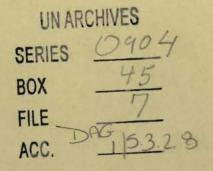
t- President Ronald W. Reagan

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UNITED NATIONS

INTEROFFICE MEMORANDUM



NATIONS UNIES

MEMORANDUM INTERIEUR

TO: The Secretary-General A:

DATE: 17 December 1981

REFERENCE:

THROUGH: S/C DE:

FROM: DE: Ellen Lukas - Press Analysis

SUBJECT: ROUND-UP OF NEWS REPORTS ON POLAND OBJET:

PRES REAGAN'S VIEWS

(BY HELEN THOMAS ; CUPI)

WASHINGTON (UPI) -- PRESIDENT REAGAN SAID TODAY "IT WOULD EE NAIVE" TO THINK THE IMPOSITION OF MARTIAL LAW IN POLAND COULD HAVE HAPPENED WITHOUT THE SOVIET UNION -- AND "WE ARE NOT NAIVE." REAGAN TOLD A NATIONALLY EROADCAST NEWS CONFERENCE THAT EVENTS "THREATEN TO PLUNGE POLAND INTO CHAOS." THE "COERCION AND VIOLATION. OF HUMAN RIGHTS ON A NATIONAL SCALE...IS IN GROSS VIOLATION" OF THE HELSINKL ACCORDS. HE SAID.

HELSINKI ACCORDS, HE SAID. REAGAN SAID THE MARTIAL-LAW CRACKDOWN HAS LED TO THE ARREST AND

CONFINEMENT OF THOUSANDS OF POLES -- WITH WORKERS BEATEN AND DETAINED IN A "SHARP REVERSAL" OF POLAND'S RECENT EFFORTS TOWARD A MORE FREE SOCIETY.

THE POLISH PEOPLE, HE SAID, FURNISH AN "IMPERISHABLE EXAMPLE OF DEVOTION TO THE IDEALS OF FREEDOM...LEFT TO THEMSELVES, THE POLISH

PEOPLE WOULD ENJOY A NEW BIRTH OF FREEDOM. "THE TORCH OF LIBERTY IS HOT," THE PRESIDENT SAID. "IT WARMS THOSE WHO HOLD IT HIGH. IT BURNS THOSE WHO TRY TO

EXTINGUISH IT."

REAGAN, HIS REMARKS ABOUT POLAND CONTAINED IN HIS OPENING STATEMENT, SAID "COERCION AND VIOLATION OF HUMAN RIGHTS ON A MASSIVE SCALE HAS TAKEN THE PLACE OF NEGOTIATION AND COMPROMISE." HE DECLARED THAT THE UNITED STATES VIEWS THE ACTION IN POLAND IN THE "GRAVEST TERMS ."

"VIOLENCE INVITES VIOLENCE AND THREATENS TO PLUNGE POLAND INTO CHAOS," HE SAID. "IT IS NAIVE TO THINK IT COULD HAVE HAPPENED"

WITHOUT KNOWLEDGE OF THE SOVIET UNION. "WE ARE NOT NAIVE." HE CALLED UPON THE POLISH GOVERNMENT TO REVERSE ITSELF. THE UNITED STATES HAS BEEN WILLING TO HELP -- "BUT ONLY IF THE POLISH PEOPLE ARE PERMITTED TO RESOLVE THEIR OWN PROBLEMS FREE OF INTERNAL COERCION AND OUTSIDE INTERVENTION."

BUT REAGAN, ASKED WHAT ACTION THE UNITED STATES MIGHT BE CONTEMPLATING IN POLAND, SAID HE WAS NOT GOING TO DISCUSS "INITIATIVES AND OPTIONS.

HE SAID U.S. CONCERN ABOUT POLAND HAS BEEN MADE KNOWN TO THE SOVIETS -- NOT ONLY BY THE UNITED STATES, BUT BY AMERICA'S EUROPEAN ALLIES AS WELL.

ASKED ABOUT ISRAEL'S ANNOUNCED INTENTION TO ANNEX THE GOLAN HEIGHTS, REAGAN SAID, WE HAVE REGISTERED OUR DISAGREEMENT AND THE FACT THAT WE DO DEPLORE THIS UNILATERAL ACTION BY ISRAEL WHICH HAS INCREASED THE DIFFICULTY OF SEEKING PEACE IN THE MIDDLE EAST. HOPEFULLY, THIS ACTION CAN BE AMELIORATED.'

HE CONCEDED HIS ADMINISTRATION WAS "CAUGHT BY SURPRISE" BY ISRAEL'S ACTION, BUT ADDED: "THE PEACE PROCESS IS GOING FORWARD. EGYPT AND ISRAEL ARE CONTINUING TALKS ON AUTONOMY. WE CONTINUE TO BE OPTIMISTIC ABOUT THE MIDDLE EAST, ALTHOUGH WE REALIZE THAT DIFFICULTIES CAN ARISE."

THE GOLAN HEIGHTS DECLARATION, HE SAID, "INTRODUCES A FACTOR THAT HAS COMPLICATED THINGS .

UPI 12-17-81 02:26 PES

ALL WIRE SERVICES REPORT POLISH WORKERS KILLED BY SECURITY FORCES /

1523: ' ' URGENT POLAND-SYOOTING:

VIENNA, DEC 17, REUTER -- SEVEN WORKERS WERE KILLED AND 39 INJURED WHEN SECURITY FORCES OPENED FIRE ON STRIKERS WHO ATTACKED THEM AT A MINE IN KATOWICE, SOUTH POLAND YESTERDAY, WARSAW RADIO REPORTED ICDAY.

IN THE BALTIC PORT CITY OF GDANSK, BIRTHPLACE AND STRONGHOLD OF THE SOLIDARITY TRADE UNION, 164 CIVILIANS AND 162 MEMBERS OF THE SECURITY FORCES WERE INJURED IN VIOLENCE, THE RADIO SAID. THE REPORTS WERE POLAND & FIRST OFFICIAL ACCOUNTS OF

IN THE STRUGGLE FOR CONTROL OF MINES AND FACTORIES BLOODSHED WHICH HAS FOLLOWED THE IMPOSITION OF MARTIAL LAW LAST SUNDAY.

THE RADIO, MONITORED IN WIENNA, SAID "FORCES OF ORDER" OPENED FIRE AFTER BEING ATTACKED BY STRIKING WORKERS WHO TRIED TO PREVENT THEM ENTERING THE WUJEK MINE AT KATOWICE.

A TOTAL 41 MEMBERS OF THE SECURITY FORCES WERE INJURED IN THE CLASH, THE RADIO SAID. IT DID NOT SPECIFY WHETHER THE "FORCES OR ORDER" WERE POLICE OR MILITARY.

THE WORKERS ATTACKED THEM WITH AXES, STONES AND OTHER WEAPONS, THE RADID ADDED.

WARSAW RADIO SAID THERE WERE DEMONSTRATIONS AND STREET DISTURBANCES IN GDANSK YESTERDAY EVENING AND "THE FORCES OF ORDER DISPERSED GROUPS WHICH WERE SEMAVING AGGRESSIVELY."

THE POLISH PORT CITY, WITH ITS SPRAWLING LENIN SHIPYARD, WAS SOLIDARITY S MOST IMPORTANT CENTRE. WHEN MARTIAL LAW WAS DECLARED AND MOST OF THE UNION S LEADERS ROUNDED UP, SOME OF THOSE WHO ESCAPED IMMEDIATE ARREST SET UP AN EMERGENCY UNION LEADERSHIP IN THE SHIPYARD.

INFORMATION FROM GDASNY REACHING THE SUTSIDE WORLD HAS BEEN SPARSE, BUT POLICE AND TROOPS WERE REPORTED YESTERDAY TO HAVE GAINED CONTROL OF THE SHIPYARD.

KATOWICE, WHERE THE BATTLE BETWEEN MINERS AND SECURITY FORCES TOOK PLACE, IS IN THE IMPORTANT COAL-PRODUCING REGION OF SILESIA.

THE BADIC SAID TROUBLE STARTED IN KATOWICE S WUJEK MINE WHEN A GROUP OF PEOPLE -- SOME NOT EMPLOYED THERE -- ORGANISED A STRIKE BY THE WORKERS.

SECURITY FORCES ARRIVED AND TRIED TO PERSUADE THE WORKERS TO END THE STOPPAGE, WHEN THIS FAILED THE SECURITY MEN TRIED TO FOECE THEIR MAY IN.

THE RADIO SAID THE SECURITY FORCES HAD ORDERS NOT TO FIRE UNLESS ATTACKED.

IT WAS ONLY AFTER THE WORKERS HURLED STONES AND USED CROWBARS AND AXES AGAINST THEM THAT THE SECURITY FORCES BEGAN TO SHOCT, THE RADIO SAID.

WARSAW RADIO 5 ANNOUNCER, AFTER REPORTING THE CASUALTIES, APPEALED FOR AN END TO BLOODSHED. PEOPLE SHOULD BE REASONABLE, AND NOT LISTEN TO "IRRESPONSIBLE PROVOCATIORS AND EMERIES OF THE MATION," HE SAID. ADUTLR REVUAVEMO

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		INTEROFFICE MEMORANDUM MEMORANDUM INTERIEUR
	то: А:	The Secretary-General Sarah Multiple 19 November 1981
	THROUGH: S/C DE:	Under-Secretary-General for Political and Security Council Affairs
	FROM: DE:	Jan Mårtenson Assistant Secretary-General Centre for Disarmament
	SUBJECT: OBJET:	Address by President Reagan to the National Press Club on 18 November 1981

The statement made yesterday by President Reagan at the 1. National Press Club in Washington is his first address fully devoted to arms limitation issues between the two major Powers. During the statement, the President announced a four-point proposal that he has forwarded to President Brezhnev. Those four points are the following: (a) In the field of intermediaterange nuclear forces, the Unit ed States would cancel deployment of 572 Pershing II and cruise missiles in Europe if the Soviet Union would dismantle its SS-20, SS-4 and SS-5 missiles already deployed; (b) Negotiations on strategic arms should open as soon as possible next year to seek substantial reductions which would result in "equal and verifiable" levels; (c) Achievement of equality at lower levels of conventional forces in Europe; and (d) Convening of a conference to reduce the risks of surprise attack and the chance of war and of the proposed European conference on disarmament.

The President added that those proposals were based on the 2. principles of substantial, militarily significant reductions in forces, equal ceilings for similar types of forces, and adequate provisions for verification.

Although no official reaction has come from the Soviet 3. Union, the press agency Tass was quoted in a report from Washington as having rejected the first of the proposals, that dealing with intermediate-range nuclear forces, arguing that it does not cover the so-called US forward-based systems and the British and French nuclear forces. It seems therefore that the basic positions of both sides on the scope of the forthcoming negotiations in Geneva remain unchanged.

As regards the other proposals advanced by President Reagan. 4. the commitment to resume negotiations on strategic arms with a view to substantial reductions is a welcome development after two years of paralysis in that area. The other announcements refer to negotiations in course, such as the conferences in Vienna on

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mutual force reductions and the Madrid review meeting of the Conference on Security and Co-operation in Europe. Specific aspects of these initiatives remain to be unveiled, in particular those elements which would be included in a negotiating position. However, the importance of verification procedures - a recurrent difficult issue in disarmament negotiations - and the need for "openness and creativity" in that respect were emphasized. No comments are available from the Soviet side on the Presidential statement dealing with those questions.

5. President Reagan's statement may be seen both as an attempt to respond to increasing concern in world opinion and Governments at a new round in the arms race between the two major Powers as well as a point of departure for further contacts with the Soviet Union on matters of vital interest for the international community as a whole. In that sense, it is an initial but important step which needs to be further developed in order to allow an assessment of the chances of success of future disarmament negotiations. Meanwhile, the official visit of President Brezhnev to the Federal Republic of Germany may throw some light on the Soviet reaction to the proposals advanced by the United States.

NATIONS UNIES E IONS MEMORANDUM INTERIEUR INTEROFFICE MEMORANDUM DATE 13 Sovember 1981 TO: The Secreta er REFERENCE 10:55 a.m. THROUGH: FROM: DE: Ellen Lukas - Press Analysis

SUBJECT: OBJET: OF REAGAN ADDRESS TODAY AS REAGAN MAKES ARMS REDUCTION PROPOSAL TO SOVIETS.

In an address to the National Press Club today Reagas said he had written to Brezhnev to ask that both nations move forward on arms control. "Nothing will have a higher priority for this Administration," "he said.

After 10 months of confrontational talk, <u>MCLS</u> noted, Reagan today offered a 10-point arms reduction programme to the Soviets, which included an offer 10 cancel plans for the U.S. to station 572 Pershing missiles in Europe, if the Soviets in return would remove some 600 missiles alreedy Copleyid. U.S. officials talking afterward to correspondents denied Reagan's talk was a propaganda or publicity ploy, but called it a gravine effort to remove tonsions. However, the Geneva 30 Nov. talks to which Reagan referred will deal only with U.S.-Soviet arms emplacements, not other European ones, noted <u>CBS</u>. The Soviet response to Reagan's proposals may come when Brezhnev visits FRG next week. Another promising sign is believed to be Soviet agreement for Gromyko to meet Haig in Geneva in/January.

