

Ar / No 10 D. 95

CONFIDENTIAL

GRS 3200
CONFIDENTIAL
DEDIP
DESKBY 251600Z OTTAWA
FM WASHINGTON 241903Z SEP 83
TO IMMEDIATE FCO
TELEGRAM NUMBER 2765 OF 24 SEPTEMBER
AND TO IMMEDIATE OTTAWA (FOR PRIVATE SECRETARY TO THE PRIME MINISTER)
INFO UKMIS NEW YORK (PERSONAL FOR AMBASSADOR)

M I P T: PRIME MINISTER'S VISIT : CHURCHILL AWARD SPEECH.

1. FOLLOWING IS TEXT OF PRESIDENT REAGAN'S ADDRESS TO UNGA :

QUOTE

MR. SECRETARY GENERAL, MR. PRESIDENT, DISTINGUISHED DELEGATES, LADIES AND GENTLEMEN OF THE WORLD.

THANK YOU FOR GRANTING ME THE HONOR OF SPEAKING TODAY, ON THIS FIRST DAY OF GENERAL DEBATE IN THE 38TH SESSION OF THE GENERAL ASSEMBLY. ONCE AGAIN I COME BEFORE THIS BODY PREOCCUPIED WITH PEACE. LAST YEAR I STOOD IN THIS CHAMBER TO ADDRESS THE SPECIAL SESSION ON DISARMAMENT. I HAVE COME TODAY TO RENEW MY NATION'S COMMITMENT TO PEACE. I HAVE COME TO DISCUSS HOW WE CAN KEEP FAITH WITH THE DREAMS THAT CREATED THIS ORGANISATION.

THE UNITED NATIONS WAS FOUNDED IN THE AFTERMATH OF WORLD WAR II TO PROTECT FUTURE GENERATIONS FROM THE SCOURGE OF WAR, TO PROMOTE POLITICAL SELF-DETERMINATION AND GLOBAL PROSPERITY, AND TO STRENGTHEN THE BONDS OF CIVILITY AMONG NATIONS. THE FOUNDERS SOUGHT TO REPLACE A WORLD AT WAR WITH A WORLD OF CIVILIZED ORDER. THEY HOPED THAT A WORLD OF RELENTLESS CONFLICT WOULD GIVE WAY TO A NEW ERA, ONE WHERE FREEDOM FROM VIOLENCE PREVAILED.

WHATEVER CHALLENGES THE WORLD WAS BOUND TO FACE, THE FOUNDERS INTENDED THIS BODY TO STAND FOR CERTAIN VALUES, EVEN IF THEY COULD NOT BE ENFORCED, AND TO CONDEMN VIOLENCE, EVEN IF IT COULD NOT BE STOPPED. THIS BODY WAS TO SPEAK WITH THE VOICE OF MORAL AUTHORITY. THAT WAS TO BE ITS GREATEST POWER.

BUT THE AWFUL TRUTH IS THAT THE USE OF VIOLENCE FOR POLITICAL GAIN HAS BECOME MORE, NOT LESS, WIDESPREAD IN THE LAST DECADE. EVENTS OF RECENT WEEKS HAVE PRESENTED NEW, UNWELCOME EVIDENCE OF BRUTAL DISREGARD FOR LIFE AND TRUTH. THEY HAVE OFFERED UNWANTED TESTIMONY ON HOW DIVIDED AND DANGEROUS OUR WORLD IS, HOW QUICK THE RECOURSE TO VIOLENCE.

WHAT HAS HAPPENED TO THE DREAMS OF THE U.N.'S FOUNDERS?

WHAT HAS HAPPENED TO THE SPIRIT WHICH CREATED THE U.N.?

THE ANSWER IS CLEAR: GOVERNMENTS GOT IN THE WAY OF THE DREAMS OF THE PEOPLE. DREAMS BECAME ISSUES OF EAST VERSUS WEST. HOPES BECAME POLITICAL RHETORIC. PROGRESS BECAME A SEARCH FOR POWER AND DOMINATION. SOMEWHERE THE TRUTH WAS LOST THAT PEOPLE DON'T MAKE WAR, GOVERNMENTS DO.

