

HAK

of Report to NATION

8:30 pm

May 26

~~Winston~~:

Outa the wild blue yonder —  
here it is. Way too long,  
tho' I doubt TT's 2000 word  
limit will hold up. These  
are for you, HAK, and Sonnenfeldt.  
Hope for feedback ASAP.  
My deadline for a draft to  
TT is arrival Kiev.

Thanks,

John Andrews

(Andrews)

May 26, 1972  
First Draft

THE MOSCOW SUMMIT: REPORT TO THE CONGRESS AND THE NATION

Mr. Speaker, Mr. Vice President, Members of the Congress,  
my fellow Americans: Good evening. Thank you for your warm  
welcome tonight. When you have been to a <sup>country</sup> ~~country~~ as far away  
and as different from the United States as we have in recent  
days, even though our reception there was cordial, it feels  
very good to be home again.

*Very good here*

Ten days ago, at the welcoming dinner given by the  
Soviet leaders in the Great Kremlin Palace in honor of the  
first official visit ever made by an American President  
to the Soviet Union, I spoke of the differences between this  
summit conference and all of the 8 previous meetings between the  
leaders of our two countries which have taken place over  
the past 29 years. This time, I pointed out, we were meeting  
not just to

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to conclude important bilateral agreements, but above all to begin a new age in the relationship between our two great and powerful nations.

Tonight I want to report to you on the results of this historic Moscow summit -- on the spirit which it fostered, on the concrete agreements which it produced, and on the possibilities for that new age to which I referred--a new age of peace and cooperation in Soviet-American relations, leading to a full generation of peace in the world. I wanted to address both the Congress and the Nation, because of the major role the Congress will play in carrying forward the work we began in Moscow, and because of the significance that work may have in the life of every American for many years to come.

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As a starting point, let us/look back for a moment at the history of Soviet-American relations during the past generation, the period since World War II. That history is one of almost

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continuous mutual suspicion and hostility, and of increasingly

Not  
what  
I meant

just beginning  
of time

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dangerous political and military rivalry between our two countries all over the world.

Almost half of all the Americans alive today have spent their whole lifetimes under the shadow of the nuclear Armageddon which could be touched off between the two great superpowers of East and West. Even those of us who are old enough to remember a time when the United States and the USSR were not adversaries but allies can also remember the free world's bitter realization that victory in Europe and the Pacific had brought us not peace but only a new Cold War.

I personally measure the persistence of the Soviet challenge in our time by the fact that throughout my whole career in public life it has remained the single overriding issue dominating America's foreign policy and indeed America's entire national consciousness. My first trip abroad as an elected official came in 1947 when I was part of a

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congressional mission investigating the proposed Marshall Plan to bolster an economically prostrate Western Europe against the Soviet threat from the East.

By the time of my first visit to the Soviet Union, in the summer of 1959, little had changed. Even though our two countries were then taking the first tentative steps in a cultural exchange program which included the U.S. exhibition I went to Moscow to open, the atmosphere of my conversations with the Communist leaders was still marked less by mutual respect than by belligerence, threats, and ideological bluster on their part.

During that visit, I extended an invitation from President Eisenhower to Premier Khrushchev to visit the United States. The summit conference to which this led later that year, while it did produce a short-lived "spirit of Camp David" did not produce any lasting relaxation of Cold War tensions.

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The next scheduled summit meeting, at Paris in 1960, was even less successful. It collapsed at the outset, and Khrushchev's invitation for President Eisenhower to visit Moscow was withdrawn.

Our experience these past two weeks, in contrast, could hardly have been a more different one. My meetings in Moscow with General Secretary Brezhnev, <sup>his colleagues</sup> while they did produce a friendly and hopeful climate, also produced a great deal more. The reason for this, and the reason that the meetings were able to go forward at all in the face of widespread fears that they would be ruined by America's refusal to permit a Communist victory in Vietnam, is that this summit was planned and conducted on a different basis from any before it. *replaced*

At the outset of this administration, I had expressed my conviction that summit diplomacy could avoid raising false hopes and succeed in making real gains only when

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sufficient preparatory work had been done at lower levels on

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both sides, and when the Soviet side had demonstrated its readiness to negotiate seriously.