SOME OF REAGAN'S TEN-POINT SPEECH:

1. "I believe the time is right to move forward on arms control." Saying that "Like the first footstep on the moon this would be a giant step," Reagan said his negotiators in Geneva will state that the U.S. will agree to not deploy 572 Pershing II and Cruise missiles in five NATO countries. Agreement on this point, Reagan said, "could substantially reduce the dread threat of nuclear war that hangs over the people of Europe."

2. Moscow and Washington should begin talks "as soon as possible next year", talks to achieve "substantial reductions in (strategic) nuclear weapons which would result in levels that are equal and verifiable....To symbolize this fundamental change in direction, we will call these neectations "START" --Strategic Arms Reduction Talks," he said.

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3. "The third proposal.... is that we act to achieve equality at lower levels of <u>conventional forces</u> in Europe. The Soviet Union could make no more convincing contribution to peace in Europe -- and in the world -- than by agreeing to reduce its conventional forces significantly and constrain the potential for sudden aggression."

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4. Reagan nenewed the American call for a conference with the Soviets to develop effective measures to reduce the risks of a "surprise attack, and the chances of war arising out of uncertainty or miscalculation."

"All of those proposals," Rengan said, "are based on the same fair-minded principles: substantial, militarily significant reductions in forces; equal cellings for similar types of forces; and adequate provisions for varification."

IN ADDITION, Reagan dited the value of the Polsinki Accords which, he said, "have not yet been translated into living reality." He noted that the U.S. "equipt sched arms a filter lip." He shild that the "Soviets' often-invested protestat our or piece d'unic he basis on action." His proposals, he said, had been consumption to Presheld.

Reagan said Soviet spokesmen had suggested moving their SS-20's behind the Urals. If they did this, it would still put all the great cities of Europe (which he enumerated) within range of these missiles, which are, he sale, by the way, mobile, which could give them a range into the Atlantic.

If arms reduction could be achieved, Reagan said "We foresee a world flowering with economic well-being." He noted he had recently met with the leaders of 22 nations (at Cancun -- he did not name the place). He said, "We're working to help the poorest nations." He added that these debates on security have little meaning to the poorest nations, and that they must recognize progress in individual liberty for themselves.

* * *

18 November 1981

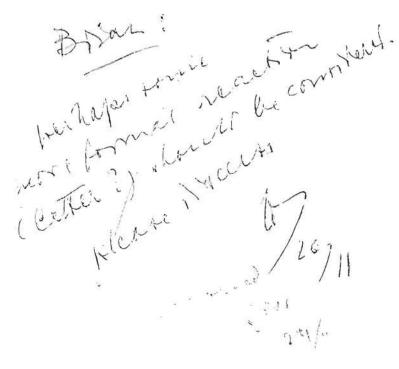
Note for the Secretary-General

Sir,

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Enclosed is the full text of President Reagan's statement. I have sent a copy to Brian Urquhart and asked him to work on a comprehensive statement.

Rudolf Stajduhar





ADDRESS BY PRESIDENT RONALD REAGAN

TO THE

NATIONAL PRESS CLUB

WASHINGTON, D.C.



NOVEMBER 18, 1981

PACK IN APRIL WHILE IN THE HOSPITAL I HAD, AS YOU CAN PEADILY UNDEFSTAND, A LOT OF TIME FOR REFLECTION.

ONE DAY I DECIDED TO SEND A PERSONAL, HAND-APITTEN LETTER TO SOVIET PRESIDENT LEONID BREZENEV REMINFING HIM THAT WE HAD MET ABOUT 10 YEARS AGO IN SAN CLEMENTE. CALIFORNIA, AS HE AND PRESIDENT NIXON WERECONCLUDING A SEPIES OF MEETINGS THAT HAD BPOUGHT HOPE TO ALL THE WORLD. NEVER HAD PEACE AND GOODWILL SFEMED CLOSER AT HAND. I WOULD LIKE TO PEAD YOU A FEWPARAGRAPHS FROM THAT LETTER.

"MR. PRESIDENT: WHEN WE MET I ASKED IF YOU WERE AWAPE THAT THE HOPES AND ASPIPATIONS OF MILLIONS OF PFOPLE THROUGHOUT THE WORLD WERE DEPENDENT ON THE DECISIONS THAT WOULD BE REACHED IN YOUR MEETINGS. YOU-TOOK MY HAND IN BOTH OF YOURS AND ASSURED ME THAT YOU WEPE AWARE OF THAT AND THAT YOU WERE -DEDICATED WITH ALL YOUF HEART AND MIND TO FULFILLING THOSE HOPES AND DREAMS."

I WENT ON IN MY LETTER TO SAY: "THE PEOPLE OF THE WORLD STILL SHARE THAT HOPE. INDEED, THE PEOPLES OF THE WOPLD, DESPITE DIFFERENCES IN PACIAL AND ETHNIC ORIGIN, HAVE VERY MUCH IN COMMON. THEY WANT THE DIGNITY OF HAVING SOME CONTROL OVER THEIR INDIVIDUAL DESTINY. THEY WANT TO WORK AT THE CRAFT OR TRADE OF THEIR OWN CHOOSING AND TO BE FAIRLY REWARDED. THEY WANT TO RAISE THEIR FAMILIES IN PEACE WITHOUT HARMING ANYONE OR SUFFERING HARM THEMSELVES. GOVERNMENT EXISTS FOR THEIR CONVENIENCE, NOT THE OTHER WAY AROUND."

"IF THEY ARE INCAPABLE, AS SOME WOULD HAVE US BELIEVE, OF SELF GOVEPNMENT, THEN WHERE AMONG THEM DO WE FIND ANY WHO ARE CAPABLE OF GOVERNING OTHERS?"

"IS IT POSSIBLE THAT WE HAVE PERMITTED IDEOLOGY, POLITICAL AND ECONOMIC PHILOSOPHIES, AND GOVERNMENTAL POLICIES TO KEEP US FROM CONSIDERING THE VERY REAL. EVERYDAY PROBLEMS OF OUR PEOPLES? WILL THE AVERAGE SOVIET FAMILY BE BETTER OFF OR EVEN AWAPE THAT THE SOVIET UNION HAS IMPOSED A GOVERNMENT OF ITS OWN CHOICE ON THE PEOPLE OF AFGHANISTAN? IS LIFE BETTER FOR THE PEOPLE OF CUPA BECAUSE THE CUBAN MILITARY DICTATE WHO SHALL GOVERN THE PEOPLE OF ANGOLA?

"IT IS OFTEN IMPLIED THAT SUCH TEINGS HAVE BEEN MADE NECESSARY BECAUSE OF TERRITOPIAL AMBITIONS OF THE UNITED STATFS; THAT WE HAVE IMPERIALISTIC DESIGNS AND THUS CONSTITUTE A THREAT TO YOUR OWN SECURITY AND THAT OF THE NEWLY EMERGING NATIONS. THERE NOT ONLY IS NO EVIDENCE TO SUPPORT SUCH A CHARGE, THEFE IS SOLID EVIDENCE THAT THE UNITED STATES, WHEN IT COULD HAVE DOMINATED THE WORLD WITH NO RISK TO ITSELF, MADE NO EFFORT WHATSOEVER TO DO SO."

WEEN WORLD WAR II ENDED, THE UNITED STATES HAD THE ONLY UNDAMAGED INDUSTRIAL POWER IN THE WORLD. OUR MILITARY MIGHT WAS AT ITS PEAK -- AND WE ALONE HAD THE

ULTIMATE WEAPON, THE NUCLEAR WEAPON, WITH THE UNQUESTIONED ABILITY TO DELIVER IT ANYWEERE IN THE WORLD. IF WE HAD SOUGHT WORLD DOMINATION THEN, WHO COULD HAVE OPPOSED US?"

"BUT THE UNITED STATES FOLLOWED A DIFFERENT COURSE ---ONE UNIQUE IN ALL THE HISTORY OF MANKIND. WE USED OUR POWER AND WEALTH TO REBUILD THE WAR-RAVAGED ECONOMISS OF THE WORLD, INCLUDING THOSE NATIONS WHO HAD BEEN OUR ENEMIES. MAY I SAY THERE IS ABSOLUTELY NO SUBSTANCE TO CHARGES THAT THE UNITED STATES IS GUILTY OF IMPERIALISM OR ATTEMPTS TO IMPOSE ITS WILL ON OTHER COUNTRIES BY USE OF FORCE.

I CONCLUDED MY LETTEP BY SAYING, "MR. PRFSIDENT, SHOULD WE NOT BE CONCERNED WITH ELIMINATING THE OPSTACLES WHICH PREVENT OUR PEOPLE -- THOSE YOU AND I REPRESENT -- FROM ACHIEVING THEIR MOST CHERISHED GOALS?"

IT IS IN THE SAME SPIRIT THAT I WANT TO SPEAK TODAY TO THIS AUDIENCE, AND THE PEOPLE OF THE WORLD. ABOUT AMERICA'S PROGRAM FOR PEACE AND THE COMING NEGOTIATIONS WHICH BEGIN NOVEMBER 30 IN GENEVA, SWITZERLAND. SFECIFICALLY, I WANT TO PRESENT OUR PROGRAM FOR PRESERVING PEACE IN EUROPE, AND OUP WIDER PROGRAM FOR ARMS CONTROL.

TWICE IN MY LIFETIME I HAVE SEFN THE PEOPLES OF EUROPE PLUNGED INTO THE TPAGEDY OF WAR. TWICE IN MY LIFETIME

EUROPE HAS SUFFERED DESTRUCTION AND MILITARY OCCUPATION IN WARS STATESMEN PROVED POWERLESS TO PREVENT, SOLDIERS UNABLE TO CONTAIN, ANDORDINARY CITIZENS UNABLE TO ESCAPE. AND TWICE IN MY LIFETIME, YOUNG AMERICANS HAVE BLED THEIR LIVES INTO THE SOIL OF THOSE BATTLEFIELDS --NOT TO ENRICH OR ENLARGE OUR DOMAIN -- BUT TO RESTORE THE PEACE ANDINDEPENDENCE OF OUR FRIENDS AND ALLIES. ALL OF US WHO LIVED THROUGH THOSE TROUBLED TIMES SHARE A COMMON RESOLVE THAT THEY MUST NEVER COME AGAIN. AND MOST OF US SHARE A COMMON APPRECIATION OF THE ATLANTIC ALLIANCE THAT HAS MADE A PEACEFUL, FREE AND PROSPEROUS WESTERN FUROPE IN THE POST-WAR EBA POSSIBLE.

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BUT TODAY A NEW GENERATION IS EMERGING ON BOTH SIDES OF THE ATLANTIC. ITS MEMBERS WERE NOT PRESENT AT THE CREATION OF THE NORTH ATLANTIC ALLIANCE. MANY OF THEM DO NOT FULLY UNDERSTAND ITS ROOTS IN DEFENDING FREFDOM AND REBUILDING A WAR-TORN CONTINENT. SOME YOUNG PEOPLE OUESTION WHY WE NEED WEAPONS -- PARTICULARLY NUCLEAR WEAPONS -- TO DETER WAR AND TO ASSURE PEACEFUL DEVELOPMENT. THEY FEAR THAT THE ACCUMULATION OF

WEAPONS ITSELF MAY LEAD TO CONFLAGRATION. SOME EVEN PROPOSE UNILATERAL DISARMAMENT.

I UNDERSTAND THEIR CONCERNS. THEIR QUESTIONS DESERVE TO BE ANSWERED.

BUT WE HAVE AN OBLIGATION TO ANSWER THEIR QUESTIONS ON THE BASIS OF JUDGMENT AND REASON AND EXPERIENCE. OUR POLICIES HAVE RESULTED IN THE LONGEST EUROPEAN PEACE IN THIS CENTURY. WOULD NOT A RASH DEPARTURE FROM THESE POLICIES, AS SOME NOW SUGGEST, ENDANGER THAT PEACE?

FROM ITS FOUNDING, THE ATLANTIC ALLIANCE HAS PRESERVED THE PEACE THROUGH UNITY, DETERRENCE AND DIALOGUE.

FIRST, WE AND OUR ALLIES HAVE STOCD UNITED BY THE FIRM COMMITMENT THAT AN ATTACK UPON ANY OF US WOULD BF CONSIDERED AN ATTACK UPON US ALL;

SECOND, WE AND OUR ALLIES HAVE DETERRED AGGRESSION BY MAINTAINING FORCES STRONG ENOUGH TO ENSURE THAT ANY AGGRESSOR WOULD LOSE MORE FROM AN ATTACK THAN HE COULD POSSIBLY GAIN; AND

THIRD, WE AND OUR ALLIES HAVE ENGAGED THE SOVIETS IN A DIALOGUE ABOUT MUTUAL RESTRAINT AND ARMS LIMITATIONS,

HOPING TO REDUCE THE RISK OF WAR AND THE BURDEN OF ARMAMENTS, AND TO LOWER THE BAPPIERS THAT DIVIDE EAST FROM WEST.

