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THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

June 16, 1982

MEMORANDUM FOR THE PRESIDENT

FROM: ED ROLLINS 
SUBJECT: NEW YORK - POLITICAL BRIEFING

I. SUMMARY

The New York Republican State Committee, chaired by George Clark Jr., is holding its convention in New York City this week to determine which candidates will be slated on the September 14 Republican primary ballot.

There are four major Republican candidates seeking the gubernatorial nomination. They are: Paul Curran, former U.S. Attorney; Jim Emery, the state assembly minority leader; Lewis Lehrman, a business executive; and, Richard Rosenbaum, the state Republican National Committeeman. The eventual Republican nominee will face one of two Democrats, Mayor Ed Koch or Lieutenant Governor Mario Cuomo, in the November election.

In the race for the Republican U.S. Senate nomination to face incumbent Democrat Senator Daniel Patrick Moynihan, two major candidates are vying for slots on the primary ballot: Muriel Siebert, a former state superintendent of banks; and, Whitney North Seymour Jr., a former U.S. Attorney. Two other Republicans, Jacqueline Miner and Assemblywoman Florence Sullivan, are also active candidates for the Republican nod.

New York will lose five U.S. House seats because of reapportionment; the greatest loss for any state in the nation.

The state is still without a court-sanctioned reapportionment plan. However, on June 21, the court will make a final judgement, based on the Justice Department's recommendation, on whether or not to approve the plan passed by the state legislature last month.

II. ELECTED OFFICIALS

GOVERNOR - Hugh L. Carey - Democrat - Elected in 1974

SENATOR - Daniel Patrick Moynihan - Democrat - Elected in 1976

SENATOR - Alfonse D'Amato - Republican - Elected in 1980

U.S. HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES - 17 Republicans 22 Democrats

III. THE STATE LEGISLATURE

UPPER HOUSE - 35 Republicans 25 Democrats

LOWER HOUSE - 64 Republicans 86 Democrats

IV. REPUBLICAN STATE PARTY OFFICIALS

REPUBLICAN STATE CHAIRMAN - George Clark, Jr.

REPUBLICAN NATIONAL COMMITTEEMAN - Richard Rosenbaum

REPUBLICAN NATIONAL COMMITTEEWOMAN - Eunice Whittlesey

V. DISCUSSION

A. THE NEW YORK REPUBLICAN STATE CONVENTION - (JUNE 15-17, 1982)

The New York Republican State Convention was called to order on Tuesday, June 15, by state party chairman, George Clark. During the three-day convention, which is being held at the Sheraton Centre Hotel in New York City, the state committee's 403 members will determine which candidates qualify for positions on the September 14 primary ballot

for the offices of U.S. Senator, Governor, Lieutenant Governor, State Comptroller, and Attorney General.

The convention rules stipulate that candidates who receive at least 25% of the convention vote during any single roll call for a specific office qualify to have their names placed on the September 14 primary ballot. And, if a candidate is able to muster more than 50% of the committee's vote, that person becomes the party-endorsed candidate.

On Tuesday, the opening day of the convention, the incumbent state comptroller, Ned Regan, was endorsed by the party without opposition. Regan had earlier in the year been an announced candidate for the gubernatorial nomination; but, in March he withdrew from the race and decided to seek re-election to his position as state comptroller.

On Wednesday, the convention will consider nominations for Governor, Lieutenant Governor, and Attorney General. The convention will consider the U.S. Senate candidates on Thursday, and close with a reception and banquet that evening.

In the gubernatorial race, four major candidates are vying for positions on the primary ballot:

LEWIS LEHRMAN - a businessman who has spent \$3 million so far on his campaign, and probably has the greatest statewide name recognition;

JIM EMERY - the minority leader of the state assembly, he claims to have the most convention votes;

PAUL CURRAN - a former U.S. Attorney for the Southern District of New York, he has the support of notable state Republicans such as former Governor Malcolm Wilson; and,

RICHARD ROSENBAUM - New York's National Republican Committeeman and former state chairman, he is considered to have the weakest support among the four candidates.

At this point, it seems highly unlikely that any one candidate will win the majority necessary to win the party's endorsement. All four candidates, however, claim to have sufficient strength to win a slot on the primary ballot.

Suffolk County Executive Peter Cohalan is the only announced candidate for Lieutenant Governor; however, this situation could change once the balloting for Governor has taken place.

In the U.S. Senate Race, four candidates are also vying for positions on the September primary ballot:

WHITNEY NORTH SEYMOUR - a former U.S. Attorney, he claims to have the strongest support at the convention;

MURIEL SIEBERT - a former state superintendent of banking, and the first woman to hold a seat on the New York Stock Exchange;

FLORENCE M. SULLIVAN - an Assemblywoman from the Bay Ridge section of Brooklyn, she has the support of the Right-to-Life Party; and,

JACQUELINE MINER - a teacher from Hudson, she ran John Connally's 1980 Presidential campaign in New York.

Seymour, who is considered a moderate, and Siebert, who is a vocal supporter of the President's economic policies, are considered to be the two strongest candidates for the nomination.

Unlike many New York Republican State Conventions in past years, George Clark acknowledges that this will be an "extremely open" convention, in that the state committee has come to this convention without a general consensus on who should be nominated for New York's major statewide offices.

NOTE: The New York Republican State Convention is in progress as this briefing is being drafted. The President will be informed of convention developments as they occur.

B. THE GUBERNATORIAL RACE - 1982

Whichever one of the Republican candidates emerges from the state convention and the September 14 primary as the Republican gubernatorial nominee; Lehrman, Emery, Curran, or Rosenbaum, he is likely to face an uphill battle against the Democrat nominee.

The two major Democrats in the race to succeed incumbent Democrat Governor Hugh Carey, who decided not to seek a third term, are Mayor Ed Koch and Lieutenant Governor Mario Cuomo.

Mayor Koch, assisted by his high popularity in the City, and his natural tie to Jewish voters, is considered to be the favorite to win the Democrat nomination. A Gannett News Service poll showed Koch running ahead of Cuomo by 10 points. But, Cuomo, who lost the New York mayoral primary race to Koch in 1977, cannot be dismissed, as more and more Democrat observers are expressing the belief that the race will be a close one. If Cuomo is able to capitalize on Koch's inherent weakness in upstate New York, he could still have a shot at the nomination. However, Koch has gone to great lengths to woo upstate voters, particularly those in western New York where his visits have become very frequent. A round of televised debates between the two could become pivotal in this primary contest.

Republican observers agree that GOP chances for capturing the governorship, at this point, are probably something less than 50-50. However, if the right sequence of events were to fall into place, this race could still be winnable. If the eventual Republican nominee is also able to win the nomination of the Conservative Party, and runs on two slates, and the Democrat nominee fails to win the Liberal Party's endorsement, the possibility of a Republican victory in November would become more favorable.

C. THE U.S. SENATE RACE - 1982

Incumbent Democrat Senator Daniel Patrick Moynihan, who is seeking a second term this year, was considered to be vulnerable in early polling conducted by the Republican Senatorial Campaign Committee.

However, events which prevented the New York Republicans from rallying around a strong consensus candidate to take on the Democrat incumbent have given Moynihan's campaign a definite early advantage. Former Republican U.S. Congressman Bruce Caputo had been the unchallenged candidate for the Republican nomination, until he dropped out of the race after it was disclosed that he had lied about serving in the military, and that he had presented other, more minor, inaccuracies in his resume.

Since Caputo's withdrawal from the race, four relatively "unknown" candidates have entered the race for the Republican nomination; Whitney Seymour, Muriel Siebert, Florence Sullivan, and Jacqueline Miner.

Whichever one of these candidates emerges as the Republican U.S. Senate nominee, he or she will lack the organizational and financial base already enjoyed by Moynihan's campaign. While developments in this race will be watched with interest, it now appears that Senator Moynihan is almost "out of reach" in his bid for a second term in the U.S. Senate.

D. THE U.S. HOUSE RACES - 1982

New York will lose five U.S. House seats due to

reapportionment. This is the greatest loss of Congressional representation for any state in the nation.

