clear, is a non-nuclear defense.

So here we are at Iceland for our second such meeting. In the first and in the months in between, we have discussed ways to reduce and in fact eliminate nuclear weapons entirely. We and the Soviets have had teams of negotiators in Geneva trying to work out a mutual agreement on how we could reduce or eliminate nuclear weapons. And so far, no success.

On Saturday and Sunday, General Secretary Gorbachev and his Foreign Minister Shevardnadze and Secretary of State George Shultz and I met for nearly 10 hours. We didn't limit ourselves to just arms reductions. We discussed what we call violation of human rights on the part of the Soviets, refusal to let people emigrate from Russia so they can practice their religion without being persecuted, letting people go to rejoin their families, husbands and wives separated by national borders being allowed to reunite.

In much of this the Soviet Union is violating another agreement -- the Helsinki Accords they had signed in 1975. Yuri Orlov, whose freedom we just obtained, was imprisoned for pointing out to his government its violations of that pact, its refusal to let citizens leave their country or return.

We also discussed regional matters such as Afghanistan, Angola, Nicaragua, and Cambodia. But by their choice the main subject was arms control.

We discussed the emplacement of intermediate-range missiles in Europe and Asia and seemed to be in agreement they could be drastically reduced. Both sides seemed willing to find a way to reduce even to zero the strategic ballistic missiles we have aimed at each other. This then brought up the subject of SDI.

I offered a proposal that we continue our present research and if and when we reached the stage of testing we would sign now a treaty that would permit Soviet observation of such tests. And if the program was practical we would both eliminate our offensive missiles, and then we would share the benefits of advanced defenses. I explained that even though we would have done away with our offensive ballistic missiles, having the defense would protect against cheating or the possibility of a madman sometime deciding to create nuclear missiles. After all, the world now knows how to make them. I likened it to our keeping our gas masks even though the nations of the world had outlawed poison gas after World War I.

We seemed to be making progress on reducing weaponry although the General Secretary was registering opposition to SDI and proposing a pledge to observe ABM for a number of years as the day was ending.

Secretary Shultz suggested we turn over the notes our note-takers had been making of everything we'd said to our respective teams and let them work through the night to put them together and find just where we were in agreement and what differences separated us. With respect and gratitude, I can inform you those teams worked through the night till 6:30 a.m.

Yesterday, Sunday morning, Mr. Gorbachev and I, with our foreign ministers, came together again and took up the report of our two teams. It was most promising. The Soviets had asked for a 10-year delay in the deployment of SDI programs.

In an effort to see how we could satisfy their concerns while protecting our principles and security, we proposed a 10-year period in which we began with the reduction of all strategic nuclear arms, bombers, air-launched cruise missiles, intercontinental ballistic missiles, submarine launched ballistic missiles and the weapons they carry. They would be reduced 50 percent in the first five years. During the next five years, we would continue by eliminating all remaining offensive ballistic missiles, of all ranges. And during that time we would proceed with research, development and testing of SDI -- all done in conformity with ABM provisions. At the 10-year point, with all ballistic missiles eliminated, we could proceed to deploy advanced defenses, at the same time permitting the Soviets to do likewise.

And here the debate began. The General Secretary wanted wording that, in effect, would have kept us from developing the SDI for the entire 10 years. In effect, he was killing SDI. And unless I agreed, all that work toward eliminating nuclear weapons would go down the drain -- cancelled.

I told him I had pledged to the American people that I would not trade away SDI -- there was no way I could tell our people their government would not protect them against nuclear destruction. I went to Reykjavik determined that everything was negotiable except two things: our freedom and our future.

I'm still optimistic that a way will be found. The door is open and the opportunity to begin eliminating the nuclear threat is within reach.

So you can see, we made progress in Iceland. And we will continue to make progress if we pursue a prudent, deliberate, and, above all, realistic approach with the Soviets. From the earliest days of our administration, this has been our policy. We made it clear 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 declared the principal objective of American foreign policy to be 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 that's why we assisted freedom fighters who are resisting the imposition of totalitarian rule in Afghanistan, Nicaragua, Angola, Cambodia, and elsewhere. And, finally, we began work on what I believe most spurred the Soviets to negotiate seriously -- rebuilding our military strength, reconstructing our strategic deterrence, and, above all, beginning work on the Strategic Defense Initiative.

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

Now, this policy is now paying dividends -- one sign of this in Iceland was the progress on the issue of arms control. For the first time in a long while, Soviet-American negotiations in the area of arms reductions are moving, and moving in the right direction -- not just toward arms control, but toward arms reduction.

But for all the progress we made on arms reductions, we must remember there were other issues on the table in Iceland, issues that are fundamental.

As I mentioned, one such issue is human rights. As President Kennedy once said, "And, is not peace, in the last analysis, basically a matter of human rights?"

I made it plain that the United States would not seek to exploit improvement in these matters for purposes of propaganda. But I also made 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. 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're all from Missouri -- you got to show us.

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

Finally, there was a fourth item. And this area was that of bilateral relations, people-to-people contacts. In Geneva last year, we welcomed 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 elite but thousands of everyday citizens from both our countries.

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

And let me return again to the SDI issue. I realize some Americans may be asking tonight: Why not accept Mr. Gorbachev's demand? Why not give up SDI for this agreement?

Well, the answer, my friends, is simple. SDI is America's insurance policy that the Soviet Union would keep the commitments made at Reykjavik. SDI is America's security guarantee -- if the Soviets should -- as they have done too often in the past -- fail to comply with their solemn commitments. SDI is what brought the Soviets back to arms control talks at Geneva and Iceland. SDI is the key to a world without nuclear weapons.

The Soviets understand this. They have devoted far more resources for a lot longer time than we, to their own SDI. The world's only operational missile defense today surrounds Moscow, the capital of the Soviet Union.

What Mr. Gorbachev was demanding at Reykjavik was that the United States agree to a new version of a 14-year-old ABM Treaty that the Soviet Union has already violated. I told him we don't make those kinds of deals in the United States.

And the American people should reflect on these critical questions.

How does a defense of the United States threaten the Soviet Union or anyone else? Why are the Soviets so adamant that America remain forever vulnerable to Soviet rocket attack? As of today, all free nations are utterly defenseless against Soviet missiles -- fired either by accident or design. Why does the Soviet Union insist that we remain so -- forever?

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

We will not abandon the guiding principle we took to Reykjavik. We prefer no agreement than to bring home a bad agreement to the United States.

And on this point, I know you're also interested in the question of whether there will be another summit. There was no indication by Mr. Gorbachev as to when or whether he plans to travel to the United States, as we agreed he would last year in Geneva. I repeat tonight that our invitation stands and that we continue to believe additional meetings would be useful. But that's a decision the Soviets must make.

But whatever the immediate prospects, I can tell you that I'm ultimately hopeful about the prospects for progress at the summit and for world peace and freedom. You see, the current summit process is very different from that of previous decades; it's different because the world is different; and the world is different because of the hard work and sacrifice of the American people during the past five and a half years. Your energy has restored and expanded our economic might; your support has restored our military strength. Your courage and sense of national unity in times of crisis have given pause to our adversaries, heartened our friends, and inspired the world. 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. So because the American people stood guard at the critical hour, freedom has gathered its forces, regained its strength, and is on the march.

So, if there's one impression I carry away with me from these October talks, it is that, unlike the past, we're dealing now from a position of strength, and for that reason we have it within our grasp to move speedily with the Soviets toward even more breakthroughs.

Our ideas are out there on the table. They won't go away. We're ready to pick up where we left off. Our negotiators are heading back to Geneva, and we're prepared to go forward whenever and wherever the Soviets are ready. So, there's reason -- good reason for hope.

I saw evidence of this in the progress we made in the talks with Mr. Gorbachev. And I saw evidence of it when we left Iceland yesterday, and I spoke to our young men and women at our naval installation at Keflavik -- a critically important base far closer to Soviet naval bases than to our own coastline.

As always, I was proud to spend a few moments with them and thank them for their sacrifices and devotion to country. They represent America at her finest: committed to defend not only our own freedom but the freedom of others who would be living in a far more frightening world -- were it not for the strength and resolve of the United States.

"Whenever the standard of freedom and independence has been...unfurled, there will be America's heart, her benedictions, and her prayers," John Quincy Adams once said. He spoke well of our destiny as a nation. My fellow Americans, we're honored by history, entrusted by destiny with the oldest dream of humanity -- the dream of lasting peace and human freedom.

Another President, Harry Truman, noted that our century had seen two of the most frightful wars in history. And that "The supreme need of our time is for man to learn to live together in peace and harmony."

It's in pursuit of that ideal I went to Geneva a year ago and to Iceland last week. And it's in pursuit of that ideal that I thank you now for all the support you've given me, and I again ask for your help and your prayers as we continue our journey toward a world where peace reigns and freedom is enshrined.

Thank you and God bless you.

END

8:21 P.M. EDT

OCTOBER 13, 1986

PRESIDENT'S BACKUP COPY

ADDRESS TO THE NATION  
ON ICELAND MEETING

GOOD EVENING. AS MOST OF YOU KNOW, I HAVE JUST RETURNED FROM MEETINGS IN ICELAND WITH THE LEADER OF THE SOVIET UNION, GENERAL SECRETARY GORBACHEV. AS I DID LAST YEAR WHEN I RETURNED FROM THE SUMMIT CONFERENCE IN GENEVA, I WANT TO TAKE A FEW MOMENTS TONIGHT TO SHARE WITH YOU WHAT TOOK PLACE IN THESE DISCUSSIONS.

THE IMPLICATIONS OF THESE TALKS ARE ENORMOUS AND ONLY JUST BEGINNING TO BE UNDERSTOOD. WE PROPOSED THE MOST SWEEPING AND GENEROUS ARMS CONTROL PROPOSAL IN HISTORY. WE OFFERED THE COMPLETE ELIMINATION OF ALL BALLISTIC MISSILES -- SOVIET AND AMERICAN -- FROM THE FACE OF THE EARTH BY 1996. WHILE WE PARTED COMPANY WITH THIS AMERICAN OFFER STILL ON THE TABLE, WE ARE CLOSER THAN EVER BEFORE TO AGREEMENTS THAT COULD LEAD TO A SAFER WORLD WITHOUT NUCLEAR WEAPONS.