THESE THREE ELEMENTS OF OUR POLICY HAVE PRESERVED THE PEACE IN EUROPE FOR MORE THAN A THIRD OF A CENTURY. THEY CAN PRESERVE IT FOR GENERATIONS TO COME, SO LONG AS WE PURSUE THEM WITH SUFFICIENT WILL AND VIGOR.-

TODAY, I WISH TO REAFFIRM AMERICA'S COMMITMENT TO THE ATLANTIC ALLIANCE AND OUR RESOLVE TO SUSTAIN THF PFACE. AND FROM MY CONVERSATIONS WITH ALLIED LEADERS. I KNOW THAT THEY ALSO REMAIN TRUE TO THIS-TRIED-AND PROVEN COURSE.

NATC'S POLICY OF PEACE IS BASED ON RESTRAINT AND BALANCE. NO NATO WEAPONS, CONVENTIONAL OR NUCLEAR, WILL EVER BE USED IN EUROPE EXCEPT IN RESPONSE- TO ATTACK. NATO'S DEFENSE PLANS HAVE BEEN RESPONSIBLE AND PESTRAINED. THE ALLIES REMAIN STRONG, UNITED AND--PESOLUTE. BUT THE MOMENTUM OF THE CONTINUING SOVIET MILITARY BUILD-UP THREATENS BOTH THE CONVENTIONAL AND THE NUCLEAR BALANCE. CONSIDER THE FACTS. OVER THE PAST DECADE:

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-- THE UNITED STATES REDUCED THE SIZE OF ITS ARMED FORCES AND DECREASED ITS MILITARY SPENDING.THE-SCVIETS STEADILY INCREASED THE NUMBER OF MEN UNDER APMS. THEY NOW NUMBER MORE THAN DOUBLE THOSE OF THE UNITED STATES. OVEP THE SAME PERIOD THE SOVIETS EXPANDED THEIR REAL MILITARY SPENDING BY ABOUT ONE-THIRD.

-- THE SOVIET UNION INCREASED ITS INVENTORY OF TANKS TO SOME 50,000 COMPARED TO OUR 11,000. HISTORICALLY A LAND-POWER, THEY TRANSFORMED THEIR NAVY FROM A COASTAL DEFENSE FORCE TO AN OPEN OCEAN FLFET, WHILE THE UNITED STATES, A SEA-POWER WITH TRANSOCEANIC ALLIANCES, CUT ITS FLEET IN HALF.

-- DURING A PERIOD WHEN NATO DEPLOYED NO NEW INTEFMEDIATE PANGE NUCLEAR MISSILES, AND ACTUALLY WITHDREW 1,000 NUCLEAR WAPHEADS. THE SOVIET UNION DEPLOYED MORE THAN 750 NUCLEAR WARHEADS ON THE NEW SS-20 MISSILES ALONE.

OUR RESPONSE TO THIS RELENTLESS PUILD-UP OF SOVIET MILITAPY POWER HAS BEEN RESTRAINED BUT FIRM. WE HAVE MARE DECISIONS TO STRENGTHEN ALL THREE LEGS OF THE PROPOSED A DEFENSE PROGRAM IN THE UNITED STATES FOR THE NEXT 5 YEARS WHICH WILL REMEDY THE NEGLECT OF THE PAST DECADE AND RESTORE THE ERODING BALANCE ON WHICH OUR SECURITY DEPENDS.

I WOULD LIKE TO DISCUSS MORE SPECIFICALLY THE GROWING THREAT TO WESTERN EUROPE WHICH IS POSED BY THE CONTINUING DEPLOYMENT OF CERTAIN SOVIET INTERMEDIATE RANGE NUCLEAR MISSILES.

THE SOVIET UNION HAS THREE DIFFERENT MISSILE SYSTEMS --THE SS-20, THE SS-4, AND THE SS-5 -- ALL WITH A RANGE CAPABLE OF REACHING VIRTUALLY ALL OF WESTERN EUROPE. THERE ARE OTHER SOVIET WEAPONS SYSTEMS WHICH ALSO REPRESENT A MAJOR THREAT. THE ONLY ANSWER TO THESE SYSTEMS IS A COMPARABLE THREAT TO SOVIET TARGETS. IN OTHER WORDS, A DETERBENT PREVENTING THE USE OF THESE SOVIET WEAPONS BY THE COUNTER-THREAT OF A LIKE RESPONSE AGAINST THEIR OWN TERRITORY.

AT PRESENT, HOWEVER, THERE IS NO EQUIVALENT DETERRENT TO THESE SOVIET INTERMEDIATE MISSILES. AND THE SOVIETS CONTINUE TO ADD ONE NEW SS-20 A WEEK. TO COUNTER THIS THE ALLIES AGREED IN 1979, AS PART OF A TWO-TRACK DECISION. TO DEPLOY AS A DETERRENT LAND-BASED CRUISE MISSILES AND PERSHING II MISSILES CAPABLE OF PEACHING TARGETS IN THE SOVIET UN ON. THESE MISSILES ARE TO BE DEDICATED IN SEVERAL COUNTERES OF WESTERN FUROPE THIS RELATIVELY LIMITED FORCE IN NO WAY SERVES AS A SUBSTITUTE FOR THE MUCH LARGER STRATEGIC UMBRELLA SPREAD OVER OUR NATO ALLIES. RATHER, IT PROVIDES A VITAL LINK BETWEEN CONVENTIONAL, SHORTER RANGE NUCLEAR FORCES IN EUROPE AND INTER-CONTINENTAL FORCES IN THE UNITED STATES. DEPLOYMENT OF THESE SYSTEMS WILL DEMONSTRATE TO THE SCVIET UNION THAT THIS LINK CANNCT BE BROKEN.

DETERRING WAR DEPENDS ON THE PERCEIVED ABILITY OF OUR FORCES TO PERFORM EFFECTIVELY. THE MORE EFFECTIVE OUR FORCES ARE, THE LESS LIKELY IT IS THAT WE WILL HAVE TO USE THEM. SO, WE AND OUR ALLIES ARE PROCEEDING TO MODERNIZE NATO'S NUCLEAR FORCS OF INTERMEDIATE RANGE TO MEET INCREASED SOVIET DEPLOYMENTS OF NUCLFAR SYSTEMS THREATENING WESTERN FUROPE.

LET ME.TURN NOW TO OUR HOPES FOR ARMS CONTROL NEGCTIATIONS. TRERE IS A TENDENCY TO MAKE THIS ENTIRE SUBJECT OVERLY COMPLEX. I WANT TO BE CLEAR AND CONCISE.

I TOLD YOU OF THE LETTER I WPOTE TO PRESIDENT BREZHNEV LAST APRIL. WELL, I HAVE JUST SENT ANOTHER MESSAGE TO THE SOVIET LEADERSHIP. IT'S A SIMPLE, STRAIGHT-FORWARD, YET HISTORIC MESSAGE: THE UNITED STATES PROPOSES THE MUTUAL REDUCTION OF CONVENTIONAL. INTERMEDIATE RANGE NUCLEAR AND STRATEGIC FORCES.

SPECIFICALLY, I HAVE PROPOSED A FOUR-POINT AGENDATO ACHIEVE THIS OBJECTIVE IN MY LETTER TO PRESIDENT BREZHNEV.

THE FIRST, AND MOST IMPORTANT. POINT CONCERNS THE GENEVA NEGOTIATIONS. AS PART OF THE 1979 TWO-TRACK DECISION, NATO MADE A COMMITMENT TO-SEEKARMS CONTROL NEGOTIATIONS WITH THE SOVIET UNION ON INTERMEDIATE RANGE NUCLEAR FORCES. THE UNITED STATES HAS BEEN-PREPARING FOR THESE NEGOTIATIONS THROUGH CLOSE

CONSULTATION WITH OUR NATO PARTNEPS. WE ARENOW REAPY TO SET FORTH OUR PEOPOSAL. I HAVE INFORMED PRESIDENT BREZHNEV THAT WHEN OUR DELEGATION TRAVELS TO THE NEGOTIATIONS ON INTERMEDIATE RANGE LAND-BASED NUCLEAR MISSILES IN GENEVA ON THE 30TH OF THIS MONTH, MY REPRESENTATIVES WILL PRESENT THE FOLLOWING PROPOSAL: THE UNITED STATES IS PREPARED TO CANCEL ITS DEPLOYMENT OF PEPSHING II AND GROUND LAUNCH CRUISE MISSILES IF THE SOVIETS WILL DISMANTLE THEIR SS-20, SS-4, AND SS-5 MISSILES. THIS WOULD BE AN HISTORIC STEP. WITH SOVIET AGREEMENT, WE COULD TOGETHER SUBSTANTIALLY REPUCETHE DREAD THREAT OF NUCLEAR WAR WHICH HANGS OVER THE -PEOPLE CF EURCPE. THIS, LIKE THE FIRST FCOTSTEP ON THE MOON, WOULD BE A GIANT STEP FOR MANKIND. WE INTEND TO NEGOTIATE IN GOCD FAITH AND GO TO GENEVA WILLING TO LISTEN TO AND CONSIDER THE PROPOSALS OF OUR SOVIET COUNTERPARTS. BUT LET ME CALL TO YOUP ATTENTION THE BACKGROUND AGAINST WHICH OUR PROPOSAL IS MAPE. DUFING THE PAST 6 YEARS, WHILE THE UNITED STATES DEPLOYED NO NEW INTERMEDIATE RANGE MISSILES AND WITHDREW 1.200 NUCLEAP WARHEADS FROM EUPOPE. THE SOVIET UNION DEPLOYED 750 WARHEADS ON MOBILE, ACCUPATE BALLISTIC MISSILES. AS THIS CHART ILLUSTRATES, THEY NOW HAVE 1.100 WARHEADS ON THE SS-22, SS-4, AND SS-5 MISSILES AND THE UNITED STATES HAS NO COMPARABLE MISSILES. INDEED, THE UNITED STATES DISMANTLED THE LAST SUCH MISSILE IN EUPOPE OVER 15 YEARS AGC.

G.

AS WE LOCK TO THE FUTURE OF THE NEGOTIATIONS, IT IS ALSO IMPORTANT TO ADDRESS CERTAIN SOWIET CLAIMS WHICH, LEFT UNREFUTED, COULD BECOME CRITICAL BARRIERS TO REAL PROGRESS IN ARMS CONTROL.

THE SOVIETS ASSERT THAT A BALANCE OF INTERMEDIATE RANGE NUCLEAR FORCES ALREADY EXISTS. THAT ASSERTION IS WRONG. BY ANY OBJECTIVE MEASURE, AS THIS CHART INDICATES, THE SOVIET UNION HAS AN OVEFWHELMING ADVANTAGE, ON THE ORDER OF SIX-TO-ONE.

SOVIET SPOKESMEN HAVE SUGGESTED THAT MOVING THEIR SS-20'S FEYOND THE URAL MOUNTAINS WILL REMOVE THE THPEAT TO EUROPE. AS THIS MAP DEMONSTRATES. THE SS-20'S, EVEN IF DEPLOYED BEHIND THE URALS, WILL HAVE A RANGE THAT PLACES ALMOST ALL OF WESTERN EUROPE, THE GREAT CITIES -- ROME, ATHENS, PARIS, LONDON, ERUSSELS, AMSTEPDAM, BERLIN AND SO MANY MORE -- ALL WITHIN PANGE OF THESE MISSILES, WHICH INCIDENTALLY ARE MOBILE AND CAN BE MOVED ON SHORT NOTICE.

THE SECOND PROPOSAL I HAVE MADE TO PRESIDENT BREZHNEV CONCERNS STRATEGIC WEAPONS. THE UNITED STATES PROPOSES TO OPEN NEGOTIATIONS ON STRATEGIC ARMS AS SOON AS POSSIBLE NEXT YEAR. I HAVE INSTRUCTED SECRETARY HAIG TO DISCUSS THE TIMING OF SUCH MEETINGS WITH SOVIET REPRESENTATIVES.

SUBSTANCE, HOWEVER, IS FAR MORE IMPORTANT THAN TIMING. AS OUR PROPOSAL FOR THE GENEVA TALKS THIS MONTH ILLUSTRATES, WE CAN MAKE PROPOSALS FOR GENUINELY SERIOUS REDUCTIONS BUT ONLY IF WE TAKE THE TIME TO PPEPARE CAREFULLY. THE UNITED STATES HAS BEFN PREPARING CAREFULLY FOR RESUMPTION OF STRATEGIC ARMS NEGOTIATIONS BECAUSE WE DO NOT WANT A REPETITION OF PAST DISAPPOINTMENTS. WE DO NOT WANT AN ARMS CONTROL PROCESS THAT SENDS HOPES SOARING ONLY TO END IN DASHED EXPECTATIONS.