Because of the massive changes which must be made in the make-up of New York's Congressional districts, the state legislature and the courts have had a difficult time in coming up with a redistricting plan acceptable to all parties involved.

On May 11, 1982 the state legislature finally passed a plan which was signed by Governor Carey. The court, however, has not yet approved the plan. On June 21, the Justice Department will report to the court whether or not the "Legislative Plan" is valid. If that plan is rejected, the court is almost certain to adopt an alternative "Master Plan," worked out by a court appointed attorney.

The "Legislative Plan," if accepted, would force Republican incumbents Greg Carman and Gary Lee out of their districts, and would put Republican incumbent Ben Gilman into a "fair-fight" district with Democrat incumbent Peter Peyser.

On the other hand, the "Master Plan," if instituted, would put Republican incumbents Bill Carney and John LeBoutillier out of their districts; weaken Republican incumbent Guy Molinari's district; force a race between Republican incumbent Hamilton Fish and Democrat incumbent Peter Peyser; and, push Jack Kemp more towards center-city Buffalo, where he would face Democrat incumbent Henry Nowak.

Both plans would force a number of Democrat incumbents into retirement.

However the New York redistricting process is finally resolved, it appears that the GOP stands a good chance of minimizing its share of the state's five-seat loss, and may even pick up an additional seat.

E. GEORGE CLARK, JR. - NEW YORK'S REPUBLICAN STATE CHAIRMAN

George Clark, New York's Republican State Chairman was elected to his position in March 1981. Clark has been a steadfast Reagan supporter for many years, and performed "yeoman's service" during the 1980 campaign. As state chairman, Clark, on a few occasions has been unhappy with some decisions which were made regarding patronage and the scheduling of events; however, he remains one of the President's most loyal and dedicated supporters.

VI. NEW YORK - MISCELLANEOUS

POPULATION - 17,748,000
NICKNAME - The Empire State
STATE MOTTO - Ever Upward


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THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

June 16, 1982

MEMORANDUM FOR THE PRESIDENT

FROM: ED ROLLINS 
SUBJECT: ATTENDANCE AT RECEPTION FOR THE NEW YORK
REPUBLICAN STATE CONVENTION DELEGATES
THURSDAY, JUNE 17, 1982
NEW YORK, NEW YORK

I. PURPOSE

The President is attending this reception to show his support for the New York Republican Party, its statewide candidates, and for George Clark, the Republican State Chairman.

II. BACKGROUND

The New York Republican State Convention will conclude on Thursday evening, June 17, with a reception and banquet. Hosted by Republican State Chairman George Clark, the reception will be attended by New York's 403 Republican State Committee members, who were the delegates to the convention, along with about 200 other prominent Republicans. George Clark, who was elected chairman in March 1981, and was a loyal Reagan supporter in both 1976 and 1980, continues to be one of the President's most steadfast loyalists on the statewide level.

III. PARTICIPANTS

A. GUESTS

U.S. Senator Alfonse D'Amato

U.S. Congressman Jack Kemp

(Other members of New York's Republican Congressional delegation are expected to attend, but are not yet confirmed.)

George Clark, New York Republican Chairman

Jim Emery, Minority leader of the state house, and candidate for Governor.

Richard Rosenbaum, Republican National Committeeman and candidate for Governor

Lewis Lehrman, Candidate for Governor

Paul Curran, Candidate for Governor

Muriel Siebert - Candidate for U.S. Senate

Whitney North Seymour, Candidate for U.S. Senate

Florence Sullivan, Candidate for U.S. Senate

Jacqueline Miner, Candidate for U.S. Senate

Eunice Whittlesey, Republican National Committeewoman

B. STAFF CONTACT

Paul Russo

IV. PRESS PLAN

Open Press

V. SEQUENCE OF EVENTS

5:55p.m. The President and Mrs. Reagan, escorted by George Clark, arrive at reception for the New York Republican State Convention delegates
The Georgian Ballroom
Sheraton Centre Hotel
New York, New York

SEQUENCE OF EVENTS CONTINUED

600 people

6:00p.m. The President is introduced by Republican State
Chairman George Clark

6:05p.m. The President makes brief remarks

6:20p.m. The President concludes remarks and departs

D



SENATOR SAM NUNN (D-GEORGIA)

Senator Sam Nunn was born on September 8, 1938. He received his undergraduate as well as his law degree from Emory University. Senator Nunn served in the Coast Guard from 1959-1960 and in the Coast Guard Reserves from 1960-1968. He served in the Georgia House of Representatives from 1968-1972. Senator Nunn is also a farmer.

Nunn has served in the United States Senate since being elected in 1972 to complete the unexpired term of the late Senator Richard B. Russell. He faces re-election in 1984. Senator Nunn is a member of the Armed Services Committee, the Governmental Affairs Committee, and the Select Committee on Small Business. Nunn is considered to be an authority in the Senate on defense issues, particularly manpower, strategy, and weapons. Senator Nunn is an Alternate Representative to the Special Session of the United Nations General Assembly Devoted to Disarmament.

Senator Nunn is married to the former Colleen Ann O'Brien, and they have two children: Mary Michelle and Samuel Brian.



SENATOR CLAIBORNE PELL (D-RHODE ISLAND)

Senator Claiborne Pell was born on November 22, 1918 in New York City. He received degrees from Princeton University and Columbia University. Senator Pell served in the Coast Guard as an enlisted man prior to World War II and is now a retired captain in the Coast Guard Reserves. He served 7 years in the United States Foreign Service and State Department. In 1970, Senator Pell was a U.S. delegate to the 25th General Assembly of the United Nations.

Senator Pell was elected to the Senate in 1960 and faces re-election in 1984. He is the ranking minority member on the Senate Foreign Relations Committee, and also serves on the Labor and Human Resources Committee and the Rules and Administration Committee. Senator Pell is also a member of the Joint Committee on the Library. One of Pell's primary legislative interests is education, and he was a leader in establishing the Basic Educational Opportunity Grants, which subsequently became known as Pell Grants. Pell also has a strong interest in the arts and has taken a leading role in legislation involving the UN.

Senator Pell is married to the former Nuala O'Donnell, and they have four children: Herbert III, Christopher, Dallas, and Julia.

Senator Pell is one of six Senatorial Advisers to the Second Special Session of the UN General Assembly on Disarmament.



SENATOR CHARLES H. PERCY (CHUCK) R-ILLINOIS

Senator Percy was born September 27, 1919 in Pensacola, Florida. He grew up in Chicago and Winnetka, Illinois and is now a resident of Wilmette, Illinois. Senator Percy worked his way through the University of Chicago, receiving a bachelor's degree in economics from there in 1941. From 1949-1961 Percy served as President and Chief Executive Officer of Bell and Howell, and Chairman of the board of Bell and Howell from 1961-1966. He was first elected to the United States Senate in 1966. He is presently serving in his third term and will be up for re-election in 1984. Percy is Chairman of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee and also serves on the Committee on Governmental Affairs and the Select Committee on Aging.

Percy was married to the former Jeanne Dickerson in 1943 and they had three children: twin daughters Valerie (deceased) and Sharon, and a son, Roger. Mrs. Percy died in 1947. Senator Percy married the former Lorraine Guyer in 1950 and they have two children: Gail and Mark.

Two issues of major concern to the Administration which are pending before Senator Percy's Foreign Relations Committee are the Caribbean Basin Initiative and foreign aid. Just recently, Senator Percy was most helpful in getting his Committee to report an acceptable resolution on arms control. He successfully fought off attempts to include the word "freeze" in this resolution thereby avoiding embarrassment for the Administration. You should also be aware that Senator Percy has just returned from Saudi Arabia, where he attended the memorial service for King Khalid as a member of your official delegation which was headed by Vice President Bush.

Senator Percy is one of six Senatorial Advisers to the Second Special Session of the UN General Assembly on Disarmament.