Putting it in figurative terms, if you have a situation where the two leaders have helicoptered to the summit, not much will be accomplished there -- they will have traveled too light and arrived too quickly. The summit which has a chance to be productive, on the other hand, is the one where you have come up patiently through the foothills and built a good road all the way to the top.

Then when the meeting itself takes place the heavy negotiating baggage can be brought along. Then you have a meeting which is far more than just a one-shot gamble that the two top men will like each other and be able to settle in a matter of hours differences that have resisted settlement for a quarter of a century.

Instead such a meeting is only the culminating step

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in a long and carefully prepared process. Each side knows

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what it has invested and what it stands to gain, and therefore  
you have a momentum toward the summit which is not likely to  
be arrested even when one country takes a strong stand at odds  
with the other in a particular localized area of conflict.

*Don - 8*  
*sub in*

This then is the approach we have taken in our  
dealings with the Soviet Union over the last three and a  
half years. All the preparatory work was done on a broad  
range of issues. The seriousness of the Soviet attitude was  
evidenced in the four-power agreement which has at last  
removed Berlin as a flashpoint for world war, and in the  
progress of the Strategic Arms Limitation Talks during  
many months of intensive negotiations.

*Related*  
*to card*  
*other*

The road to the top was built--and I think it is  
appropriate here to say that the building of it was one of  
the most remarkable team efforts in the history of American



foreign policy. The Congress, the Cabinet, the various executive departments, the National Security Council and White House staffs, together with the wide support of the American people for our efforts to open an era of negotiation, have all played an indispensable part in the success of the mission from which I have returned this evening.

One of the best measures of that success is the unprecedented number, scope, and import of the agreements we have brought home from Moscow.

We have agreed to cooperate with the Soviet Union in efforts to combat pollution and enhance environmental quality. We have agreed to work together in the field of medical science and public health, particularly in the conquest of cancer and heart disease. We have agreed to share our research and combine our forces in many areas of

science and technology. We have joined in a breath-taking new adventure in the cooperative exploration of space, beginning in 1975 with a joint orbital mission of an Apollo vehicle bearing the Stars and Stripes and a Soyuz spacecraft carrying the Red Star.

While none of these undertakings gets at the deepest roots of Soviet-American conflict, all of them together reflect a new determination in both countries not to let our differences, deep and fundamental as they are, prevent us any longer from cooperating wherever cooperation is mutually agreeable and beneficial. Through the habits of trust which they help to form and through the institutional ties which grow up around them, these four agreements will create on both sides a steadily growing vested interest in the maintenance of peace and stability between our two countries.

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Similar benefits on an even larger scale will accrue from the normalization of Soviet-American trade relationships under the various commercial agreements which were reached last week. These agreements cover such things as repayment of the long-disputed Soviet lend lease debt from World War II, extension of trade credits, mutual tariff concessions, and the establishment of a permanent joint commercial commission to facilitate our bilateral economic dealings.

*No -  
general  
trade  
commission  
to replace  
the  
USSR*

We can now expect that our trade with the USSR will increase rapidly from its 1971 level of only \$ \_\_\_\_\_ million . to reach \$ \_\_\_\_\_ billion or more by 19 \_\_\_\_ . This will create some \_\_\_\_\_ new jobs in the United States over the next \_\_\_\_\_ years. The increase in American agricultural exports which from 'will result/the opening of Soviet markets will amount to over \$ \_\_\_\_\_ billion , or \_\_\_\_\_ percent, during that same period.

*No -  
small  
market  
too  
expensive*

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Of course it would be an oversimplification to believe that merely because two countries begin doing a large volume of business with one another, that will mean there will be no more conflicts and no more danger of war between them. We can confidently say, however, that the development of this kind of constructive relationship between our two great powers will vastly increase the stake which both sides have in achieving a genuine and lasting peace--a peace which I have often said, and which Soviet President Podgorny in his toast last Monday night said, must be more than just the absence of war.

Nonetheless it is the absence of war and the assured prevention of war between the United States and the USSR which must be the starting point of all our efforts to shape a more secure future and a better world. And it is the progress which General Secretary Brezhnev <sup>+ his colleagues</sup> and I made on this front

last week which above all would encourage us to believe that the Moscow summit will truly be remembered as an epoch-making event in modern history.