I HAVE INFORMED PRESIDENT BREZHNEV THAT WE WILL SEEK TO NEGOTIATE SUBSTANTIAL PEDUCTIONS IN NUCLEAR ARMSWHICH WOULD RESULT IN LEVELS THAT ARE EQUAL AND VERIFIABLE. OUR APPROACH TO VERIFICATION WILL BE TO EMPHASIZE --OPENNESS AND CREATIVITY -- BATHER THAN THE SECRECY AND SUSPICION WHICH HAVE UNDERMINED CONFIDENCE IN THE ARMS WHILE WE CAN HOPE TO BENEFIT FROM WORK DONE OVER THE PAST DECADE IN STRATEGIC ARMS NEGOTIATIONS, LET US AGREE TO DO MORE THAN SIMPLY BEGIN WHERE THESE EFFORTS PREVIOUSLY LEFT OFF. WE CAN AND SHOULD ATTEMPT MAJOR OUALITATIVE AND QUANTITATIVE PROGRESS. ONLY SUCH PROGRESS CAN FULFILL THE HOPES OF OUR OWN PEOPLE AND THE REST OF THE WOPLD. LET US SEE HOW FAR WE CAN GO IN ACHIEVING TRULY SUBSTANTIAL REDUCTIONS IN OUR STRATEGIC ARSENALS.

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TO SYMBOLIZE THIS FUNDAMENTAL CHANGE IN DIRECTION. WE WILL CALL THESE NEGOTIATIONS START -- STRATEGIC ARMS-REDUCTION TALKS.

THE THIRD PROPOSAL I HAVE MADE TO THE SOVIET UNION IS THAT WE ACT TO ACHIEVE FOUALITY AT LOWER LEVELS OF <u>CONVENTIONAL FORCES IN EUROPE</u>. THE DEFENSE NEEDS OF THE SOVIET UNION HARRLY CALL FOR MAINTAINING MORE COMBAT DIVISIONS IN EAST GERMANY TODAY THAN WERE IN THE WHOLE ALLIED INVASON FORCE THAT LANDED IN NORMANDY ON D-DAY. THE SOVIET UNION COULD MAKE NO MORE CONVINCING CONTRIBUTION TO PEACE IN EUROPE - AND IN THE WORLD --THAN BY AGREEING TO REDUCE ITS CONVENTIONAL FORCES SIGNIFICANTLY AND CONSTRAIN THE POTENTIAL FOR SUDDEN AGGPESSION.

FINALLY. I HAVE POINTED OUT TO PRESIDENT BREZHNEV THAT TO MAINTAIN PEACE, WE MUST REDUCE THE RISKS OF SURPRISE ATTACK, AND THE CHANCE OF WAR ARISING OUT OF UNCERTAINTY OR MISCALCULATION. I AM RENEWING OUR PROPOSAL FOR A CONFERENCE TO DEVELOP EFFECTIVE MEASURES THAT WOULD REDUCE THESE DANGERS. AT THE CURRENT MADRID MEETING OF THE CONFERENCE ON SECURITY AND COOPERATION IN EUROPE. WE ARE LAYING THE FOUNDATION FOR A WESTERN-PROPOSED CONFFRENCE ON DISARMAMENT IN EUROPE. THIS CONFERENCE WOULD DISCUSS NEW MEASURES TO ENHANCE STABILITY AND SECURITY IN EUROPE. AGREEMENT ON THIS CONFEPENCE IS WITHIN REACH. I URGE THE SOVIET UNION TO · JOIN US AND THE MANY OTHER NATIONS WHO AFE READY TO LAUNCH THIS IMPORTANT ENTERPRISE.

ALL OF THESE PROPOSALS ARE BASED ON THE SAME FAIR-MINDED PRINCIPLES: SUBSTANTIAL, MILITARILY-SIGNIFICANT REDUCTIONS IN FORCES; EQUAL CEILINGS FOR SIMILAR TYPES OF FORCES; AND ADEQUATE PROVISIONS FOR VERIFICATION.

MY ADMINISTRATION, MY COUNTRY AND I ARE COMMITTED TO ACHIEVING ARMS REDUCTIONS AGREEMENTS BASED ON THESE PRINCIPLES. TODAY I HAVE OUTLINED THE KIND OF BOLD EQUITABLE PROPOSALS WHICH THE WORLD EXPECTS OF US. BUT WE CANNOT REDUCE ARMS UNILATERALLY. SUCCESS CAN ONLY COME IF THE SOVIET UNION WILL SHARE OUR COMMITMENTS; IF IT WILL DEMONSTRATE THAT. ITS OFTEN REPEATED PROFESSIONS OF CONCERN FOR PEACE WILL BE MATCHED BY POSITIVE ACTION. ě.

PRESERVATION OF PEACE IN EUROPE AND THE PURSUIT OF ARMS REDUCTIONS TALKS ARE OF FUNDAMENTAL IMPORTANCE. BUT WE MUST ALSO HELP TO BRING PEACE AND SECURITY TO REGIONS NOW TORN BY CONFLICT, EXTERNAL INTERVENTION AND WAR.

THE AMFRICAN CONCIPT OF FEACE GOES WELL PEYOND THE ABSENCE OF WAR. WE FOPESEE A FLOWERING OF ECONOMIC. GROWTH AND INDIVIDUAL LIFEPTY IN A WORLD OF PEACE.

AT THE ECONOMIC SUMMIT IN CANCUN. I MET WITH THE LEADEPS OF 21 NATIONS AND SKETCHED OUT OUR APPPOACH TO GLOBAL ECONOMIC GROWTH. WE WANT TO ELIMINATE THE BARRIERS TO TRADE AND INVESTMENT WHICH HINDEP THESE CRITICAL INCENTIVES TO GROWTH. AND WE ARE WORKING TO DEVELOP NEW PROGRAMS TO HELP THE POORFST NATIONS ACHIEVE SELF-SUSTAINING GPOWTH.

TEPMS LIKE "PEACE" AND "SECURITY" HAVE LITTLE MEANING FOR THE OPPRESSED AND THE DESTITUTE. THEY ALSO MEAN LITTLE TO THE INDIVIDUAL WHOSE STATE HAS STRIPPED HIM OF HUMAN FREEDOM AND DIGNITY. WHEREVER THERE IS OPPRESSION, WE MUST STRIVE FOP THE PEACE AND SECURITY OF INDIVIDUALS AS WELL AS STATES. WE MUST RECOGNIZE THAT PROGRESS IN THE PURSUIT OF LIBERTY IS A NECESSARY COMPLEMENT TO MILITARY SECURITY. NOWHERE HAS THIS FUNDAMENTAL TRUTH BEEN MORE BOLDLY AND CLEARLY STATED THAN IN THE HELSINKI ACCORDS OF 1975. THESE ACCORDS HAVE NOT YET BEEN TRANSLATED INTO LIVING REALITY.

TODAY I HAVE ANNOUNCED AN AGENDA THAT CAN HELP TO ACHIEVE PEACE, SECURITY AND FREEDOM ACPOSS THE GLOBE. IN PARTICULAR, I HAVE MADE AN IMPORTANT OFFER TO FOREGO ENTIPELY DEPLOYMENT OF NEW AMERICAN MISSILES IN EUROPE IF THE SOVIET UNION IS PREPARED TO RESPOND ON AN FOUAL FOOTING.

THERE IS NO REASON WHY PEOPLE IN ANY PART OF THE WORLD SHOULD HAVE TO LIVE IN PERMANENT FEAR OF WAR OF ITS SPECTER. I BELIEVE THE TIME HAS COME FOR ALL NATIONS TO ACT IN A RESPONSIBLE SPIRIT THAT DOES NOT THREATEN OTHER STATES. I PELIEVE THE TIME IS RIGHT TO MOVE FORWARD ON APMS CONTROL AND THE RESOLUTION OF CRITICAL REGIONAL DISPUTES AT THE CONFERENCE TABLE. NOTHING WILL HAVE A HIGHER PRIOFITY FOP ME AND FOR THE AMERICAN PEOPLE OVER THE COMING MONTHS AND YEARS.

ADDRESSING THE UNITED NATIONS 20 YEARS AGO. ANOTHER AMERICAN PRESIDENT DESCRIBED THE GOAL VE STILL PURSUE TODAY.

"IF WE ALL CAN PERSEVERE," HE SAID, "IF WE CAN ... LOOK BEYOND OUR OWN SHORES AND AMBITIONS, THEN SURFLY THE AGE WILL DAWN IN WHICH THE STRONG APE JUST AND THE WEAK SECURE AND THE PEACE PRESERVED." HE DID NOT LIVE TO SEE THAT GOAL ACHIEVED.

I INVITE ALL NATIONS TO JOIN WITH AMERICA TODAY IN THE



Department of Public Information Press Section United Nations, New York



SG/SM/3210 18 November 1981

SECRETARY-GEMERAL NOTES 'SHARED CONCERN AT HIGHEST LEVEL' IN UNITED STATES AND SOVIET STATEMENTS ON ARMS CONTROL

The following statement was made today by a United Nations spokesman:

The statement by President Reagan on important questions of arms control and reduction, as well as recent remarks by President Brezhnev, indicate a shared concern at the highest level which, I hope, will lead to positive results in the forthcoming negotiations on these vital matters.

* *** *

Recipour

The statement by President Reagan on important questions of arms control and reduction, as well as recent remarks by President Brezhnev, indicate a shared concern at the highest level which, I hope, will lead to positive results in the forthcoming negotiations on these vital matters.

18 November 1981.

ROUTING SLIP	FICHE DE TRANSMISSION			
The Secretary-General				
FROM: DE: F. Giu				
Room No No de bureau	Extension - Poste		Dote 18.11.81	
FOR ACTION		POUR SUI	TE A DONNER	
FOR APPROVAL		POUR APPROBATION		
FOR SIGNATURE		POUR SIGNATURE		
FOR COMMENTS		POUR OBSERVATIONS		
MAY WE DISCUSS?		POURRIONS-NOUS EN PARLER ?		
YOUR ATTENTION	x	VOTRE ATTENTION		
AS DISCUSSED		COMME CO	DNVENU	
AS REQUESTED		SUITE A V	OTRE DEMANDE	
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FOR INFORMATION		POUR INF	ORMATION	

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DEPLOYMENT OF PERSHING AND CRUISE MISSILES IN EUROPE IN EXCHANGE FOR THE SCRAPPING OF SIMILAR SOULET WEAPONS WAS AN ATTEMPT TO SHIFT THE MILITARY BALANCE IN FAVOUR OF THE UNITED STATES. THE SOULET AGENCY SAID MR REAGAN HAD PRODUCED +FANTASTIC FIGURES+ ON THE EAST-WEST MILITARY BALANCE IN EUROPE: IN THE FACE OF WHAT IT DESCRIBED AS +INCONTROVERTIBLE FACTS.+ THESE FACTS SHOWED THAT AN APPROXIMATE NUCLEAR BALANCE EXISTED BETWEEN THE TWO SIDES; WITH NATO POSSESSING 986 NUCLEAR SYSTEMS AND THE SOVIET UNION 975; TASS SAID. THESE WERE THE FIGURES WHICH SOVIET PRESIDENT LEONID BREZHNEV GAVE IN AN INTERVIEW WITH THE WEST GERMAN MAGAZINE DER SPIEGEL IN ADVANCE OF HIS VISIT TO BONN NEXT WEEK.

1911:REAGAN-NIGHTLEAD SOVIET 2 MOSCOW: TASS SAID PRESIDENT REAGAN'S OFFER TO DROP PLANS FOR

EARLIER TODAY THE SOVIET LEADERSHIP WAS GIVEN ADVANCE DETAILS OF THE OFFER BY U.S. AMBASSADOR ARTHUR HARTMAN WHO BRIEFED FOREIGN MINISTER ANDREI GROMYKO. MORE JMM ADB

MOSCOW, NOV 18, REUTER -- THE SOVIET NEWS AGENCY TASS TODAY DISMISSED PRESIDENT REAGAN'S OFFER TO SCRAP NUCLEAR MISSILES IN EUROPE AS A PROPAGANDA ACTION DESIGNED TO LEAD SOVIET-AMERICAN DISARMAMENT TALKS UP A BLIND ALLEY.

IN ITS FIRST REPORT ON THE PRESIDENT'S ADDRESS TODAY, THE SOULET OFFICIAL AGENCY MADE CLEAR THAT THE KREMLIN WOULD REJECT

AK ISH LUF 1847:#/#/#/ URGT REAGAN-N16HTLEAD SOUIET:

BY JOHN MORRISON

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1919:REAGAN-NIGHTLEAD SOULET 3 MOSCOW:

WESTERN DIPLOMATS SAID THEY WERE STRUCK BY THE SWIFTNESS OF THE SQUIET ATTACK ON MR REAGAN'S OFFER, WHICH CONTRASTED WITH THE USUAL CAUTIOUS SOVIET APPROACH TO NEW DIPLOMATIC MOVES.