SENATOR JOHN WARNER (R-VIRGINIA)

Senator John Warner was born on February 18, 1927. He joined the U.S. Navy at age 17, served in the Navy from 1944-1947, and then attended Washington and Lee University, graduating in 1949 with a degree in engineering. Following graduation, he began law school, but shortly thereafter volunteered for active duty in the Marine Corps. After serving in Korea, he returned to the University of Virginia Law School in 1952 and received his degree in 1953. Senator Warner was in private law practice from 1954-1956 and from 1960-1969. From 1956-1960, he served as a U.S. Attorney. Senator Warner was Under Secretary of the U.S. Navy from 1969-1972 and Secretary of the Navy from 1972-1974. Between April 1974 and October 1976, Warner served as the Administrator of the American Revolution Bicentennial Administration. He is the owner and operator of Atoka Farm (a cattle farm) in Middleburg, Virginia.

Warner was elected to the United States Senate in 1978 and will be up for re-election in 1984. He serves on the Armed Services Committee, and is Chairman of the Subcommittee on Strategic and Theater Nuclear Forces. In addition, he is a member of the Energy and Natural Resources Committee and the Rules and Administration Committee. He also serves on the Joint Committee on Printing.

Senator Warner has three children: Mary, Virginia, and John.

Senator Warner is a Presidentially appointed Representative to the Second Special Session of the UN General Assembly on Disarmament.

CONGRESSMAN WILLIAM BROOMFIELD (R-MICHIGAN)

Congressman Bill Broomfield is one of the 20 Congressional Advisors to the United Nations General Assembly Special Session on Disarmament. He serves as the ranking Republican on the House Foreign Affairs Committee. The Congressman accompanied the Vice President as a part of the United States delegation to Saudi Arabia on the occasion of the death of King Khalid. The Congressman is the author of an arms control resolution which provides that it is the Sense of the Congress that the United States should seek reductions in strategic nuclear weapons that are equal, verifiable and stabilizing; that START negotiations should begin at the earliest practicable date; and that negotiations in Geneva should continue on the elimination of longer range, land-based, intermediate-range nuclear missiles.

On April 28, the President placed a telephone call to a re-election campaign kickoff breakfast held in Michigan for Congressman Broomfield.

CONGRESSMAN JACK KEMP (R-NEW YORK)

Congressman Jack Kemp is an Alternate Delegate to the United Nations General Assembly Special Session on Disarmament. The Congressman serves as Chairman of the House Republican Conference.

JACK KEMP
38TH DISTRICT, NEW YORK

WASHINGTON OFFICE:
2235 RAYBURN HOUSE OFFICE BUILDING
AREA CODE 202: 225-5265

COMMITTEES:
APPROPRIATIONS
SUBCOMMITTEE:
FOREIGN OPERATIONS
RANKING MEMBER

BUDGET

TASK FORCES ON:
NATIONAL SECURITY AND VETERANS
ECONOMIC POLICY AND PRODUCTIVITY
TAX POLICY

Congress of the United States
House of Representatives
Washington, D.C. 20515

DISTRICT OFFICE:
1101 FEDERAL BUILDING
111 WEST HURON STREET
BUFFALO, NEW YORK 14202
AREA CODE 716: 846-4123

Confidential

June 14, 1982

003450

Honorable Ronald Reagan
The White House
Washington, D.C. 20500

Dear Mr. President:

I just wanted you to know how difficult it was to vote against the budget compromise last week. Torn between my deep personal and political devotion to you and my gut conviction that raising taxes in FY 1983 is wrong, I voted "nay" in the final seconds of the Latta Amendment vote, so as not to influence anyone else's decision.

This was the most difficult vote in my 12 years in Congress, and as I told Ken Duberstein, who is doing a magnificent job for you, part of me hoped that you would win. But a "still, small" voice in me opposed the tax increase at this fragile moment in our economic recovery.

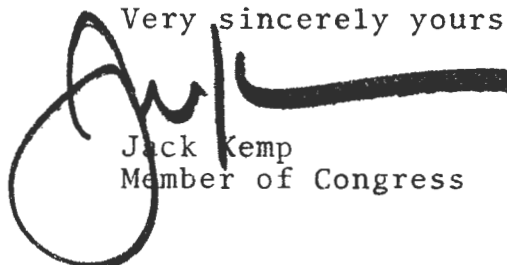
It was doubly hard even to appear to be voting against our Republican leadership. Bob Michel and Trent Lott did a magnificent job for you and our party in steering the budget through Congress. They deserve tremendous credit for the diplomatic and leadership skills it took to fashion a compromise among so many factions. You can be proud of their efforts, as am I. For all of these reasons, I found it painful to cast a vote of conscience against raising taxes and apologizing for last year's tax cut.

As always, I remain your faithful friend and look forward to your continued leadership of this nation and the free world.

Your trip to Europe was a great success and I was thrilled watching you address the British Parliament on the need to export democratic capitalism to the world. Ideas truly rule the world and your leadership in the battle of ideas is what I and others worked so hard for during the campaign. Please, be assured I look forward to being of help in the future.

Warmest personal regards and congratulations to you and Mrs. Reagan. Joanne and I are proud of you both.

Very sincerely yours,



Jack Kemp
Member of Congress

CONGRESSMAN CLEMENT J. ZABLOCKI (D-WISCONSIN)

Congressman Clem Zablocki is one of the 20 Congressional Advisors to the United Nations General Assembly Special Session on Disarmament. He serves as Chairman of the House Foreign Affairs Committee and accompanied the Vice President as a part of the United States delegation to Saudi Arabia on the occasion of the death of King Khalid. The Congressman is the author of an arms control resolution calling for immediate START negotiations with the objectives of preserving present limitations and controls on nuclear weapons and delivery systems while pursuing equitable and verifiable reductions, avoiding the testing and deployment of new nuclear weapons, and incorporating land-based intermediate-range nuclear missiles into START. The Zablocki resolution will serve as the vehicle for a House arms control resolution.

(Parvin/AB)
June 16, 1982
1:30 p.m.

BRIEF REMARKS: NEW YORK GOP CONVENTION RECEPTION
JUNE 17, 1982

I am always delighted to speak to Republican delegates. I had a bit of luck with them back in the summer of 1980. I'll tell you what I like about Republicans -- their optimism and dedication. And let me say George Clark is just that kind of Republican. I remember when everyone told us to write off New York in 1980, George was the one that said, "Nothing doing." And of course, you know what happened. And it will be activists like George and you, the folks who organize and vote, who will determine what America will be like in the years ahead. It's our job to muster the forces of hope and show the Nation that change is possible.

Today we're engaged in a fierce struggle with the proponents of negativism; the advocates of "no." They offer the politics of no new ideas, no growth, no neighborhood schools, no incentives to work, no incentives to save, and no firm security for our nation.

We Republicans are and must remain the proponents of "yes." Yes, we can have a brighter tomorrow. Yes, we can make Government work. Yes, we can solve our problems; we can have a safe and strong America; we can live together in harmony no matter what our race or religion. When it comes to our country, yes is the only word we understand. Our country is built on that word. Colonists who said, "Yes, we can seek a better world." Pioneers who said, "Yes, we can open up the prairies and the

frontiers." Heroes who said, "Yes, we will defend freedom to the very end."

In 1982, we Republicans know what we stand for, unlike many of the Democrats. After being in Washington for a year and a half, I've learned one thing for sure: There are two sides to every question and the Democrats are on both. The American people want a positive alternative, something our opponents with all their criticism have yet to offer.

We have an important job ahead of us. Getting our message across will not be easy, but we do have tremendous advantages. In spite of everything you hear, the issues are with us. They're with us because we are trying to solve the problems facing this Nation. And on November 2, if we get our story across, the voters will confirm the mandate they gave us in 1980.

Remember, after the national political debate gets under way, it's the other party that will have to make some stark admissions to the American people. It's the liberal leadership of the other party who refused any meaningful cut in spending. It's the liberal leadership who wanted to take away the people's tax cut. It's the liberal leadership who tried to protect every lord and fiefdom in the Federal bureaucracy.