BUT FIRST, LET ME TELL YOU THAT, FROM THE START OF MY MEETINGS WITH MR. GORBACHEV, I HAVE ALWAYS REGARDED YOU, THE AMERICAN PEOPLE, AS FULL PARTICIPANTS. BELIEVE ME, WITHOUT YOUR SUPPORT, NONE OF THESE TALKS COULD HAVE BEEN HELD, NOR COULD THE ULTIMATE AIMS OF AMERICAN FOREIGN POLICY -- WORLD PEACE AND FREEDOM -- BE PURSUED. AND IT IS FOR THESE AIMS I WENT THE EXTRA MILE TO ICELAND.

BEFORE I REPORT ON OUR TALKS THOUGH, ALLOW ME TO SET THE STAGE BY EXPLAINING TWO THINGS THAT WERE VERY MUCH A PART OF OUR TALKS, ONE A TREATY AND THE OTHER A DEFENSE AGAINST NUCLEAR MISSILES WHICH WE ARE TRYING TO DEVELOP. YOU'VE HEARD THEIR TITLES A THOUSAND TIMES -- THE A.B.M. TREATY AND S.D.I. THOSE LETTERS STAND FOR ANTI-BALLISTIC MISSILE AND STRATEGIC DEFENSE INITIATIVE.

SOME YEARS AGO, THE U.S. AND THE SOVIET UNION AGREED TO LIMIT ANY DEFENSE AGAINST NUCLEAR MISSILE ATTACKS TO THE EMPLACEMENT IN ONE LOCATION IN EACH COUNTRY OF A SMALL NUMBER OF MISSILES CAPABLE OF INTERCEPTING AND SHOOTING DOWN INCOMING NUCLEAR MISSILES. THUS LEAVING OUR REAL DEFENSE A POLICY CALLED MUTUAL ASSURED DESTRUCTION, MEANING IF ONE SIDE LAUNCHED A NUCLEAR ATTACK, THE OTHER SIDE COULD RETALIATE. THIS MUTUAL THREAT OF DESTRUCTION WAS BELIEVED TO BE A DETERRENT AGAINST EITHER SIDE STRIKING FIRST.

SO HERE WE SIT WITH THOUSANDS OF NUCLEAR WARHEADS TARGETED ON EACH OTHER AND CAPABLE OF WIPING OUT BOTH OUR COUNTRIES. THE SOVIETS DEPLOYED THE FEW ANTI-BALLISTIC MISSILES AROUND MOSCOW AS THE TREATY PERMITTED. OUR COUNTRY DIDN'T BOTHER DEPLOYING BECAUSE THE THREAT OF NATIONWIDE ANNIHILATION MADE SUCH LIMITED DEFENSE SEEM USELESS.

FOR SOME YEARS NOW WE HAVE BEEN AWARE THAT THE SOVIETS MAY BE DEVELOPING A NATIONWIDE DEFENSE. THEY HAVE INSTALLED A LARGE MODERN RADAR AT KRASNOYARSK WHICH WE BELIEVE IS A CRITICAL PART OF A RADAR SYSTEM DESIGNED TO PROVIDE RADAR GUIDANCE FOR ANTI-BALLISTIC MISSILES PROTECTING THE ENTIRE NATION. THIS IS A VIOLATION OF THE A.B.M. TREATY.

BELIEVING THAT A POLICY OF MUTUAL DESTRUCTION AND SLAUGHTER OF THEIR CITIZENS AND OURS WAS UNCIVILIZED, I ASKED OUR MILITARY A FEW YEARS AGO TO STUDY AND SEE IF THERE WAS A PRACTICAL WAY TO DESTROY NUCLEAR MISSILES AFTER THEIR LAUNCH BUT BEFORE THEY CAN REACH THEIR TARGETS RATHER THAN TO JUST DESTROY PEOPLE. THIS IS THE GOAL FOR WHAT WE CALL S.D.I. AND OUR SCIENTISTS RESEARCHING SUCH A SYSTEM ARE CONVINCED IT IS PRACTICAL AND THAT SEVERAL YEARS DOWN THE ROAD WE CAN HAVE SUCH A SYSTEM READY TO DEPLOY. INCIDENTALLY WE ARE NOT VIOLATING THE A.B.M. TREATY WHICH PERMITS SUCH RESEARCH. IF AND WHEN WE DEPLOY S.D.I., THE TREATY ALSO ALLOWS WITHDRAWAL FROM THE A.B.M. TREATY UPON 6 MONTHS' NOTICE. S.D.I., LET ME MAKE IT CLEAR, IS A NON-NUCLEAR DEFENSE.

SO HERE WE ARE AT ICELAND FOR OUR SECOND SUCH MEETING. IN THE FIRST AND IN THE MONTHS IN BETWEEN, WE HAVE DISCUSSED WAYS TO REDUCE AND IN FACT ELIMINATE NUCLEAR WEAPONS ENTIRELY. WE AND THE SOVIETS HAVE HAD TEAMS OF NEGOTIATORS IN GENEVA TRYING TO WORK OUT A MUTUAL AGREEMENT ON HOW WE COULD REDUCE OR ELIMINATE NUCLEAR WEAPONS. SO FAR, NO SUCCESS.

ON SATURDAY AND SUNDAY, GENERAL SECRETARY GORBACHEV AND HIS FOREIGN MINISTER SHEVARDNADZE AND SECRETARY OF STATE GEORGE SHULTZ AND I MET FOR NEARLY 10 HOURS. WE DIDN'T LIMIT OURSELVES TO JUST ARMS REDUCTIONS. WE DISCUSSED WHAT WE CALL VIOLATION OF HUMAN RIGHTS ON THE PART OF THE SOVIETS, REFUSAL TO LET PEOPLE EMIGRATE FROM RUSSIA SO THEY CAN PRACTICE THEIR RELIGION WITHOUT BEING PERSECUTED, LETTING PEOPLE GO TO REJOIN THEIR FAMILIES, HUSBANDS AND WIVES SEPARATED BY NATIONAL BORDERS BEING ALLOWED TO REUNITE. IN MUCH OF THIS THE SOVIET UNION IS VIOLATING ANOTHER AGREEMENT -- THE HELSINKI ACCORDS THEY HAD SIGNED IN 1975. YURI ORLOV, WHOSE FREEDOM WE JUST OBTAINED, WAS IMPRISONED FOR POINTING OUT TO HIS GOVERNMENT ITS VIOLATIONS OF THE PACT, ITS REFUSAL TO LET CITIZENS LEAVE THEIR COUNTRY OR RETURN.

WE ALSO DISCUSSED REGIONAL MATTERS SUCH AS AFGHANISTAN, ANGOLA, NICARAGUA, AND CAMBODIA.

BUT BY THEIR CHOICE THE MAIN SUBJECT WAS ARMS CONTROL. WE DISCUSSED THE EMPLACEMENT OF INTERMEDIATE RANGE MISSILES IN EUROPE AND ASIA AND SEEMED TO BE IN AGREEMENT THEY COULD BE DRASTICALLY REDUCED. BOTH SIDES SEEMED WILLING TO FIND A WAY TO REDUCE EVEN TO ZERO THE STRATEGIC BALLISTIC MISSILES WE HAVE AIMED AT EACH OTHER.

THIS THEN BROUGHT UP THE SUBJECT OF S.D.I. I OFFERED A PROPOSAL THAT WE CONTINUE OUR PRESENT RESEARCH AND IF AND WHEN WE REACHED THE STAGE OF FINAL TESTING WE WOULD SIGN NOW A TREATY THAT WOULD PERMIT SOVIET OBSERVATION OF SUCH TESTS. AND IF THE PROGRAM WAS PRACTICAL WE WOULD BOTH ELIMINATE OUR OFFENSIVE MISSILES AND THEN WE WOULD SHARE THE BENEFITS OF ADVANCED DEFENSES. I EXPLAINED THAT EVEN THOUGH WE WOULD HAVE DONE AWAY WITH OUR OFFENSIVE BALLISTIC MISSILES, HAVING THE DEFENSE WOULD PROTECT AGAINST CHEATING OR THE POSSIBILITY OF A MADMAN SOMETIME DECIDING TO CREATE NUCLEAR MISSILES. AFTER ALL, THE WORLD NOW KNOWS HOW TO MAKE THEM. I LIKENED IT TO OUR KEEPING OUR GAS MASKS EVEN THOUGH THE NATIONS OF THE WORLD HAD OUTLAWED POISON GAS AFTER WORLD WAR I.

WE SEEMED TO BE MAKING PROGRESS ON REDUCING WEAPONRY ALTHOUGH THE GENERAL SECRETARY WAS REGISTERING OPPOSITION TO S.D.I. AND PROPOSING A PLEDGE TO OBSERVE A.B.M. FOR A NUMBER OF YEARS AS THE DAY WAS ENDING.

SECRETARY SHULTZ SUGGESTED WE TURN OVER THE NOTES OUR NOTE-TAKERS HAD BEEN MAKING OF EVERYTHING WE'D SAID TO OUR RESPECTIVE TEAMS AND LET THEM WORK THROUGH THE NIGHT TO PUT THEM TOGETHER AND FIND JUST WHERE WE WERE IN AGREEMENT AND WHAT DIFFERENCES SEPARATED US. WITH RESPECT AND GRATITUDE, I CAN INFORM YOU THEY WORKED THROUGH THE NIGHT TILL 6:30 A.M..