MR BREZHNEV HAS ALREADY RULED OUT THE KIND OF +ZERO OPTION+ OFFERED BY MR REAGAN, THOUGH HE HAS HINTED THAT MOSCOW MIGHT WITHDRAW SOME OF ITS OWN MISSILES IF THE MATO PLAN IS BROPPED.

THE SOVIET LEADER TOLD DER SPIEGEL THAT FURTHER CUTS IN SOVIET MISSILES WOULD REQUIRE BALANCING REDUCTIONS IN U.S. FORWARD-BASED NUCLEAR SYSTEMS.

TASS TONIGHT INDICATED THAT THE ABSENCE OF ANY REFERENCE TO FORWARD-BASED SYSTEMS AND TO THE BRITISH AND FRENCH NUCLEAR MISSILE AND BOMBER FORCES WAS THE MAJOR FLAW IN MR REAGAN'S OFFER.

MR REAGAN +DELIBERATELY KEPT SILENT ABOUT WHAT THE PENTAGON IS GOING TO DO WITH THE AMERICAN FORWARD BASED SYSTEMS; AND SAID NOT A WORD ABOUT THE BRITISH AND FRENCH BALLISTIC MISSILES THAT ARE AIMED EASTWARDS; + TASS SAID. REUTER JMM/EM/JO

Reaguer

UNITED NATIONS

The Secretary-General



NATIONS UNIES

MEMORANDUM INTERIEUR

TO: A:

DATE: 18 November 1981

REFERENCE: 10:55 a.m.

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THROUGH: S/C DE:

FROM:

Ellen Lukas - Press Analysis ally sules

SUBJECT: PEACE AND COMING U.S.-SOVIET ARMS NEGOTIATIONS ARE THEME OBJET: OF REAGAN ADDRESS TODAY AS REAGAN MAKES ARMS REDUCTION PROPOSAL TO SOVIETS.

In an address to the National Press Club today Reagan said he had written to Brezhnev to ask that both nations move forward on arms control. "Nothing will have a higher priority for this Administration," he said.

After 10 months of confrontational talk, WCBS noted, Reagan today offered a 10-point arms reduction programme to the Soviets, which included an offer to cancel plans for the U.S. to station 572 Pershing missiles in Europe, if the Soviets in return would remove some 600 missiles already deployed. U.S. officials talking afterward to correspondents denied Reagan's talk was a propaganda or publicity ploy, but called it a genuine effort to remove tensions. However, the Geneva 30 Nov. talks to which Reagan referred will deal only with U.S.-Soviet arms emplacements, not other European ones, noted CBS. The Soviet response to Reagan's proposals may come when Brezhnev visits FRG next week. Another promising sign is believed to be Soviet agreement for Gromyko to meet Haig in Geneva in January.

SOME OF REAGAN'S TEN-POINT SPEECH:

1. "I believe the time is right to move fowward on arms control." Saying that "Like the first footstep on the moon this would be a giant step," Reagan said his negotiators in Geneva will state that the U.S. will agree to not deploy 572 Pershing II and Cruise missiles in five NATO countries. Agreement on this point, Reagan said, "could substantially reduce the dread threat of nuclear war that hangs over the people of Europe."

2. Moscow and Washington should begin talks "as soon as possible next year", talks to achieve "substantial reductions in (strategic) nuclear weapons which would result in levels that are equal and verifiable To symbolize this fundamental change in direction, we will call these negotiations "STARI --Strategic Arms Reduction Talks," he said.

3. "The third proposal.... is that we act to achieve equality at lower levels of conventional forces in Europe. The Soviet Union could make no more convincing contribution to peace in Europe -- and in the world -- than by agreeing to reduce its conventional forces significantly and constrain the potential for sudden aggression."

4. Reagan renewed the American call for a conference with the Soviets to develop effective measures to reduce the risks of a "surprise attack, and the chances of war arising out of uncertainty or miscalculation."

"All of these proposals," Reagan said, "are based on the same fair-minded principles: substantial, militarily significant reductions in forces; equal ceilings for similar types of forces; and adequate provisions for verification."

IN ADDITION, Reagan cited the value of the Helsinki Accords which, he said, "have not yet been translated into living reality." He noted that the U.S. "cannot reduce arms unilaterally." He added that the "Soviets' often-repeated protestations on peace should be based on action." His proposals, he said, had been communicated to Brezhnev.

Reagan said Soviet spokesmen had suggested moving their SS-20's behind the Urals. If they did this, it would still put all the great cities of Europe (which he enumerated) within range of these missiles, which are, he said, by the way, mobile, which could give them a range into the Atlantic.

If arms reduction could be achieved, Reagan said "We foresee a world flowering with economic well-being." He noted he had recently met with the leaders of 22 nations (at Cancun -- he did not name the place). He said, "We're working to help the poorest nations." He added that these debates on security have little meaning to the poorest nations, and that they must recognize progress in individual liberty for themselves.

* * *

DEPARTMENT OF STATE

STATEMENT BY SPOKESMAN DEAN FISCHER SEPTEMBER 22, 1981 New York, New York

On September 22, President Reagan sent a letter to Soviet President Brezhnev outlining his views on the future of US-Soviet relations, and describing his desire for a constructive relationship with the Soviet Union that will lead to a free and more peaceful world community.

I cannot give you a copy of the letter. What I can do is give you a sense of its contents and perhaps put it in the general themes in which the President addressed President Brezhnev.

The general thrust of it is as follows:

The US is vitally interested in the peaceful resolution of international tensions and in a stable and constructive relationship with the Soviet Union.

To achieve better US-Soviet relations, the US is fully prepared to discuss with the Soviet Union the entire range of issues dividing the two countries; to seek significant, verifiable reductions in nuclear weapons; to expand trade and to increase contacts at all levels of our societies.

However, the US is more interested in actions than in words which further the cause of peace.

It is necessary to emphasize that a truly stable and constructive relationship must be built upon restraint and reciprocity, quite frankly, we believe, elements which have been missing from many Soviet actions in recent years. These are two aspects of such Soviet actions which have been of particular concern to the United States.

First, the USSR's unremitting and comprehensive military buildup over the past 15 years, a buildup far exceeding Soviet defensive needs and one which carries distrubing implications of a search on the part of the Soviet Union for military superiority.

Secondly, the Soviet Union's pursuit of unilateral advantage in various parts of the world -- through direct and indirect use of force in regional conflicts. The role of Cuba in Africa and Latin America is particularly destabilizing.

Needless to say, the US is also highly concerned about the situation in Poland. It is our strongly-held view that this situation can only be dealt with by the Polish people themselves. Any other approach would have serious consequences for all of us.

Despite these disturbing trends, the US is committed to a dialogue with the USSR on critical geopolitical issues and to negotiations that would lead to genuine arms reductions.

We are looking forward to the coming meetings in New York between Secretary of State Haig and Foreign Minister Gromyko, as we are hopeful that these meetings will start just such a process. Specifically, we hope the meeting will produce agreement on the time and place for negotiations between our two countries on Theatre Nuclear Forces. The US is strongly committed to achieving a military balance in this area -- a balance which has been upset by the unprecedented buildup of Soviet SS-20 missiles.

We, our Allies and other nations have proposed negotiated solutions to significant problems that threaten world peace, such as the presence of occupation forces in Afghanistan and Kampuchea. As we have stated at the CSCE meeting in Madrid, we also are prepared to to participate in negotiations to fashion a coherent system of commitments on European security that are both verifiable and militarily significant. We have made or we support concrete proposals for progress in all three of these areas, but the Soviet Union has turned its back on all of these proposals for negotiations.

While committed to a stable and peaceful world, the US is not willing to accept a position of strategic disadvantage, which will endanger our free society. The United States does not want to tax our citizens and economy with a costly, burdensome arms race, but we will invest whatever is necessary to maintain a secure strategic posture. The United States is fully prepared to take into account legitimate Soviet interests, if the Soviets are willing to do the same with ours.

In sum, the United States is hopeful that we can succeed in establishing a framework of mutual respect for each otner's interest and a mutual restraint in the resolution of international crises, a framework that will create a more solid and enduring basis for U.S.-Soviet relations than we have ever had before.

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THE REPRESENTATIVE OF THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA TO THE UNITED NATIONS

SI MEZA

July 20, 1981

His Excellency Kurt Waldheim Secretary - General of the United Nations New York

Excellency:

I have the honor to convey to you the following message from President Ronald Reagan:

"Dear Secretary-General Waldheim,

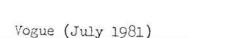
Your good wishes on our Independence Day are deeply appreciated by the American people and by me.

Sincerely,

Ronald Reagan"

Accept, Excellency, the assurances of my highest consideration.

Jeans J. Kirkpatrick



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PEOPLE V ARE TALKING ABOUT...

The new American posture—strongarmed and toughminded. Jeane Kirkpatrick—our woman at the U.N., a key to the new wave from Washington...A provocative interview with the most powerful woman in U.S. government—complex, controversial, unexpected...

BY MAUREEN ORTH

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NATIONS UNIES

MEMORANDUM INTERIEUR

DATE: 16 June 1981

REFERENCE:

INTEROFFICE MEMORANDUM

UNITED NATIONS

The Secretary-General TO: A:

THROUGH: S/C DE:

FROM: Press Analysis, ERD-DPI

SUBJECT: Reagan Press Conference OBJET: (Tuesday 16 June, 2 p.m.)

VOICI LES PRINCIPAUX POINTS DE POLITIQUE ETRANGERE ABORDES PAR LE PRESIDENT RONALD REAGAN AU COURS DE LA CONFERENCE DE PRESSE:

#) VENTES D'ARMES A LA CHINE - LE PRESIDENT A EXPLIQUE QUE LA DECISION DE VENDRE DES APMES OFFENSIVES A LA CHINE SI ELLE LE DESIRE EST 'UN ELEMENT NORMAL DU PROCESSUS D'AMELIORATION DE NOS RELATIONS' ET N'A RIEN A VOIE AVEC LA MENACE SOVIETIQUE SUF LA POLOGNE. CELA NE MODIFIE PAS L'ENGAGEMENT PRIS PAR LES ETATS-UNIS DE CONTINUER A FOURNIE DES ARMES DEFENSIVES A TAIWAN.

2) ISRAEL - LE PRESIDENT A RECONNU QU'ISRAEL 'AVAIT DES PAISONS D'ETRE INGUIET' DU DEVELOPPEMENT NUCLEAIRE DE L'IRAK ET 'POUVAIT AVOIR SINCFREMENT CRU' QUE LE RAID SUR TAMMOUZ ETAIT 'UNE ACTION DEFENSIVE'. M. REAGAN A AJOUTE QU'IL AVAIT DU MAL A SE REPRESENTER

ISRAEL COMME 'UNE MENACE POUR SES VOISINS'. IL A EXPRIME L'ESPOIR QUE CES DERNIERS DEVELOPPEMENTS AU MOYEN OPIENT NE FERONT PAS ECHOUER LA MISSION DE SON ENVOYE SPECIAL, M. PHILIP HABIB, ET QUE LES MISSILES SYRIENS AU LIBAN N'ENTRERONT PAS EN ACTION.

3) POLOGNE - LA SITUATION VA RESTER "TRES TENDUE". UN EVENTUEL RECOURS A LA FORCE PAR L'UMION SOVIETIQUE AURAIT "D'ENORMES CONSEQUENCES DANS LE RESTE DU NONDE". LA SITUATION EN POLOGNE REPRESENTE, SELON M. REAGAN, LE "PREMIER CRAQUEMENT DANS LE RIDEAU DE FER" ET CONFIRME QUE LE COMMUNISME EST "UNE ABEREATION" ET

QUE ''IL EST IMPOSSIBLE A N'IMPORTE QUEL REGIME DE REFUSER INDEFINIMENT LA LIBERTE A UN PEUPLE''.

4) PAXISTAN: LE PRESIDENT A JUSTIFIE LE NOUVEAU PROGRAMME AMERICAIN DE 3 MILLIARDS DE DOLLARS D'AIDE (AUX DEUX-TIERS MILITAIRE) AU PAKISTAN PENDANT LES SIX PROCHAINES ANNEES EN EVOGUANT LA ''POSITION TPES STRATEGIQUE'' DE CE PAYS. IL A AJOUTE QU'IL ETAIT DANS L'INTERET DES ETATS-UNIS DE CONTINUER A AIDER LE PAKISTAM.

5) <u>RISCHES DE GUEPRE NUCLEAIRE EN EUROPE</u>: M. REAGAN A RECONNU QUE C'ETAIT 'UNE POSSIBILITE TERRIFIANTE' MAIS QU'IL ESPERAIT QUE L'ELEMENT DE DISCUASION L'EVITEFAIT. SSNOTRE OBJECTIF ESSENTIEL DOIT ETRE LA PAIX ET CELA SE REALISEPA SI NOUS MAINTEMONS UNE FORCE SUFFISANTE', A-T-IL DIT.