We Republicans offer the American people what Franklin Roosevelt offered them in the 1930's -- hope -- the hope of setting things right once again, the hope of a new answer, the hope of making America great again. That is the formula for re-election. We can set things right. We do have new answers.

And with Republicans like you here today, we are closer than ever to attaining those goals for America.

(Rohrabacher/AB)
June 16, 1982
2:15 p.m.

REMARKS AT SECRETARY GENERAL'S LUNCHEON/RETURN TOAST
JUNE 17, 1982

Mr. Secretary General, Mr. President and honored guests:

It is a privilege for me to be with you today because it provides an opportunity to express this country's continued commitment to the principles on which the United Nations was founded, some 37 years ago. This body was born out of the brutality and chaos of a terrible war -- a war that had engulfed the planet with a ferocity of destruction as mankind had never known.

My longevity has given me a perspective on the founding of the United Nations that was useful in the preparation of the remarks that I made today. I remember the U.N.'s first days, and our hopes at the time that this would be a forum for all of mankind, replacing armed conflict with debate. We hoped that, when necessary, it could do what had to be done to prevent aggression. Yesterday, Mr. Secretary General, you presided over a convocation honoring the centenary of a great American leader, Franklin Roosevelt. I recall the inspiration of his declaration, with Winston Churchill, of the Four Freedoms -- at a time when the freedom-loving people of the world were sorely in need of inspiration. In a very real way this, an institution dedicated to peace, was his dream. I can assure you today, however imperfect the reality may be, Americans still dream that dream.

Much has happened in these last 37 years. Our countrymen can be proud that, from the first day, the U.N. has had from the United States the utmost moral, political and financial support.

I should point out that, even in a time of domestic economic retrenchment, American financial support has not declined.

This institution has not become the panacea for all mankind's problems as some expected; nevertheless, it has been and can be a force for great good. While it has not solved every problem or prevented every conflict, there have been shining accomplishments. More than a few are alive and live decently because of this institution. Perhaps now, we have a more mature view of the United Nations. While recognizing its limitations, we do not overlook its real potential -- the opportunities, opportunities that, for the sake of humanity, we cannot afford to waste. We welcome and support, for example, the sincere and personal efforts made by the Secretary General to prevent, contain and resolve the conflicts in the South Atlantic, in Lebanon and in Iran and Iraq. You may be new to your job, Mr. Secretary General, but your vigor and commitment during this trying time have impressed all those who love peace.

As President of the United States, the preservation of peace is a mandate second only to the preservation of my country's freedom and independence. With the destructive power of today's weapons, keeping the peace is not just a goal, it is a sacred obligation.

But maintaining peace requires more than sincerity and idealism, more than optimism and good will. As you know well, peace is a product of hard, strenuous labor by those dedicated to its preservation. It requires realism, not wishful thinking.

For our part, we take the issue of arms control and disarmament -- the purpose of this special session -- seriously. My presence here today and the tangible proposals we've made for nuclear and conventional arms reduction should underline our dedication to making this a safer and more peaceful world. To this end, we seek to reestablish a balance and an actual reduction of strategic weapons.

An unpleasant reality, but true nonetheless, is the fact that many words must be spoken before progress between nations can be made. So let us get on with the words. Yet it has been said that through their deeds you shall know men. So let us get on with the deeds of peace as well.

Today I offer you this toast, Mister Secretary General, to you and this institution and to the deeds of peace.

(Maseng/AB)
June 16, 1982
3:00 p.m.

REMARKS TO THE UNITED STATES MISSION STAFF
JUNE 17, 1982

Good morning. Ambassador Kirkpatrick and members of the U.S. Mission staff, it is a pleasure to have this opportunity to meet with you today and thank you for all your hard work. I just wish I had the time to greet each one of you personally. Each of you is a special representative of the United States. In your work and daily lives, you symbolize for the world the values, ideals and goodwill of the American people. We are very proud to have you represent us.

Your work here, of course, serves two goals: You represent America's interests, but you also are peacemakers, easing the tensions and securing the rule of law in the world. But those two goals are really the same, because the United States believes that it is only in a peaceful world -- one in which there is respect for individual, human rights -- that we can prosper. I can sympathize, however, with the frustrations you encounter.

Dag Hammarskjold used to tell a story about ancient Chinese peacemakers -- followers of the philosopher Sung Tzu, some 350 years B.C. I think you'll recognize their trials:

'Constantly rebuffed but never discouraged, they went round from State to State helping people to settle their differences, arguing against wanton attack and pleading for the suppression of arms, that the age in which they lived might be saved from its state of continual war. To this end they interviewed princes and lectured the common people, nowhere meeting with any great success, but obstinately persisting in their task, till kings and commoners alike grew weary of listening to them. Yet undeterred they continued to force themselves on people's attention.'

The former Secretary-General would end his tale by saying that the original storyteller tempered his pessimism with a mild sense of humor and a strong sense of proportion in seeing his own time in the long perspective of history.

Your jobs are certainly not easy. Everyday you confront delicate and complicated tasks. But remember, although it may sometimes seem that no one is listening -- that the peacemakers are not making much progress -- through your efforts and those of your colleagues, mankind has one of its first real chances to live together in peace with the universal recognition of human rights.

Thank you, again, for all you are doing, and keep up the good work.

JUNE 17, 1982
11:00 A.M.
NEW YORK, N.Y.

PRESIDENT'S BACKUP COPY

ADDRESS TO THE SPECIAL SESSION ON DISARMAMENT II OF THE
UNITED NATIONS

Mr. Secretary Mr. President Mr. Deane

I SPEAK TODAY AS BOTH A CITIZEN OF THE UNITED STATES AND OF THE WORLD. I COME WITH THE HEARTFELT WISHES OF MY PEOPLE FOR PEACE, BEARING HONEST PROPOSALS, AND LOOKING FOR GENUINE PROGRESS.

DAG HAMMARSKJOLD SAID 24 YEARS AGO THIS MONTH, "WE MEET IN A TIME OF PEACE WHICH IS NO PEACE." HIS WORDS ARE AS TRUE TODAY AS THEY WERE THEN. MORE THAN 100 DISPUTES HAVE DISTURBED THE PEACE AMONG NATIONS SINCE WORLD WAR II AND TODAY, THE THREAT OF NUCLEAR DISASTER HANGS OVER THE LIVES OF ALL OUR PEOPLES. THE BIBLE TELLS US THERE WILL BE A TIME FOR PEACE, BUT SO FAR THIS CENTURY, MANKIND HAS FAILED TO FIND IT.

THE UNITED NATIONS IS DEDICATED TO WORLD PEACE AND ITS CHARTER CLEARLY PROHIBITS THE INTERNATIONAL USE OF FORCE. YET THE TIDE OF BELLIGERENCE CONTINUES TO RISE. THE CHARTER'S INFLUENCE HAS WEAKENED EVEN IN THE 4 YEARS SINCE THE FIRST SPECIAL SESSION ON DISARMAMENT. WE MUST NOT ONLY CONDEMN AGGRESSION, WE MUST ENFORCE THE DICTATES OF OUR CHARTER AND RESUME THE STRUGGLE FOR PEACE.

HANDWRITING FILE

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THE RECORD OF HISTORY IS CLEAR, CITIZENS OF THE UNITED STATES RESORT TO FORCE RELUCTANTLY AND ONLY WHEN THEY MUST. OUR FOREIGN POLICY, AS PRESIDENT EISENHOWER ONCE SAID, "IS NOT DIFFICULT TO STATE. WE ARE FOR PEACE, FIRST, LAST AND ALWAYS, FOR VERY SIMPLE REASONS." WE KNOW THAT ONLY IN A PEACEFUL ATMOSPHERE, A PEACE WITH JUSTICE, ONE IN WHICH WE CAN BE CONFIDENT, CAN AMERICA PROSPER AS WE HAVE KNOWN PROSPERITY IN THE PAST, HE SAID.