YESTERDAY, SUNDAY MORNING, MR. GORBACHEV AND I, WITH OUR FOREIGN MINISTERS, CAME TOGETHER AGAIN AND TOOK UP THE REPORT OF OUR TWO TEAMS. IT WAS MOST PROMISING. THE SOVIETS HAD ASKED FOR A 10-YEAR DELAY IN THE DEPLOYMENT OF S.D.I. PROGRAMS. IN AN EFFORT TO SEE HOW WE COULD SATISFY THEIR CONCERNS WHILE PROTECTING OUR PRINCIPLES AND SECURITY, WE PROPOSED A 10-YEAR PERIOD IN WHICH WE BEGAN WITH THE REDUCTION OF ALL STRATEGIC NUCLEAR ARMS, BOMBERS, AIR-LAUNCHED CRUISE MISSILES, INTERCONTINENTAL BALLISTIC MISSILES, SUBMARINE LAUNCHED BALLISTIC MISSILES AND THE WEAPONS THEY CARRY. THEY WOULD BE REDUCED 50 PERCENT IN THE FIRST 5 YEARS. DURING THE NEXT 5 YEARS, WE WOULD CONTINUE BY ELIMINATING ALL REMAINING OFFENSIVE BALLISTIC MISSILES, OF ALL RANGES. DURING THAT TIME WE WOULD PROCEED WITH RESEARCH, DEVELOPMENT AND TESTING OF S.D.I. ALL DONE IN CONFORMITY WITH A.B.M. PROVISIONS. AT THE 10-YEAR POINT, WITH ALL BALLISTIC MISSILES ELIMINATED, WE COULD PROCEED TO DEPLOY ADVANCED DEFENSES, AT THE SAME TIME PERMITTING THE SOVIETS TO DO LIKEWISE.

HERE THE DEBATE BEGAN. THE GENERAL SECRETARY WANTED WORDING THAT IN EFFECT WOULD HAVE KEPT US FROM DEVELOPING THE S.D.I. FOR THE ENTIRE 10 YEARS. IN EFFECT, HE WAS KILLING S.D.I. AND UNLESS I AGREED, ALL THAT WORK TOWARD ELIMINATING NUCLEAR WEAPONS WOULD GO DOWN THE DRAIN -- CANCELLED.

I TOLD HIM I HAD PLEDGED TO THE AMERICAN PEOPLE THAT I WOULD NOT TRADE AWAY S.D.I. -- THERE WAS NO WAY I COULD TELL OUR PEOPLE THEIR GOVERNMENT WOULD NOT PROTECT THEM AGAINST NUCLEAR DESTRUCTION. I WENT TO REYKJAVIK DETERMINED THAT EVERYTHING WAS NEGOTIABLE EXCEPT TWO THINGS, OUR FREEDOM AND OUR FUTURE.

I AM STILL OPTIMISTIC THAT A WAY WILL BE FOUND. THE DOOR IS OPEN AND THE OPPORTUNITY TO BEGIN ELIMINATING THE NUCLEAR THREAT IS WITHIN REACH.

SO YOU CAN SEE, WE MADE PROGRESS IN ICELAND. AND WE WILL CONTINUE TO MAKE PROGRESS IF WE PURSUE A PRUDENT, DELIBERATE, AND, ABOVE ALL, REALISTIC APPROACH WITH THE SOVIETS. FROM THE EARLIEST DAYS OF OUR ADMINISTRATION, THIS HAS BEEN OUR POLICY. WE MADE IT CLEAR 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 DECLARED THE PRINCIPAL OBJECTIVE OF AMERICAN FOREIGN POLICY TO BE 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 ARE RESISTING THE IMPOSITION OF TOTALITARIAN RULE IN AFGHANISTAN, NICARAGUA, ANGOLA, CAMBODIA, AND ELSEWHERE. AND, FINALLY, WE BEGAN WORK ON WHAT I BELIEVE MOST SPURRED THE SOVIETS TO NEGOTIATE SERIOUSLY -- REBUILDING OUR MILITARY STRENGTH, RECONSTRUCTING OUR STRATEGIC DETERRENCE, AND, ABOVE ALL, BEGINNING WORK ON THE STRATEGIC DEFENSE INITIATIVE.

AND YET AT THE SAME TIME WE SET OUT THESE FOREIGN POLICY GOALS AND BEGAN WORKING TOWARD THEM, WE PURSUED ANOTHER OF OUR MAJOR OBJECTIVES: THAT OF SEEKING MEANS TO LESSEN TENSIONS WITH THE SOVIETS, AND WAYS TO PREVENT WAR AND KEEP THE PEACE.

THIS POLICY IS NOW PAYING DIVIDENDS -- ONE SIGN OF THIS IN ICELAND WAS THE PROGRESS ON THE ISSUE OF ARMS CONTROL. FOR THE FIRST TIME IN A LONG WHILE, SOVIET-AMERICAN NEGOTIATIONS IN THE AREA OF ARMS REDUCTIONS ARE MOVING, AND MOVING IN THE RIGHT DIRECTION: NOT JUST TOWARD ARMS CONTROL, BUT TOWARD ARMS REDUCTION.

BUT FOR ALL THE PROGRESS WE MADE ON ARMS REDUCTIONS, WE MUST REMEMBER THERE WERE OTHER ISSUES ON THE TABLE IN ICELAND, ISSUES THAT ARE FUNDAMENTAL.

AS I MENTIONED, ONE SUCH ISSUE IS HUMAN RIGHTS. AS PRESIDENT KENNEDY ONCE SAID, "AND, IS NOT PEACE, IN THE LAST ANALYSIS, BASICALLY A MATTER OF HUMAN RIGHTS...?"

I MADE IT PLAIN THAT THE UNITED STATES WOULD NOT SEEK TO EXPLOIT IMPROVEMENT IN THESE MATTERS FOR PURPOSES OF PROPAGANDA. BUT I ALSO MADE 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. 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 ALSO LIES AT THE HEART OF THE DIFFERENCES BETWEEN THE SOVIET UNION AND AMERICA. THIS IS THE ISSUE OF REGIONAL CONFLICTS. SUMMIT MEETINGS CANNOT MAKE THE AMERICAN PEOPLE FORGET WHAT SOVIET ACTIONS HAVE MEANT FOR THE PEOPLES OF AFGHANISTAN, CENTRAL AMERICA, AFRICA, AND SOUTHEAST ASIA. UNTIL SOVIET POLICIES CHANGE, WE WILL MAKE SURE THAT OUR FRIENDS IN THESE AREAS -- THOSE WHO FIGHT FOR FREEDOM AND INDEPENDENCE -- WILL HAVE THE SUPPORT THEY NEED.

FINALLY, THERE WAS A FOURTH ITEM. THIS AREA WAS THAT OF BILATERAL RELATIONS, PEOPLE-TO-PEOPLE CONTACTS. IN GENEVA LAST YEAR, WE WELCOMED 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 ELITE BUT THOUSANDS OF EVERYDAY CITIZENS FROM BOTH OUR COUNTRIES.

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AND LET ME RETURN AGAIN TO THE S.D.I. ISSUE.

I REALIZE SOME AMERICANS MAY BE ASKING TONIGHT: WHY NOT ACCEPT MR. GORBACHEV'S DEMAND? WHY NOT GIVE UP S.D.I. FOR THIS AGREEMENT?

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HOW DOES A DEFENSE OF THE UNITED STATES THREATEN THE SOVIET UNION OR ANYONE ELSE? WHY ARE THE SOVIETS SO ADAMANT THAT AMERICA REMAIN FOREVER VULNERABLE TO SOVIET ROCKET ATTACK? AS OF TODAY, ALL FREE NATIONS ARE UTTERLY DEFENSELESS AGAINST SOVIET MISSILES -- FIRED EITHER BY ACCIDENT OR DESIGN. WHY DOES THE SOVIET UNION INSIST THAT WE REMAIN SO -- FOREVER?

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BUT WHATEVER THE IMMEDIATE PROSPECTS, I CAN TELL YOU THAT I AM ULTIMATELY HOPEFUL ABOUT THE PROSPECTS FOR PROGRESS AT THE SUMMIT AND FOR WORLD PEACE AND FREEDOM. YOU SEE, THE CURRENT SUMMIT PROCESS IS VERY DIFFERENT FROM THAT OF PREVIOUS DECADES; IT IS DIFFERENT BECAUSE THE WORLD IS DIFFERENT; AND THE WORLD IS DIFFERENT BECAUSE OF THE HARD WORK AND SACRIFICE OF THE AMERICAN PEOPLE DURING THE PAST 5-1/2 YEARS. YOUR ENERGY HAS RESTORED AND EXPANDED OUR ECONOMIC MIGHT; YOUR SUPPORT HAS RESTORED OUR MILITARY STRENGTH. YOUR COURAGE AND SENSE OF NATIONAL UNITY IN TIMES OF CRISIS HAVE GIVEN PAUSE TO OUR ADVERSARIES, HEARTENED OUR FRIENDS, AND INSPIRED THE WORLD. 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. SO BECAUSE THE AMERICAN PEOPLE STOOD GUARD AT THE CRITICAL HOUR, FREEDOM HAS GATHERED ITS FORCES, REGAINED ITS STRENGTH, AND IS ON THE MARCH.

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I SAW EVIDENCE OF THIS IN THE PROGRESS WE MADE IN THE TALKS WITH MR. GORBACHEV. AND I SAW EVIDENCE OF IT WHEN WE LEFT ICELAND YESTERDAY, AND I SPOKE TO OUR YOUNG MEN AND WOMEN AT OUR NAVAL INSTALLATION AT (KEFF-LA-VICK) -- A CRITICALLY IMPORTANT BASE FAR CLOSER TO SOVIET NAVAL BASES THAN TO OUR OWN COASTLINE. AS ALWAYS, I WAS PROUD TO SPEND A FEW MOMENTS WITH THEM AND THANK THEM FOR THEIR SACRIFICES AND DEVOTION TO COUNTRY. THEY REPRESENT AMERICA AT HER FINEST: COMMITTED TO DEFEND NOT ONLY OUR OWN FREEDOM BUT THE FREEDOM OF OTHERS WHO WOULD BE LIVING IN A FAR MORE FRIGHTENING WORLD -- WERE IT NOT FOR THE STRENGTH AND RESOLVE OF THE UNITED STATES.

"WHENEVER THE STANDARD OF FREEDOM AND INDEPENDENCE HAS BEEN... UNFURLED, THERE WILL BE AMERICA'S HEART, HER BENEDICTIONS, AND HER PRAYERS," JOHN QUINCY ADAMS ONCE SAID. HE SPOKE WELL OF OUR DESTINY AS A NATION. MY FELLOW AMERICANS, WE ARE HONORED BY HISTORY, ENTRUSTED BY DESTINY WITH THE OLDEST DREAM OF HUMANITY -- THE DREAM OF LASTING PEACE AND HUMAN FREEDOM.

ANOTHER PRESIDENT, HARRY TRUMAN, NOTED THAT OUR CENTURY HAD SEEN TWO OF THE MOST FRIGHTFUL WARS IN HISTORY. AND THAT "THE SUPREME NEED OF OUR TIME IS FOR MAN TO LEARN TO LIVE TOGETHER IN PEACE AND HARMONY."