6) POLITIQUE ETFANGERE: LE PRESIDENT À ASSURE QU'IL N'ETAIT PAS INDISPENSABLE QU'IL FASSE UN GRAND DISCOURS DE POLITIQUE ETRANGERE POUR QUE SON GOUVERNEMENT AIT UN PROGRAMME DANS CE DOMAINE. IL À SOULIGNE QU'EN CINQ MOIS IL AVAIT DEJÀ RENCONTRE HUIT CHEFS D'ETAT ET DES REPRESENTANTS DE NEUF AUTRES GOUVERNEMENTS ETRANGERS ET CU'IL AVAIT ENGAGE UNE CORRESPONDANCE AVEC LE PRESIDENT SOVIETIQUE LEONID PREJNEV. (AFR) IN NEWS AMALYSIS, TUESDAY 16 JUNE 1981 - 3.00 p.m.

PRESIDENT REAGAN'S NEWS CONFERENCE

ISRAEL

Asked what action the U.S. would take if the Israeli attack on Iraq was found to be offensive, and not defensive. Reagan replied he could not answer as the question was still under review in Congress. However the President stressed Israel may well have had reason to fear Iraq, as Iraq has never signed a ceasefire with them, nor even recognized Israel as a nation. He said he could "envision" Israel being afraid of its neighbours. Reagan emphasized the most important issue to come out of the raid is the "long overdue" need for a peaceful settlement of the Mideast problem.

LEBANON

Questioned as to whether he agreed with several Mideast leaders that the Israeli attack had "virtually eliminated" Habib's mission, Reagan said he thought Habib had done a "miraculous job" so far. The President commented: "It has been several weeks now since the missile crisis began, and no war has happened."// Reagan was asked if Israel acted to "take out" the Syrian missiles in Lebanon would he consider it a violation of the laws under which Israel obtained the weapons. He replied he would hate to see this happen, as it would end the prospects of peace in the Mideast, but stressed that the Syrian missiles are offensive weapons.

POLAND

Reagan thought the Polish situation would be very tense for some time to come. He said the Soviet Union is faced with a problem in their "once-iron curtain." But the President stressed the forceful reaction of the rest of the world if the Soviets should act against Poland.

CHINA

The President insisted the agreement to supply China with technology and defensive weapons was to improve US/China relations, and to give China the same status as many other countries. He denied the Soviet threat to Poland had any bearing on the US decision to supply arms to China. Reagan also stressed US relations with Taiwan would remain unchanged.

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RECEIVED MAY 2 7 1981 THE REVE ENTATIVE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA TO THE UNITED NATIONS

May 26, 1981

His Excellency Kurt Waldheim Secretary General of the United Nations New York

Excellency:

I have the honor to transmit the enclosed letter to you from President Reagan.

Accept, Excellency, the assurances of my highest consideration.

Jean &. Kinhpatrich

Jeane J. Kirkpatrick

UN-3306/108

THE WHITE HOUSE WASHINGTON

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May 18, 1981

Dear Mr. Secretary General:

It was a pleasure to welcome you to the White House and to have the opportunity for a personal exchange. I also thank you for the handsome collection of United Nations commemorative medals. It is a splendid collection, and your thoughtfulness is very much appreciated.

With warm regards,

P. S. St mas good to say you at Note Dome.

His Excellency Kurt Waldheim Secretary General of the United Nations United Nations, New York 10017

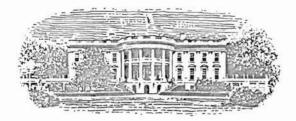
LIt. Rec'd RA- 21 May 1981

Principal Officials of the Executive Branch

of the Administration of

RONALD REAGAN

Appointed January 20-April 3, 1981



Supplement 3 U.S. Government Manual 1980/81



Excellency,

On the occasion of Independence Day, I should like to extend to you my warmest congratulations together with my best wishes for your personal well-being and for the prosperity of the people of the United States of America. May I take this opportunity to express my appreciation for the support which you and your Government are lending to the United Nations in its endeavours in the cause of world peace and international co-operation.

Please accept, Excellency, the assurances of my highest consideration.

KURT WALDHEIM SECRETARY-GENERAL UNITED NATIONS

W. Justice and THE REPRESENTATIVE OF THE NITED STATES OF AMERICA TO THE UNITED NATIONS

May 13, 1981

His Excellency Kurt Waldheim Secretary-General of the United Nations New York, New York 10017

Dear Mr. Secretary-General:

On behalf of President Reagan, I want to thank you for the kind words you expressed to him on the recent successful completion of the mission of the Space Shuttle Columbia. All Americans are naturally very proud of this achievement, but we also share your belief that this success marks the beginning of a new era in the peaceful exploration of outer space, one that will see the benefits of space technology contributing more and more to social and economic development worldwide.

Sincerely,

Jeape J. Kirkpatrick





Office of Public Information Press Section United Nations, New York



SG/T/1010 30 April 1981

SECRETARY-GENERAL CONFERS WITH UNITES STATES PRESIDENT IN WASHINGTON D.C.

The Secretary-General met today with United States President Ronald Reagan at the White House at 10:30 a.m. They had an exchange of views on the international situation, with special emphasis on various crisis areas in the world. Among the subjects discussed were East-West relations, the situation in Lebanon, Namibia, Asian problems, the North-South dialogue and efforts to overcome the present difficulties in order to start global economic negotiations.

The talks took place in a friendly atmosphere and the Secretary-General considered them to have been very useful and helpful.

Before the meeting with the President, the Secretary-General met with Vice President George Bush and Secretary of State Alexander M. Haig. Jeane Kirkpatrick, United States Permanent Representative to the United Nations, participated in all three meetings.

The talks with Secretary Haig continued over a luncheon offered by the Secretary for the Secretary-General. Also attending the luncheon were Deputy Secretary of State Clark and Under-Secretary of State for Political Affairs Stoessel, as well as Ambassador Kirkpatrick. In addition to the discussion of subjects raised during the meeting with the President, the Law of the Sea Conference, the global negotiations and the Cyprus problem, were discussed.

In the morning, the Secretary-General met with Senator Charles H. Percy, Chairman of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee. In the afternoon, the Secretary-General had talks with Representative Clement J. Zablocki, Chairman of the House Foreign Affairs Committee. After that meeting, Congressman Zablocki took the Secretary-General into the Committee's chamber, where its meeting had been suspended. The Committee's members welcomed the Secretary-General.

* *** *

DRAFT WBB/JM - 29 April 1981

SECRET MEMO TO SG

SUBJECT: Your meeting with President Reagan

I am sure you already have in mind the main points you will wish to discuss in the relatively brief time you will have with President Reagan. However, as a possible assistance I wish shall jo -- have jotted down, as a convenient reminder, some points you may wish to make:

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/ . . .

 Appreciation for his receiving you so soon after his hospitalization and gratification at the speed of his recovery;

2) Your impending trip to Moscow will offer an opportunity to convey directly to Brezhnev any specific message Reagan might wish you to do. Ouring times of crisis and tension in the past, such as the Cuban missile crisis where the UN served as an invaluable channel of communication, and you will be glad to facilitate dialogue in any way that may be helpful;

3) You believe the USSR already understands the strength of Administration's concerner about any expansionist or terrorist actions. In this connexion it is gratifying that the Soviets, at least up to now, have refrained from invading Poland, despite development of an independent political force in that country with the growing strength of a solidarity trade union movement; 4) The majority of UN Members over the past few years have increasingly shared US viewpoint on many of the world's major problems. i.e. GA (a) - Afghanistan: GA on
20 November 1980 by vote of 111 to 22, with 12 abstentions, supported political independence of country and called for immediate withdrawal of foreign troops from Afghanistan; and,
(b) Kampuchea: on 22 October 1980, by vote of 97 to 23, GA called for an independent Kampuchea, free of outside interference and calling for withdrawal of foreign troops;

5) Questionable when USSR can be persuaded to withdraw from Afghanistan but you are pleased Pakistan and Afghan Governments, accept your "good offices" and show flexibility in terms of continuing dialogue.

6) Obtaining withdrawal Vietnam from Kampuchea will also be difficult. You are working closely with ASEANS in their obvious strategy to use possible international conference on subject as pressure even though they without participation of USSR and Vietnam. You frankly doubt conference can achieve much.

7) One of the most critical institutional problems this year is increasing tendency of radical Arabs to challenge Israel's participation in UN. You have taken clear public stand in defence of universality and will continue behindthe scenes efforts to avoid the issue from developing into open

- 2 -

confrontation in next GA.

Situation in Lebanon is particularly worrisome, with deacer 8) The UN Peace-keeping Forces in the South have sustained considerable losses and if the current escalation of fighting continues, the question arises about continued usefulness of UNIFIL role.

3

Regarding Third World porblems, you believe the best 9) way to preventing under-privileged peoples from turning toward radicalism is to offer them concrete hope of improvement in their living standards. The UN system continues to offer best and cheapest way of accomplishing this. You are pleased, despite obvious budgetary pressures, the US Administration has indicated willingness to continue its contributions to such programmes through the UN.

10.) globel romat

14 April 1981

Pole in the

Dear Hadam Ambassador,

Attached for your information is a copy of a cable the Secretary-General sent today to His Excellency Mr. Ronald V. Reagan, President of the United States.

Please accept, Madam Ambassador, the assurances of my highest consideration.

Rafeeuddin Ahmed Chef de Cabinet

Ner Excellency Mrs. Jeane J. Kirkpatrick Permanent Representative of the United States to the United Nations New York HIS EXCELLENCY MR. ROMALD W. REAGAN PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED STATES WASHINGTON, DC

DEAR MR. PRESIDENT,

I WISH TO CONVEY TO YOU, MR. PRESIDENT, AND THROUGH YOU TO THE ASTRONAUTS, JOHN YOUNG AND ROBERT CRIPPEN, AND TO THE AMERICAN PEOPLE, MY WARMEST CONGRATULATIONS ON THE SUCCESSFUL COMPLETION OF THE MISSION OF THE SPACE SHUTTLE "COLUMBIA".

THIS DRAMATIC EVENT AGAIN UNDERSCORES MAN'S INGENIOUS CAPACITY TO OVERCOME SEEMINGLY INSUPERABLE OBSTACLES. IT IS A TRIBUTE TO THE COURAGE OF THE TWO MEN WHO VENTURED INTO SPACE AND TO THE SKILLS OF YOUR SCIENTISTS.

I AM CONFIDENT THAT THIS HOST IMPRESSIVE ACHIEVEMENT WILL EPNEFIT THE WHOLE OF MANKIND AND ENCOURAGE FURTHER PEACEFUL EXPLORATION OF OUTER SPACE.

PLEASE ACCEPT, MR. PRESIDENT, THE ASSURANCES OF MY HIGHEST CONSIDERATION.

KURT WALDHEIM SECRETARY-GENERAL UNITED NATIOUS

14 April 1981 R.Ahrod/jar 3830 5028

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HIS EXCELLENCY MR. ROMALD W. REAGAN PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED STATES WASHINGTON, DC (USA)

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EURT WALCHEIM SECRETARY-GENERAL UNITED NATIONS

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	INTEROFFICE MEMORANDUM	MEMORANDUM INTERIEUR	
то: А:	The Secretary-General	DATE:	14 April 1981
THROUGH: S/C DE:		REFERENC	E:
FROM: DE:	Mikhail D. Sytenko, W Political and Security	der-Secretary-General Council Affairs	

14 4 Pres. Reafon

SUBJECT: Draft cable from the Secretary-General to OBJET: Mr. Ronald Reagan, President of the United States of America

> In connexion with the successful completion of the mission of the American astronauts in the Space Shuttle, attached please find a draft cable for transmission from the Secretary-General to Mr. Ronald Reagan, President of the United States of America.

<u>E.F</u>, oble before die receijd of this meno. Please file.

14 APRIL 1981

• 4

HIS EXCELLENCY MR. RONALD REAGAN PRESIDENT, UNITED STATES OF AMERICA WASHINGTON, DC

MR. PRESIDENT, IT IS MY PLEASURE TO CONGRATULATE YOU, THE AMERICAN PEOPLE AND ASTRONAUTS JOHN W. YOUNG AND CAPT. ROBERT L. CRIPPEN UPON THE SUCCESSFUL MAIDEN VOYAGE OF THE SPACE SHUTTLE COLUMBIA.

THE SIGNIFICANCE OF THIS MISSION IN MAN'S HISTORY OF SPACE ACTIVITY CANNOT BE UNDERESTIMATED. FOR WITH THE FLIGHT OF THE SPACE SHUTTLE COLUMBIA, THE INHABITANTS OF THIS PLANET HAVE ENTERED A NEW ERA OF PEACEFUL SPACE EXPLORATION, AN ERA IN WHICH, I HOPE, ALL NEW SCIENTIFIC AND TECHNICAL ACHIEVEMENTS OF DIFFERENT STATES WILL SERVE IN THE INTERESTS OF PEACE AND CO-OPERATION BETWEEN NATIONS FOR THE FUTURE BENEFIT OF ALL MANKIND.

