

Prime Minister

PARTY CONFERENCE SPEECH

Passage on foreign affairs

and defence

Mr. Chairman, our Conference takes place at a time which could prove to be a historic turning point in world affairs.

✓

And we can say - with pride - that Britain has played a major part in creating the opportunities which we now see opening up before us.

It is of course a time of tension and even of danger in the Persian Gulf.

There too Britain is giving a strong lead.

I am sure that I speak for this whole  
Conference - and indeed ~~all~~ the people of  
this country - when I express our thanks  
and our appreciation to the ~~brave~~ merchant  
officers and seamen who sail that vital  
waterway; and to the officers and men of  
the Royal Navy's Armilla Patrol and its  
minesweepers who protect them.

We salute their courage and their dedication.

*to day*

But ~~it~~ is also a time of hope.

There is no mistaking the bracing air of  
change in the Soviet Union.

In my many hours of talking with

Mr. Gorbachev in Moscow, ~~his enthusiasm~~

~~and~~ his determination to bring about

far-reaching change were ~~very~~ plain.

~~The realization that the Soviet Union will only undergo the  
the kind of <sup>reform</sup> to come which will be the kind of intellectual  
reform which will be the kind of people.~~

The difficulties and obstacles confronting him

are massive.

(1)

And we have yet to see that change carry

through into the Soviet Union's policies

towards the outside world.

*Handwritten notes:*  
 Afghans in  
 Soviet are  
 weapons  
 still required. The Party will not stand  
 points that would condemn the need not arms but food

But we must recognise ~~too~~ that anything which

*widens*  
enlarges individual human liberty, which

encourages discussion, which increases

initiative and enterprise in the Soviet

Union is of fundamental importance in

~~late~~

human terms.

late of human rights.

That is why I have welcomed and encouraged

those aspects of Mr. Gorbachev's reforms

which do this.

They are genuinely courageous - not least

in their admission that after seventy

years the Socialist system has failed to

produce the standard of life the Russian

people want.

*But we have it* 7

There is hope, too, in the new-found ability of the Five Permanent Members of the United Nations Security Council to work together over the Gulf crisis.

It is what the Founding Fathers of the United Nations intended when they drew up the Charter over forty years ago.

But it is the first time that we have seen it happen - however tentatively - in

practice.

We are ready to build on it.

*R*

~~And~~ there is hope in the agreement which now

seems certain to be signed later this

autumn by the United States and the Soviet

Union to eliminate medium and

shorter-range nuclear missiles.

~~For the first time since nuclear weapons~~

~~were invented, there will be an agreement~~



~~to reduce the numbers of them.~~

We welcome that agreement, indeed Britain contributed in a major way to its achievement.

It is a success for the West.

*But*  
And let us remember one thing ~~above all~~.

If we had listened to the Labour Party, to CND - insofar as you can distinguish the two - to the unilateral disarmers, that

agreement would never have been achieved.

The Russians would have kept all their 1300 nuclear warheads, while the West would have given away its 300 for nothing in return.

We must never let people forget that lesson.

Reductions in nuclear weapons come about not from weakness but from strength and resolve in negotiation.

The futility of the unilateral disarmers,  
of the Greenham Common women, could not be  
more starkly exposed.

Mr. Chairman, our policies, Conservative

policies are bearing fruit and we have

every reason to be satisfied. But we must

not let hope become euphoria.

We are ready for improved relations with the

Soviet Union.

But we are not willing to take anything on trust.

Nor should we be bemused by changes in style rather than substance.

We shall judge the Soviet Union by what they do, not by what they say.

We believe that the strategic nuclear weapons of the United States and the

Soviet Union could be reduced by 50 per cent without endangering our security.

But so long as the Soviet Union continues to enjoy massive superiority in chemical and conventional forces, <sup>we maintain</sup> ~~we say~~ that reductions in nuclear weapons in Europe have gone far enough.

As the new Supreme Allied Commander in Europe reminded us recently: it is not a nuclear-free Europe we want, it is a

war-free Europe.

Nuclear weapons will continue to play a vital role in preventing war in Europe.

*Shahriah* The modernisation of our deterrent with

Trident will go ahead. ~~*As George*~~

~~*Wald*~~

And to those who claim that we are building up Britain's nuclear forces while others are reducing theirs, I would say this:  
Trident will represent a smaller

proportion of Soviet strategic nuclear  
missiles - even after the latter are  
reduced by 50 per cent - than Polaris was  
in 1970.

That shows conclusively who is increasing  
nuclear weapons.

Mr. Chairman, our people, the British people  
want peace.

It is their deepest longing.

They pray for it, for themselves and above  
all for their children, every night.