AND TODAY IN ASIA, AFRICA, LATIN AMERICA, THE MIDDLE EAST, AND THE NORTH PACIFIC, THE WEAPONS OF WAR SHATTER THE SECURITY OF THE PEOPLES WHO LIVE THERE, ENDANGER THE PEACE OF NEIGHBORS, AND

CONFIDENTIAL

/CREATE

CONFIDENTIAL

CREATE EVER MORE ARENAS OF CONFRONTATION BETWEEN THE GREAT POWERS. DURING THE PAST YEAR ALONE, VIOLENT CONFLICTS HAVE OCCURRED IN THE HILLS AROUND BEIRUT, THE DESERTS OF CHAD AND THE WESTERN SAHARA, IN THE MOUNTAINS OF EL SALVADOR, THE STREETS OF SURINAME, THE CITIES AND COUNTRYSIDE OF AFGHANISTAN, THE BORDERS OF KAMPUCHEA, AND THE BATTLEFIELDS OF IRAN AND IRAQ.

WE CANNOT COUNT ON THE INSTINCT FOR SURVIVAL TO PROTECT US AGAINST WAR. DESPITE ALL THE WASTED LIVES AND HOPES THAT WAR PRODUCES, IT HAS REMAINED A REGULAR, IF HORRIBLY COSTLY, MEANS BY WHICH NATIONS HAVE SOUGHT TO SETTLE THEIR DISPUTES OR ADVANCE THEIR GOALS.

AND THE PROGRESS IN WEAPONS TECHNOLOGY HAS FAR OUTSTRIPPED THE PROGRESS TOWARD PEACE. IN MODERN TIMES, A NEW, MORE TERRIFYING ELEMENT HAS ENTERED INTO THE CALCULATIONS - NUCLEAR WEAPONS. A NUCLEAR WAR CANNOT BE WON AND MUST NEVER BE FOUGHT. I BELIEVE THAT IF GOVERNMENTS ARE DETERMINED TO DETER AND PREVENT WAR, THERE WILL NOT BE WAR. NOTHING IS MORE IN KEEPING WITH THE SPIRIT OF THE U.N. CHARTER THAN ARMS CONTROL.

WHEN I SPOKE BEFORE THE SECOND SPECIAL SESSION ON DISARMAMENT, I AFFIRMED THE UNITED STATES GOVERNMENTS'S COMMITMENT, AND MY PERSONAL COMMITMENT, TO REDUCE NUCLEAR ARMS, AND TO NEGOTIATE IN GOOD FAITH TOWARD THAT END.

TODAY, I REAFFIRM THOSE COMMITMENTS. THE UNITED STATES HAS ALREADY REDUCED THE NUMBER OF ITS NUCLEAR WEAPONS WORLD WIDE AND, WHILE REPLACEMENT OF OLDER WEAPONS IS UNAVOIDABLE, WE WISH TO NEGOTIATE ARMS REDUCTIONS, AND TO ACHIEVE SIGNIFICANT, EQUITABLE, VERIFIABLE ARMS CONTROL AGREEMENTS. AND LET ME ADD, WE MUST ENSURE THAT WORLD SECURITY IS NOT UNDERMINED BY THE FURTHER SPREAD OF NUCLEAR WEAPONS. NUCLEAR NON-PROLIFERATION MUST NOT BE THE FORGOTTEN ELEMENT OF THE WORLD'S ARMS CONTROL AGENDA.

AT THE TIME OF MY LAST VISIT HERE, I EXPRESSED HOPE THAT A WHOLE CLASS OF WEAPONS SYSTEMS -- THE LONGER-RANGE INF MISSILE -- COULD BE BANNED FROM THE FACE OF THE EARTH. I BELIEVED THAT TO RELIEVE THE DEEP CONCERN OF PEOPLES IN BOTH EUROPE AND ASIA, THE TIME WAS RIPE, FOR THE FIRST TIME IN HISTORY, TO RESOLVE A SECURITY THREAT EXCLUSIVELY THROUGH ARMS CONTROL. I STILL BELIEVE THE ELIMINATION OF THESE WEAPONS -- THE ZERO OPTION -- IS THE BEST, FAIREST, MOST PRACTICAL SOLUTION TO THIS PROBLEM. UNFORTUNATELY, THE SOVIET UNION DECLINED TO ACCEPT THE TOTAL ELIMINATION OF THIS CLASS OF WEAPONS.