UPON THE OCCASION OF THIS MAJOR ACCOMPLISHMENT, I OFFER ONCE AGAIN MY SINCERE CONGRATULATIONS AND HIGHEST REGARDS.

> KURT WALDHEIM SECRETARY-GENERAL UNITED NATIONS

Reagen

cc:MEM

AR/JEB

CONFIDENTIAL MOTE FOR THE SECRETARY-GENERAL b/f:RA/GMM File:DPI XRef:USA MOTE FOR THE SECRETARY-GENERAL

Mr. Harvey Hament called me today and asked me to inform you that the Bill Moyers debate on 10 April 1981 had been cancelled.

He also said that he had recently talked to Mrs. Reagan who would be pleased if you could receive "somebody" after your return from Geneva. Mr. Hament did not give any further details but would like to discuss the matter with you on the telephone.

A. Rohan 3 April 1981

An assassination attempt took place around 2 p.m. as President Reagan left the Washington after (Sim?) Hilton Hotel., Four or five shots were fired by an unidentified assailant.

Mres Reagen

The President was hit on the left side of the chest, and is in the George Washington hospital. He is reported to be conscious and in a stable condition.

Three other people are reported to be wounded: a Secret Service officer, a Washington Critical Metropolitan policeman, and James Brady, the President's Press Officer. Brady was shot in the head; seriousness of the injury not yet known.

Mrs. Reagan was not present at the time of the shooting. She is now at the hospital.

Vice-President Bush is already on his way back to Washington from Texas.

The assailant was arrested immediately.

224r. John Hinkley Jr., Evergreen, Colorado.

38 calubre revolver.

· Recipier:

WEB/KW/MEM

30 Harch 1981

Dear Jeane,

As we discussed, may I ask you to please be kind enough to transmit urgently the enclosed message to President Reagan.

With kind regards, Your sincerely,

Kurt Waldheim

Her Excellency Mrs. Jeane J. Kirkpatrick Permanent Representative of the United States of America to the United Nations New York

30 March 1991

His Excellency Mr. Ronald W. Reagan President of the United States of America -Washington, D. C.

Dear Mr. President,

I was profoundly shocked to learn of the attempt on your life today. On behalf of the United Nations I wish to convey the sense of deep concern and dismay felt by the entire international community at this despicable act.

I extend to you, Mr. Prdsident, my warmest personal wishes for a speedy and complete recovery. I also extend my best wishes for a safe recovery to your aides who were wounded in the same attack. Our thoughts are with you and the American people in this difficult time of trial.

With warmest regards,

Kurt Waldheim Secretary-General United Nations

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TO: A :

His Excellency

Mr. Ronald W. Reagan

President of the United States of America

Washington, D. C.

DEAR MR. PRESIDENT,

I WAS PROFOUNDLY SHOCKED TO LEARN OF THE ATTEMPT ON YOUR LIFE TODAY. ON BEHALF OF THE UNITED NATIONS I WISH TO CONVEY THE SENSE OF DEEP CONCERN AND DISMAY FELT AT THIS DESPICABLE ACT.

I EXTEND TO YOU, MR. PRESIDENT, MY WARMEST PERSONAL WISHES FOR A SPEEDY AND COMPLETE RECOVERY. I ALSO EXTEND MY BEST WISHES FOR A SAFE RECOVERY TO YOUR AIDES WHO WERE WOUNDED IN THE SAME ATTACK. OUR THOUGHTS ARE WITH YOU IN THIS DIFFICULT TIME OF TRIAL.

with warnest reports

Signature

Cleared by: Visê par : K.W

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Conjugate Office of Public Information Press Section United Nations, New York



SG/SM/3092 30 March 1981

SECRETARY-GEMERAL CONDEMNS 'WANTON ACT OF TERRORISM'

IN ATTACK ON UNITED STATES PRESIDENT REAGAN

The following statement on behalf of Secretary-General Kurt Waldheim was made today by a United Nations spokesman:

The Secretary-General has learned with shock and dismay of the assassination attempt on President Ronald W. Reagan.

He strongly condemns this wanton act of terrorism and has conveyed his best wishes to the President for a speedy and complete recovery.

* *** *



Office of Public Information

Press Section United Nations, New York



SG/SM/3091 30 March 1981

SECRETARY-GEMERAL SENDS MESSAGE TO UNITED STATES PRESIDENT

EXPRESSING SHOCK AT ATTEMPT ON HIS LIFE

Following is the text of a telegram sent today by Secretary-General Kurt Waldheim to United States President Ronald W. Reagan:

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* *** *

WBB/KW/MEM

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30 March 1981

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with kind regards, yours sincerely

Kurt Waldheim

Her Excellency Mrs. Jeane J. Kirkpatrick Permanent Representative of the United States of America to the United Nations New York

30 March 1981

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With warmest regards,

Kurt Waldheim Secretary-General United Nations

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His Excellency Repair - Alexand

Mr. Ronald W. Reagan

President of the United States of America

Washington, D. C.

DEAR MR. PRESIDENT,

Cleared by:

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with warness reports

Authorized by: Autorisé par :

Signature

Name and title (please type) - Nom et qualité (à dactylographier)

Deoreour

CONFIDENTIAL

Note for the file

I telephoned Mr. Goldberg, Executive Assistant to US Secretary of State Haig, and told him that the Secretary-General had met President Reagan during the intermission of the Joffrey Ballet on Sunday and that they had briefly discussed the possibility of the Secretary-General's visiting Washington. The Secretary-General had also mentioned this to Ambassador Kirkpatrick.

I felt it would be useful to bring it to Mr. Goldberg's attention and to point out that the Secretary-General would be paying a visit to the Soviet Union early in May. I added that, from 7 to 20 April, the Secretary-General would be absent from New York. In the event that President Reagan's heavy schedule would not permit a formal visit, it would be possible to envisage a brief working visit - the main purpose being to ensure that the two get together. Mr. Goldberg thanked me and said he would work on the idea.

Rafeeuddin Ahmed 16 March 1981

Reafan

DATE: 6 March 1981

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MEMORANDUM INTERIEUR

UNITED NATIONS



INTEROFFICE MEMORANDUM

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THROUGH: S/C DE:

Ellen Lukas, OPI FROM: DE:

SUBJECT: Reagan Press Conference, 2 p.m.

- EL SALVADOR:
- Q. How strongly would the Reagan Admin. oppose a rightist takeover in El Salvador?
- A. Reagan dodged the question, saying only, "We are there at the request of the govt.," and "the US opposes terrorism." He added that a coup would be "a matter of the highest concern."
- Q. How can the US insure the safety of US personnel sent to El Salvador?
- A. "None would be going into combat," he said, but "unfortunately the situation could not be risk free ."
- Q. Is the parallel with Vietnam justified?
- A. The situation is "in our backyard." Reagan said and stressed that "we are trying to stop the destabilizing force of terrorism and revolution backed by the Soviet Union and others." He suggested that the effect of such a force could spread even to North America.

"THE WAR ISSUE":

- Q. During the presidential campaign it was charged that Reagan was a "war candidate". Could this issue come up when Reagan visits Canada next week?
- A. I did not start the El Salvador thing; I inherited it." Reagan added he had been "in office six weeks now, and I have not fired a shot."

HUMAN RIGHTS IN EL SALVADOR:

- Q. The El Salvador junta has been accused of violating human rights. Any comment?
- A. "One of the reasons we support this govt. is that we do believe they hold the best hope for the future of El Salvador." Reagan added that the leftist forces themselves claimed to have killed 6,000 El Salvadorans in the last year.

TURKEY AND GREECE:

Q. Would you consider increasing aid to Turkey?

A. Reagan confessed he did not remember the figures on aid to Turkey, but he said basically his Admin.'s policy is to continue aid to Turkey. He stressed that Greece, too, was important to the US, adding he would try to "improve relations" with the two countries.

SOVIET GRAIN EMBARGO:

- Q. At your first press conference you said there were only two possible policies: to lift it or broaden it. What is your position now?
- A. We would all like to lift it, but now we have to look at the int'l. situation. "We are hopeful we can arrive at a decision on this, and one that would benefit our farmers."

/ OTHER QUESTIONS DEALT WITH DOMESTIC BUDGET MATTERS.





Office of Public Information Press Section United Nations, New York



SG/Sm/3067 23 February 1981

MESSAGE FROM UNITED STATES PRESIDENT TO SECRETARY-GENERAL

Following is the text of a message sent to Secretary-General Kurt Waldheim on 13 February by Ronald Reagan, President of the United States:

Dear Mr. Secretary-General:

Thank you very much for your thoughtful greetings upon my inauguration as President of the United States. I especially appreciated your sentiments of friendship and velcome the opportunity of working with you in pursuit of our mutual goals of peace and freedom for all people.

I look forward to the opportunity to meet with you.

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THE DEPUTY REPRESENTATIVE OF THE UNITED STATES

February 13, 1981

His Excellency Kurt Waldheim Secretary General of the United Nations New York, New York

His Excellency:

I have the honor to transmit the following message to you from President Reagan:

"Dear Mr. Secretary General:

Thank you very much for your thoughtful greetings upon my inauguration as President of the United States. I especially appreciated your sentiments of friendship and welcome the opportunity of working with you in pursuit of our mutual goals of peace and freedom for all people.

I look forward to the opportunity to meet with you.

Sincerely, Ronald Reagan"

Sincerely, ichar

Richard W. Petree Ambassador

UN 3306/103



POSTAGE AND FEES PAID DEPARTMENT OF STATE STA-501

THE DEPUTY REPRESENTATIVE OF THE UNITED STATES IN THE UNITED NATIONS SECURITY COUNCIL 799 UNITED NATIONS PLAZA NEW YORK, NEW YORK 10017

OFFICIAL BUSINESS

His Excellency Kurt Waldheim Secretary General of the United Nations New York, New York

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BY HAND

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THE DEPUTY REPRESENTATIVE OF THE UNITED STATES IN THE UNITED NATIONS SECURITY COUNCIL

February 13, 1981

His Excellency Kurt Waldheim Secretary General of the United Nations New York, New York

His Excellency:

I have the honor to transmit the following message to you from President Reagan:

"Dear Mr. Secretary General:

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I look forward to the opportunity to meet with you.

Sincerely, Ronald Reagan"

Sincerely, ieli

Richard W. Petree Ambassador

UN 3306/103

Reapter

29 January 1981

At his first formal presidential press conference, Ronald Reagan of the United States this afternoon read a brief statement on national economic issues and then took questions.

123-6

A correspondent asked if United States policy towards Iran would be one of "revenge or reconciliation", and if the United States would honour the recent commitments it had made to Iran.

President Reagan said he was not thinking of revenge, and he did not know if reconciliation was possible with the Government -- or absence of Government -in Iran. He thought the United States would honour the commitments made. The complex matter was now being thoroughly studied to see whether the commitments were in keeping with international, and national, law.

If he did not favour revenge, did that preclude any punishment of Iran? a correspondent asked. It was too complex a matter to answer until there had been time to study it, Mr. Reagan replied.

Replying to a question about United States companies that wanted to resume business in Iran, Mr. Reagan said "I hope they're going to do it long distance". The United States did not want "different characters, the same show". The United States was urging people "to think long and hard" about travelling to Iran. It did not think their safety could be guaranteed.

Asked subsequently if he would go so far to encourage United States business to return to Iran, he said: "At this point, no."

Recalling that President Reagan had spoken of severe and effective retribution to future terrorists, a correspondent asked him what action he would take. President Reagan replied that the question could not, and should not, be answered in specifics. People had gone to bed "in some of these countries" sure that the United States would not act against them. In the future, they could not go to sleep so confident.

Asked what he considered inequitable about the Strategic Arms Limitation Treaty, Mr. Reagan said he did not think that a treaty that permitted a build-up on both sides of strategic nuclear weapons could be called a Limitation Treaty. Negotiations should be started on the basis of a reduction in arms; that would be real limitation. He felt that SALT talks should be negotiated in the light of international events, he added. In other words, he believed in linkage.

29 January 1981 V Page - 2 -

Asked if he thought the Soviet Union was bent on domination, or whether detente was possible, Mr. Reagan said that so far detente was a one-way street. There had not been any Soviet leader who had not repeated the Soviet determination to promote world revolution and a one-world socialist or communist State. As long as Soviet standards were not the same as American standards, "when you do business with them, you have to keep that in mind".

Asked if he would lift the grain embargo, Mr. Reagan said there were only two things to do with an embargo: lift it or enlarge it. At present, only one group was participating in it -- the farmers. The Cabinet would meet on that subject next week.

Recalling that the new Jamaican Prime Minister had suggested that President Reagan take a foreign policy initiative in Latin America and the Caribbean, a correspondent asked how Mr. Reagan's policies would differ from former President Carter's. In reply, Mr. Reagan said that the election of the Prime Minister had been a turn-around of a nation that had gone in the direction of communism. It opened the door for a policy of bringing countries into the "Western, or free, world", or of keeping them there.