~~But they know, too, that peace on its own means  
nothing.~~

It must be a peace <sup>with</sup> which guarantees  
freedom, justice and ~~opportunity~~ for all.

That peace is only achieved by keeping our  
defences strong, by resisting violence and



intimidation at home, by standing up to tyrants and terrorists abroad.

That is the true spirit of the British people, which sustained them through two world wars and guides them still.

It is the spirit which led them on 11 June to reject overwhelmingly Labour's policy of unilateral nuclear disarmament.

Just as they did in 1983.

Just as they will in future.

And it is that spirit, joined to the success of our economic policies at home, that has restored Britain's reputation and standing abroad and made it possible for us once again to play the role in the world which our history, our tradition and our national character demand.

As we said in the Election:

It's great to be Great again!

Prime Minister

DEFENCE AND FOREIGN AFFAIRS

Mr Chairman, our Conference takes place at a time when we face both perils and opportunities in world affairs.

Perils - because it is a time of tension and even of danger in the Persian Gulf.

I am sure that I speak for everyone in expressing our thanks and our appreciation to the brave merchant officers and seamen who sail that vital waterway; and to the officers and men of the Royal Navy's Armilla patrol and the minesweepers recently sent to protect them.

We salute their courage, their dedication.

But there are also signs of hope.

There is no mistaking the bracing air of change in the Soviet Union. In my many hours of talking with Mr Gorbachev in Moscow, his enthusiasm and his determination to bring about far-reaching change were very plain. ~~But~~

Mr Gorbachev recognises the extent to which the Soviet Union is lagging behind, not just in technology and the inability of the economy to produce the goods and services people want, but also in health and social security.

Mr Gorbachev understands that all this can be put right only if he can invigorate the Russian people, and instil a sense of enterprise.

But the difficulties and obstacles in his path are immense. The Russian people are not used to taking the initiative or to taking responsibility. For seventy years, Communism has precluded both. There is no reason to think that they would welcome a more challenging existence and the vested interests of the Soviet bureaucracy will be hard to shift.

Moreover, clear limits are being set on the scope of reform. Mr Gorbachev is a dedicated Communist. Fundamental change is not on the agenda, only limited change. Preserving the Communist system will always have priority.

So there is no prospect that a pluralist society is just around the corner.

The prospects for change in the Soviet Union's external policies look even fainter. Afghanistan is still occupied. The Berlin Wall still stands. Weapons still pour into third world countries who need food.

We have to base our judgements not on Soviet statements, nor on what we would do in their position, but on their policies and on the reality of Soviet power.

All the traditional instruments of Soviet power - military strength, clandestine and subversive activities, propaganda - are being exercised as vigorously as ever.

But in doing this, they are showing much greater skill and flexibility in dealing with Western opinion. They know that people in the West want to believe that internal reform will end Russian expansionism. They play on that hope to get them to put pressure on their own governments to relax and cut defence budgets.

How should we respond to this new and more subtle challenge?

We have to recognise that steps which enlarge liberty and discussion, which increase initiative and enterprise, are of fundamental importance in human terms. They are genuinely courageous and deserve our support. At least change holds out the prospect of something better in terms of human rights.

We must judge the Soviet Union by what they do and not by what they say.

There is hope in the arms control agreement which now seems certain to be signed later this Autumn by the United States and the Soviet Union to eliminate medium and shorter range nuclear missiles. For the first time since nuclear weapons were invented, there will be an agreement to reduce the numbers of them.



We welcome that agreement. It is a success for the West.

But if we had listened to the Labour Party, to CND - insofar as you can distinguish the two - to the unilateral disarmers, that agreement would never have been achieved. The Russians would have kept all their 1300 nuclear warheads while the West would have given away its 300 for nothing in return.

Reductions in nuclear weapons come about not from weakness but from strength and resolve in negotiation.

Mr Chairman, our policies, Conservative policies are bearing fruit, and we have every reason to be satisfied. But we must not let hope become euphoria.

We believe that the strategic nuclear weapons of the United States and Soviet Union could be reduced by up to 50 per cent without endangering our security. But so long as the Soviet Union continues to enjoy massive superiority in chemical weapons and conventional forces, we maintain that reductions in nuclear weapons in Europe have gone far enough.

As the Supreme Allied Commander in NATO reminded us recently: it is not a nuclear free Europe we want, it is a war free Europe.

There is no more powerful deterrent to war than nuclear weapons. The modernisation of our British deterrent with Trident has started and will go ahead.

Mr Chairman, the British people want peace.

It is their deepest longing.

Not peace at any price, but peace with freedom and justice.

That peace is only achieved by keeping our defences strong,  
by resisting violence and intimidation at home, by standing  
up to tyrants and terrorists abroad.