TO THOSE WHO CHALLENGE THE TRUTH OF THOSE WORDS LET ME POINT OUT THAT AT THE END OF WORLD WAR II, WE WERE THE ONLY UNDAMAGED INDUSTRIAL POWER IN THE WORLD. OUR MILITARY SUPREMACY WAS UNQUESTIONED. WE HAD HARNESSSED THE ATOM AND HAD THE ABILITY TO UNLEASH ITS DESTRUCTIVE FORCE ANYWHERE IN THE WORLD. IN SHORT, WE COULD HAVE ACHIEVED WORLD DOMINATION, BUT THAT WAS CONTRARY TO THE CHARACTER OF OUR PEOPLE.

INSTEAD, WE WROTE A NEW CHAPTER IN THE HISTORY OF MANKIND. WE USED OUR POWER AND WEALTH TO REBUILD THE WAR-RAVAGED ECONOMIES OF THE WORLD, BOTH EAST AND WEST, INCLUDING THOSE NATIONS WHO HAD BEEN OUR ENEMIES. WE TOOK THE INITIATIVE IN CREATING SUCH INTERNATIONAL INSTITUTIONS AS THIS UNITED NATIONS, WHERE LEADERS OF GOOD WILL COULD COME TOGETHER TO BUILD BRIDGES FOR PEACE AND PROSPERITY.

AMERICA HAS NO TERRITORIAL AMBITIONS, WE OCCUPY NO COUNTRIES AND WE HAVE BUILT NO WALLS TO LOCK OUR PEOPLE IN. OUR COMMITMENT TO SELF-DETERMINATION, FREEDOM AND PEACE IS THE VERY SOUL OF AMERICA. THAT COMMITMENT IS AS STRONG TODAY AS IT EVER WAS.

THE UNITED STATES HAS FOUGHT FOUR WARS IN MY LIFETIME. IN EACH WE STRUGGLED TO DEFEND FREEDOM AND DEMOCRACY. WE WERE NEVER THE AGGRESSORS. AMERICA'S STRENGTH, AND YES, HER MILITARY POWER, HAVE BEEN A FORCE FOR PEACE, NOT CONQUEST; FOR DEMOCRACY, NOT DESPOTISM; FOR FREEDOM, NOT TYRANNY.

WATCHING, AS I HAVE, SUCCEEDING GENERATIONS OF AMERICAN YOUTH BLEED THEIR LIVES ONTO FAR-FLUNG BATTLEFIELDS TO PROTECT OUR IDEALS AND SECURE THE RULE OF LAW, I HAVE KNOWN HOW IMPORTANT IT IS TO DETER CONFLICT. BUT SINCE COMING TO THE PRESIDENCY, THE ENORMITY OF THE RESPONSIBILITY OF THIS OFFICE HAS MADE MY COMMITMENT EVEN DEEPER. I BELIEVE THAT RESPONSIBILITY IS SHARED BY ALL OF US HERE TODAY.

ON OUR RECENT TRIP TO EUROPE, MY WIFE NANCY TOLD ME OF A BRONZE STATUE, 22 FEET HIGH, SHE SAW ON A CLIFF ON THE COAST OF FRANCE. THE BEACH AT THE BASE OF THAT CLIFF IS CALLED SAINT LAURENT, BUT COUNTLESS AMERICAN FAMILY BIBLES NOTE IT AS OMAHA BEACH. THE PASTORAL QUIET OF THAT FRENCH COUNTRYSIDE IS IN MARKED CONTRAST TO THE BLOODY VIOLENCE THAT TOOK PLACE THERE ON A JUNE DAY 38 YEARS AGO WHEN THE ALLIES STORMED THE CONTINENT.

AT THE END OF JUST ONE DAY OF BATTLE, MORE THAN 10,500 AMERICANS WERE WOUNDED, MISSING OR KILLED IN WHAT BECAME KNOWN AS THE NORMANDY LANDING.

THE STATUE ATOP THAT CLIFF IS CALLED "THE SPIRIT OF AMERICAN YOUTH RISING FROM THE WAVES." ITS IMAGE OF SACRIFICE IS ALMOST TOO POWERFUL TO DESCRIBE.

THE PAIN OF WAR IS STILL VIVID IN OUR NATIONAL MEMORY. IT SENDS ME TO THIS SPECIAL SESSION OF THE UNITED NATIONS EAGER TO COMPLY WITH THE PLEA OF POPE PAUL VI WHEN HE SPOKE IN THIS CHAMBER NEARLY 17 YEARS AGO. "IF YOU WANT TO BE BROTHERS," HIS HOLINESS SAID, "LET THE ARMS FALL FROM YOUR HANDS."

WE AMERICANS YEARN TO LET THEM GO.

BUT WE NEED MORE THAN MERE WORDS, MORE THAN EMPTY PROMISES, BEFORE WE CAN PROCEED. WE LOOK AROUND THE WORLD AND SEE RAMPANT CONFLICT AND AGGRESSION. THERE ARE MANY SOURCES OF THIS CONFLICT -- EXPANSIONIST AMBITIONS, LOCAL RIVALRIES, THE STRIVING TO OBTAIN JUSTICE AND SECURITY. WE MUST ALL WORK TO RESOLVE SUCH DISCORDS BY PEACEFUL MEANS AND TO PREVENT THEM FROM ESCALATION.

IN THE NUCLEAR ERA, THE MAJOR POWERS BEAR A SPECIAL RESPONSIBILITY TO EASE THESE SOURCES OF CONFLICT AND TO REFRAIN FROM AGGRESSION. THAT IS WHY WE ARE SO DEEPLY CONCERNED BY SOVIET CONDUCT. SINCE WORLD WAR II, THE RECORD OF TYRANNY HAS INCLUDED SOVIET VIOLATION OF THE YALTA AGREEMENTS LEADING TO DOMINATION OF EASTERN EUROPE, SYMBOLIZED BY THE BERLIN WALL -- A GRIM, GRAY MONUMENT TO REPRESSION I VISITED JUST A WEEK AGO. IT INCLUDES THE TAKEOVERS OF CZECHOSLOVAKIA, HUNGARY AND AFGHANISTAN; AND THE RUTHLESS REPRESSION OF THE PROUD PEOPLE OF POLAND. SOVIET-SPONSORED GUERRILLAS AND TERRORISTS ARE AT WORK IN CENTRAL AND SOUTH AMERICA, IN AFRICA, THE MIDDLE EAST, IN THE CARIBBEAN AND IN EUROPE, VIOLATING HUMAN RIGHTS AND UNNERVING THE WORLD WITH VIOLENCE. COMMUNIST ATROCITIES IN SOUTHEAST ASIA, AFGHANISTAN AND ELSEWHERE CONTINUE TO SHOCK THE FREE WORLD AS REFUGEES ESCAPE TO TELL OF THEIR HORROR.

THE DECADE OF SO-CALLED DETENTE WITNESSED THE MOST MASSIVE SOVIET BUILDUP OF MILITARY POWER IN HISTORY. THE INCREASED THEIR DEFENSE SPENDING BY 40 PERCENT WHILE AMERICAN DEFENSE SPENDING ACTUALLY DECLINED IN THE SAME REAL TERMS. SOVIET AGGRESSION AND SUPPORT FOR VIOLENCE AROUND THE WORLD HAVE ERODED THE CONFIDENCE NEEDED FOR ARMS NEGOTIATIONS.

WHILE WE EXERCISED UNILATERAL RESTRAINT THEY FORGED AHEAD AND TODAY POSSESS NUCLEAR AND CONVENTIONAL FORCES FAR IN EXCESS OF AN ADEQUATE DETERRENT CAPABILITY.

SOVIET OPPRESSION IS NOT LIMITED TO THE COUNTRIES THEY INVADE. AT THE VERY TIME THE SOVIET UNION IS TRYING TO MANIPULATE THE PEACE MOVEMENT IN THE WEST, IT IS STIFLING A BUDDING PEACE MOVEMENT AT HOME. IN MOSCOW, BANNERS ARE SCUTTLED, BUTTONS ARE SNATCHED AND DEMONSTRATORS ARE ARRESTED WHEN EVEN A FEW PEOPLE DARE TO SPEAK OUT ABOUT THEIR FEARS.