IT IS IN PURSUIT OF THAT IDEAL I WENT TO GENEVA A YEAR AGO AND TO ICELAND LAST WEEK. AND IT IS IN PURSUIT OF THAT IDEAL THAT I THANK YOU NOW FOR ALL THE SUPPORT YOU HAVE GIVEN ME, AND I AGAIN ASK FOR YOUR HELP AND YOUR PRAYERS AS WE CONTINUE OUR JOURNEY TOWARD A WORLD WHERE PEACE REIGNS AND FREEDOM IS ENSHRINED.

THANK YOU AND GOD BLESS YOU.

OCTOBER 13, 1986

PRESIDENT'S BACKUP COPY

ADDRESS TO THE NATION  
ON ICELAND MEETING

GOOD EVENING. AS MOST OF YOU KNOW, I HAVE JUST RETURNED FROM MEETINGS IN ICELAND WITH THE LEADER OF THE SOVIET UNION, GENERAL SECRETARY GORBACHEV. AS I DID LAST YEAR WHEN I RETURNED FROM THE SUMMIT CONFERENCE IN GENEVA, I WANT TO TAKE A FEW MOMENTS TONIGHT TO SHARE WITH YOU WHAT TOOK PLACE IN THESE DISCUSSIONS.

THE IMPLICATIONS OF THESE TALKS ARE ENORMOUS AND ONLY JUST BEGINNING TO BE UNDERSTOOD. WE PROPOSED THE MOST SWEEPING AND GENEROUS ARMS CONTROL PROPOSAL IN HISTORY. WE OFFERED THE COMPLETE ELIMINATION OF ALL BALLISTIC MISSILES -- SOVIET AND AMERICAN -- FROM THE FACE OF THE EARTH BY 1996. WHILE WE PARTED COMPANY WITH THIS AMERICAN OFFER STILL ON THE TABLE, WE ARE CLOSER THAN EVER BEFORE TO AGREEMENTS THAT COULD LEAD TO A SAFER WORLD WITHOUT NUCLEAR WEAPONS.

BUT FIRST, LET ME TELL YOU THAT, FROM THE START OF MY MEETINGS WITH MR. GORBACHEV, I HAVE ALWAYS REGARDED YOU, THE AMERICAN PEOPLE, AS FULL PARTICIPANTS. BELIEVE ME, WITHOUT YOUR SUPPORT, NONE OF THESE TALKS COULD HAVE BEEN HELD, NOR COULD THE ULTIMATE AIMS OF AMERICAN FOREIGN POLICY -- WORLD PEACE AND FREEDOM -- BE PURSUED. AND IT IS FOR THESE AIMS I WENT THE EXTRA MILE TO ICELAND.

BEFORE I REPORT ON OUR TALKS THOUGH, ALLOW ME TO SET THE STAGE BY EXPLAINING TWO THINGS THAT WERE VERY MUCH A PART OF OUR TALKS, ONE A TREATY AND THE OTHER A DEFENSE AGAINST NUCLEAR MISSILES WHICH WE ARE TRYING TO DEVELOP. YOU'VE HEARD THEIR TITLES A THOUSAND TIMES -- THE A.B.M. TREATY AND S.D.I. THOSE LETTERS STAND FOR ANTI-BALLISTIC MISSILE AND STRATEGIC DEFENSE INITIATIVE.

SOME YEARS AGO, THE U.S. AND THE SOVIET UNION AGREED TO LIMIT ANY DEFENSE AGAINST NUCLEAR MISSILE ATTACKS TO THE EMPLACEMENT IN ONE LOCATION IN EACH COUNTRY OF A SMALL NUMBER OF MISSILES CAPABLE OF INTERCEPTING AND SHOOTING DOWN INCOMING NUCLEAR MISSILES. THUS LEAVING OUR REAL DEFENSE A POLICY CALLED MUTUAL ASSURED DESTRUCTION, MEANING IF ONE SIDE LAUNCHED A NUCLEAR ATTACK, THE OTHER SIDE COULD RETALIATE. THIS MUTUAL THREAT OF DESTRUCTION WAS BELIEVED TO BE A DETERRENT AGAINST EITHER SIDE STRIKING FIRST.

SO HERE WE SIT WITH THOUSANDS OF NUCLEAR WARHEADS TARGETED ON EACH OTHER AND CAPABLE OF WIPING OUT BOTH OUR COUNTRIES. THE SOVIETS DEPLOYED THE FEW ANTI-BALLISTIC MISSILES AROUND MOSCOW AS THE TREATY PERMITTED. OUR COUNTRY DIDN'T BOTHER DEPLOYING BECAUSE THE THREAT OF NATIONWIDE ANNIHILATION MADE SUCH LIMITED DEFENSE SEEM USELESS.

FOR SOME YEARS NOW WE HAVE BEEN AWARE THAT THE SOVIETS MAY BE DEVELOPING A NATIONWIDE DEFENSE. THEY HAVE INSTALLED A LARGE MODERN RADAR AT KRASNOYARSK WHICH WE BELIEVE IS A CRITICAL PART OF A RADAR SYSTEM DESIGNED TO PROVIDE RADAR GUIDANCE FOR ANTI-BALLISTIC MISSILES PROTECTING THE ENTIRE NATION. THIS IS A VIOLATION OF THE A.B.M. TREATY.

BELIEVING THAT A POLICY OF MUTUAL DESTRUCTION AND SLAUGHTER OF THEIR CITIZENS AND OURS WAS UNCIVILIZED, I ASKED OUR MILITARY A FEW YEARS AGO TO STUDY AND SEE IF THERE WAS A PRACTICAL WAY TO DESTROY NUCLEAR MISSILES AFTER THEIR LAUNCH BUT BEFORE THEY CAN REACH THEIR TARGETS RATHER THAN TO JUST DESTROY PEOPLE. THIS IS THE GOAL FOR WHAT WE CALL S.D.I. AND OUR SCIENTISTS RESEARCHING SUCH A SYSTEM ARE CONVINCED IT IS PRACTICAL AND THAT SEVERAL YEARS DOWN THE ROAD WE CAN HAVE SUCH A SYSTEM READY TO DEPLOY. INCIDENTALLY WE ARE NOT VIOLATING THE A.B.M. TREATY WHICH PERMITS SUCH RESEARCH. IF AND WHEN WE DEPLOY S.D.I., THE TREATY ALSO ✓ ALLOWS WITHDRAWAL FROM THE A.B.M. TREATY UPON 6 MONTHS' NOTICE. S.D.I., LET ME MAKE IT CLEAR, IS A NON-NUCLEAR DEFENSE.

SO HERE WE ARE AT ICELAND FOR OUR SECOND SUCH MEETING. IN THE FIRST AND IN THE MONTHS IN BETWEEN, WE HAVE DISCUSSED WAYS TO REDUCE AND IN FACT ELIMINATE NUCLEAR WEAPONS ENTIRELY. WE AND THE SOVIETS HAVE HAD TEAMS OF NEGOTIATORS IN GENEVA TRYING TO WORK OUT A MUTUAL AGREEMENT ON HOW WE COULD REDUCE OR ELIMINATE NUCLEAR WEAPONS. SO FAR, NO SUCCESS.

ON SATURDAY AND SUNDAY, GENERAL SECRETARY GORBACHEV AND HIS FOREIGN MINISTER SHEVARDNADZE AND SECRETARY OF STATE GEORGE SHULTZ AND I MET FOR NEARLY 10 HOURS. WE DIDN'T LIMIT OURSELVES TO JUST ARMS REDUCTIONS. WE DISCUSSED WHAT WE CALL VIOLATION OF HUMAN RIGHTS ON THE PART OF THE SOVIETS, REFUSAL TO LET PEOPLE EMIGRATE FROM RUSSIA SO THEY CAN PRACTICE THEIR RELIGION WITHOUT BEING PERSECUTED, LETTING PEOPLE GO TO REJOIN THEIR FAMILIES, HUSBANDS AND WIVES SEPARATED BY NATIONAL BORDERS BEING ALLOWED TO REUNITE. IN MUCH OF THIS THE SOVIET UNION IS VIOLATING ANOTHER AGREEMENT -- THE HELSINKI ACCORDS THEY HAD SIGNED IN 1975. YURI ORLOV, WHOSE FREEDOM WE JUST OBTAINED, WAS IMPRISONED FOR POINTING OUT TO HIS GOVERNMENT ITS VIOLATIONS OF THE PACT, ITS REFUSAL TO LET CITIZENS LEAVE THEIR COUNTRY OR RETURN.

WE ALSO DISCUSSED REGIONAL MATTERS SUCH AS AFGHANISTAN, ANGOLA, NICARAGUA, AND CAMBODIA.

BUT BY THEIR CHOICE THE MAIN SUBJECT WAS ARMS CONTROL. WE DISCUSSED THE EMPLACEMENT OF INTERMEDIATE RANGE MISSILES IN EUROPE AND ASIA AND SEEMED TO BE IN AGREEMENT THEY COULD BE DRASTICALLY REDUCED. BOTH SIDES SEEMED WILLING TO FIND A WAY TO REDUCE EVEN TO ZERO THE STRATEGIC BALLISTIC MISSILES WE HAVE AIMED AT EACH OTHER.

*he's the best we have \_\_\_\_\_*

THIS THEN BROUGHT UP THE SUBJECT OF S.D.I. I OFFERED A PROPOSAL THAT WE CONTINUE OUR PRESENT RESEARCH AND IF AND WHEN WE REACHED THE STAGE OF FINAL TESTING WE WOULD SIGN NOW A TREATY THAT WOULD PERMIT SOVIET OBSERVATION OF SUCH TESTS. AND IF THE PROGRAM WAS PRACTICAL WE WOULD BOTH ELIMINATE OUR OFFENSIVE MISSILES AND THEN WE WOULD SHARE THE BENEFITS OF ADVANCED DEFENSES. I EXPLAINED THAT EVEN THOUGH WE WOULD HAVE DONE AWAY WITH OUR OFFENSIVE BALLISTIC MISSILES, HAVING THE DEFENSE WOULD PROTECT AGAINST CHEATING OR THE POSSIBILITY OF A MADMAN SOMETIME DECIDING TO CREATE NUCLEAR MISSILES. AFTER ALL, THE WORLD NOW KNOWS HOW TO MAKE THEM. I LIKENED IT TO OUR KEEPING OUR GAS MASKS EVEN THOUGH THE NATIONS OF THE WORLD HAD OUTLAWED POISON GAS AFTER WORLD WAR I.

