npts to teach religious truth, it has essenlly become a denomination. Unity ministers ust complete a prescribed course of study nd be approved by the Unity School of hristianity. Ministers are organized into the Inity Ministers Association; they hold an anual conference. Unity emphasizes spiritual ealing, prosperity, and practical Christianity. Unlike some New Thought groups, it stresses ts agreements with traditional Christianity. Sin, illness, the world, and matter are considered real, in contrast to the doctrine of Christian Science, but illnesses are considered unnatural and curable by spiritual means. The practice of medicine, however, is not rejected. There is no definite creed, although a statement written by Charles Fillmore, the *Unity Statement of Faith*, is available in a pamphlet. Unity is tolerant of the beliefs and practices of others, and its facilities at Unity Village are often used by other groups.

Official statistics are not available, but the Unity movement is evidently growing. Its influence extends far beyond the membership in its own centres and the activities of its recognized ministers and teachers. Many who receive Unity's publications, hear its programs, or attend its classes remain within their own churches. *Major ref.* **13**:15g

Unity Temple (1906), Unitarian church in Oak Park, Ill., designed by Frank Lloyd Wright.
·construction and landmark status **19**:1030b

Unity Theatre, left-wing amateur theatre founded in London in 1936.
·ideology and productions **18**:234c

Univac I, acronym derived from UNIVERSAL AUTOMATIC CALCULATOR, one of the first computers designed primarily for commercial use.
·computer development and examples **4**:1047d

universal, in epistemology and logic, a general term or common noun representing a recurrence or a principle of grouping or classifying, which is considered as an entity and thus as posing the problem of what sort of being should be ascribed to the referents of general terms. It raises the question, for instance, of whether there is any redness apart from particular red things.

The debate over the status of universals stems from the ancient Greek theory of Forms or Ideas, which Plato held to have a real existence distinct from their manifestations in individual objects; ideal beauty must exist, he thought, as a precondition of its manifesting itself, albeit imperfectly, in certain things recognized as beautiful. Aristotle was rather less positive, arguing that Forms or universals exist but only "in" the particulars in which they are discerned. Although both Plato and Aristotle were Realists in holding that universals are real, there was a difference between them, later summed up in the phrases *universalia ante rem* (Plato's belief in "universals before the thing") and *universalia in re* (Aristotle's belief in "universals in the thing").

Christian Scholastic philosophers of the Middle Ages were influenced on the one hand by Augustine's identification of the Platonic Forms with archetypes in the mind of God and on the other by a passing reference by Boethius, a late Roman scholar, in his commentary on Porphyry's *Isagoge*, to the questions "whether genera and species are substances or are set in the mind alone; whether they are corporeal or incorporeal substances; and whether they are separate from the things perceived by the senses or set in them." The Platonic-Augustinian position, extreme Realism, is reflected in the works of the Pseudo-Dionysius the Areopagite, of John Scotus Erigena, of Anselm, of Guillaume de Champeaux, and of Gilbert de La Porrée; the Aristotelian position, moderate Realism, in those of Albertus Magnus and of Thomas Aquinas.

The medieval minority's opposition to Realism granted existence to universals only as mental concepts. Conceptualist arguments were put forward by Roscelin, by Abelard, and by William of Ockham; but Roscelin and Ockham were so uncompromising that their antagonists equated their conceptualism with Nominalism (*i.e.*, with the contention that universals are merely words or names arbitrarily applied to similar things for convenience). Modern scholars, however, doubt that there were any medieval Nominalists, for extreme Nominalism cannot explain man's perception of similarities.

In the 17th century, however, the Materialist philosopher Thomas Hobbes defended a moderate Nominalism based on the close connection between thought and speech. Later philosophers, divided between those who upheld the validity of ontology (the theory of Being) and those concerned only with logic and with linguistic analysis, shifted the perennial debate about universals into fields of epistemology barely explored by the Scholastics. Thus, modified forms of all four views—Platonic, Aristotelian, conceptualist, and Nominalist—are still defended. *Major ref.* **6**:945e
·aesthetic values in Kant **1**:153g
·Boethius, Anselm, Roscelin, and Hobbes's philosophies **14**:257e
·Christian philosophy debates **4**:560f
·classification of being **12**:16c *passim* to 18e
·Idealism's acknowledgment **9**:189g
·Plato's Theory of Forms **14**:531e *passim* to 538f
·Rationalist description of knowing **15**:528d
·Realist ascription of real existence **15**:539h
·Scholastic concern with reality **16**:355b
·Taoism cyclical basis **4**:416g

universal adult franchise: *see* suffrage.

Universal Bibliography (Gesner): *see* Bibliotheca Universalis.

universal class, in set theory, the class of which everything is a member.
·definition and notation **11**:53h

Universal Copyright Convention (UCC), convention drafted by UNESCO in 1952 and in effect for signatories from 1955.
·international copyright protection **5**:155b

Universal Decimal Classification, also known as the BRUSSELS CLASSIFICATION, a system of library organization. It is distinguished from the Dewey Decimal Classification (*q.v.*) by expansions using various symbols in addition to Arabic numerals, resulting in exceedingly long notations. This system grew out of the international subject index of the Institut International du Bibliographie at Brussels, which in 1895 adopted the Dewey Decimal Classification as the basis for its index. First published in 1905, it was later translated into several languages.

Despite differences, the Dewey and Universal Decimal classifications are fundamentally the same. In its ability to create a hybrid notation (*i.e.*, Arabic number plus symbol), Universal Decimal parallels the Colon Classification (*q.v.*). Its decimal basis and attempts at hierarchical range underscore its theoretical origin in Dewey. Revision has been continuous.

In particular, it is intended mainly for use with classified cards rather than books. It is, however, used in libraries, notably in Europe and in the United Nations library. Its application has been heavily weighted in the areas of science and technology. The Universal Decimal's Relative Index, for consultation by the public, is arranged alphabetically for access to the number under which it is classed. *Major ref.* **10**:869f
·bibliographic material unification **2**:978e

Universal Declaration of Human Rights, declaration completed by the United Nations Commission on Human Rights in June 1948 and adopted, after a few changes, by the General Assembly at its Paris session on Dec. 10, 1948, by unanimous vote (with the six members of the Soviet bloc, Saudi Arabia, and the Union of South Africa abstaining). The declaration contained general definitions not only of those principal civil and political rights recognized in democratic constitutions but also of several so-called economic, social, and cultural rights. Among the new items in the declaration were the right to social security; right to work; right to education; right to participate in the cultural life of the community; and right to enjoy the arts and to share in scientific advancement and its benefits. For the text of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, *see* X:1049. *Major ref.* **8**:1186e
·international law's lack of power **17**:312g
·slavery prohibited by UN **16**:864g
·state sovereignty and international law **17**:614h

universal generalization, rule of, in logic, the rule of inference that allows a universal proposition to be inferred from a particular, or existential, proposition under certain restricted circumstances.
·LPC transformation rules **11**:48b

Universal Historical Bibliothèque (1686), English periodical.
·magazine publishing history **15**:248b

Universal History, in full THE MODERN PART OF AN UNIVERSAL HISTORY (1759–66), a multivolume compilation edited by Tobias Smollett.
·Smollett's contribution **16**:908h

Universal History from the Creation of the World to the Empire of Charlemagne, An (1778), French DISCOURS SUR L'HISTOIRE UNIVERSELLE (1681), survey of history up to AD 800 by Jacques-Bénigne Bossuet. In later editions, the coverage was extended to 1700 by Jean de La Barre.
·historical meaning and providence **8**:962b

Universal House of Justice (Bahāʾī faith): *see* spiritual assemblies.

universalis potestas, English UNIVERSAL POWER, 12th- and 13th-century doctrine of papal temporal sovereignty.
·Innocent IV's challenge to lay rule **9**:607c

Universalist Church of America: *see* Unitarian Universalist Association.

Universalists: *see* Unitarians and Universalists.

universal joint (device): *see* coupling.

universal language: *see* international language.

universal machine, computing machine that can simulate the operation of any Turing machine (*q.v.*).
·automata theory **2**:499b

Universal Military Service Act (1939), Soviet conscription legislation intended to increase the size of the military services.
·World War II preparedness measures **16**:78b

Universal Negro Improvement Association (UNIA), primarily in the United States, organization founded by Marcus Garvey (*q.v.*) and dedicated to racial pride, economic self-sufficiency, and the formation of an independent black nation in Africa. Though Garvey had founded the UNIA in Jamaica in 1914, its main influence was felt in the principal urban black neighbourhoods of the U.S. North after his arrival in Harlem, in New York City in 1916.

