

RR + Research

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PRESIDENTIAL ADDRESS: U.S.-SOVIET RELATIONS
MONDAY, JANUARY 16, 1984

During these first days of 1984, I would like to share with you -- and the people of the world -- my thoughts on a subject of great importance to the cause of peace -- relations between the United States and the Soviet Union.

Tomorrow, the United States will join the Soviet Union and 33 other nations at a European disarmament conference in Stockholm. The conference will search for practical and meaningful ways to increase European security and preserve peace. We will be in Stockholm with the heartfelt wishes of our people for genuine progress.

We live in a time of challenges to peace, but also of opportunities for peace. Through times of difficulty and frustration, America's highest aspiration has never wavered: We have and will continue to struggle for a lasting peace that enhances dignity for men and women everywhere. I believe 1984 finds the United States in its strongest position in years to establish a constructive and realistic working relationship with the Soviet Union.

We have come a long way since the decade of the seventies -- years when the United States seemed filled with self-doubt and neglected its defenses, while the Soviet Union increased its military might and sought to expand its influence by armed force and threats. Over ^{10 years} during the last ~~decade~~, the Soviets devoted twice as much of their gross national product to military expenditures as the United States, ~~They~~ ^{Produced} produced six times as many ICBM's,

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three times as many tanks, and twice as many combat aircraft. And they began deploying the SS-20 intermediate-range missile at a time when the United States had no comparable weapon.

~~As the Soviet arsenal grew, so did Soviet aggressiveness. From Angola to Afghanistan, from Ethiopia to Kampuchea, the Soviet Union and its proxies tried to force their will on others.~~

(SPR) ~~HISTORY TEACHES THAT WARS BEGIN WHEN GOV'T'S.~~ History teaches that wars begin when governments believe the price of aggression is cheap. To keep the peace, we and our allies must be strong enough to convince any potential aggressor that war could bring no benefit, only disaster. So when we neglected our defenses, the risks of serious confrontation grew.]

Three years ago we embraced a mandate from the American people to change course, and we have. With the support of the American people and the Congress, we halted America's decline. Our economy is now in the midst of the best recovery since the sixties. Our defenses are being rebuilt. Our alliances are solid and our commitment to defend our values has never been more clear.

America's recovery may have taken Soviet leaders by surprise. They may have counted on us to keep weakening ourselves. They have been saying for years that our demise was inevitable. They said it so often they probably started believing it. If so, I think they can see now they were wrong.

This may be the reason we've been hearing such strident rhetoric from the Kremlin recently. These harsh words have led some to speak of heightened uncertainty and an increased danger of conflict. This is understandable, but profoundly mistaken. Look beyond the words, and one fact stands out: America's

Our third task is to establish a better working relationship with each other, one marked by greater cooperation and understanding.

Cooperation and understanding are built on deeds, not words. Complying with agreements helps; violating them hurts. Respecting the rights of individual citizens bolsters the relationship; denying these rights harms it. Expanding contacts across borders and permitting a free interchange of information and ideas increase confidence; sealing off one's people from the rest of the world reduces it. Peaceful trade helps, while organized theft of industrial secrets certainly hurts.

[Cooperation and understanding are especially important to arms control. In recent years, we have had serious concerns about Soviet compliance with agreements and treaties. Compliance is important because we seek truly effective arms control. Unfortunately, there has been mounting evidence that provisions of agreements have been breached and that the ~~Soviet Union~~ takes advantage ^{HAS BEEN TAKEN OF} of ~~any~~ ambiguity ^{in our} in ~~an~~ agreements. X

In response to a congressional request, a report ^{ON THIS} ~~to the~~ Congress ~~on these Soviet activities~~ will be submitted in the next few days. It is clear that we cannot simply assume that agreements negotiated will be fulfilled. We must take the Soviet compliance record into account, both in the development of our defense program and in our approach to arms control. In our discussions with the Soviet Union, we will work to remove the obstacles which threaten to undermine existing agreements and the broader arms control process.]

~~Let us~~ Take the Middle East as an example. ~~The Soviet Union~~
~~has made the situation in that part of the world more dangerous~~
~~for all concerned by introducing sophisticated weapons and~~
~~thousands of its military personnel into Syria.~~ Everyone's
interests would be served by stability in the region, ^{AND} Our
efforts are directed toward that goal. The Soviets ~~should use~~ ^{COULD}
~~their influence to~~ ^{HELP} reduce tensions ^{THESE INSTEAD OF INTRODUCING SOPHISTICATED}
~~WEAPONS INTO THE AREA. THIS~~ ^{IN THE MIDDLE EAST.} ~~The~~
~~confidence created by such progress~~ would certainly help us to
deal more positively with other aspects of our relationship.]

Another major problem in our relationship with the Soviet Union is human rights. Soviet practices in this area, as much as any other issue, have created the mistrust and ill will that hangs over our relationship.

Moral considerations alone compel us to express our deep concern over prisoners of conscience in the Soviet Union and over the virtual halt in the emigration of Jews, Armenians, and others who wish to join their families abroad.

Our request is simple and straightforward: that the Soviet Union live up to the obligations it has freely assumed under international covenants -- in particular, its commitments under the Helsinki Accords. Experience has shown that greater respect for human rights can contribute to progress in other areas of the Soviet-American relationship.

Conflicts of interest between the United States and the Soviet Union are real. But we can and must keep the peace between our two nations and make it a better and more peaceful world for all mankind.

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

January 13, 1984

MEMORANDUM FOR THE PRESIDENT

FROM: BEN ELLIOTT *Ben*
SUBJECT: Three Upcoming Speeches

Attached are three updated drafts: your Saturday radio speech, the U.S.-Soviet speech, and the State of the Union.

Radio Talk: NSC has asked us to delete all references to the killing of Officer Jeffrey Schwab. So we have written a new opening for you.

U.S.-Soviet Speech: The State Department asked us to add three sections -- on the Soviet military build-up, compliance, and the Middle East -- which we have bracketed for you on your draft. We questioned the value of the insert on the Middle East. There has also been some minor restructuring to provide a better flow.

We would greatly appreciate receiving your changes on Saturday so we can prepare the speech on teleprompter.

State of the Union: This draft is now ready for you to work on. It reflects a full senior staff review with their suggestions for substance. I have bracketed two sections on the budget -- the deficit commission and tax simplification -- pending your final decision. Per your request, the front part of the speech has been shortened.