WE SEEMED TO BE MAKING PROGRESS ON REDUCING WEAPONRY ALTHOUGH THE GENERAL SECRETARY WAS REGISTERING OPPOSITION TO S.D.I. AND PROPOSING A PLEDGE TO OBSERVE A.B.M. FOR A NUMBER OF YEARS AS THE DAY WAS ENDING.

SECRETARY SHULTZ SUGGESTED WE TURN OVER THE NOTES OUR NOTE-TAKERS HAD BEEN MAKING OF EVERYTHING WE'D SAID TO OUR RESPECTIVE TEAMS AND LET THEM WORK THROUGH THE NIGHT TO PUT THEM TOGETHER AND FIND JUST WHERE WE WERE IN AGREEMENT AND WHAT DIFFERENCES SEPARATED US. WITH RESPECT AND GRATITUDE, I CAN INFORM YOU THEY WORKED THROUGH THE NIGHT TILL 6:30 A.M..

YESTERDAY, SUNDAY MORNING, MR. GORBACHEV AND I, WITH OUR FOREIGN MINISTERS, CAME TOGETHER AGAIN AND TOOK UP THE REPORT OF OUR TWO TEAMS. IT WAS MOST PROMISING. THE SOVIETS HAD ASKED FOR A 10-YEAR DELAY IN THE DEPLOYMENT OF S.D.I. PROGRAMS. IN AN EFFORT TO SEE HOW WE COULD SATISFY THEIR CONCERNS WHILE PROTECTING OUR PRINCIPLES AND SECURITY, WE PROPOSED A 10-YEAR PERIOD IN WHICH WE BEGAN WITH THE REDUCTION OF ALL STRATEGIC NUCLEAR ARMS, BOMBERS, AIR-LAUNCHED CRUISE MISSILES, INTERCONTINENTAL BALLISTIC MISSILES, SUBMARINE LAUNCHED BALLISTIC MISSILES AND THE WEAPONS THEY CARRY. THEY WOULD BE REDUCED 50 PERCENT IN THE FIRST 5 YEARS. DURING THE NEXT 5 YEARS, WE WOULD CONTINUE BY ELIMINATING ALL REMAINING OFFENSIVE BALLISTIC MISSILES, OF ALL RANGES. DURING THAT TIME WE WOULD PROCEED WITH RESEARCH, DEVELOPMENT AND TESTING OF S.D.I. ALL DONE IN CONFORMITY WITH A.B.M. PROVISIONS. AT THE 10-YEAR POINT, WITH ALL BALLISTIC MISSILES ELIMINATED, WE COULD PROCEED TO DEPLOY ADVANCED DEFENSES, AT THE SAME TIME PERMITTING THE SOVIETS TO DO LIKEWISE.

HERE THE DEBATE BEGAN. THE GENERAL SECRETARY WANTED WORDING THAT IN EFFECT WOULD HAVE KEPT US FROM DEVELOPING THE S.D.I. FOR THE ENTIRE 10 YEARS. IN EFFECT, HE WAS KILLING S.D.I. AND UNLESS I AGREED, ALL THAT WORK TOWARD ELIMINATING NUCLEAR WEAPONS WOULD GO DOWN THE DRAIN -- CANCELLED.

I TOLD HIM I HAD PLEDGED TO THE AMERICAN PEOPLE THAT I WOULD NOT TRADE AWAY S.D.I. -- THERE WAS NO WAY I COULD TELL OUR PEOPLE THEIR GOVERNMENT WOULD NOT PROTECT THEM AGAINST NUCLEAR DESTRUCTION. I WENT TO REYKJAVIK DETERMINED THAT EVERYTHING WAS NEGOTIABLE EXCEPT TWO THINGS, OUR FREEDOM AND OUR FUTURE.

I AM STILL OPTIMISTIC THAT A WAY WILL BE FOUND. THE DOOR IS OPEN AND THE OPPORTUNITY TO BEGIN ELIMINATING THE NUCLEAR THREAT IS WITHIN REACH.

SO YOU CAN SEE, WE MADE PROGRESS IN ICELAND. AND WE WILL CONTINUE TO MAKE PROGRESS IF WE PURSUE A PRUDENT, DELIBERATE, AND, ABOVE ALL, REALISTIC APPROACH WITH THE SOVIETS. FROM THE EARLIEST DAYS OF OUR ADMINISTRATION, THIS HAS BEEN OUR POLICY. WE MADE IT CLEAR 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 DECLARED THE PRINCIPAL OBJECTIVE OF AMERICAN FOREIGN POLICY TO BE 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 ARE RESISTING THE IMPOSITION OF TOTALITARIAN RULE IN AFGHANISTAN, NICARAGUA, ANGOLA, CAMBODIA, AND ELSEWHERE. AND, FINALLY, WE BEGAN WORK ON WHAT I BELIEVE MOST SPURRED THE SOVIETS TO NEGOTIATE SERIOUSLY -- REBUILDING OUR MILITARY STRENGTH, RECONSTRUCTING OUR STRATEGIC DETERRENCE, AND, ABOVE ALL, BEGINNING WORK ON THE STRATEGIC DEFENSE INITIATIVE.

AND YET AT THE SAME TIME WE SET OUT THESE FOREIGN POLICY GOALS AND BEGAN WORKING TOWARD THEM, WE PURSUED ANOTHER OF OUR MAJOR OBJECTIVES: THAT OF SEEKING MEANS TO LESSEN TENSIONS WITH THE SOVIETS, AND WAYS TO PREVENT WAR AND KEEP THE PEACE.

THIS POLICY IS NOW PAYING DIVIDENDS -- ONE SIGN OF THIS IN ICELAND WAS THE PROGRESS ON THE ISSUE OF ARMS CONTROL. FOR THE FIRST TIME IN A LONG WHILE, SOVIET-AMERICAN NEGOTIATIONS IN THE AREA OF ARMS REDUCTIONS ARE MOVING, AND MOVING IN THE RIGHT DIRECTION: NOT JUST TOWARD ARMS CONTROL, BUT TOWARD ARMS REDUCTION.

BUT FOR ALL THE PROGRESS WE MADE ON ARMS REDUCTIONS, WE MUST REMEMBER THERE WERE OTHER ISSUES ON THE TABLE IN ICELAND, ISSUES THAT ARE FUNDAMENTAL.

AS I MENTIONED, ONE SUCH ISSUE IS HUMAN RIGHTS. AS PRESIDENT KENNEDY ONCE SAID, "AND, IS NOT PEACE, IN THE LAST ANALYSIS, BASICALLY A MATTER OF HUMAN RIGHTS...?"

I MADE IT PLAIN THAT THE UNITED STATES WOULD NOT SEEK TO EXPLOIT IMPROVEMENT IN THESE MATTERS FOR PURPOSES OF PROPAGANDA. BUT I ALSO MADE 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. 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 ALSO LIES AT THE HEART OF THE DIFFERENCES BETWEEN THE SOVIET UNION AND AMERICA. THIS IS THE ISSUE OF REGIONAL CONFLICTS. SUMMIT MEETINGS CANNOT MAKE THE AMERICAN PEOPLE FORGET WHAT SOVIET ACTIONS HAVE MEANT FOR THE PEOPLES OF AFGHANISTAN, CENTRAL AMERICA, AFRICA, AND SOUTHEAST ASIA. UNTIL SOVIET POLICIES CHANGE, WE WILL MAKE SURE THAT OUR FRIENDS IN THESE AREAS -- THOSE WHO FIGHT FOR FREEDOM AND INDEPENDENCE -- WILL HAVE THE SUPPORT THEY NEED.

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SO, IF THERE IS ONE IMPRESSION I CARRY AWAY WITH ME FROM THESE OCTOBER TALKS, IT IS THAT, UNLIKE THE PAST, WE ARE DEALING NOW FROM A POSITION OF STRENGTH, AND FOR THAT REASON WE HAVE IT WITHIN OUR GRASP TO MOVE SPEEDILY WITH THE SOVIETS TOWARD EVEN MORE BREAKTHROUGHS.

OUR IDEAS ARE OUT THERE ON THE TABLE. THEY WON'T GO AWAY. WE ARE READY TO PICK UP WHERE WE LEFT OFF. OUR NEGOTIATORS ARE HEADING BACK TO GENEVA, AND WE ARE PREPARED TO GO FORWARD WHENEVER AND WHEREVER THE SOVIETS ARE READY. SO, THERE IS REASON -- GOOD REASON -- FOR HOPE.

I SAW EVIDENCE OF THIS IN THE PROGRESS WE MADE IN THE TALKS WITH MR. GORBACHEV. AND I SAW EVIDENCE OF IT WHEN WE LEFT ICELAND YESTERDAY, AND I SPOKE TO OUR YOUNG MEN AND WOMEN AT OUR NAVAL INSTALLATION AT (KEFF-LA-VICK) -- A CRITICALLY IMPORTANT BASE FAR CLOSER TO SOVIET NAVAL BASES THAN TO OUR OWN COASTLINE. AS ALWAYS, I WAS PROUD TO SPEND A FEW MOMENTS WITH THEM AND THANK THEM FOR THEIR SACRIFICES AND DEVOTION TO COUNTRY. THEY REPRESENT AMERICA AT HER FINEST: COMMITTED TO DEFEND NOT ONLY OUR OWN FREEDOM BUT THE FREEDOM OF OTHERS WHO WOULD BE LIVING IN A FAR MORE FRIGHTENING WORLD -- WERE IT NOT FOR THE STRENGTH AND RESOLVE OF THE UNITED STATES.

"WHENEVER THE STANDARD OF FREEDOM AND INDEPENDENCE HAS BEEN... UNFURLED, THERE WILL BE AMERICA'S HEART, HER BENEDICTIONS, AND HER PRAYERS," JOHN QUINCY ADAMS ONCE SAID. HE SPOKE WELL OF OUR DESTINY AS A NATION. MY FELLOW AMERICANS, WE ARE HONORED BY HISTORY, ENTRUSTED BY DESTINY WITH THE OLDEST DREAM OF HUMANITY -- THE DREAM OF LASTING PEACE AND HUMAN FREEDOM.