In an atmosphere of post-World War I disillusionment, thousands of ordinary blacks, many from the rural South, were soon responding enthusiastically to the UNIA platform, which advocated racial self-respect and a pride in their historic past. Up to 1,000,000 followers participated in UNIA activities, which included colourful costumes and parades. The association collected almost $1,000,000 to in-

Universal Declaration of Human Rights [1948]

Preamble

Whereas recognition of the inherent dignity and of the equal and inalienable rights of all members of the human family is the foundation of freedom, justice and peace in the world,

Whereas disregard and contempt for human rights have resulted in barbarous acts which have outraged the conscience of mankind, and the advent of a world in which human beings shall enjoy freedom of speech and belief and freedom from fear and want has been proclaimed as the highest aspiration of the common people,

Whereas it is essential, if man is not to be compelled to have recourse, as a last resort, to rebellion against tyranny and oppression, that human rights should be protected by the rule of law,

Whereas it is essential to promote the development of friendly relations between nations,

Whereas the peoples of the United Nations have in the Charter reaffirmed their faith in fundamental human rights, in the dignity and worth of the human person and in the equal rights of men and women and have determined to promote social progress and better standards of life in larger freedom,

Whereas Member States have pledged themselves to achieve, in co-operation with the United Nations, the promotion of universal respect for and observance of human rights and fundamental freedoms,

Whereas a common understanding of these rights and freedoms is of the greatest importance for the full realization of this pledge,

Now, therefore,

The General Assembly

Proclaims this Universal Declaration of Human Rights as a common standard of achievement for all peoples and all nations, to the end that every individual and every organ of society, keeping this Declaration constantly in mind, shall strive by teaching and education to promote respect for these rights and freedoms and by progressive measures, national and international, to secure their universal and effective recognition and observance, both among the peoples of Member States themselves and among the peoples of territories under their jurisdiction.

Article 1

All human beings are born free and equal in dignity and rights. They are endowed with reason and conscience and should act towards one another in a spirit of brotherhood.

Article 2

Everyone is entitled to all the rights and freedoms set forth in this Declaration, without distinction of any kind, such as race, colour, sex, language, religion, political or other opinion, national or social origin, property, birth or other status.

Furthermore, no distinction shall be made on the basis of the political, jurisdictional or international status of the country or territory to which a person belongs, whether it be independent, trust, non-self-governing or under any other limitation of sovereignty.

Article 3

Everyone has the right to life, liberty and the security of person.

Article 4

No one shall be held in slavery or servitude; slavery and the slave trade shall be prohibited in all their forms.

Article 5

No one shall be subjected to torture or to cruel, inhuman or degrading treatment or punishment.

Article 6

Everyone has the right to recognition everywhere as a person before the law.

Article 7

All are equal before the law and are entitled without any discrimination to equal protection of the law. All are entitled to equal protection against any discrimination in violation of this Declaration and against any incitement to such discrimination.

Article 8

Everyone has the right to an effective remedy by the competent national tribunals for acts violating the fundamental rights granted him by the constitution or by law.

Article 9

No one shall be subjected to arbitrary arrest, detention or exile.

Article 10

Everyone is entitled in full equality to a fair, and public hearing by an independent and impartial tribunal, in the determination of his rights and obligations and of any criminal charge against him.

Article 11

1. Everyone charged with a penal offence has the right to be presumed innocent until proved guilty according to law in a public trial at which he has had all the guarantees necessary for his defence.

2. No one shall be held guilty of any penal offence on account of any act or omission which did not constitute a penal offence, under national or international law, at the time when it was committed. Nor shall a heavier penalty be imposed than the one that was applicable at the time the penal offence was committed.

Article 12

No one shall be subjected to arbitrary interference with his privacy, family, home or correspondence, nor to attacks upon his honour and reputation. Everyone has the right to the protection of the law against such interference or attacks.

Article 13

1. Everyone has the right to freedom of movement and residence within the borders of each State.

2. Everyone has the right to leave any country, including his own, and to return to his country.

Article 14

1. Everyone has the right to seek and to enjoy in other countries asylum from persecution.

2. This right may not be invoked in the case of prosecutions genuinely arising from non-political crimes or from acts contrary to the purposes and principles of the United Nations.

Article 15

1. Everyone has the right to a nationality.

2. No one shall be arbitrarily deprived of his nationality nor denied the right to change his nationality.

Article 16

1. Men and women of full age, without any limitation due to race, nationality or religion, have the right to marry and

found a family. They are entitled to equal rights as to marriage, during marriage and at its dissolution.

2. Marriage shall be entered into only with the free and full consent of the intending spouses.

3. The family is the natural and fundamental group unit of society and is entitled to protection by society and the State.

Article 17

1. Everyone has the right to own property alone as well as in association with others.

2. No one shall be arbitrarily deprived of his property.

Article 18

Everyone has the right to freedom of thought, conscience and religion; this right includes freedom to change his religion or belief, and freedom, either alone or in community with others and in public or private, to manifest his religion or belief in teaching, practice, worship and observance.

Article 19

Everyone has the right to freedom of opinion and expression; this right includes freedom to hold opinions without interference and to seek, receive and impart information and ideas through any media and regardless of frontiers.

Article 20

1. Everyone has the right to freedom of peaceful assembly and association.

2. No one may be compelled to belong to an association.

Article 21

1. Everyone has the right to take part in the government of his country, directly or through freely chosen representatives.

2. Everyone has the right of equal access to public service in his country.

3. The will of the people shall be the basis of the authority of government; this will shall be expressed in periodic and genuine elections which shall be by universal and equal suffrage and shall be held by secret vote or by equivalent free voting procedures.

Article 22

Everyone, as a member of society, has the right to social security and is entitled to realization, through national effort and international co-operation and in accordance with the organization and resources of each State, of the economic, social and cultural rights indispensable for his dignity and the free development of his personality.

Article 23

1. Everyone has the right to work, to free choice of employment, to just and favourable conditions of work and to protection against unemployment.

2. Everyone, without any discrimination, has the right to equal pay for equal work.

3. Everyone who works has the right to just and favourable remuneration ensuring for himself and his family an existence worthy of human dignity, and supplemented, if necessary, by other means of social protection.

4. Everyone has the right to form and to join trade unions for the protection of his interests.

Article 24

Everyone has the right to rest and leisure, including reasonable limitation of working hours and periodic holidays with pay.

Article 25

1. Everyone has the right to a standard of living adequate for the health and well-being of himself and of his family, including food, clothing, housing and medical care and necessary social services, and the right to security in the event of unemployment, sickness, disability, widowhood, old age or other lack of livelihood in circumstances beyond his control.

2. Motherhood and childhood are entitled to special care and assistance. All children, whether born in or out of wedlock, shall enjoy the same social protection.

Article 26

1. Everyone has the right to education. Education shall be free, at least in the elementary and fundamental stages. Elementary education shall be compulsory. Technical and professional education shall be made generally available and higher education shall be equally accessible to all on the basis of merit.

2. Education shall be directed to the full development of the human personality and to the strengthening of respect for human rights and fundamental freedoms. It shall promote understanding, tolerance and friendship among all nations, racial or religious groups, and shall further the activities of the United Nations for the maintenance of peace.

3. Parents have a prior right to choose the kind of education that shall be given to their children.

Article 27

1. Everyone has the right freely to participate in the cultural life of the community, to enjoy the arts and to share in scientific advancement and its benefits.

2. Everyone has the right to the protection of the moral and material interests resulting from any scientific, literary or artistic production of which he is the author.

Article 28

Everyone is entitled to a social and international order in which the rights and freedoms set forth in this Declaration can be fully realized.

Article 29

1. Everyone has duties to the community in which alone the free and full development of his personality is possible.

2. In the exercise of his rights and freedoms, everyone shall be subject only to such limitations as are determined by law solely for the purpose of securing due recognition and respect for the rights and freedoms of others and of meeting the just requirements of morality, public order and the general welfare in a democratic society.

3. These rights and freedoms may in no case be exercised contrary to the purposes and principles of the United Nations.

Article 30

Nothing in this Declaration may be interpreted as implying for any State, group or person any right to engage in any activity or to perform any act aimed at the destruction of any of the rights and freedoms set forth herein.

200 yrs ago

Today—

Those same rights are

parts of the Univ. Decl.

~~1948~~ (1948.)

A VERY CIVIL SERVANT

Sir Brian Urquhart reflects on war and peace, idealism and realism, and a lifetime at the United Nations as his organization picks up a Nobel Prize

Rarely has the description "statesman" seemed so appropriate. In his long career, however, Urquhart represented no single state but rather every nation on the globe. During a 41-year career as a senior U.N. official, rising to the rank of Under Secretary-General for Special Political Affairs, Urquhart, 69, found himself in the middle of virtually every major international crisis. Though he retired 2½ years ago, Urquhart will be in the delegation that will travel to Oslo next week to receive the 1988 Nobel Peace Prize awarded to the U.N. for its peacekeeping missions in Lebanon, Cyprus, Afghanistan and other volatile places. His efforts over many years not only in promoting the usefulness of the blue-helmeted U.N. soldiers but also in directly supervising their operations earned him the nickname "Mr. Peacekeeper." In 1986 Urquhart became a Scholar-in-Residence at the Ford Foundation, where he spoke with TIME *staff writer Scott MacLeod.*

Q. Your father was an artist, yet you have had a career in diplomacy.

A. I wasn't a diplomat. I was an international civil servant, which is a completely different thing. I don't like the word diplomat, actually. The ordinary person thinks of people in striped pants at a cocktail party or at a green baize table engaging in circumlocutions about serious matters. I was brought up between the wars, in a very dreary period of European history. I had always wanted to work for the League of Nations, but it went out of business before I got into the game.

Q. When the U.N. was formed, you were the second man recruited. Who got you involved?

A. I left the British army in July 1945 and went to work for Arnold Toynbee at the Foreign Office research department. Gladwyn Jebb, now Lord Gladwyn, the Acting Secretary-General, was looking for a private secretary. Toynbee suggested me. I was 26.

Q. Perhaps it's not too widely known that you were the young intelligence officer portrayed in Cornelius Ryan's *A Bridge Too Far*. What led you to advise against the ill-fated British attack on Arnhem, in German-occupied Holland?