ELEANOR ROOSEVELT, ONE OF OUR FIRST AMBASSADORS TO THIS BODY, REMINDED US THAT THE HIGH-SOUNDING WORDS OF TYRANTS STAND IN BLEAK CONTRADICTION TO THEIR DEEDS. "THEIR PROMISES," SHE SAID, "ARE IN DEEP CONTRAST TO THEIR PERFORMANCES."

MY COUNTRYMEN LEARNED A BITTER LESSON IN THIS CENTURY: THE SCOURGE OF TYRANNY CAN NOT BE STOPPED WITH WORDS ALONE. SO WE HAVE EMBARKED ON AN EFFORT TO RENEW OUR STRENGTH THAT HAD FALLEN DANGEROUSLY LOW. WE REFUSE TO BECOME WEAKER WHILE OUR POTENTIAL ADVERSARIES REMAIN COMMITTED TO THEIR IMPERIALIST ADVENTURES.

MY PEOPLE HAVE SENT ME HERE TODAY TO SPEAK FOR THEM AS CITIZENS OF THE WORLD, WHICH THEY TRULY ARE, FOR WE AMERICANS ARE DRAWN FROM EVERY NATIONALITY REPRESENTED IN THIS CHAMBER TODAY. WE UNDERSTAND THAT MEN AND WOMEN OF EVERY RACE AND CREED CAN AND MUST WORK TOGETHER FOR PEACE; WE STAND READY TO TAKE THE NEXT STEPS DOWN THE ROAD OF COOPERATION THROUGH VERIFIABLE ARMS REDUCTION. AGREEMENTS ON ARMS CONTROL AND DISARMAMENT CAN BE USEFUL IN REINFORCING PEACE; BUT THEY ARE NOT MAGIC. WE SHOULD NOT CONFUSE THE SIGNING OF AGREEMENTS WITH THE SOLVING OF PROBLEMS. SIMPLY COLLECTING AGREEMENTS WILL NOT BRING PEACE. AGREEMENTS GENUINELY REINFORCE PEACE ONLY WHEN THEY ARE KEPT. OTHERWISE WE ARE BUILDING A PAPER CASTLE THAT WILL BE BLOWN AWAY BY THE WINDS OF WAR. LET ME REPEAT, WE NEED DEEDS, NOT WORDS, TO CONVINCE US OF SOVIET SINCERITY, SHOULD THEY CHOOSE TO JOIN US ON THIS PATH.

SINCE THE END OF WORLD WAR II, THE UNITED STATES HAS BEEN THE LEADER IN SERIOUS DISARMAMENT AND ARMS CONTROL PROPOSALS.

-- IN 1946, IN WHAT BECAME KNOWN AS THE BARUCH PLAN, THE UNITED STATES SUBMITTED A PROPOSAL FOR CONTROL OF NUCLEAR WEAPONS AND NUCLEAR ENERGY BY AN INTERNATIONAL AUTHORITY. THE SOVIETS REJECTED THIS PLAN.

-- IN 1955, PRESIDENT EISENHOWER MADE HIS "OPEN SKIES" PROPOSAL, UNDER WHICH THE UNITED STATES AND THE SOVIET UNION WOULD HAVE EXCHANGED BLUEPRINTS OF MILITARY ESTABLISHMENTS AND PROVIDED FOR AERIAL RECONNAISSANCE. THE SOVIETS REJECTED THIS PLAN.

-- IN 1963, THE LIMITED TEST BAN TREATY CAME INTO FORCE. THIS TREATY ENDED NUCLEAR WEAPONS TESTING IN THE ATMOSPHERE, OUTER SPACE, OR UNDERWATER BY PARTICIPATING NATIONS.

-- IN 1970 THE TREATY ON THE NON-PROLIFERATION OF NUCLEAR WEAPONS TOOK EFFECT. THE UNITED STATES PLAYED A MAJOR ROLE IN THIS KEY EFFORT TO PREVENT THE SPREAD OF NUCLEAR EXPLOSIVES AND TO PROVIDE FOR INTERNATIONAL SAFEGUARDS ON CIVIL NUCLEAR ACTIVITIES. MY COUNTRY REMAINS DEEPLY COMMITTED TO THOSE OBJECTIVES TODAY, AND TO STRENGTHENING THE NON-PROLIFERATION FRAMEWORK. THIS IS ESSENTIAL TO INTERNATIONAL SECURITY.

-- IN THE EARLY 1970'S, AGAIN AT U.S. URGING, AGREEMENTS WERE REACHED BETWEEN THE U.S. AND THE U.S.S.R. PROVIDING FOR CEILINGS ON SOME CATEGORIES OF WEAPONS. THEY COULD HAVE BEEN MORE MEANINGFUL IF SOVIET ACTIONS HAD SHOWN RESTRAINT AND COMMITMENT TO STABILITY AT LOWER LEVELS OF FORCE.

THE UNITED NATIONS DESIGNATED THE 1970's AS THE FIRST DISARMAMENT DECADE, BUT GOOD INTENTIONS WERE NOT ENOUGH, IN REALITY, THAT 10-YEAR PERIOD INCLUDED AN UNPRECEDENTED BUILDUP IN MILITARY WEAPONS AND THE FLARING OF AGGRESSION AND USE OF FORCE IN ALMOST EVERY REGION OF THE WORLD. WE ARE NOW IN THE SECOND DISARMAMENT DECADE. THE TASK AT HAND IS TO ASSURE CIVILIZED BEHAVIOR AMONG NATIONS; TO UNITE BEHIND AN AGENDA FOR PEACE.

OVER THE PAST SEVEN MONTHS, THE UNITED STATES HAS PUT FORWARD A BROAD-BASED COMPREHENSIVE SERIES OF PROPOSALS TO REDUCE THE RISK OF WAR. WE HAVE PROPOSED FOUR MAJOR POINTS AS AN AGENDA FOR PEACE:

- ELIMINATION OF LAND-BASED INTERMEDIATE RANGE MISSILES;
- A ONE-THIRD REDUCTION IN STRATEGIC BALLISTIC MISSILE WARHEADS;
- A SUBSTANTIAL REDUCTION IN N.A.T.O. AND WARSAW PACT GROUND AND AIR FORCES, AND
- NEW SAFEGUARDS TO REDUCE THE RISK OF ACCIDENTAL WAR.

WE URGE THE SOVIET UNION TODAY TO JOIN WITH US IN THIS QUEST. WE MUST ACT NOT FOR OURSELVES ALONE, BUT FOR ALL MANKIND.

ON NOVEMBER 18 OF LAST YEAR, I ANNOUNCED UNITED STATES OBJECTIVES IN ARMS CONTROL AGREEMENTS: THEY MUST BE EQUITABLE AND MILITARILY SIGNIFICANT, THEY MUST STABILIZE FORCES AT LOWER LEVELS AND THEY MUST BE VERIFIABLE.

THE UNITED STATES AND ITS ALLIES HAVE MADE SPECIFIC, REASONABLE AND EQUITABLE PROPOSALS.

IN FEBRUARY, OUR NEGOTIATING TEAM IN GENEVA OFFERED THE SOVIET UNION A DRAFT TREATY ON INTERMEDIATE RANGE NUCLEAR FORCES. WE OFFERED TO CANCEL DEPLOYMENT OF OUR PERSHING II BALLISTIC MISSILES AND GROUND-LAUNCHED CRUISE MISSILES, IN EXCHANGE FOR SOVIET ELIMINATION OF THE SS-20, SS-4, AND SS-5 MISSILES. THIS PROPOSAL WOULD ELIMINATE WITH ONE STROKE THOSE SYSTEMS ABOUT WHICH BOTH SIDES HAVE EXPRESSED THE GREATEST CONCERN.

THE UNITED STATES IS ALSO LOOKING FORWARD TO BEGINNING NEGOTIATIONS ON STRATEGIC ARMS REDUCTIONS WITH THE SOVIET UNION IN LESS THAN TWO WEEKS. WE WILL WORK HARD TO MAKE THESE TALKS AN OPPORTUNITY FOR REAL PROGRESS IN OUR QUEST FOR PEACE.