That is the true spirit of the British people which sustained  
us through two world wars and guides us still.

DEFENCE AND FOREIGN AFFAIRS

MR PRESIDENT, OUR CONFERENCE TAKES PLACE AT A TIME  
WHEN WE FACE BOTH PERILS AND OPPORTUNITIES  
IN WORLD AFFAIRS.

PERILS - BECAUSE IT IS A TIME OF TENSION AND EVEN OF  
DANGER IN THE PERSIAN GULF.

I AM SURE THAT I SPEAK FOR EVERYONE IN EXPRESSING OUR  
THANKS AND OUR APPRECIATION TO THE BRAVE MERCHANT  
OFFICERS AND SEAMEN WHO SAIL THAT VITAL WATERWAY;  
AND TO THE OFFICERS AND MEN OF THE ROYAL NAVY'S  
ARMILLA PATROL AND THE MINESWEEPERS RECENTLY  
SENT TO PROTECT THEM.

WE ARE ALSO LIVING AT A TIME OF HOPE.

WE COULD BE WITNESSING AN HISTORIC TURNING  
POINT IN EAST/WEST AFFAIRS.

WE CAN SAY - WITH PRIDE - THAT BRITAIN HAS  
PLAYED A MAJOR PART IN CREATING THE OPPORTUNITIES  
WE CAN SEE OPENING UP BEFORE US.

IN THE SOVIET UNION, THERE IS NO MISTAKING THE BRACING  
AIR OF CHANGE.

IN MY MANY HOURS OF TALKING WITH MR GORBACHEV  
IN MOSCOW, HIS ~~ENTHUSIASM~~ AND HIS DETERMINATION  
TO BRING ABOUT FAR-REACHING CHANGE WERE VERY  
PLAIN.

MR GORBACHEV RECOGNISES THAT <sup>S.O WILL NEVER</sup> ~~HE CAN ONLY REVIVE HIS~~ <sup>PRODUCE THE</sup> ~~FLAGGING ECONOMY~~ <sup>GOODS</sup> ~~IF HE CAN ENVIGORATE THE RUSSIAN~~ <sup>INSTIL A SENSE</sup> ~~INITIATIVE & ENTREPRISE INTO THE RUSSIAN PEOPLE~~ <sup>INITIATIVE & ENTREPRISE INTO THE RUSSIAN PEOPLE</sup> ~~PEOPLE, AND INSTIL A SENSE OF ENTERPRISE.~~ <sup>PEOPLE, AND INSTIL A SENSE OF ENTERPRISE.</sup>

WE HAVE TO RECOGNISE THAT STEPS WHICH ENLARGE LIBERTY  
AND DISCUSSION, WHICH INCREASE INITIATIVE AND  
ENTERPRISE, ARE OF FUNDAMENTAL IMPORTANCE IN  
HUMAN TERMS.  
THEY ARE GENUINELY COURAGEOUS AND DESERVE OUR  
SUPPORT.  
AT LEAST CHANGE HOLDS OUT THE PROSPECT OF  
SOMETHING BETTER IN TERMS OF HUMAN RIGHTS.

BUT THE DIFFICULTIES AND OBSTACLES IN HIS PATH ARE  
IMMENSE.

THE RUSSIAN PEOPLE ARE NOT USED TO TAKING THE  
INITIATIVE OR TO TAKING RESPONSIBILITY, AND  
THE VESTED INTERESTS OF THE SOVIET BUREAUCRACY  
WILL BE HARD TO SHIFT.

MOREOVER, CLEAR LIMITS ARE BEING SET ON THE SCOPE OF  
REFORM.

AS A DEDICATED COMMUNIST, MR GORBACHEV WILL  
ENSURE THAT PRESERVING THE COMMUNIST SYSTEM  
WILL ALWAYS HAVE PRIORITY.

SADLY, THE PROSPECTS FOR TRUE FREEDOM FOR THE SOVIET PEOPLE  
ARE STILL VERY DISTANT.

THE PROSPECTS FOR CHANGE IN THE SOVIET UNION'S EXTERNAL  
POLICIES LOOK EVEN FAINTER.  
AFGHANISTAN IS STILL OCCUPIED.  
THE BERLIN WALL STILL STANDS.  
WEAPONS STILL POUR INTO THIRD WORLD COUNTRIES  
WHO NEED FOOD.



*THE SOVIET LEADERS*

BUT AS THEY DO THIS, *6* THEY ARE SHOWING MUCH GREATER SKILL  
IN MANIPULATING WESTERN OPINION.