A. I had come to the conclusion that at all levels the attack would be totally disastrous. It didn't take a great deal of brains to see that. Airborne troops were going to land 60 miles ahead of the ground troops and take three main bridges over three big rivers. Then the relieving ground troops had to go across the low country. We learned that two of the best Panzer divisions in the German army, the 9th and 10th S.S. Panzer Divisions, were refitting right where the 1st Airborne Division was going to land. I couldn't see the strategic point of the operation.

Q. Did Field Marshal Montgomery get the advice?

A. He got it from a lot of people. I merely advised my own general, General Browning, who was in charge of the whole Market Garden operation. I said, "Look here, you've got to rethink this. It's going to be a mess." That was completely overruled. Montgomery wanted to have a British masterstroke to end the war. When you're young, you believe that a good argument will win the day, and of course it doesn't. It was a terrible experience because an immense number of soldiers were killed, 12,000 as I remember. I was greatly disillusioned because I then realized that people in high positions were not necessarily always motivated by wisdom and concern for the common cause, but in fact could be motivated by other less desirable emotions, like vanity, ambition and a desire to score a point off somebody.

Q. In more than 40 years at the U.N., you must have set some travel records.

A. You know, when the normal way of crossing the Atlantic was in the big liners that took five days, people were more careful about how they organized things. It seems to me that Andrei Gromyko didn't like flying and almost always went on the *Queen Mary*. Partly it was to have time to have a think and have a rest, which was quite sensible.

Q. How did you view Gromyko? Did his ideology really get in the way of personal relations?

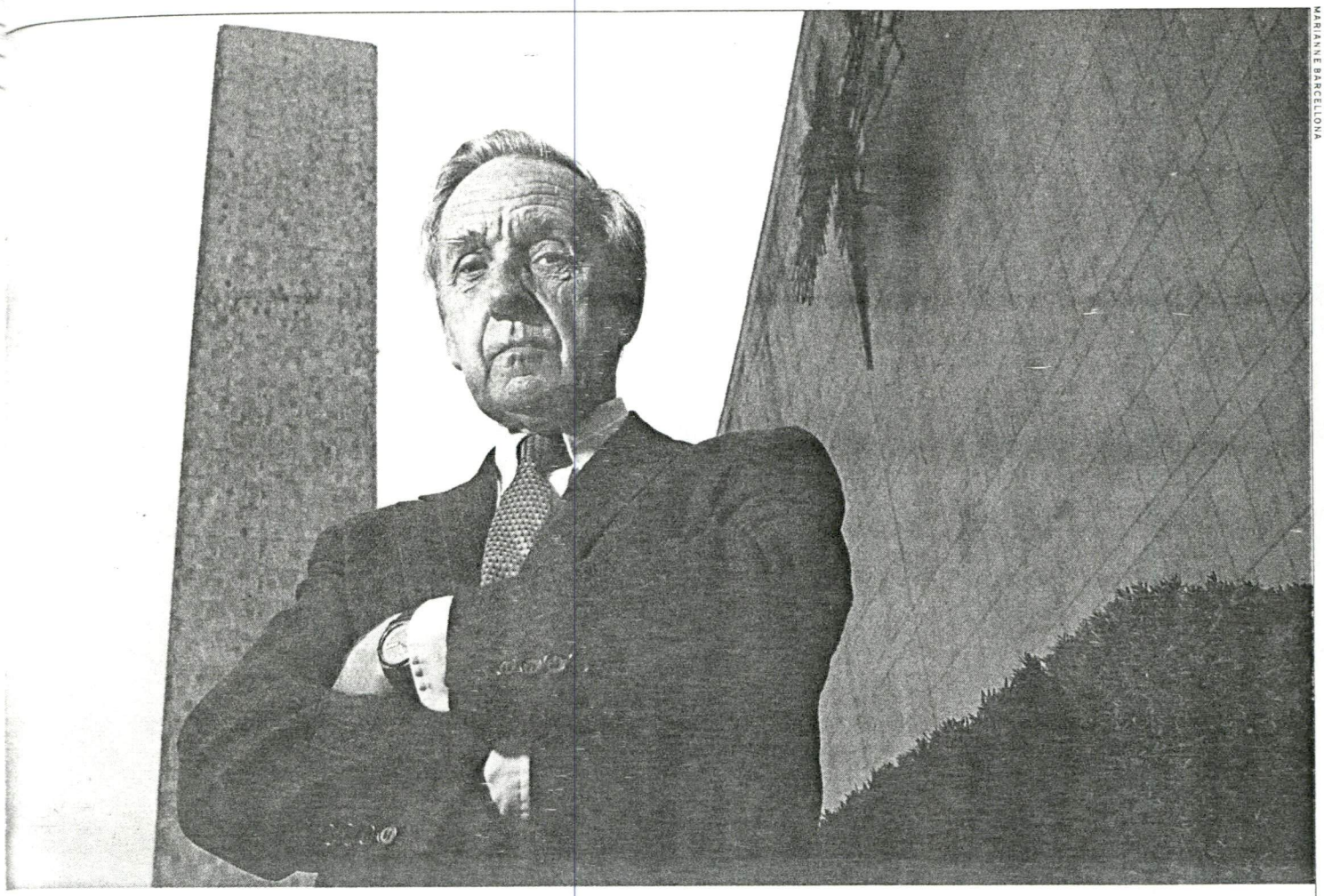
A. To some extent. This was the mistake Dag Hammarskjöld made with Khrushchev. He believed if you could establish a personal relationship with leaders, you could actually do a great deal more in times of crisis. That was true with someone like David Ben-Gurion, who after all was a leader in a democracy. It made a huge difference to be able to get Ben-Gurion on the phone and say, "Now look here, my dear old friend, we have to get this straightened out." You can't do that with someone who's representing an ideologically authoritarian regime. They can't afford to take a personal view of politics. We can.

Q. The U.N. seems lately to be involved in a wide range of diplomatic activities and initiatives. Is the U.N. responsible for peace breaking out?

A. I don't think so. I think the change in the international climate, which I suppose started with Mikhail Gorbachev, is of incalculable importance. Of course, if you want to get out of a conflict with honor, the U.N. and the Secretary-General are the best way of doing it.

Q. No doubt you are pleased that U.N. peacekeeping forces won the Nobel Peace Prize.

A. I think this is recognition long overdue, of an extremely important idea with a very big future, which is the nonvio-



MARIANNE BARCELLONA

"This is an extremely important idea, using soldiers as a catalyst for peace rather than as an instrument of war."

lent use of soldiers by the international community, and using soldiers as a catalyst for peace rather than as an instrument of war. If we're in a state of evolution toward a better international arrangement, I think one can see the peacekeeping forces a little bit like the civil-police forces, which were introduced into nations in the beginning of the last century. They were considered to be completely ridiculous at that time, but it turned out this was a very powerful idea. I think peacekeeping forces could become a very important institution. Most people can't understand what the hell all these chaps in blue helmets are doing all over the place. It sounds very pretentious, but we have now developed the art of war to such a point where you really can't use it. I think you need an alternative, and maybe this is the beginning of the alternative.

Q. What's it like out on the peacekeeping beat?

A. It's not like being an ordinary soldier. You can't open fire except in the extreme case of self-defense. You have to stay above the battle, to talk constantly to both sides and defuse misunderstandings. And even to be on hand when somebody's chicken runs over the line into the other people's territory, so you don't start a battle.

Q. One time things didn't work very well was in 1967, when the U.N. agreed to withdraw peacekeeping troops from the Sinai. A war ensued, which led to Israel's occupation of the West Bank and Gaza Strip, as well as other Arab territories.

A. Nasser ordered the U.N. forces out. U Thant was the only person who went to Nasser and said, "This is crazy. You can't do this." U Thant got all the blame for it because he was a very convenient scapegoat. Nobody ever mentioned that he really didn't have any alternative, particularly since there was no international backing to stop either side from getting into the war.

Q. You thought highly of Dag Hammarskjöld.

A. He had this slightly visionary quality. He did push, much further than before, the idea of an active practical organization which could in desperate circumstances actually operate in the field and do something to try to calm things down.

Q. Kurt Waldheim has turned out to be the most controversial of the Secretaries-General.

A. I worked with him for ten years. He was not a very original man. He was a very hardworking, extremely ambitious

man. I have totally revised my views about him. I have to say, because I find it totally unforgivable that he would have repeatedly given this total misrepresentation of his wartime career. I have never seen any evidence that he was in any normal sense a war criminal. But he was certainly in a particularly tough unit of the German army. To have told lies about this, for a public figure in that position of responsibility, seems to me to be absolutely unforgivable. It's particularly bad in that office because the Secretary-General of the U.N. doesn't have great divisions, or money, or sovereign power. His sole important weapon is his credibility. I had always accepted his own version.

Q. You had discussed his background with him?
A. Yes. It never occurred to me for a single minute that a man in that position would not tell the truth to one of his closest colleagues, particularly someone who was going to defend him. And I deeply resent the idea that I was actually perpetrating a falsehood unknowingly for all that time.

Q. Many Americans came to feel the U.N. had become a forum for Third World radicalism and anti-American actions. How did you see it?
A. I can very well understand American disillusionment and irritation. One must also remember that it was the U.S. that pioneered decolonization, which gave birth to the Third World. There was a kind of adolescent period, I think, in the newly independent developing world where people became, as adolescents often do, extremely radical. The typical example of this trend, the assembly resolution equating Zionism with racism, was a totally counterproductive move.