ON MAY 9, I ANNOUNCED A PHASED APPROACH TO THE REDUCTION OF STRATEGIC ARMS. IN A FIRST PHASE, THE NUMBER OF BALLISTIC MISSILE WARHEADS ON EACH SIDE WOULD BE REDUCED TO ABOUT 5,000. NO MORE THAN HALF THE REMAINING WARHEADS WOULD BE ON LAND-BASED MISSILES. ALL BALLISTIC MISSILES WOULD BE REDUCED TO AN EQUAL LEVEL AT ABOUT ONE-HALF THE CURRENT U.S. NUMBER.

IN THE SECOND PHASE, WE WOULD REDUCE EACH SIDE'S OVERALL DESTRUCTIVE POWER TO EQUAL LEVELS, INCLUDING A MUTUAL CEILING ON BALLISTIC MISSILE THROW-WEIGHT BELOW THE CURRENT U.S. LEVEL. WE ARE ALSO PREPARED TO DISCUSS OTHER ELEMENTS OF THE STRATEGIC BALANCE.

BEFORE I RETURNED FROM EUROPE LAST WEEK, I MET IN BONN WITH THE LEADERS OF THE NORTH ATLANTIC TREATY ORGANIZATION. WE AGREED TO INTRODUCE A MAJOR NEW WESTERN INITIATIVE FOR THE VIENNA NEGOTIATIONS ON MUTUAL BALANCED FORCE REDUCTIONS. OUR APPROACH CALLS FOR COMMON COLLECTIVE CEILINGS FOR BOTH N.A.T.O. AND THE WARSAW TREATY ORGANIZATION. AFTER 7 YEARS, THERE WOULD BE A TOTAL OF 700,000 GROUND FORCES AND 900,000 GROUND AND AIR FORCE PERSONNEL COMBINED. IT ALSO INCLUDES A PACKAGE OF ASSOCIATED MEASURES TO ENCOURAGE COOPERATION AND VERIFY COMPLIANCE.

WE URGE THE SOVIET UNION AND MEMBERS OF THE WARSAW PACT TO VIEW OUR WESTERN PROPOSAL AS A MEANS TO REACH AGREEMENT IN VIENNA AFTER 9 LONG YEARS OF INCONCLUSIVE TALKS. WE ALSO URGE THEM TO IMPLEMENT THE 1975 HELSINKI AGREEMENT ON SECURITY AND COOPERATION IN EUROPE.

LET ME STRESS THAT FOR AGREEMENTS TO WORK, BOTH SIDES MUST BE ABLE TO VERIFY COMPLIANCE. THE BUILDING OF MUTUAL CONFIDENCE IN COMPLIANCE CAN ONLY BE ACHIEVED THROUGH GREATER OPENNESS. I ENCOURAGE THE SPECIAL SESSION ON DISARMAMENT TO ENDORSE THE IMPORTANCE OF THESE PRINCIPLES IN ARMS CONTROL AGREEMENTS.

I HAVE INSTRUCTED OUR REPRESENTATIVES AT THE 40-NATION COMMITTEE ON DISARMAMENT TO RENEW EMPHASIS ON VERIFICATION AND COMPLIANCE. BASED ON A U.S. PROPOSAL, A COMMITTEE HAS BEEN FORMED TO EXAMINE THESE ISSUES AS THEY RELATE TO RESTRICTIONS ON NUCLEAR TESTING. WE ARE ALSO PRESSING THE NEED FOR EFFECTIVE VERIFICATION PROVISIONS IN AGREEMENTS BANNING CHEMICAL WEAPONS.

THE USE OF CHEMICAL AND BIOLOGICAL WEAPONS HAS LONG BEEN VIEWED WITH REVULSION BY CIVILIZED NATIONS. NO PEACEMAKING INSTITUTION CAN IGNORE THE USE OF THESE DREAD WEAPONS AND STILL LIVE UP TO ITS MISSION. THE NEED FOR A TRULY EFFECTIVE AND VERIFIABLE CHEMICAL WEAPONS AGREEMENT HAS BEEN HIGHLIGHTED BY RECENT EVENTS. THE SOVIET UNION AND THEIR ALLIES ARE VIOLATING THE GENEVA PROTOCOL OF 1925, RELATED RULES OF INTERNATIONAL LAW AND THE 1972 BIOLOGICAL WEAPONS CONVENTION. THERE IS CONCLUSIVE EVIDENCE THAT THE SOVIET GOVERNMENT HAS PROVIDED TOXINS FOR USE IN LAOS AND KAMPUCHEA, AND ARE THEMSELVES USING CHEMICAL WEAPONS AGAINST FREEDOM FIGHTERS IN AFGHANISTAN.

WE HAVE REPEATEDLY PROTESTED TO THE SOVIET GOVERNMENT, AS WELL AS THE GOVERNMENTS OF LAOS AND VIETNAM, THEIR USE OF CHEMICAL AND TOXIN WEAPONS. WE CALL UPON THEM NOW TO GRANT FULL AND FREE ACCESS TO THEIR COUNTRIES OR TO TERRITORIES THEY CONTROL SO THAT UNITED NATIONS EXPERTS CAN CONDUCT AN EFFECTIVE, INDEPENDENT INVESTIGATION TO VERIFY CESSATION OF THESE HORRORS.

EVIDENCE OF NON-COMPLIANCE WITH EXISTING ARMS
CONTROL AGREEMENTS UNDERSCORES THE NEED TO APPROACH
NEGOTIATION OF ANY NEW AGREEMENTS WITH CARE.

THE DEMOCRACIES OF THE WEST ARE OPEN SOCIETIES.
INFORMATION ON OUR DEFENSES IS AVAILABLE TO OUR
CITIZENS, OUR ELECTED OFFICIALS AND THE WORLD. WE DO
NOT HESITATE TO INFORM POTENTIAL ADVERSARIES OF OUR
MILITARY FORCES, AND ASK IN RETURN FOR THE SAME
INFORMATION CONCERNING THEIRS.

THE AMOUNT AND TYPE OF MILITARY SPENDING BY A
COUNTRY IS IMPORTANT FOR THE WORLD TO KNOW, AS A
MEASURE OF ITS INTENTIONS, AND THE THREAT THAT COUNTRY
MAY POSE TO ITS NEIGHBORS. THE SOVIET UNION AND OTHER
CLOSED SOCIETIES GO TO EXTRAORDINARY LENGTHS TO HIDE
THEIR TRUE MILITARY SPENDING NOT ONLY FROM OTHER
NATIONS, BUT FROM THEIR OWN PEOPLE. THIS PRACTICE
CONTRIBUTES TO DISTRUST AND FEAR ABOUT THEIR
INTENTIONS.

TODAY, THE UNITED STATES PROPOSES AN INTERNATIONAL
CONFERENCE ON MILITARY EXPENDITURES TO BUILD ON THE
WORK OF THIS BODY IN DEVELOPING A COMMON SYSTEM FOR
ACCOUNTING AND REPORTING. WE URGE THE SOVIET UNION, IN
PARTICULAR, TO JOIN THIS EFFORT IN GOOD FAITH, TO
REVISE THE UNIVERSALLY DISCREDITED OFFICIAL FIGURES IT
PUBLISHES, AND TO JOIN WITH US IN GIVING THE WORLD A
TRUE ACCOUNT OF THE RESOURCES WE ALLOCATE TO OUR ARMED
FORCES.