THEY KNOW THAT PEOPLE IN THE WEST WANT TO  
BELIEVE THAT INTERNAL REFORM WILL END RUSSIAN  
EXPANSIONISM.

~~THEY PLAY ON THAT HOPE TO GET THEM TO PUT~~  
~~PRESSURE ON THEIR OWN GOVERNMENTS TO RELAX~~  
~~AND CUT DEFENCE BUDGETS.~~

HOW SHOULD WE RESPOND TO THIS NEW AND MORE SUBTLE  
CHALLENGE?

FROM A POSITION OF STRENGTH, WE MUST CONTINUE TO WELCOME  
DEEDS THAT <sup>CONVINCE</sup> RELAX TENSION AND REDUCE THE WORLD'S  
ARSENALS.

HOWEVER, WE MUST JUDGE THE SOVIET UNION <sup>NOT</sup> BY WHAT THEY  
<sup>SAY</sup> <sup>DO</sup> ~~DO~~ AND NOT BY WHAT THEY <sup>DO</sup> SAY.

THERE IS HOPE IN THE ARMS CONTROL AGREEMENT WHICH NOW  
SEEMS CERTAIN TO BE SIGNED LATER THIS AUTUMN  
BY THE UNITED STATES AND THE SOVIET UNION TO  
ELIMINATE MEDIUM AND SHORTER RANGE NUCLEAR  
MISSILES.

~~FOR THE FIRST SINCE NUCLEAR WEAPONS WERE~~  
~~INVENTED, THERE WILL BE AN AGREEMENT TO~~ REDUCE  
THE NUMBERS OF THEM.

WE WELCOME THAT AGREEMENT.

IT IS A SUCCESS FOR THE WEST.

*BUT LET US REMEMBER ONE THING*

BT IF WE HAD LISTENED TO THE LABOUR PARTY, TO CND -

INSOFAR AS YOU CAN DISTINGUISH THE TWO - TO

THE UNILATERAL DISARMERS, THAT AGREEMENT WOULD

NEVER HAVE BEEN ACHIEVED.

THE RUSSIANS WOULD HAVE KEPT ALL THEIR 1300

NUCLEAR WARHEADS WHILE THE WEST WOULD HAVE

GIVEN AWAY ITS 300 FOR NOTHING IN RETURN.

REDUCTIONS IN NUCLEAR WEAPONS COME ABOUT NOT FROM  
WEAKNESS BUT FROM STRENGTH AND RESOLVE IN  
NEGOTIATION.

MR CHAIRMAN, OUR POLICIES, CONSERVATIVE POLICIES ARE  
BEARING FRUIT, AND WE HAVE EVERY REASON TO  
BE SATISFIED.

BUT WE MUST NOT LET HOPE BECOME EUPHORIA.

WE BELIEVE THAT THE STRATEGIC NUCLEAR WEAPONS OF THE  
UNITED STATES AND SOVIET UNION COULD BE REDUCED  
BY UP TO 50 PER CENT WITHOUT ENDANGERING OUR  
SECURITY.

BUT SO LONG AS THE SOVIET UNION CONTINUES  
TO ENJOY MASSIVE SUPERIORITY IN CHEMICAL  
WEAPONS AND CONVENTIONAL FORCES, WE MAINTAIN  
THAT REDUCTIONS IN NUCLEAR WEAPONS IN EUROPE  
HAVE GONE FAR ENOUGH.

AS THE SUPREME ALLIED COMMANDER IN NATO REMINDED US  
RECENTLY: IT IS NOT A NUCLEAR FREE EUROPE  
WE WANT, IT IS A WAR FREE EUROPE.

THERE IS NO MORE POWERFUL DETERRENT TO WAR THAN NUCLEAR  
WEAPONS.

THE MODERNISATION OF OUR BRITISH DETERRENT  
WITH TRIDENT HAS STARTED AND WILL GO AHEAD.  
GEORGE YOUNGER ANNOUNCED THIS WEEK THE ORDER  
FOR OUR SECOND NUCLEAR MISSILE SUBMARINE.

MR PRESIDENT, THE BRITISH PEOPLE WANT PEACE.

IT IS THEIR DEEPEST LONGING.

NOT PEACE AT ANY PRICE, BUT PEACE WITH FREEDOM AND  
JUSTICE.

THAT PEACE IS ONLY ACHIEVED BY KEEPING OUR DEFENCES STRONG,  
BY RESISTING VIOLENCE AND INTIMIDATION AT HOME,  
BY STANDING UP TO TYRANTS AND TERRORISTS ABROAD.

THAT IS THE TRUE SPIRIT OF THE BRITISH PEOPLE WHICH  
SUSTAINED US THROUGH TWO WORLD WARS AND  
GUIDES US STILL.

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