"My idealism is a great deal more realistic than the notion that human beings are born to kill each other."

Q. You worked with Javier Pérez de Cuéllar.
A. I was delighted when he became Secretary-General. He is a very well-qualified person and extremely intelligent man, who knew the job very well, a very quiet extremely self-effacing man. He spent the sort of wilderness years from 1982 to 1987, pretty bad years in the U.N., as the only negotiator on Afghanistan, Iran-Iraq, Western Sahara, Cyprus and a lot of other things, and he established a position of great respect with all the different antagonists in all these situations. When the international climate changed and the outburst of common sense began to take place, he was in a position to act very quickly.

Q. In 1978 U.N. peacekeepers started patrolling the border between Lebanon and Israel, but then in 1982 another war broke out.
A. The Israelis wanted to strike a blow at the P.L.O. I spent a great deal of time trying to persuade rather skeptical Israelis, including Ariel Sharon, that they were better off without an invasion.

Q. Did you agree with the idea of sending the multinational force, a non-U.N. group that included U.S. Marines, into Beirut to help patch Lebanon back together again?
A. No, I think it was a vast misreading of what Lebanon is really like. They drifted gradually into a very controversial position as the great supporter of the government of Lebanon. Well, to most people in Lebanon, the government is just another faction, and furthermore not a very powerful faction. Amin Gemayel's authority seemed to stop at the gates of the Baabda palace.

The only conceivable way to force them into a union would be by years of negotiation and evolving a whole series of ties of interest, but nobody's been able to do it, not since the French.

Q. You carried a message from Yasser Arafat to Menachem Begin?
A. That was just before the 1982 invasion. I think Arafat is genuinely convinced that he has to find a means of coexistence with Israel. What Arafat was saying was that he was interested in peace, and that if he was disposed of, it was unlikely that anyone else would come along who was as convinced of this as he was. I don't think any of these messages were new or particularly welcome to Begin.

Q. Is the world becoming a safer place?
A. I think at the superpower level one has to believe and hope that the threat has for various reasons decreased. But I think the situation at the intermediate level requires a great deal of attention. There is an enormous arms flow to the developing world.

Q. When you started out at the U.N., it was considered to be a monument to idealism by many people. Did you get discouraged?
A. I don't think you could say that President Roosevelt, Mr. Churchill and Mr. Stalin were starry-eyed idealists. They had been through the fire of war. Did anybody really think in 1945 that every government would renounce the use of force in its relations with every other government, and agree to settle all disputes with peaceful means, and disarm? This was the aim. The U.N. Charter was a great beacon set on a hill, the great light toward which we were supposed to be working. We haven't had World War III. I don't see any reason to be downhearted. One should be frustrated, and certainly working in the U.N. was a great exercise in that. And one should be more determined than ever to keep after the basic objective.

Q. Your idealism is showing.
A. I am an idealist, I have to admit. I think human nature is self-interested. But there is such a thing as enlightened self-interest. The trick is to engage self-interest at the point where it touches other people's self-interest. Why shouldn't it be done on the international level, particularly when we have invented a way of putting an end to the whole experiment, by nuclear or other weapons of mass destruction. That is what the U.N. should be all about. I maintain that my idealism, which is based on some fairly rough experience, is a great deal more realistic than the totally defeatest notion that human beings are born to suffer and kill each other. If one believes that, one should go dig a deep hole and jump into it. ■

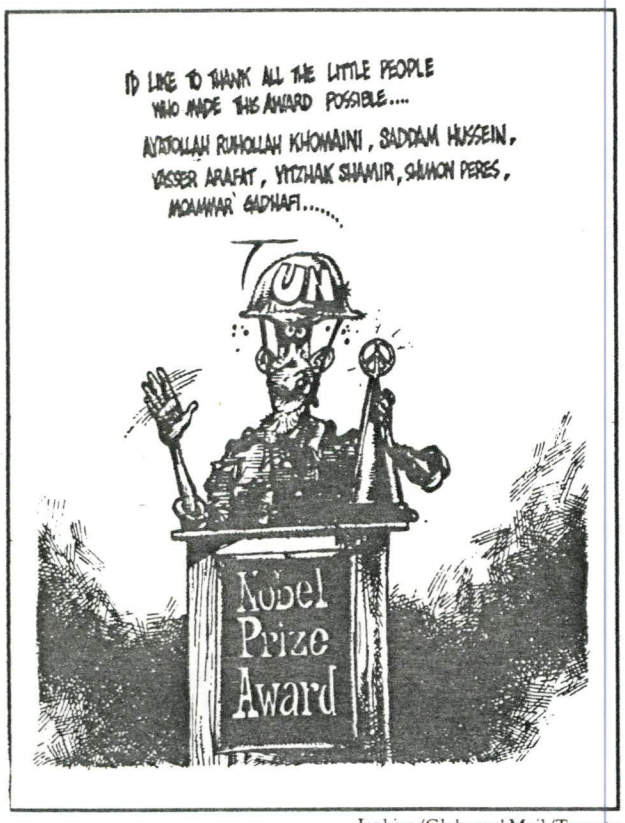
entrusted Gorbachev with a somewhat paradoxical task: He must dismantle the power of a party from which he draws all of his power . . . . If one loses sight of this contradiction, one risks not understanding the nature and importance of the revolution in progress . . . . Those who criticize the power grab as contrary to the philosophy of *glasnost* understand very little about the process of change in Moscow and Eastern Europe. —Eugenio Scalfari

LONDON *The Observer* (independent weekly): The revolution in the leadership is an astounding triumph [and] a slap to those, in both the Soviet Union and the West, who have consistently doubted Gorbachev's will and ability to carry *perestroika* forward. But it is still only a political revolution. And what the Soviet Union, and the leadership, need desperately is an economic one.

—Andrew Wilson

The Nobel Peace Prize

FRANKFURT *Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung* (conservative): On a number of occasions the peace prize has been awarded as a kind of advance payment: in 1973 to Henry Kissinger and Le Duc Tho, in 1978 to Anwar Sadat and Menachem Begin, in 1987 to Oscar Arias. Subsequent developments did not deliver the hopes that the prize promised. In Indochina, the Middle East, and Central America, there is as yet no peace. No doubt this year's award to the United Nations peacekeeping forces is also motivated by hope that this year's enhanced role and prestige for the UN will lead to new tasks and assignments for the "Blue Helmets"—in Namibia or Cambodia, for example. Today there are 10,000 troops from two dozen countries under the command of the UN secretary-general. Their task is to divide warring parties and reduce tension. But wherever an armistice breaks down, they can do little. They have neither the political authority to fight nor the necessary military equipment. Thus far, 550 of these soldiers have been killed. For them, the Nobel Prize is a posthumous and belated honor. —Günther Nonnenmacher



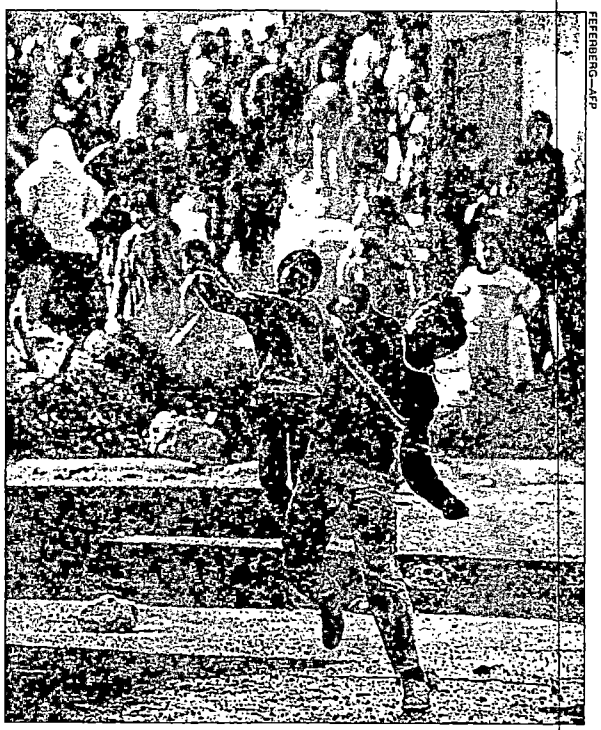
Jenkins/Globe and Mail/Toronto

PARIS *Le Monde* (liberal): By designating the peacekeeping forces, the Nobel committee chose precisely that part of the UN that it wanted to reward. To have chosen the UN in its entirety might well have launched a new round of criticism and controversy over one part of the system or another. It is much more difficult, if justified at times, to criticize the soldiers of peace . . . . The prize also rewards, in large part, the man scheduled to accept it in Oslo on December 10: Javier Pérez de Cuéllar, the secretary-general of the UN. The diplomatic successes of 1988, in the spring with Afghanistan and in the summer with the Persian Gulf war, owe much to this discreet, tenacious, and effective intermediary.

TORONTO *Globe and Mail* (independent): After several rocky years, the UN is on a roll . . . . The UN's lucky stars will stay aligned only while the big powers are in a mood to give the institution some clout to solve, or at least cool, regional conflicts in which they have a stake.