WHEN I WAS HERE LAST, I HOPED THAT THE CRITICAL STRATEGIC ARMS REDUCTIONS TALKS WOULD FOCUS, AND URGENTLY SO, ON THOSE SYSTEMS THAT CARRY THE GREATEST RISK OF NUCLEAR WAR -- THE FAST-FLYING, ACCURATE, INTERCONTINENTAL BALLISTIC MISSILES WHICH POSE A FIRST STRIKE POTENTIAL. I ALSO HOPED THE NEGOTIATIONS COULD REDUCE BY ONE-HALF THE NUMBER OF STRATEGIC MISSILES ON EACH SIDE AND REDUCE THEIR WARHEADS BY ONE-THIRD. AGAIN, I WAS DISAPPOINTED WHEN THE SOVIETS DECLINED TO CONSIDER SUCH DEEP CUTS, AND REFUSED AS WELL TO CONCENTRATE ON THESE MOST DANGEROUS, DESTABILIZING WEAPONS.

CONFIDENTIAL -2 - / DESPITE

CONFIDENTIAL

DESPITE THE REBUFFS, THE UNITED STATES HAS NOT ABANDONED AND WILL NOT ABANDON THE SEARCH FOR MEANINGFUL ARMS CONTROL AGREEMENTS. LAST JUNE, I PROPOSED A NEW APPROACH TOWARD THE START NEGOTIATIONS. WE DID NOT ALTER OUR OBJECTIVE OF SUBSTANTIAL REDUCTIONS, BUT WE RECOGNIZED THAT THERE ARE A VARIETY OF WAYS TO ACHIEVE THIS END. DURING THE LAST ROUND OF GENEVA TALKS, WE PRESENTED A DRAFT TREATY WHICH RESPONDED TO A NUMBER OF CONCERNS RAISED BY THE SOVIET UNION. WE WILL CONTINUE TO BUILD UPON THIS INITIATIVE.

SIMILARLY, IN OUR NEGOTIATIONS ON INTERMEDIATE-RANGE NUCLEAR FORCES, WHEN THE SOVIET LEADERS ADAMANTLY REFUSED TO CONSIDER THE TOTAL ELIMINATION OF THESE WEAPONS, THE UNITED STATES MADE A NEW OFFER. WE PROPOSED, AS AN INTERIM SOLUTION, SOME EQUAL NUMBER ON BOTH SIDES BETWEEN ZERO AND 572. WE RECOMMENDED THE LOWEST POSSIBLE LEVEL.

ONCE AGAIN, THE SOVIETS REFUSED AN EQUITABLE SOLUTION AND PROPOSED INSTEAD WHAT MIGHT BE CALLED A QUOTE HALF ZERO OPTION UNQUOTE -- ZERO FOR US, AND MANY HUNDREDS OF WARHEADS FOR THEM. THAT IS WHERE THINGS STAND TODAY, BUT I STILL HAVEN'T GIVEN UP HOPE THAT THE SOVIET UNION WILL ENTER INTO SERIOUS NEGOTIATIONS.

OPEN SQUARE BRACKETS ARMS CONTROL INSERT CLOSE SQUARE BRACKETS.

I WANT TO MAKE AN UNEQUIVOCAL PLEDGE TO THOSE GATHERED TODAY IN THIS WORLD ARENA. THE UNITED STATES SEEKS AND WILL ACCEPT ANY EQUITABLE, VERIFIABLE AGREEMENT THAT STABILIZES FORCES AT LOWER LEVELS THAN CURRENTLY EXIST. WE'RE READY TO BE FLEXIBLE IN OUR APPROACH, INDEED, WILLING TO COMPROMISE. WE CANNOT, HOWEVER, ESPECIALLY IN LIGHT OF RECENT EVENTS, COMPROMISE ON THE NECESSITY OF EFFECTIVE VERIFICATION.