Iran and the Soviet Union shared a long border in an area vital for world peace and security, a correspondent said. How did President Reagan think the United States could assure the stability of the region? Iran must establish a Government that could speak as a Government. Any country would want to help a country that showed it wanted to abide by international law, Mr. Reagan replied.

If he wanted to signal to the world that the United States wouldn't stand for terrorism, why was his policy not to retaliate in Iran? a correspondent asked. President Reagan said: "What good would revenge do, and what form would it take?"

BEU/ns



THE SECRETARY-GENERAL

21 January 1981

Huhel

Dear Mr. President, -

Let me take this opportunity to send to you my warmest good wishes for the future and for your success in the infinitely important duties which you have just assumed. I look forward to meeting with you a little later on, at a time convenient to you. I wish to assure you of my wish to co-operate with you closely as I have done with your predecessors.

I have this morning been discussing a number of important ouestions and in particular, the problem of Afghanistan, with Dr. Armand Hammer. We have both concluded that there may be an opportunity to make significant progress on this very vital international problem in the near future.

I myself am attending the Islamic Conference at Taif in Saudi Arabia, leaving New York next Friday 23 January. I believe that this meeting may provide possibilities for discussing the Afghanistan problem in a constructive way. For this reason, I have asked Dr. Hammer to put some ideas to you when he meets you this afternoon. It would naturally be very helpful to me, if possible, to know your thinking on this problem before proceeding with my talks in Taif. I realise that this may present some problems for you in the second day of your Presidency. but naturally I would like to have your understanding and support in any initiatives which I may be undertaking in the next few days. Alternatively, if this is premature, I would be glad to know of your views on my return to New York next week. I am leaving New York again on 9 Februarv to attend the Meeting of the Non-Aligned Foreign Ministers in New Delhi.

His Excellency Mr. Ronald Wilson Reagan President of the United States of America Washington, D.C. Among others at the Islamic Conference, I shall be meeting with the Foreign Minister of Pakistan, Mr. Agha Shahi, with whom both Dr. Hammer and I have discussed this matter extensively in the past few weeks.

I would be most grateful if you would let Dr. Hammer know any reactions you may have on this matter.

Please accept, Mr. President, my congratulations and heartfelt good wishes,

Yours sincerely,

Kurt Waldheim



Office of Fublic Information Press Section United Nations, New York



SG/SM/3039 20 January 1981

SECRETARY-GENERAL SENDS MESSAGE TO NEW UNITED STATES PRESIDENT

Following is the text of a message sent today by Secretary-General Kurt Waldheim to Ronald Reagan, President of the United States, on the occasion of his inauguration:

Dear Mr. President,

On the occasion of your inauguration as President of the United States of America I wish to extend to you my warm personal congratulations and best wishes for success in the fulfilment of the important responsibilities you have assumed.

I look forward to the opportunity of meeting you personally and of continuing the excellent co-operation which has consistently existed between your country and the United Nations in the pursuit of our common objective of achieving a more just, humane and peaceful world.

You may be assured of my own dedication to this joint endeavour.

Highest consideration,

Kurt Waldheim Secretary-General United Nations

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THE SECRETARY-GENERAL

21 January 1981

Dear Mr. President, -

Let me take this opportunity to send to you my warmest good wishes for the future and for your success in the infinitely important duties which you have just assumed. I look forward to meeting with you a little later on, at a time convenient to you. I wish to assure you of my wish to co-operate with you closely as I have done with your predecessors.

I have this morning been discussing a number of important ouestions and in particular, the problem of Afghanistan, with Dr. Armand Hammer. We have both concluded that there may be an opportunity to make significant progress on this very vital international problem in the near future.

I myself am attending the Islamic Conference at Taif in Saudi Arabia. leaving New York next Friday 23 January. I believe that this meeting may provide possibilities for discussing the Afghanistan problem in a constructive way. For this reason, I have asked Dr. Hammer to put some ideas to you when he meets you this afternoon. It would naturally be very helpful to me, if possible, to know your thinking on this problem before proceeding with my talks in Taif. I realise that this may present some problems for you in the second day of your Presidency, but naturally I would like to have your understanding and support in any initiatives which I may be undertaking in the next few days. Alternatively, if this is premature, I would be glad to know of your views on my return to New York next week. I am leaving New York again on 9 February to attend the Meeting of the Non-Aligned Foreign Ministers in New Delhi.

His Excellency Mr. Ronald Wilson Reagan President of the United States of America Washington, D.C. Among others at the Islamic Conference. I shall be meeting with the Foreign Minister of Pakistan. Mr. Agha Shahi, with whom both Dr. Hammer and I have discussed this matter extensively in the past few weeks.

I would be most grateful if you would let Dr. Hammer know any reactions you may have on this matter.

Please accept, Mr. President, my congratulations and heartfelt good wishes,

Yours sincerely,

Kurt Waldheim

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19 January 1981 WEE/JL/amj

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HIS EXCELLENCY MR. RONALD WILSON REAGAN PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA THE WHITE HOUSE WASHINGTON, D.C.

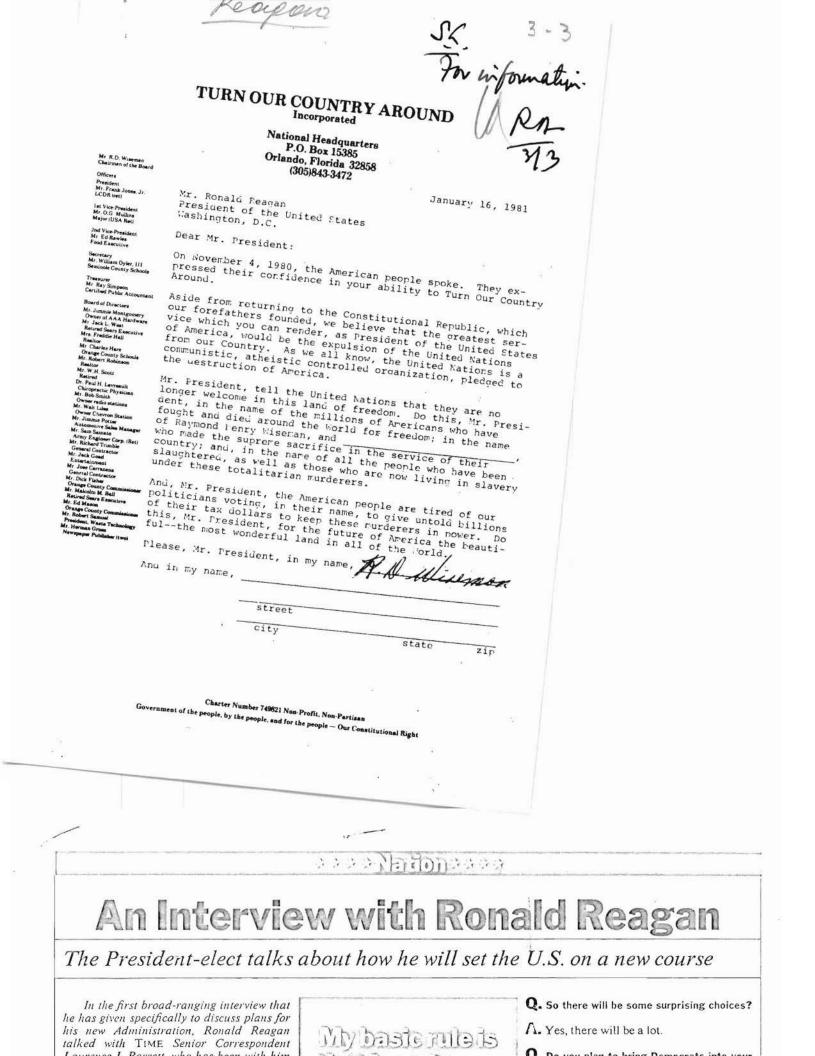
DEAR MR. PRESIDENT.

ON THE OCCASION OF YOUR INAUGURATION AS PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA I WISH TO EXTEND TO YOU MY WARM PERSONAL CONGRATULATIONS AND BEST WISHES FOR SUCCESS IN THE FULFILIMENT OF THE IMPORTANT RESPONSIBILITIES YOU HAVE ASSUMED.

I LOOK FORWARD TO THE OPPORTUNITY OF MEETING YOU PERSONALLY AND OF CONTINUING THE EXCELLENT CO-OPERATION WHICH HAS CONSISTENTLY EXISTED BETWEEN YOUR COUNTRY AND THE UNITED NATIONS IN THE PURSUIT OF OUR COMMON OBJECTIVE OF ACHIEVING A MORE JUST, NUMANE AND PEACEFUL WORLD.

YOU MAY BE ASSURED OF MY OWN DEDICATION TO THIS JOINT ENDEAVOUR. HIGHEST CONSIDERATION,

> KURT WALDHEIM SECRETARY-GENERAL UNITED NATIONS



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THE LEAGUE OF ARAB STATES Office of the Permanent Observer to the United Nations 747 THIRD AVENUE NEW YORK, N.Y. 10017 [212] 838-8700

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The Permanent Observer of the League of Arab States to the United Nations presents his compliments to the Secretary General of the United Nations and has the honor to enclose herewith copy of the congratulatory message from H.E. Mr. Chedli Klibi, Secretary General of the League of Arab States, to U.S. President-elect Ronald Reagan.

The Permanent Observer of the League of Arab States would like to take this opportunity to renew to the Secretary General of the United Nations the assurances of his highest consideration.



H.E. Mr. Kurt Waldheim Secretary General United Nations New York, NY 10017

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The League of Arab States

Office of the Permanent Observer to the United Nations

747 Third Avenue

New York, N.Y. 10017

(212) 838-8700

TUNIS, 7 November 1980. Mr. Chedli Klibi, Secretary General of the League of Arab States, has issued the following message of congratulations to U.S. President-elect Ronald Reagan:

> "On the occasion of your election as the President of the United States of America, I would like to congratulate you on your election and on the confidence of the American people entrusted in you.

> "I feel duty bound, as the Secretary General of the League of Arab States, to seize upon this opportunity to express our hope that under your leadership the new American administration will reconsider its policy towards the Palestine problem and the legitimate national rights of the Palestinian people.

"The present American policy towards the Arab-Israeli conflict proved to be prejudiced in Israel's favor. Thus it is a major obstacle to better Arab-American relations.

"Reassessment by your administration of the American policy in the Middle East is an essential step for a better understanding between your country and the Arab states, as well as for upholding the principles of justice and the achievement of peace, stability and security in our region.

"The global responsibilities shouldered by the United States, as a super power, renders it inevitable that the United States cease to underwrite Israeli agressive policies and its violations of international consensus and will.

"Continued dispersion and exile of the Palestinian people outside their homeland constitute and perpetuate a serious affront to the international community.

"The continuation of the Israeli occupation of the Arab territories is a dangerous threat to peace and security in the Middle East and the world at large.

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United Nations Press Release

Office of Public Information Press Section United Nations, New York



SG/SM/2989 5 November 1980

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TEXT OF CABLES SENT BY SECRETARY-GENERAL TO PRESIDENT AND VICE-PRESIDENT ELECT OF UNITED STATES

Following are the text of cables sent today by Secretary-General Kurt Waldheim:

The Honourable Ronald Wilson Reagan President-elect of the United States of America Pacific Palisades, California

Upon your election as President of the United States of America I extend to you my best wishes for your success in the discharge of the important responsibilities you are about to undertake.

As a founding Member of the United Nations and permanent member of the Security Council, as host country, and as a consistently strong supporter of our Institution, the United States occupies a particularly significant position in the United Nations.

I am convinced that the excellent co-operation which has always existed between your country and the United Nations will continue in our common interest of seeking to create a better and more peaceful world.

Highest consideration.

(more)

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THE HONOURABLE RONALD WILSON REAGAN PRESIDENT-ELECT OF THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA PACIFIC PALISADES, CALIFORNIA

UPON YOUR ELECTION AS PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA I FXTEND TO YOU MY BEST WISHES FOR YOUR SUCCESS IN THE DISCHARGE OF THE IMPORTANT RESPONSIBILITIES YOU ARE ABOUT TO UNDERTAKE.

AS A FOUNDING MEMBER OF THE UNITED NATIONS AND PERMANENT MFMBER OF THE SECURITY COUNCIL, AS HOST COUNTRY, AND AS A CON-SISTENTLY STRCNG SUPPORTER OF OUR INSTITUTION, THE UNITED STATES OCCUPIES A PARTICULARLY SIGNIFICANT POSITION IN THE UNITED NATIONS.

I AM CONVINCED THAT THE EXCELLENT CO-OPERATION WHICH HAS ALWAYS EXISTED BETWEEN YOUR COUNTRY AND THE UNITED NATIONS WILL CONTINUE IN OUR COMMON INTEREST OF SEEKING TO CREATE A BETTER AND MORE PEACEFUL WORLD/

HIGHEST CONSIDERATION.

KURT WALDHEIM SECRETARY-GENERAL UNITED NATIONS