—Jennifer Lewington

LONDON *The Observer* (independent weekly): For the first time in 15 years—some say the first time ever—the UN is working as it was meant to. Good humor and common purpose, scarce commodities at the UN throughout most of the 1970s and 1980s, are now considered almost normal. Class war is out, civility is in. People are listening as well as talking. Old timers pinch themselves and wonder how long it can last. —Nigel Hawkes



FEFERBERG—AFP

Rock throwers in West Bank include many youngsters

Army chief Lt. Gen. Dan Shomron insisted that they are meant to minimize deaths among protesters and have done so except in "very isolated incidents." Yet Defense Minister Yitzhak Rabin gave an answer with harsher overtones. Beatings and tear gas are no longer effective, he said, and the demonstrators must learn that "more violence will bring more suffering to them." That brought a protest from the U.S. State Department, where one official declared, "We can see no justification for a policy admittedly designed to cause an increase in casualties."

NOBEL PRIZES

Peaceniks in berets

In the last four decades, 733 members of U.N. peacekeeping forces from 58 nations have been killed while serving as human buffers in conflicts around the globe. And many more U.N. troops may soon patrol new hot spots as disputes in the Western Sahara, Southern Africa and Cambodia near resolution. The world has seldom said thanks—until last week, when the 10,000 blue-bereted peacekeepers were awarded the Nobel Peace Prize, setting champagne corks popping from Lebanon to Kashmir. One peacekeeper who missed the party was Col. William Higgins, the American Marine abducted by gunmen in Lebanon last February. U.N. officials and Higgins's family hope the Peace Prize will persuade the kidnappers to free him.

Left waiting for the call that never came were Ronald Reagan and Mikhail Gorbachev, who negotiated the Intermediate-Range Nuclear Force Treaty and were viewed by many as favorites for the prize.

U.N. peacekeepers

ANNA CLOPET—USMWWR

HEALTH

Doctors who run on empty

In 1984, 18-year-old Libby Zion went to a New York hospital with a high fever. Eight hours later, she was dead, the victim of a series of medical mishaps including the use of a drug that may have fatally interacted with an antidepressant she was taking. A grand jury put part of the blame on the exhaustion of a resident and an intern, who had been on duty 18 hours. Such work bouts are common in U.S. hospitals, where residents often work 36 hours straight. Last week, New York became the first state to say enough is enough. It limited emergency-room physicians to 12-hour shifts, and plans to hold other specialties to 80-hour workweeks next year.

As other states considered similar moves, new findings challenged the reformers' key premise. A report in last week's *Journal of the American Medical Association* said that 26 surgical residents given mathematical, verbal and dexterity tests did just as well after they had stayed up all night as after they had slept. But the findings, which contradict previous studies, were strongly attacked by sleep researchers, who argued that the experiment failed to pick up differences in performance because even the "rested" doctors were dulled by long-term fatigue. Not tested at all was the quality of care they gave. ■

Currents contributors: William J. Cook, William F. Allman, David Whitman, Miriam Horn, Joseph L. Galloway, Louise Lief, Joanne Silberner, Gillian Sandford

PEOPLE MAKING NEWS

Capital stumble

The senator is not the first politician accused of hanky-panky. But how many of them ignite their own scandal by trying to pre-empt it? **Brock Adams** (D-Wash.) expected October's *Washingtonian* magazine to contain allegations by family friend Kari Tupper, 26, that in 1987 he drugged and sexually assaulted her. (Police dropped the case for lack of evidence.) When Adams's efforts to alert friends leaked to the Seattle press, he held a news conference, admitted that Tucker once stayed at his home, denied misconduct and said she had since demanded $400,000 hush money (a charge her family denies). The *Washingtonian* story didn't appear.

■ Bishop Barbara

Fourteen years ago, **Barbara Harris** carried the cross during a controversial, unauthorized ceremony ordaining the Episcopal Church's first women priests. Last week, the Episcopal Diocese of Massachusetts elected the 58-year-old black woman as its new suffragan. Colleagues say her demeanor and skills should win her the support of a majority of bishops and dioceses nationally, clearing the way for her consecration early next year as the first female bishop in the Anglican Church's 450-year history.

Adams

MIKKI JASIN—GAMMA/LIAISON

Harris

■ Addams chronicle

He once arrived at a costume party as a "defrocked ghoul," and in art as in life *New Yorker* magazine cartoonist **Charles Addams** exhibited a fascination with the macabre. Addams, who died last week at 76, made his reputation with a 1940 cartoon of a skier whose tracks suggested she had skied through a tree. His Addams family (including mother Morticia and a butler resembling Frankenstein's monster) inspired a TV series. Addams's third wife wed him in 1980 while wearing black in a ceremony at a pet cemetery. She said Addams "thought it would be nice and cheerful."

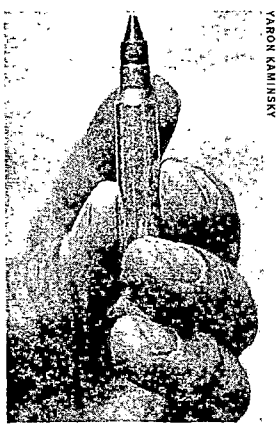
MIDDLE EAST

Plastic, but Deadly

Palestinian casualties surge

At the 75-bed Al-Ahli Arab Hospital in the Gaza Strip last week, wounded Palestinian protesters jammed the emergency room. After unsuccessful surgery, Abdulatif, 26, fingered the yellowing gauze wrapped around his left leg. Still lodged deep in his left thigh was a plastic bullet, Israel's latest ammunition against the ten-month-old *intifadeh* (uprising) by Palestinians in the occupied territories. Abdulatif pulled aside the bandage to reveal a reddish silver dollar–size hole in his flesh. Explained a nurse: "There is no difference between plastic and real bullets. They both enter the body and destroy."

Since Defense Minister Yitzhak Rabin instructed his soldiers in late August to start using cartridges tipped with plastic to break up riots in the occupied territories, Palestinian casualties in Gaza alone have leaped from about 20 in July to more than 170 in September. At close range, the bullets can even kill. Not surprisingly, Rabin's latest gambit to crush the *intifadeh* has provoked yet another round of criticism from abroad and from Israel's far left, which charges Rabin with excessive brutality. But it has also raised a disturbing new question: Are Israeli leaders turning up the violence against Palestinians as a way of pandering to voters before Israel's crucial nationwide election on Nov. 1?



YARON KAMINSKY

Israel's new ammo

Last week, as seven protesters were killed—two by plastic bullets—and more than 90 others wounded, the U.S. State Department rebuked Israel by saying there is "no justification" for deliberately causing Palestinian casualties. Some U.S. officials charge that Rabin's plastic bullets are aimed at the voters. The Defense Minister, considered the No. 2 figure in Israel's Labor Party, dismisses the notion that his new crackdown is politically motivated. But he makes no apologies about stepping up the army's operations. "The rioters are suffering more casualties," he told reporters during a tour of the West Bank. "That is precisely our aim. Our purpose is to increase the number of [injured] among those who take part in violent activities, but not to kill them."

Rabin contends that other methods of curbing the protests have proved ineffective, including tear gas and the brutal beatings that prompted an international outcry earlier this year. Israeli troops are generally barred from using regular ammunition unless their lives are in immediate danger. Israel has tried dispersing protesters by firing rubber bullets, which bruise but rarely penetrate the skin. Aggressive Palestinians were undaunted. The new .556-mm plastic projectiles are supposedly less lethal than full metal jackets, but they are intended to cause injuries serious enough to put demonstrators out of action.

RINA CASTELNUOVO

Wounded Arab in a Gaza hospital

Aiming to maim with special bullets.

By design or not, Rabin's new crackdown may have the political benefit of reassuring Israeli voters who deem the Labor Party soft on the Palestinians. The right-wing Likud bloc of Prime Minister Yitzhak Shamir refuses to surrender any of the West Bank and Gaza, and some members even boast they could crush the *intifadeh* in weeks. Labor leader Shimon Peres has endorsed proposals for negotiations that would return some territory to Arab rule, which many interpret as signifying an inability to quell the rebellion. Rabin seems determined to prove them wrong. Said Shamir media adviser Avi Pazner: "If you take the last nine months, it's certainly helped Labor to have a tough Defense Minister."

Ultimately, Rabin's rough tactics may make little difference in Labor's campaign to win a majority in the 120-seat Knesset. The November vote is widely seen as a referendum on whether Israel should keep the occupied lands or get out. The latest opinion polls show Labor and Likud running neck and neck. Israel's two main political groupings thus may be forced to spend yet another four years as uneasy partners in a coalition that must deal with an uprising no kind of bullet has managed to quell. —*By Scott MacLeod. Reported by Jon D. Hull/Gaza City*

PRIZES

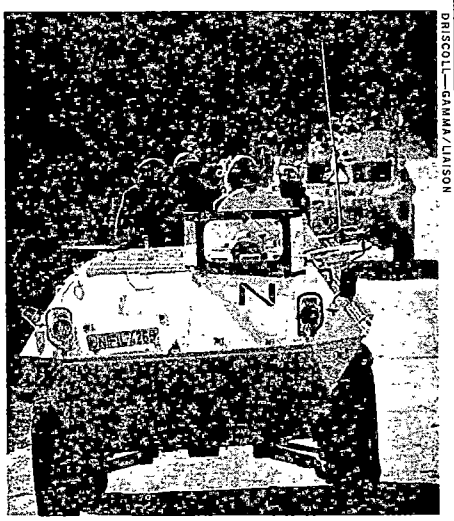
Sorry, Ron And Mikhail

A Nobel for U.N. peacekeepers

In Washington they waited. In Moscow they waited. In Oslo they knew. Despite persistent rumors that Ronald Reagan and Mikhail Gorbachev would share the 1988 Nobel Peace Prize for signing last year's agreement banning intermediate-range nuclear weapons, the prize was awarded last week to the United Nations peacekeeping forces. Egil Aarvik, chairman of the five-member Norwegian Nobel Committee, cited the multinational army of 8,600 for its contribution to "reducing tensions where an armistice has been negotiated but a peace treaty has yet to be established." First sent into action in 1948 as an observer mission between Israel and its Arab neighbors, the peacekeeping forces have enforced an uneasy calm in 14 conflicts and are currently deployed in nine countries. Over the years, the forces have lost more than 700 lives.