REACTIONS TO THE KOREAN AIRLINER TRAGEDY ARE A TIMELY REMINDER OF JUST HOW DIFFERENT THE SOVIETS' CONCEPT OF TRUTH AND INTERNATIONAL COOPERATION IS FROM THAT OF THE REST OF THE WORLD. EVIDENCE ABOUNDS THAT WE CANNOT SIMPLY ASSUME THAT AGREEMENTS NEGOTIATED WITH THE SOVIET UNION WILL BE FULFILLED. WE NEGOTIATED THE HELSINKI FINAL ACT, BUT THE PROMISED FREEDOMS HAVE NOT BEEN PROVIDED, AND THOSE IN THE SOVIET UNION WHO SOUGHT TO MONITOR THEIR FULFILLMENT LANGUISH IN PRISON. WE NEGOTIATED A BIOLOGICAL WEAPONS CONVENTION, BUT DEADLY YELLOW RAIN AND OTHER TOXIC AGENTS FALL ON HMONG VILLAGES AND AFGHAN ENCAMPMENTS. WE HAVE NEGOTIATED ARMS AGREEMENTS, BUT THE HIGH LEVEL OF SOVIET ENCODING HIDES THE INFORMATION NEEDED FOR THEIR VERIFICATION. A NEWLY DISCOVERED RADAR FACILITY AND A NEW ICBM RAISE SERIOUS CONCERNS ABOUT SOVIET COMPLIANCE WITH AGREEMENTS ALREADY NEGOTIATED.

PEACE CANNOT BE SERVED BY PSEUDO ARMS CONTROL. WE NEED RELIABLE, RECIPROCAL REDUCTIONS. I CALL UPON THE SOVIET UNION TODAY TO REDUCE THE TENSIONS IT HAS HEAPED ON THE WORLD IN THE PAST FEW WEEKS, AND TO SHOW A FIRM COMMITMENT TO PEACE BY COMING TO THE BARGAINING TABLE WITH A NEW UNDERSTANDING OF ITS OBLIGATIONS. I URGE IT TO MATCH OUR FLEXIBILITY. IF THE SOVIETS SIT DOWN AT THE BARGAINING TABLE SEEKING GENUINE ARMS REDUCTIONS, THERE WILL BE ARMS REDUCTIONS. THE GOVERNMENTS OF THE WEST AND THEIR PEOPLE WILL NOT BE DIVERTED BY MISINFORMATION AND THREATS. THE TIME HAS COME FOR THE SOVIET UNION TO SHOW PROOF THAT IT WANTS ARMS CONTROL IN REALITY, NOT JUST IN RHETORIC.

CONFIDENTIAL

THE REASON RESTS ON OUR ASSUMPTIONS ABOUT CIVILIZED LIFE AND THE SEARCH FOR PEACE. THE CONFIDENCE THAT ALLOWS A MOTHER OR A SCHOLAR TO TRAVEL TO ASIA OR AFRICA OR EUROPE OR ANYWHERE ELSE ON THIS PLANET MAY BE ONLY A SMALL VICTORY IN HUMANITY'S STRUGGLE FOR PEACE YET WHAT IS PEACE IF NOT THE SUM OF SUCH SMALL VICTORIES?

EACH STRIDE FOR PEACE AND EVERY SMALL VICTORY ARE IMPORTANT FOR THE JOURNEY TOWARD A LASTING LARGER PEACE. WE HAVE MADE PROGRESS. WE HAVE AVOIDED ANOTHER WORLD WAR. WE'VE SEEN AN END TO THE TRADITIONAL COLONIAL ERA AND THE BIRTH OF 100 NEWLY-SOVEREIGN NATIONS. EVEN THOUGH DEVELOPMENT REMAINS A FORMIDABLE CHALLENGE, WE'VE WITNESSED REMARKABLE ECONOMIC GROWTH AMONG INDUSTRIALIZED AND DEVELOPING NATIONS. THE U.N. AND ITS AFFILIATES HAVE MADE IMPORTANT CONTRIBUTIONS TO THE QUALITY OF LIFE ON THIS PLANET, SUCH AS DIRECTLY SAVING COUNTLESS LIVES THROUGH ITS REFUGEE AND EMERGENCY RELIEF PROGRAMS. THESE BROAD ACHIEVEMENTS, HOWEVER, HAVE BEEN OVERSHADOWED BY THE PROBLEMS THAT WEIGH SO HEAVILY UPON US. THE PROBLEMS ARE OLD, BUT IT IS NOT TOO LATE TO COMMIT OURSELVES TO A NEW BEGINNING, A BEGINNING FRESH WITH THE IDEALS OF THE U.N. CHARTER.