ANOTHER PRESIDENT, HARRY TRUMAN, NOTED THAT OUR CENTURY HAD SEEN TWO OF THE MOST FRIGHTFUL WARS IN HISTORY. AND THAT "THE SUPREME NEED OF OUR TIME IS FOR MAN TO LEARN TO LIVE TOGETHER IN PEACE AND HARMONY."

IT IS IN PURSUIT OF THAT IDEAL<sup>WHAT</sup> I WENT TO GENEVA A YEAR AGO  
AND TO ICELAND LAST WEEK. AND IT IS IN PURSUIT OF THAT IDEAL  
THAT I THANK YOU NOW FOR ALL THE SUPPORT YOU HAVE GIVEN ME, AND I  
AGAIN ASK FOR YOUR HELP AND YOUR PRAYERS AS WE CONTINUE OUR  
JOURNEY TOWARD A WORLD WHERE PEACE REIGNS AND FREEDOM IS  
ENSHRINED.

THANK YOU AND GOD BLESS YOU.

(REAGAN)

OCTOBER 13, 1986

PRESIDENT'S ADDRESS TO THE NATION  
ON ICELAND MEETING

GOOD EVENING. AS  
MOST OF YOU KNOW, I HAVE  
JUST RETURNED FROM  
MEETINGS IN ICELAND WITH  
THE LEADER OF THE SOVIET  
UNION, GENERAL SECRETARY  
GORBACHEV. AS I DID LAST  
YEAR WHEN I RETURNED FROM  
THE SUMMIT CONFERENCE IN  
GENEVA, I WANT TO TAKE A  
FEW MOMENTS TONIGHT TO  
SHARE WITH YOU WHAT TOOK  
PLACE IN THESE  
DISCUSSIONS.

THE IMPLICATIONS OF  
THESE TALKS ARE ENORMOUS  
AND ONLY JUST BEGINNING  
TO BE UNDERSTOOD.

WE PROPOSED THE MOST  
SWEEPING AND GENEROUS  
ARMS CONTROL PROPOSAL IN  
HISTORY. WE OFFERED THE  
COMPLETE ELIMINATION OF

ALL BALLISTIC MISSILES --

SOVIET AND AMERICAN --  
FROM THE FACE OF THE  
EARTH BY 1996. WHILE WE  
PARTED COMPANY WITH THIS  
AMERICAN OFFER STILL ON  
THE TABLE, WE ARE CLOSER  
THAN EVER BEFORE TO  
AGREEMENTS THAT COULD  
LEAD TO A SAFER WORLD  
WITHOUT NUCLEAR WEAPONS.

BUT FIRST, LET ME  
TELL YOU THAT, FROM THE  
START OF MY MEETINGS WITH  
MR. GORBACHEV, I HAVE  
ALWAYS REGARDED YOU, THE  
AMERICAN PEOPLE, AS FULL  
PARTICIPANTS. BELIEVE  
ME, WITHOUT YOUR SUPPORT,  
NONE OF THESE TALKS COULD  
HAVE BEEN HELD, NOR COULD  
THE ULTIMATE AIMS OF  
AMERICAN FOREIGN  
POLICY -- WORLD PEACE AND  
FREEDOM -- BE PURSUED.  
AND IT IS FOR THESE AIMS  
I WENT THE EXTRA MILE TO  
ICELAND.

② BEFORE I REPORT ON  
OUR TALKS THOUGH, ALLOW  
ME TO SET THE STAGE BY

EXPLAINING TWO THINGS  
THAT WERE VERY MUCH A  
PART OF OUR TALKS, ONE  
A TREATY AND THE OTHER A  
DEFENSE AGAINST NUCLEAR  
MISSILES WHICH WE ARE  
TRYING TO DEVELOP.  
YOU'VE HEARD THEIR TITLES  
A THOUSAND TIMES -- THE  
A.B.M. TREATY AND S.D.I.  
THOSE LETTERS STAND FOR  
ANTI-BALLISTIC MISSILE  
AND STRATEGIC DEFENSE  
INITIATIVE.

SOME YEARS AGO, THE  
U.S. AND THE SOVIET UNION  
AGREED TO LIMIT ANY  
DEFENSE AGAINST NUCLEAR  
MISSILE ATTACKS TO THE  
EMPLACEMENT IN ONE  
LOCATION IN EACH COUNTRY  
OF A SMALL NUMBER OF  
MISSILES CAPABLE OF  
INTERCEPTING AND SHOOTING  
DOWN INCOMING NUCLEAR  
MISSILES. THUS LEAVING  
OUR REAL DEFENSE A POLICY  
CALLED MUTUAL ASSURED  
DESTRUCTION, MEANING IF  
ONE SIDE LAUNCHED A

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NUCLEAR ATTACK, THE OTHER SIDE COULD RETALIATE. THIS MUTUAL THREAT OF DESTRUCTION WAS BELIEVED TO BE A DETERRENT AGAINST EITHER SIDE STRIKING FIRST.

SO HERE WE SIT WITH THOUSANDS OF NUCLEAR WARHEADS TARGETED ON EACH OTHER AND CAPABLE OF WIPING OUT BOTH OUR COUNTRIES. THE SOVIETS DEPLOYED THE FEW ANTI-BALLISTIC MISSILES AROUND MOSCOW AS THE TREATY PERMITTED. OUR COUNTRY DIDN'T BOTHER DEPLOYING BECAUSE THE THREAT OF NATIONWIDE ANNIHILATION MADE SUCH LIMITED DEFENSE SEEM USELESS.

③ FOR SOME YEARS NOW WE HAVE BEEN AWARE THAT THE SOVIETS MAY BE DEVELOPING A NATIONWIDE DEFENSE. THEY HAVE INSTALLED A LARGE MODERN

DADAD AT (KPA7-NO-VADSK)

WHICH WE BELIEVE IS A  
CRITICAL PART OF A RADAR  
SYSTEM DESIGNED TO  
PROVIDE RADAR GUIDANCE  
FOR ANTI-BALLISTIC  
MISSILES PROTECTING THE  
ENTIRE NATION. THIS IS  
A VIOLATION OF THE A.B.M.  
TREATY.

BELIEVING THAT A  
POLICY OF MUTUAL  
DESTRUCTION AND SLAUGHTER  
OF THEIR CITIZENS AND  
OURS WAS UNCIVILIZED,  
I ASKED OUR MILITARY A  
FEW YEARS AGO TO STUDY  
AND SEE IF THERE WAS A  
PRACTICAL WAY TO DESTROY  
NUCLEAR MISSILES AFTER  
THEIR LAUNCH BUT BEFORE  
THEY CAN REACH THEIR  
TARGETS RATHER THAN TO  
JUST DESTROY PEOPLE.  
THIS IS THE GOAL FOR WHAT  
WE CALL S.D.I. AND OUR  
SCIENTISTS RESEARCHING  
SUCH A SYSTEM ARE  
CONVINCED IT IS PRACTICAL  
AND THAT SEVERAL YEARS  
DOWN THE ROAD WE CAN HAVE

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SUCH A SYSTEM READY TO  
DEPLOY. INCIDENTALLY WE  
ARE NOT VIOLATING THE  
A.B.M. TREATY WHICH  
PERMITS SUCH RESEARCH.  
IF AND WHEN WE DEPLOY,  
THE TREATY ALSO ALLOWS  
WITHDRAWAL FROM THE  
TREATY UPON 6 MONTHS'  
NOTICE. S.D.I., LET ME  
MAKE IT CLEAR, IS A  
NON-NUCLEAR DEFENSE.

SO HERE WE ARE AT  
ICELAND FOR OUR SECOND  
SUCH MEETING. IN THE  
FIRST AND IN THE MONTHS  
IN BETWEEN, WE HAVE  
DISCUSSED WAYS TO REDUCE  
AND IN FACT ELIMINATE  
NUCLEAR WEAPONS ENTIRELY.  
WE AND THE SOVIETS HAVE  
HAD TEAMS OF NEGOTIATORS  
IN GENEVA TRYING TO WORK  
OUT A MUTUAL AGREEMENT ON  
HOW WE COULD REDUCE OR  
ELIMINATE NUCLEAR  
WEAPONS. SO FAR,  
NO SUCCESS.

④ ON SATURDAY AND

SUNDAY GENERAL SECRETARY

GORBACHEV AND HIS FOREIGN  
MINISTER SHEVARDNADZE AND  
SECRETARY OF STATE GEORGE  
SHULTZ AND I MET FOR  
NEARLY 10 HOURS.

WE DIDN'T LIMIT OURSELVES  
TO JUST ARMS REDUCTIONS.  
WE DISCUSSED WHAT WE CALL  
VIOLATION OF HUMAN RIGHTS  
ON THE PART OF THE  
SOVIETS, REFUSAL TO LET  
PEOPLE EMIGRATE FROM  
RUSSIA SO THEY CAN  
PRACTICE THEIR RELIGION  
WITHOUT BEING PERSECUTED,  
LETTING PEOPLE GO TO  
REJOIN THEIR FAMILIES,  
HUSBANDS AND WIVES  
SEPARATED BY NATIONAL  
BORDERS BEING ALLOWED TO  
REUNITE. IN MUCH OF THIS  
THE SOVIET UNION IS  
VIOLATING ANOTHER  
AGREEMENT -- THE HELSINKI  
ACCORDS THEY HAD SIGNED  
IN 1975. YURI ORLOV,  
WHOSE FREEDOM WE JUST  
OBTAINED, WAS IMPRISONED  
FOR POINTING OUT TO HIS  
GOVERNMENT ITS VIOLATIONS

OF THE PACT, ITS REFUSAL  
TO LET CITIZENS LEAVE  
THEIR COUNTRY OR RETURN.

WE ALSO DISCUSSED  
REGIONAL MATTERS SUCH AS  
AFGHANISTAN, ANGOLA,  
NICARAGUA, AND CAMBODIA.