LAST FRIDAY IN BERLIN, I SAID I WOULD LEAVE NO STONE UNTURNED IN THE EFFORT TO REINFORCE PEACE AND LESSEN THE RISK OF WAR. IT HAS BEEN CLEAR TO ME STEPS SHOULD BE TAKEN TO IMPROVE MUTUAL CONFIDENCE AND COMMUNICATION AND LESSEN THE LIKELIHOOD OF MISINTERPRETATION. I HAVE, THEREFORE, DIRECTED THE EXPLORATION OF WAYS TO INCREASE UNDERSTANDING AND COMMUNICATION BETWEEN THE UNITED STATES AND THE SOVIET UNION IN TIMES OF PEACE AND OF CRISIS. WE WILL APPROACH THE SOVIET UNION WITH PROPOSALS FOR RECIPROCAL EXCHANGES IN SUCH AREAS AS ADVANCE NOTIFICATION OF MAJOR STRATEGIC EXERCISES THAT OTHERWISE MIGHT BE MISINTERPRETED; ADVANCE NOTIFICATION OF I.C.B.M. LAUNCHES WITHIN, AS WELL AS BEYOND, NATIONAL BOUNDARIES; AND AN EXPANDED EXCHANGE OF STRATEGIC FORCES DATA. WHILE SUBSTANTIAL INFORMATION ON U.S. ACTIVITIES AND FORCES IN THESE AREAS ALREADY IS PROVIDED, I BELIEVE THAT JOINTLY AND REGULARLY SHARING INFORMATION WOULD REPRESENT A QUALITATIVE IMPROVEMENT IN THE STRATEGIC NUCLEAR ENVIRONMENT AND WOULD HELP REDUCE THE CHANCE OF MISUNDERSTANDINGS. I CALL UPON THE SOVIET UNION TO JOIN THE UNITED STATES IN EXPLORING THESE POSSIBILITIES TO BUILD CONFIDENCE AND I ASK FOR YOUR SUPPORT OF OUR EFFORTS.

ONE OF THE MAJOR ITEMS BEFORE THIS CONFERENCE IS THE DEVELOPMENT OF A COMPREHENSIVE PROGRAM OF DISARMAMENT. WE SUPPORT THE EFFORT TO CHART A COURSE OF REALISTIC AND EFFECTIVE MEASURES IN THE QUEST FOR PEACE.

I HAVE COME TO THIS HALL TO CALL FOR INTERNATIONAL RECOMMITMENT TO THE BASIC TENET OF THE UNITED NATIONS CHARTER -- THAT ALL MEMBERS PRACTICE TOLERANCE AND LIVE TOGETHER IN PEACE AS GOOD NEIGHBORS UNDER THE RULE OF LAW, FORSAKING ARMED FORCE AS A MEANS OF SETTling DISPUTES BETWEEN NATIONS. AMERICA URGES YOU TO SUPPORT THE AGENDA FOR PEACE I HAVE OUTLINED TODAY. WE ASK YOU TO REINFORCE THE BILATERAL AND MULTILATERAL ARMS CONTROL NEGOTIATIONS BETWEEN MEMBERS OF N.A.T.O. AND THE WARSAW PACT AND TO REDEDICATE YOURSELVES TO MAINTAINING INTERNATIONAL PEACE AND SECURITY, AND REMOVING THREATS TO PEACE.

WE, WHO HAVE SIGNED THE U.N. CHARTER, HAVE PLEDGED TO REFRAIN FROM THE THREAT OR USE OF FORCE AGAINST THE TERRITORY OR INDEPENDENCE OF ANY STATE. IN THESE TIMES WHEN MORE AND MORE LAWLESS ACTS ARE GOING UNPUNISHED -- AS SOME MEMBERS OF THIS VERY BODY SHOW A GROWING DISREGARD FOR THE U.N. CHARTER -- THE PEACE-LOVING NATIONS OF THE WORLD MUST CONDEMN AGGRESSION AND PLEDGE AGAIN TO ACT IN A WAY THAT IS WORTHY OF THE IDEALS WE HAVE ENDORSED. LET US FINALLY MAKE THE CHARTER LIVE.

IN LATE SPRING, 37 YEARS AGO, REPRESENTATIVES OF 50 NATIONS GATHERED ON THE OTHER SIDE OF THIS CONTINENT, IN THE SAN FRANCISCO OPERA HOUSE. THE LEAGUE OF NATIONS HAD CRUMBLED AND WORLD WAR II STILL RAGED, BUT THOSE MEN AND NATIONS WERE DETERMINED TO FIND PEACE. THE RESULT WAS THIS CHARTER FOR PEACE THAT IS THE FRAMEWORK OF THE UNITED NATIONS.

PRESIDENT HARRY TRUMAN SPOKE OF THE REVIVAL OF AN OLD FAITH -- THE EVERLASTING MORAL FORCE OF JUSTICE PROMPTING THAT UNITED NATIONS CONFERENCE. SUCH A FORCE REMAINS STRONG IN AMERICA AND IN OTHER COUNTRIES WHERE SPEECH IS FREE AND CITIZENS HAVE THE RIGHT TO GATHER AND MAKE THEIR OPINIONS KNOWN.

PRESIDENT TRUMAN SAID, "IF WE SHOULD PAY MERELY LIP SERVICE TO INSPIRING IDEALS, AND LATER DO VIOLENCE TO SIMPLE JUSTICE, WE WOULD DRAW DOWN UPON US THE BITTER WRATH OF GENERATIONS YET-UNBORN." THOSE WORDS OF HARRY TRUMAN HAVE SPECIAL MEANING FOR US TODAY AS WE LIVE WITH THE POTENTIAL TO DESTROY CIVILIZATION.

"WE MUST LEARN TO LIVE TOGETHER IN PEACE," HE SAID. "WE MUST BUILD A NEW WORLD -- A FAR BETTER WORLD."

WHAT A BETTER WORLD IT WOULD BE IF THE GUNS WERE SILENT; IF NEIGHBOR NO LONGER ENCROACHED ON NEIGHBOR AND ALL PEOPLES WERE FREE TO REAP THE REWARDS OF THEIR TOIL AND DETERMINE THEIR OWN DESTINY AND SYSTEM OF GOVERNMENT -- WHATEVER THEIR CHOICE.

DURING MY RECENT AUDIENCE WITH HIS HOLINESS POPE JOHN PAUL II, I GAVE HIM THE PLEDGE OF THE AMERICAN PEOPLE TO DO EVERYTHING POSSIBLE FOR PEACE AND ARMS REDUCTIONS. THE AMERICAN PEOPLE BELIEVE FORGING REAL AND LASTING PEACE TO BE THEIR SACRED TRUST.

LET US NEVER FORGET THAT SUCH A PEACE WOULD BE A TERRIBLE HOAX IF THE WORLD WERE NO LONGER BLESSED WITH FREEDOM AND RESPECT FOR HUMAN RIGHTS. THE UNITED NATIONS, HAMMARSKJOLD SAID, WAS BORN OUT OF THE CATAclysms OF WAR. IT SHOULD JUSTIFY THE SACRIFICES OF ALL THOSE WHO HAVE DIED FOR FREEDOM AND JUSTICE. "IT IS OUR DUTY TO THE PAST," HAMMARSKJOLD SAID, "AND IT IS OUR DUTY TO THE FUTURE, SO TO SERVE BOTH OUR NATIONS AND THE WORLD."

AS BOTH PATRIOTS OF OUR NATIONS AND THE HOPE OF ALL THE WORLD, LET THOSE OF US ASSEMBLED HERE IN THE NAME OF PEACE DEEPEN OUR UNDERSTANDINGS, RENEW OUR COMMITMENT TO THE RULE OF LAW AND TAKE NEW AND BOLDER STEPS TO CALM AN UNEASY WORLD. CAN ANY DELEGATE HERE DENY THAT IN SO DOING HE WOULD BE DOING WHAT THE PEOPLE -- THE RANK AND FILE CITIZENRY OF HIS COUNTRY -- WANT HIM TO DO?

ISN'T IT TIME FOR US TO REALLY REPRESENT THE
DEEPEST MOST HEARTFELT YEARNINGS OF ALL OUR PEOPLE?
LET NO NATION ABUSE THIS COMMON LONGING TO BE FREE OF
FEAR. WE MUST NOT MANIPULATE OUR PEOPLE BY PLAYING
UPON THEIR NIGHTMARES; WE MUST SERVE MANKIND THROUGH
GENUINE DISARMAMENT. WITH GOD'S HELP WE CAN SECURE
LIFE AND FREEDOM FOR GENERATIONS TO COME.

THANK YOU VERY MUCH.

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