The news further lifted morale at the U.N., which, after years of being criticized by the U.S. as irrelevant and ineffectual, has enjoyed notable successes in helping end the Soviet invasion of Afghanistan and the Iran-Iraq war. U.N. Secretary-General Javier Pérez de Cuéllar, who will travel to Oslo in early December to accept the medal and $388,000 on behalf of the soldiers, was also touted as a possible prizewinner.

Though the U.N. forces are obviously a worthy selection, Aarvik did little to dampen speculation that the committee passed over Reagan and Gorbachev out of concern that the award would boost George Bush's presidential chances. Asked if the U.S. election campaign played a part in the decision, Aarvik replied, "We take everything into consideration, everything."



DRISCOLL—GAMMA/LIAISON

On patrol in southern Lebanon

More than 700 lives lost in 40 years.

QUOTES -- UNITED NATIONS

"If we all can persevere, if we can in every land and office look beyond our own shores and ambitions, then surely the age will dawn in which the strong are just and the weak secure and the peace preserved."

John F. Kennedy, Address to the United Nations, September 25, 1961

"The tough-minded . . . respect difference. Their goal is a world made safe for differences, where the United States may be AMerican to the hilt without threatening the peace of the world, and France may be France, and Japan may be Japan on the same conditions."

Ruth Fulton Benedict, The Chrysanthemum and the Sword, chapter 1, 1946

All your strength is in your union.
All your danger is in discord;
Therefore be at peace henceforward,
And as brothers live together.

Henry Wadsworth Longfellow, The Song of Hiawatha, pt. I, 1855

"First keep the peace within yourself, then you can also bring peace to others."

Thomas à Kempis, Imitation of Christ, bk. I, ch. 3, circa 142

"A crust eaten in peace is better than a banquet partaken in anxiety."

Aesop, The Town Mouse and the Country Mouse

"Let us therefore follow after the things which make for peace."

Romans 14:19

"Peace is not an absence of war, it is a virtue, a state of mind, a disposition for benevolence, confidence, justice."

Benedict (Baruch) Spinoza, Theological-Political Treatise, 1670

"We, the peoples of the United Nations, determined to save succeeding generations from the scourge of war, which twice in

our lifetime has brought untold sorrow to mankind, and to reaffirm faith in fundamental human rights, in the dignity and worth of the human person, in the equal right of men and women and of nations large and small . . .

And for these ends to practice tolerance and live together in peace with one another as good neighbors . . .

Have resolved to combine these efforts to accomplish our aims."

Charter of the United Nations, preamble, June, 1945

"The social progress, order, security and peace of each country are necessarily connected with the social progress, order, security and peace of all other countries."

Pope John XXIII (Angelo Giuseppe Roncalli), Pacem in Terris, Encyclical letter, April 11, 1963

Courage is the price that life exacts for granting peace,
The soul that knows it not, knows no release
From little things;
Knows not the livid loneliness of fear,
Nor mountain heights where bitter joy can hear
The sound of wings.

Amelia Earhart Putnam, Courage

Blessed are the poor in spirit: for theirs is the kingdom of heaven.

Blessed are they that mourn: for they shall be comforted.

Blessed are the meed: for they shall inherit the earth.

Blessed are they which do hunger and thirst after righteousness: for they shall be filled.

Blessed are the merciful: for they shall obtain mercy.

Blessed are the pure in heart: for they shall see God.

Blessed are the peacemakers: for they shall be called the children of God.

Blessed are they which are persecuted for righteousness' sake: for theirs is the kingdom of heaven.

Blessed are ye, when men shall revile you, and persecute you, and shall say all manner of evil against you falsely, for my sake.

Matthew 5:3-11

"No man is good enough to govern another man without that other's consent."

Abraham Lincoln, Speech at Peoria, Illinois, October 16, 1854

"Man must evolve for all human conflict a method which rejects revenge, aggression and retaliation. The foundation of such a method is love."

Martin Luther King, Jr., Speech accepting the **Nobel Peace Prize**, December 11, 1964

THE PEACEMAKERS

The Peacemakers by George Peter Alexander Healy (1813-1894). Oil on canvas, 1868. This scene depicts a meeting late in the Civil War between President Abraham Lincoln and (left-to-right) Major-General William T. Sherman, Lieutenant-General Ulysses S. Grant, and Rear-Admiral David D. Porter. On March 27 and 28, 1865, these leaders met aboard the River Queen, the steamer which had brought the Lincolns to Grant's headquarters on the James River during the siege of Richmond, Virginia. They discussed the favorable prospects for a speedy peace, which engendered Healy's title and inclusion of an optimistic rainbow in the cabin window. The likeness of Lincoln in this group portrait, painted in Rome, closely resembles Healy's 1869 portrait of the president which currently hangs in the State Dining Room. Healy is also represented in the White House collection by six other presidential portraits.
U.S. Government Purchase. 947.2558.1

On last night's Prime Time Live White House tour, the President pointed out this painting to Diane Sawyer. It hangs in his office in the residence. He is the first president to use this room as an office -- until this time it has been known as the "Treaty Room." The painting has been hanging there since the Kennedy Administration (1961).

President Bush described the horror of the Civil War, and pointed to the rainbow peeking through the window -- "a symbol of hope" or the "light at the end of the tunnel" for these "peacemakers."

The Curator's Office told me that the city of Richmond fell while Lincoln was on the River Queen, and he went on to visit the city, symbolizing the end of the war.

A Peace-Keeper at Work

A 1987 television documentary by the British Broadcasting Corporation shows Michael Smyth, a Captain in the Irish battalion of the United Nations Interim Force in Lebanon (UNIFIL), going about his duties in the town of Haris. Capt. Smyth describes his situation this way:

"There has been a big buildup of tensions during the last month. We've had rocket attacks and machine-gun attacks on our checkpoints. We've had roadside bombs, and land-mines placed in the roads, one of which exploded recently, killing a fellow officer and injuring two soldiers...We live under constant threat of being kidnapped by one faction or another—you could be sitting out one day having coffee with someone, and that night he's at you with a gun in his hand."

The central episode in the programme portrays Capt. Smyth meeting with the mayor of Haris and local farmers, who seek UNIFIL protection to enable them to bring in the harvest of figs and olives on which their economic survival depends. He negotiates with the various factions to assure a cease-fire, and then works out with a member of the neighbouring Nepalese battalion a plan for the Irish and Nepalese soldiers to escort the farmers to their fields and watch over them while they harvest their crops. Afterwards, he has these comments:

Capt. Smyth BBC Photo

"...I feel it is very difficult here for a soldier. The fire we're hearing at the moment—all we can do is report it. This is one of the problems with our mandate, which makes it so hard to work on a daily basis: we have no power of arrest, and we have no powers to search houses which we suspect contain arms.

"...Since my last [tour of duty], six years ago, the population has grown and more buildings have gone up. People tell me that having us here gives them a sense of security and peace, although the youngsters have never known what peace is. As a peace-keeper...you sometimes wonder if you're doing any good at all, but the humanitarian jobs, like protecting the school and the harvest, make you feel you are helping. Hopefully, one day we won't be needed here, and the people will be able to rebuild their lives in peace."

Facts and Figures

United Nations Military Observer Group in India and Pakistan (UNMOGIP)

Headquarters: Rawalpindi (November-April) Srinagar (May-October)

Current Participating Countries: Belgium, Chile, Denmark, Finland, Italy, Norway, Sweden, Uruguay

Strength: 38 observers

Fatalities: 5

Purpose: UNMOGIP has its origin in a 1948 Security Council resolution establishing a United Nations Commission for India and Pakistan and a subsequent resolution in which the Council laid down a procedure for the restoration of peace and order in the state of Jammu and Kashmir, an area whose status had become a matter of conflict between the two Governments. In January 1949, a cease-fire came into effect and the military observers of UNMOGIP were deployed to assist in its observance. The observers' functions were confirmed under the July 1949 Karachi agreement between India and Pakistan, which established a cease-fire line between the two countries. Those functions included observing and reporting, investigating complaints of violations of the cease-fire and the cease-fire line and keeping the Secretary-General informed on the way the agreement was being kept. At present, UNMOGIP observers are stationed on both sides of the Line of Control agreed upon by India and Pakistan under the Simla agreement of July 1972.