BUT BY THEIR CHOICE  
THE MAIN SUBJECT WAS ARMS  
CONTROL. WE DISCUSSED  
THE EMPLACEMENT OF  
INTERMEDIATE RANGE  
MISSILES IN EUROPE AND  
ASIA AND SEEMED TO BE IN  
AGREEMENT THEY COULD BE  
DRASTICALLY REDUCED.  
BOTH SIDES SEEMED WILLING  
TO FIND A WAY TO REDUCE  
EVEN TO ZERO THE  
STRATEGIC BALLISTIC  
MISSILES WE HAVE AIMED AT  
EACH OTHER.

⑤ THIS THEN BROUGHT UP  
THE SUBJECT OF S.D.I.  
I OFFERED A PROPOSAL THAT  
WE CONTINUE OUR PRESENT  
RESEARCH AND IF AND WHEN  
WE REACHED THE STAGE OF  
TESTING WE WOULD SIGN NOW  
A TREATY THAT WOULD

PERMIT SOVIET OBSERVATION  
OF SUCH TESTS. AND IF  
THE PROGRAM WAS PRACTICAL  
WE WOULD BOTH ELIMINATE  
OUR OFFENSIVE MISSILES  
AND THEN WE WOULD SHARE  
THE BENEFITS OF ADVANCED  
DEFENSES. I EXPLAINED  
THAT EVEN THOUGH WE WOULD  
HAVE DONE AWAY WITH OUR  
OFFENSIVE BALLISTIC  
MISSILES, HAVING THE  
DEFENSE WOULD PROTECT  
AGAINST CHEATING OR THE  
POSSIBILITY OF A MADMAN  
SOMETIME DECIDING TO  
CREATE NUCLEAR MISSILES.  
AFTER ALL, THE WORLD NOW  
KNOWS HOW TO MAKE THEM.  
I LIKENED IT TO OUR  
KEEPING OUR GAS MASKS  
EVEN THOUGH THE NATIONS  
OF THE WORLD HAD OUTLAWED  
POISON GAS AFTER WORLD  
WAR I.

WE SEEMED TO BE  
MAKING PROGRESS ON  
REDUCING WEAPONRY  
ALTHOUGH THE GENERAL  
SECRETARY WAS REGISTERING

OPPOSITION TO S.D.I. AND  
PROPOSING A PLEDGE TO  
OBSERVE A.B.M. FOR A  
NUMBER OF YEARS AS THE  
DAY WAS ENDING.

SECRETARY SHULTZ  
SUGGESTED WE TURN OVER  
THE NOTES OUR NOTE-TAKERS  
HAD BEEN MAKING OF  
EVERYTHING WE'D SAID TO  
OUR RESPECTIVE TEAMS AND  
LET THEM WORK THROUGH THE  
NIGHT TO PUT THEM  
TOGETHER AND FIND JUST  
WHERE WE WERE IN  
AGREEMENT AND WHAT  
DIFFERENCES SEPARATED US.  
WITH RESPECT AND  
GRATITUDE, I CAN INFORM  
YOU THEY WORKED THROUGH  
THE NIGHT TILL 6:30 A.M..

⑥ YESTERDAY, SUNDAY  
MORNING, MR. GORBACHEV  
AND I, WITH OUR FOREIGN  
MINISTERS, CAME TOGETHER  
AGAIN AND TOOK UP THE  
REPORT OF OUR TWO TEAMS.  
IT WAS MOST PROMISING.  
THE SOVIETS HAD ASKED FOR  
A 10 YEAR DELAY IN THE

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DEPLOYMENT OF S.D.I.  
PROGRAMS. IN AN EFFORT  
TO SEE HOW WE COULD  
SATISFY THEIR CONCERNS  
WHILE PROTECTING OUR  
PRINCIPLES AND SECURITY,  
WE PROPOSED A 10-YEAR  
PERIOD IN WHICH WE BEGAN  
WITH THE REDUCTION OF ALL  
STRATEGIC NUCLEAR ARMS,  
BOMBERS, AIR-LAUNCHED  
CRUISE MISSILES,  
INTERCONTINENTAL  
BALLISTIC MISSILES,  
SUBMARINE-LAUNCHED  
BALLISTIC MISSILES AND  
THE WEAPONS THEY CARRY.  
THEY WOULD BE REDUCED  
50 PERCENT IN THE  
FIRST 5 YEARS. DURING  
THE NEXT 5 YEARS,  
WE WOULD CONTINUE BY  
ELIMINATING ALL REMAINING  
OFFENSIVE BALLISTIC  
MISSILES, OF ALL RANGES.  
DURING THAT TIME WE WOULD  
PROCEED WITH RESEARCH,  
DEVELOPMENT, AND TESTING  
OF S.D.I. ALL DONE IN  
CONFORMITY WITH A R M

PROVISIONS. AT THE  
10-YEAR POINT, WITH ALL  
BALLISTIC MISSILES  
ELIMINATED, WE COULD  
PROCEED TO DEPLOY  
ADVANCED DEFENSES, AT THE  
SAME TIME PERMITTING THE  
SOVIETS TO DO LIKEWISE.

HERE THE DEBATE  
BEGAN. THE GENERAL  
SECRETARY WANTED WORDING  
THAT IN EFFECT WOULD HAVE  
KEPT US FROM DEVELOPING  
THE S.D.I. FOR THE ENTIRE  
10 YEARS. IN EFFECT, HE  
WAS KILLING S.D.I. AND  
UNLESS I AGREED, ALL THAT  
WORK TOWARD ELIMINATING  
NUCLEAR WEAPONS WOULD GO  
DOWN THE DRAIN --  
CANCELLED.

⑦ I TOLD HIM I HAD  
PLEDGED TO THE AMERICAN  
PEOPLE THAT I WOULD NOT  
TRADE AWAY S.D.I. --  
THERE WAS NO WAY I COULD  
TELL OUR PEOPLE THEIR  
GOVERNMENT WOULD NOT  
PROTECT THEM AGAINST  
NUCLEAR DESTRUCTION

I WENT TO REYKJAVIK  
DETERMINED THAT  
EVERYTHING WAS NEGOTIABLE  
EXCEPT TWO THINGS, OUR  
FREEDOM AND OUR FUTURE.

I AM STILL  
OPTIMISTIC THAT A WAY  
WILL BE FOUND. THE DOOR  
IS OPEN AND THE  
OPPORTUNITY TO BEGIN  
ELIMINATING THE NUCLEAR  
THREAT IS WITHIN REACH.

SO YOU CAN SEE, WE  
MADE PROGRESS IN ICELAND.  
AND WE WILL CONTINUE TO  
MAKE PROGRESS IF WE  
PURSUE A PRUDENT,  
DELIBERATE, AND, ABOVE  
ALL, REALISTIC APPROACH  
WITH THE SOVIETS. FROM  
THE EARLIEST DAYS OF OUR  
ADMINISTRATION, THIS HAS  
BEEN OUR POLICY. WE MADE  
IT CLEAR 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 DECLARED  
THE PRINCIPAL OBJECTIVE  
OF AMERICAN FOREIGN  
POLICY TO BE 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 ARE RESISTING THE  
IMPOSITION OF  
TOTALITARIAN RULE IN  
AFGHANISTAN, NICARAGUA,  
ANGOLA, CAMBODIA, AND  
ELSEWHERE. AND, FINALLY,  
WE BEGAN WORK ON WHAT  
I BELIEVE MOST SPURRED  
THE SOVIETS TO NEGOTIATE  
SERIOUSLY -- REBUILDING  
OUR MILITARY STRENGTH,  
RECONSTRUCTING OUR  
STRATEGIC DETERRENCE,  
AND, ABOVE ALL, BEGINNING  
WORK ON THE STRATEGIC

DEFENSE INITIATIVE.

⑧ AND YET AT THE SAME TIME WE SET OUT THESE FOREIGN POLICY GOALS AND BEGAN WORKING TOWARD THEM, WE PURSUED ANOTHER OF OUR MAJOR OBJECTIVES: THAT OF SEEKING MEANS TO LESSEN TENSIONS WITH THE SOVIETS, AND WAYS TO PREVENT WAR AND KEEP THE PEACE.

THIS POLICY IS NOW PAYING DIVIDENDS -- ONE SIGN OF THIS IN ICELAND WAS THE PROGRESS ON THE ISSUE OF ARMS CONTROL. FOR THE FIRST TIME IN A LONG WHILE, SOVIET-AMERICAN NEGOTIATIONS IN THE AREA OF ARMS REDUCTIONS ARE MOVING, AND MOVING IN THE RIGHT DIRECTION: NOT JUST TOWARD ARMS CONTROL, BUT TOWARD ARMS REDUCTION.

BUT FOR ALL THE PROGRESS WE MADE ON ARMS REDUCTIONS WE MUST

REMEMBER THERE WERE OTHER  
ISSUES ON THE TABLE IN  
ICELAND, ISSUES THAT ARE  
FUNDAMENTAL.

AS I MENTIONED, ONE  
SUCH ISSUE IS HUMAN  
RIGHTS. AS PRESIDENT  
KENNEDY ONCE SAID,  
"AND, IS NOT PEACE,  
IN THE LAST ANALYSIS,  
BASICALLY A MATTER OF  
HUMAN RIGHTS...?"

⑨ I MADE IT PLAIN THAT  
THE UNITED STATES WOULD  
NOT SEEK TO EXPLOIT  
IMPROVEMENT IN THESE  
MATTERS FOR PURPOSES OF  
PROPAGANDA. BUT I ALSO  
MADE 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. 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  
ALSO LIES AT THE HEART OF  
THE DIFFERENCES BETWEEN  
THE SOVIET UNION AND  
AMERICA. THIS IS THE  
ISSUE OF REGIONAL  
CONFLICTS. SUMMIT  
MEETINGS CANNOT MAKE THE  
AMERICAN PEOPLE FORGET  
WHAT SOVIET ACTIONS HAVE  
MEANT FOR THE PEOPLES OF  
AFGHANISTAN, CENTRAL  
AMERICA, AFRICA, AND  
SOUTHEAST ASIA. INTII

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.

FINALLY, THERE WAS  
A FOURTH ITEM. THIS AREA  
WAS THAT OF BILATERAL  
RELATIONS,  
PEOPLE-TO-PEOPLE  
CONTACTS. IN GENEVA LAST  
YEAR, WE WELCOMED 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 ELITE BUT  
THOUSANDS OF EVERYDAY  
CITIZENS FROM BOTH OUR  
COUNTRIES.