On our fourth day in Moscow, we concluded an agreement which will significantly reduce the danger of unfriendly incidents between Soviet and American forces conducting naval and air operations on the high seas. This was the first high-level military-to-military agreement between our two countries since we fought as allies in the Second World War, and it gave a preliminary indication of the Soviet Union's readiness to turn away from past policies of armed confrontation.

Then on Friday, May 26, two and a half years of painstaking negotiations at last bore fruit with the final agreement on a treaty for the limitation of strategic nuclear weapons in the arsenals of the United States and the USSR --

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the two greatest military powers in the world.

With the signing of this treaty, the era of an unrelenting

nuclear arms race, which began on ~~May~~ <sup>July</sup> 16, 1945, with the

detonation of the first atomic bomb at ~~White Sands~~ <sup>Alamogordo,</sup> New

Mexico, came to an end. In its place a new era of mutually

agreed restraint and arms limitation between the American

and Soviet superpowers has now begun.

The SALT agreement is based on a fundamental

reality of the 1970's: that national security is no

longer attainable either through astronomical spending on

ever-increasing weapons stockpiles, or through unilateral

disarmament and mutual weakness. This Nation, or any nation,

can now be truly secure only in the middle ground between

those two extremes -- where a strong and vigilant defense

can be maintained without the debilitating burden of a

self-perpetuating arms competition which not only saps the vitality of both competitors but also heightens the danger of global war.

This treaty, like certain portions of the commercial agreements to which I have referred, will require the advice and consent of the Senate for ratification. We shall submit it promptly for that purpose. In doing so, we encourage the closest scrutiny and the most open debate of all its provisions and consequences, on the part of both the Congress and the

Our American people. /Nation cannot go forward from this crossroads in history unless we truly go forward together. I am confident that we shall do so, because the SALT agreement which was signed at Moscow is one that is good for both of our countries and good for the whole world.

*Must  
their  
need for vigilance  
vigilance made  
treaty possible  
needed  
to maintain  
it.*

For that reason I am also confident that this treaty, once it enters into force, will be kept -- because keeping it will serve the self-interest of the Soviet Union just as it serves our own. They desire, as we do, the enhanced security and the diminished chance of another world war which the treaty will provide. They welcome, as we do, the opportunity to devote more economic resources to the works of peace at home and fewer to preparations for conflict half a world away.

At the same time the United States should not and will not deceive itself that this one accord or this one week of summit talks has put an end to all of the very deep and dangerous differences which we have with the Soviet Union. It was not a mere mistake or chance misunderstanding which precipitated the long struggle we have had to wage for



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freedom and order in the world this past quarter century.

The Soviets have themselves pursued, and have supported other countries in pursuing, policies in many parts of the world with which we continue to disagree very strongly. It would be unrealistic to expect all those policies to go away overnight.

Thus, while our discussions of bilateral problems in Moscow were enormously productive and encouraging, there do remain a number of international problems on which they and we still differ quite fundamentally. Some of these were identified in my lengthy and frank conversations with the Soviet leaders about the present situations in Europe, in the Middle East, and in Southeast Asia.

We shall continue seeking every opportunity to reach an accommodation with the Soviet Union on these problems.

But at the same time we shall continue to implement such policies of our own as we deem necessary to protect

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our national interest and the interest of peace.

In this regard, I know that there is tremendous interest around the world in what relationship, if any, this summit meeting may have had to our efforts to bring the Vietnam War to an end. Let me therefore state the United States position quite simply and directly:

*Done  
need  
VN?*

We still feel, as we have said many times in the past, that the place where the Vietnam War must be ended is not in Moscow, not in Peking, not in any other foreign capital but in Hanoi -- because Hanoi is where the aggression in Indochina originates.

While we would certainly prefer that great power restraint, rather than military interdiction, should be the means by which weapons and supplies for the North Vietnamese invasion of South Vietnam are cut off, the fact remains that the actions I announced on May 8 are cutting

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off those supplies quite effectively, and that the Communist

war machine in both the North and the South is feeling the

effects with increasing severity.

The fair and generous peace terms which I put forward in my May 8 speech still stand, and the United States and South Vietnam remain ready as we have always been to settle this war through negotiations, as soon as the enemy will come to the peace table on a basis of honor, not of humiliation. Until that time America intends to stand by its allies and its principles and to see our Indochina commitment through.