TODAY, AT THE BEGINNING OF THIS 38TH SESSION, I SOLEMNLY PLEDGE MY NATION TO UPHOLDING THE ORIGINAL IDEALS OF THE UNITED NATIONS. OUR GOALS ARE THOSE THAT GUIDE THIS VERY BODY. OUR ENDS ARE THE SAME AS THOSE OF THE U.N.'S FOUNDERS, WHO SOUGHT TO REPLACE A WORLD AT WAR WITH ONE WHERE THE RULE OF LAW WOULD PREVAIL, WHERE HUMAN RIGHTS WERE HONORED, WHERE DEVELOPMENT WOULD BLOSSOM, WHERE CONFLICT WOULD GIVE WAY TO FREEDOM FROM VIOLENCE.

IN 1956, PRESIDENT DWIGHT EISENHOWER MADE AN OBSERVATION ON WEAPONRY AND DETERRENCE IN A LETTER TO A PUBLISHER. HE WROTE: QUOTE WHEN WE GET TO THE POINT, AS WE ONE DAY WILL, THAT BOTH SIDES KNOW THAT IN ANY OUTBREAK OF GENERAL HOSTILITIES, REGARDLESS OF THE ELEMENT OF SURPRISE, DESTRUCTION WILL BE BOTH RECIPROCAL AND COMPLETE, POSSIBLY WE WILL HAVE SENSE ENOUGH TO MEET AT THE CONFERENCE TABLE WITH THE UNDERSTANDING THAT THE ERA OF ARMAMENTS HAS ENDED AND THE HUMAN RACE MUST CONFORM ITS ACTIONS TO THIS TRUTH OR DIE UNQUOTE. HE WENT ON TO SAY, QUOTE . . . WE HAVE ALREADY COME TO THE POINT WHERE SAFETY CANNOT BE ASSUMED BY ARMS ALONE . . . THEIR USEFULNESS BECOMES CONCENTRATED MORE AND MORE IN THEIR CHARACTERISTICS AS DETERRENENTS THAN IN INSTRUMENTS WITH WHICH TO OBTAIN VICTORY . . . UNQUOTE

DISTINGUISHED DELEGATES, LADIES AND GENTLEMEN, LET DIPLOMACY TRIUMPH. DIPLOMACY, THE MOST HONORABLE OF PROFESSIONS, CAN BRING THE MOST BLESSED OF GIFTS, THE GIFT OF PEACE. IF WE SUCCEED, THE WORLD WILL FIND AN EXCITEMENT AND ACCOMPLISHMENT IN PEACE BEYOND THAT WHICH COULD EVER BE IMAGINED THROUGH VIOLENCE AND WAR.

CONFIDENTIAL

I WANT TO LEAVE YOU TODAY WITH A MESSAGE I HAVE OFTEN SPOKEN ABOUT TO THE CITIZENS OF MY OWN COUNTRY, ESPECIALLY IN TIMES WHEN I'VE FELT THEY WERE DISCOURAGED AND UNSURE. I SAY IT TO YOU WITH AS MUCH HOPE AND HEART AS I'VE SAID IT TO MY OWN PEOPLE. YOU HAVE THE RIGHT TO DREAM GREAT DREAMS. YOU HAVE THE RIGHT TO SEEK A BETTER WORLD FOR YOUR PEOPLE. AND ALL OF US HAVE THE RESPONSIBILITY TO WORK FOR THAT BETTER WORLD. AND, AS CARING, PEACEFUL PEOPLES, THINK WHAT A POWERFUL FORCE FOR GOOD WE COULD BE. DISTINGUISHED DELEGATES, LET US REGAIN THE DREAM THE UNITED NATIONS ONCE DREAMED.

UNQUOTE

WRIGHT

LIMITED
HD/NAD
HD/NEWS D
HD/UND
HD PLANNING STAFF
PS
PS/PUS
MR GIFFARD
MR URE

COPIES SENT TO
No. 10 DOWNING STREET