Figures quoted are as of March 1988

United Nations Peace-keeping Force in Cyprus (UNFICYP)

Headquarters: Nicosia, Cyprus

Current Participating Countries: Australia, Austria, Canada, Denmark, Finland, Ireland, Sweden, United Kingdom

Strength: 2,150 troops, 34 civilian police

Fatalities: 144

Purpose: In March 1964, after widespread intercommunal violence in Cyprus, UNFICYP was established by the Security Council to prevent a recurrence of fighting and to contribute to the maintenance of law and order and a return to normal conditions. Following the 1974 Turkish military intervention in the wake of a *coup d'état* against the Cyprus Government, cease-fire lines were agreed with the Cyprus National Guard and with the Turkish forces. UNFICYP currently controls a 180-kilometre-long buffer zone between the cease fire lines and provides security for civilians of both communities living or working in the area between the lines. It also is responsible for ensuring that the *status quo* along the two cease-fire lines is maintained. It thus continues to maintain calm in Cyprus, a condition which is essential to the pursuit of the Secretary-General's mission of good offices relating to the Cyprus conflict.

United Nations Interim Force in Lebanon (UNIFIL)

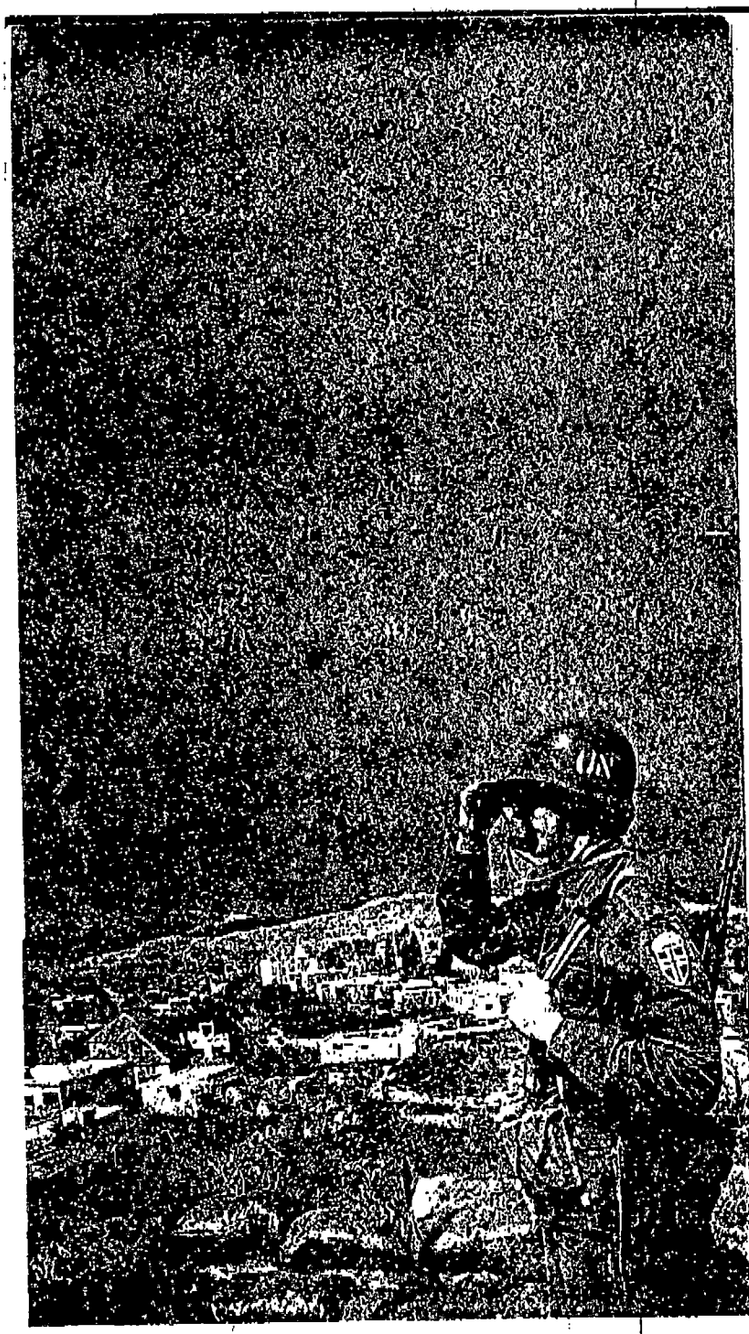
Headquarters: Naqoura, Lebanon

Current Participating Countries: Fiji, Finland, France, Ghana, Ireland, Italy, Nepal, Norway, Sweden

Strength: 5,800 troops

Fatalities: 152

Purpose: Following the Israeli invasion of southern Lebanon on 15 March 1978, the Security Council called for an end to Israel's military action and, on 19 March, set up UNIFIL to confirm the withdrawal of Israeli forces, restore international peace and security, and assist the Lebanese Government in ensuring the return of its effective authority in the area. After the Israeli invasion of 1982, UNIFIL remained in the area with the same mandate. Because Israel has not withdrawn its forces completely from Lebanese territory and continues to maintain a "security zone" north of the international border, UNIFIL has not been able to complete its deployment to the border as required by its mandate. The Security Council has nevertheless maintained the force in being because of its valuable roles in containing violence and providing humanitarian assistance in the very troubled circumstances of southern Lebanon.



UNITED NATIONS

PEACE-KEEPING

PEACE-KEEPING

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PEACE-KEEPING

UNITED NATIONS THE FACTS

United Nations Department of Public Information
DPI/905-40005-January 1987-100 M

HOW PEACE-KEEPING OPERATIONS ARE SET UP

When a UN Member State or group of States, or the Secretary-General, proposes establishment of a peace-keeping operation, three basic conditions have to be met. First, the parties to the conflict must be agreeable to the idea. Second, the proposal must enjoy broad support from the international community—specifically, it must attract the necessary votes to be adopted by the Security Council. Third, Member States must be ready to volunteer troops needed.

In order for the 15-member Security Council to adopt the proposal, there have to be at least nine votes in favour and no negative vote from any of its five permanent members (China, France, the Soviet Union, the United Kingdom, the United States). If the Council votes to establish a peace-keeping operation, the Secretary General is asked to report back very quickly (usually within 24 hours) on how the operation can be launched. Subject to the Council's approval, he must then make the necessary arrangements—choosing the Force Commander and asking Member States to provide troops, supplies and equipment, transportation and logistical support.

The Council must also decide whether the operation will be paid for by United Nations Members on a voluntary basis or, as is usually the case, by obligatory contributions.

COUNTRIES CONCERNED MUST GIVE THEIR CONSENT

Peace-keeping operations are only organized with the consent of the country or countries involved. United Nations peace-keepers are authorized to use force in certain clearly defined circumstances, but not to fight their way into position against the will of either party. The Governments that contribute to peace-keeping operations would be unlikely to volunteer their personnel if it meant exposing them to the risks of full-scale combat.

And there is no legal basis for a UN peace-keeping force to stay in a country without that country's consent. A country that initially agrees to the establishment of a peace-keeping

operation can later change its mind and insist that the operation be withdrawn, although this has happened only rarely. ■

MINIMUM FORCE

Only in exceptional circumstances may UN peace-keepers use force. They carry light arms and are allowed to use minimum force and then only if they are attacked, or if armed persons try to stop them from carrying out the orders of their commanders.

This means that UN soldiers can be put in the uncomfortable position of having to wait to be fired on before they can fire back. But if they were to take the initiative in using force against whoever might be threatening the peace, they would violate the United Nations' most basic peace-keeping principle—to intervene in a dispute only with the consent of the parties. When they shoot, they have clearly lost the consent of those they are shooting at.

The effectiveness of peace-keeping forces derives from a combination of factors—the physical presence of armed soldiers who will return fire if they are fired upon, the moral authority of the UN and the pressure of world public opinion. These work together to deter the hostile parties from taking rash military action. ■

THE PEACE-KEEPERS — MEN AND WOMEN IN THE MIDDLE

At present, nearly 10,000 soldiers from 23 Member States are serving in the UN peace-keeping operations (*see table*). They wear United Nations blue berets or blue helmets with the uniforms of their own countries. They serve under the operational command of their commanding officer (who takes his orders from the Secretary-General), but they remain under national command in matters of pay, discipline and promotion.

Some of the peace-keepers are regular soldiers whose units are assigned to serve with a UN peace-keeping operation for a specified period. Others are reservists who volunteer to serve with the United Nations. A normal tour of duty lasts six months to a year. Some countries maintain units and individuals on stand-by for UN service in case the Secretary-General should seek their support on short notice.

The requirements of peace-keeping can be very different from those of normal soldiering; diplomacy and tact are needed more than combat skills. Some of the major troop contributors, such as the Scandinavian countries, provide special training programmes for UN service. But these soldiers of peace can also find themselves under fire in dangerous situations. About 540 of them have given their lives in action. ■

A PEACE-KEEPER AT WORK

A recent television documentary by the British Broadcasting Corporation shows Michael Smyth, a Captain in the Irish battalion of the United Nations Interim Force in Lebanon (UNIFIL), going about his duties in the town of Haris. Capt. Smyth describes his situation this way:

"There has been a big buildup of tensions during the last month. We've had rocket attacks and machine-gun attacks on our checkpoints. We've had roadside bombs, and land-mines placed in the roads, one of which exploded recently, killing a fellow officer and injuring two soldiers....We live under constant threat of being kidnapped by one faction or another—you could be sitting out one day having coffee with someone, and that night he's at you with a gun in his hand."

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A WAY TO CONTROL CONFLICTS AND PROMOTE PEACE

United Nations "peace-keeping" is the use of multinational forces, under UN command, to keep disputing countries or communities from fighting while efforts are made to help them negotiate a solution. It is intended to keep tense situations from escalating into full-fledged wars, and it is undertaken only with the agreement of the hostile parties.