(10) SO I THINK THEN YOU  
CAN SEE THAT WE DID MAKE

PROGRESS IN ICELAND ON A  
BROAD RANGE OF TOPICS.  
WE REAFFIRMED OUR 4-POINT  
AGENDA; WE DISCOVERED  
MAJOR NEW GROUNDS OF  
AGREEMENT; WE PROBED  
AGAIN SOME OLD AREAS OF  
DISAGREEMENT.

AND LET ME RETURN  
AGAIN TO THE S.D.I.  
ISSUE.

I REALIZE SOME  
AMERICANS MAY BE ASKING  
TONIGHT: WHY NOT ACCEPT  
MR. GORBACHEV'S DEMAND?  
WHY NOT GIVE UP S.D.I.  
FOR THIS AGREEMENT?

THE ANSWER, MY  
FRIENDS, IS SIMPLE.  
S.D.I. IS AMERICA'S  
INSURANCE POLICY THAT THE  
SOVIET UNION WOULD KEEP  
THE COMMITMENTS MADE AT  
REYKJAVIK. S.D.I. IS  
AMERICA'S SECURITY  
GUARANTEE -- IF THE  
SOVIETS SHOULD -- AS THEY  
HAVE DONE TOO OFTEN IN  
THE PAST -- FAIL TO  
COMPLY WITH THEIR SOLEMN

COMMITMENTS. S.D.I. IS  
WHAT BROUGHT THE SOVIETS  
BACK TO ARMS CONTROL  
TALKS AT GENEVA AND  
ICELAND. S.D.I. IS THE  
KEY TO A WORLD WITHOUT  
NUCLEAR WEAPONS.

THE SOVIETS  
UNDERSTAND THIS. THEY  
HAVE DEVOTED FAR MORE  
RESOURCES FOR A LOT  
LONGER TIME THAN WE,  
TO THEIR OWN S.D.I.  
THE WORLD'S ONLY  
OPERATIONAL MISSILE  
DEFENSE TODAY SURROUNDS  
MOSCOW, THE CAPITAL OF  
THE SOVIET UNION.  
WHAT MR. GORBACHEV WAS  
DEMANDING AT REYKJAVIK  
WAS THAT THE UNITED  
STATES AGREE TO A NEW  
VERSION OF A 14-YEAR-OLD  
A.B.M. TREATY THAT THE  
SOVIET UNION HAS ALREADY  
VIOLATED. I TOLD HIM WE  
DON'T MAKE THOSE KINDS OF  
DEALS IN THE UNITED  
STATES.

PEOPLE SHOULD REFLECT ON  
THESE CRITICAL QUESTIONS.

⑪ HOW DOES A DEFENSE  
OF THE UNITED STATES  
THREATEN THE SOVIET UNION  
OR ANYONE ELSE? WHY ARE  
THE SOVIETS SO ADAMANT  
THAT AMERICA REMAIN  
FOREVER VULNERABLE TO  
SOVIET ROCKET ATTACK?  
AS OF TODAY, ALL FREE  
NATIONS ARE UTTERLY  
DEFENSELESS AGAINST  
SOVIET MISSILES -- FIRED  
EITHER BY ACCIDENT OR  
DESIGN. WHY DOES THE  
SOVIET UNION INSIST THAT  
WE REMAIN SO -- FOREVER?

SO, MY FELLOW  
AMERICANS, I CANNOT  
PROMISE, NOR CAN ANY  
PRESIDENT PROMISE, THAT  
THE TALKS IN ICELAND OR  
ANY FUTURE DISCUSSIONS  
WITH MR. GORBACHEV WILL  
LEAD INEVITABLY TO GREAT  
BREAKTHROUGHS OR  
MOMENTOUS TREATY  
SIGNINGS.

WE WILL NOT ABANDON

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THE GUIDING PRINCIPLE WE  
TOOK TO REYKJAVIK.  
WE PREFER NO AGREEMENT  
THAN TO BRING HOME A BAD  
AGREEMENT TO THE UNITED  
STATES.

AND ON THIS POINT,  
I KNOW YOU ARE ALSO  
INTERESTED IN THE  
QUESTION OF WHETHER THERE  
WILL BE ANOTHER SUMMIT.  
THERE WAS NO INDICATION  
BY MR. GORBACHEV AS TO  
WHEN OR WHETHER HE PLANS  
TO TRAVEL TO THE UNITED  
STATES, AS WE AGREED HE  
WOULD LAST YEAR IN  
GENEVA. I REPEAT TONIGHT  
THAT OUR INVITATION  
STANDS AND THAT WE  
CONTINUE TO BELIEVE  
ADDITIONAL MEETINGS WOULD  
BE USEFUL. BUT THAT'S A  
DECISION THE SOVIETS MUST  
MAKE.

(12) BUT WHATEVER THE  
IMMEDIATE PROSPECTS,  
I CAN TELL YOU THAT I AM  
ULTIMATELY HOPEFUL ABOUT  
THE PROSPECTS FOR

PROGRESS AT THE SUMMIT  
AND FOR WORLD PEACE AND  
FREEDOM. YOU SEE, THE  
CURRENT SUMMIT PROCESS IS  
VERY DIFFERENT FROM THAT  
OF PREVIOUS DECADES;  
IT IS DIFFERENT BECAUSE  
THE WORLD IS DIFFERENT;  
AND THE WORLD IS  
DIFFERENT BECAUSE OF THE  
HARD WORK AND SACRIFICE  
OF THE AMERICAN PEOPLE  
DURING THE PAST  
5-1/2 YEARS. YOUR ENERGY  
HAS RESTORED AND EXPANDED  
OUR ECONOMIC MIGHT;  
YOUR SUPPORT HAS RESTORED  
OUR MILITARY STRENGTH.  
YOUR COURAGE AND SENSE OF  
NATIONAL UNITY IN TIMES  
OF CRISIS HAVE GIVEN  
PAUSE TO OUR ADVERSARIES,  
HEARTENED OUR FRIENDS,  
AND INSPIRED THE WORLD.  
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.  
SO BECAUSE THE  
AMERICAN PEOPLE STOOD  
GUARD AT THE CRITICAL  
HOUR, FREEDOM HAS  
GATHERED ITS FORCES,  
REGAINED ITS STRENGTH,  
AND IS ON THE MARCH.

SO, IF THERE IS ONE  
IMPRESSION I CARRY AWAY  
WITH ME FROM THESE  
OCTOBER TALKS, IT IS  
THAT, UNLIKE THE PAST,  
WE ARE DEALING NOW FROM  
A POSITION OF STRENGTH,  
AND FOR THAT REASON WE  
HAVE IT WITHIN OUR GRASP  
TO MOVE SPEEDILY WITH THE  
SOVIETS TOWARD EVEN MORE  
BREAKTHROUGHS.

OUR IDEAS ARE OUT  
THERE ON THE TABLE.  
THEY WON'T GO AWAY.  
WE ARE READY TO PICK UP  
WHERE WE LEFT OFF. OUR  
NEGOTIATORS ARE HEADING  
BACK TO GENEVA, AND  
WE ARE PREPARED TO GO  
FORWARD WHENEVER AND  
WHEREVER THE SOVIETS ARE

READY. SO, THERE IS  
REASON -- GOOD REASON --  
FOR HOPE.

(13) I SAW EVIDENCE OF  
THIS IN THE PROGRESS WE  
MADE IN THE TALKS WITH  
MR. GORBACHEV. AND I SAW  
EVIDENCE OF IT WHEN WE  
LEFT ICELAND YESTERDAY,  
AND I SPOKE TO OUR YOUNG  
MEN AND WOMEN AT OUR  
NAVAL INSTALLATION AT  
(KEFF-LA-VICK) --

A CRITICALLY IMPORTANT  
BASE FAR CLOSER TO SOVIET  
NAVAL BASES THAN TO OUR  
OWN COASTLINE.

AS ALWAYS, I WAS PROUD TO  
SPEND A FEW MOMENTS WITH  
THEM AND THANK THEM FOR  
THEIR SACRIFICES AND  
DEVOTION TO COUNTRY.

THEY REPRESENT AMERICA AT  
HER FINEST: COMMITTED TO  
DEFEND NOT ONLY OUR OWN  
FREEDOM BUT THE FREEDOM  
OF OTHERS WHO WOULD BE  
LIVING IN A FAR MORE  
FRIGHTENING WORLD --

WERE IT NOT FOR THE

STRENGTH AND RESOLVE OF  
THE UNITED STATES.

"WHENEVER THE  
STANDARD OF FREEDOM AND  
INDEPENDENCE HAS BEEN...  
UNFURLED, THERE WILL BE  
AMERICA'S HEART,  
HER BENEDICTIONS,  
AND HER PRAYERS,"  
JOHN QUINCY ADAMS ONCE  
SAID. HE SPOKE WELL OF  
OUR DESTINY AS A NATION.  
MY FELLOW AMERICANS,  
WE ARE HONORED BY  
HISTORY, ENTRUSTED BY  
DESTINY WITH THE OLDEST  
DREAM OF HUMANITY --  
THE DREAM OF LASTING  
PEACE AND HUMAN FREEDOM.

ANOTHER PRESIDENT,  
HARRY TRUMAN, NOTED THAT  
OUR CENTURY HAD SEEN TWO  
OF THE MOST FRIGHTFUL  
WARS IN HISTORY. AND  
THAT "THE SUPREME NEED OF  
OUR TIME IS FOR MAN TO  
LEARN TO LIVE TOGETHER IN  
PEACE AND HARMONY."

(14) IT IS IN PURSUIT OF  
THAT IDEAL I WENT TO

GENEVA A YEAR AGO AND TO  
ICELAND LAST WEEK. AND  
IT IS IN PURSUIT OF THAT  
IDEAL THAT I THANK YOU  
NOW FOR ALL THE SUPPORT  
YOU HAVE GIVEN ME, AND  
I AGAIN ASK FOR YOUR HELP  
AND YOUR PRAYERS AS WE  
CONTINUE OUR JOURNEY  
TOWARD A WORLD WHERE  
PEACE REIGNS AND FREEDOM  
IS ENSHRINED.

THANK YOU AND GOD  
BLESS YOU.

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