We have learned from long and bitter experience that the leaders in Hanoi proceed with a single-minded zeal of purpose which is exceedingly resistant to outside pressure from whatever quarter, friend or foe. Knowing this, we went to

Moscow not counting in any way upon arranging a Vietnam settlement there.

We did go, however, with the hope of making considerable progress in other areas -- an expectation which was strengthened by the evidence that Soviet American relations have achieved a new maturity and stability which permits a summit to go forward in spite of Vietnam, in contrast to the wrecking of summit plans/by the U-2 in 1960 incident and in 1968 by the invasion of Czechoslovakia.

It is now possible to say that the expectations of progress which we held upon departing for Moscow are amply fulfilled as we return tonight.

The accords of the past ten days have put Soviet-American relations on a different basis than they have ever been on since the October Revolution first shook Russia

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two  
and the world in 1917. Our countries have recognized that  
the old international game of exploiting every situation  
for marginal advantage over an opponent has now become a  
formula for stalemate at best and for disaster at worst, in  
a world where both of us have the potentiality to destroy  
civilization in a matter of hours.

*cut  
down*

*have better  
substance*

We have taken steps to create on both sides a vested  
interest in peace, not in continued conflict. We have  
reversed the momentum of a hostile past and launched new  
trends toward coexistence and cooperation between our  
different systems on a basis of equality, reciprocity, and  
mutual respect for strength. The possibility now exists  
that international relations in the remaining decades of the  
20th century can be conducted in an atmosphere where the  
inevitable conflicts of national interests are minimized, and

where mankind can look forward to a prolonged period of tranquility and peaceful progress.

is  
This/more than a dream. It is a realistic and achievable possibility. Whether it will be achieved is up to us.

Looking to the future, let us remember that the world in which we live tonight is not a great deal different from the one we lived in two weeks ago, before the trip to Moscow. Though we might wish otherwise, the world is still a dangerous place. The penalties on complacency, on apathy, and on weakness are still severe. We can build successfully on the foundations laid down at this summit only by continuing to conduct ourselves in the manner which enabled us to reach the summit in the first place.

This means, first of all, that we must keep America strong.

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This means, first of all, that we must keep America strong.

We must maintain a national defense second to none, and a system of alliances with other nations which need our friendship. We must keep our economy vigorous, expansive, and competitive, both at home and around the world, in a time when international competition is shifting from the military into the economic arena, and when several rising economies rival our number one standing. We must press ahead urgently to reform our institutions and right our domestic wrongs. We must do more to share the wealth of our land with peoples less fortunate than ourselves.

We must keep ourselves strong in spirit -- a nation proud of its greatness as a democratic society and confident of its mission as a force for freedom in the world.

We must never yield to the insidious temptation to turn our backs on a world which so desperately needs all the good this country has to give. We must put down the suicidal impulse to be mesmerized by what is bad in America and to sneer at what is good.

It is these tendencies, not some external force, which loom as America's most dangerous enemy in the coming years. Neither armies nor treaties, laws nor government programs, can defeat them; but the American spirit, the spirit of human dignity, can. If we win that battle, as I know we shall, we can gain a future beyond the grandest dreams of kings.

On eight memorable days last week, the American guests in Moscow saw a sight we will never forget: the flag of the United States of America snapping in the spring breeze among the spires and towers of the ancient Kremlin fortress. To many millions of Americans for more than half



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a century, the Kremlin has stood for implacable hostility toward all that we believe in and cherish. No doubt just as many Russians for just as long have entertained dark fears and animosity toward the American flag. Yet for that short time those two great symbols which had seemed so irreconcilable were joined -- joined in the common cause of peace.

Tonight the flag of Washington and Lincoln no longer flies over the house of Lenin and Marx. But the hopes which *Don't*  
*overdo*  
it raised in Soviet and American hearts alike will not be put down. Both of our countries have broken free forever from that senseless bondage which Washington described when he warned in his Farewell Address: "The nation which indulges toward another an habitual hatred...is a slave to its own animosity."

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The United States will continue to differ with the Soviet Union in many ways and to compete with them along many lines, just as we shall in our new relationship with China, and just as all great nations must always do with one another. But the old pattern is broken forever, and the new era has begun. The journey of our respective leaders to the summit has lifted the relationship of our two peoples onto a broad new plateau of promise. Let all of us as Americans do everything in our power to make that promise come true.

# # # #

*More about  
world peace -  
less about USSR*