It may seem surprising that hostile countries and factions would request or accept the intervention of UN peace-keepers; but in practice this has often provided a way by which they could bring hostilities to an end without losing face.

As a technique for controlling conflicts, peace-keeping represents the most important advance by the international community since the Second World War. It is an innovative way to use armed forces, in that they achieve their objectives almost entirely without the use of arms. The UN pioneered this kind of operation, although it no longer has a monopoly on it; similar efforts have been launched by the United States and by regional bodies, such as the League of Arab States and the Organization of African Unity (OAU).

United Nations troops can be dispatched to conflict areas as unarmed observers or as lightly armed peace-keeping forces that are authorized to use force only in self-defence. They can do many things: they may be assigned to observe a situation and report on it to the Secretary-General, to investigate cease-fire violations, or to supervise troop withdrawals. They are also used to patrol buffer zones; their presence can prevent the resumption of hostilities by physically blocking the movement of troops and munitions and by providing a symbolic reminder that the eyes of the world are on both parties. In addition, they often provide emergency medical services, assist in the resettlement of refugees, and work to restore normal civilian activities in strife-torn areas. ■

THE WHEN, WHERE AND WHY OF PEACE-KEEPING

Peace-keeping operations are one of the ways in which the United Nations tries to maintain international peace and security. The main responsibility for this lies with the Security Council.

The UN Charter states that when the Council determines the existence of any threat to the peace, breach of the peace, or

UNITED NATIONS TRUCE SUPERVISION ORGANIZATION (UNTSO): 1948 to date

HEADQUARTERS: Jerusalem

CURRENT PARTICIPATING COUNTRIES: Argentina, Australia, Austria, Belgium, Canada, Chile, Denmark, Finland, France, Ireland, Italy, Netherlands, New Zealand, Norway, Sweden, Soviet Union, United States

STRENGTH: 298 observers **FATALITIES:** 26

UNITED NATIONS MILITARY OBSERVER GROUP IN INDIA AND PAKISTAN (UNMOGIP): 1949 to date

HEADQUARTERS: Rawalpindi (November-April) Srinagar (May-October)

CURRENT PARTICIPATING COUNTRIES: Belgium, Chile, Denmark, Finland, Italy, Norway, Sweden, Uruguay

STRENGTH: 38 observers **FATALITIES:** 5

UNITED NATIONS PEACE-KEEPING FORCE IN CYPRUS (UNFICYP): 1964 to date

HEADQUARTERS: Nicosia, Cyprus

CURRENT PARTICIPATING COUNTRIES: Australia, Austria, Canada, Denmark, Finland, Ireland, Sweden, United Kingdom

STRENGTH: 2,350 troops **FATALITIES:** 143

UNITED NATIONS DISENGAGEMENT OBSERVER FORCE (UNDOF): 1974 to date

HEADQUARTERS: Damascus, Syria

CURRENT PARTICIPATING COUNTRIES: Austria, Canada, Finland, Poland

STRENGTH: 1,330 troops and observers **FATALITIES:** 21

UNITED NATIONS INTERIM FORCE IN LEBANON (UNIFIL): 1978 to date

HEADQUARTERS: Naqoura, Lebanon

CURRENT PARTICIPATING COUNTRIES: Fiji, Finland, France, Ghana, Ireland, Italy, Nepal, Norway, Sweden

STRENGTH: 5,800 troops **FATALITIES:** 138

act of aggression, it shall decide what the UN should do to maintain or restore international peace and security. The Security Council looks first for a peaceful settlement of the dispute. If its recommendations are not followed by the parties involved, it can call for action by the international community, which might include asking Member States to make armed forces available to enforce its wishes.

Since the UN was founded, there has in fact been only one military enforcement action—in 1950, when the Security Council recommended sending a multinational force, led by the United States, to help the Republic of Korea repel the armed attack by forces from North Korea. However, that operation should not be confused with peace-keeping operations, which are quite different because they do not take sides, they use force only in self-defence and they are under the command of the Secretary-General.

Peace-keeping is not specifically described in the UN Charter, but it has evolved over the past 30 years as an internationally acceptable way of controlling conflicts and promoting the peaceful settlement of disputes. To date, it has been used to defuse tensions in more than a dozen international conflicts around the globe. It has played a particularly significant role in the Middle East, the Congo (now Zaire) and Cyprus. ■

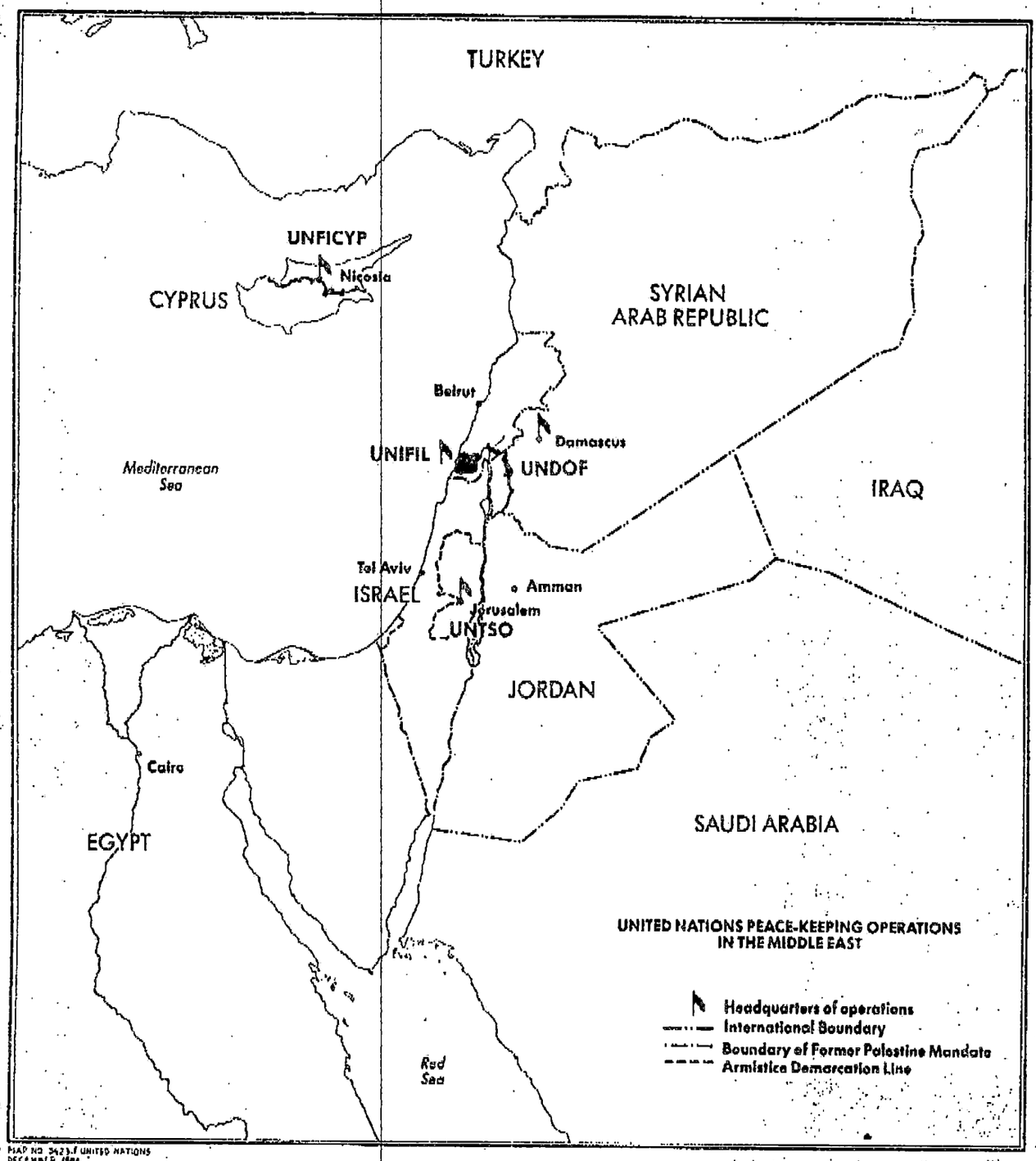
PURPOSE: UNTSO was originally set up to supervise the truce called for by the Security Council, which ended the 1948 Arab-Israeli war. Since then, UNTSO has performed various peace-keeping tasks entrusted to it by the Security Council. At present, UNTSO observers assist UNDOF and UNIFIL in the performance of their tasks; observer groups are stationed in Beirut and in the Sinai.

PURPOSE: UNMOGIP was established originally to supervise the cease-fire in Kashmir in accordance with the Karachi agreement concluded by India and Pakistan in August 1949. The observers of UNMOGIP are now stationed on both sides of the Line of Control as defined by the Simla agreement signed by India and Pakistan in July 1972.

PURPOSE: Following the outbreak of intercommunal fighting in Cyprus, UNFICYP was set up in March 1964 to prevent recurrence of the fighting and to contribute to the maintenance and restoration of law and order and a return to normal conditions in the island. Since the Turkish invasion and the *de facto* partition of the island in 1974, UNFICYP troops have manned a buffer zone separating the opposing forces and have provided humanitarian assistance to the local population affected by the events.

PURPOSE: Following the 1973 Arab-Israeli war, the Security Council set up UNDOF to oversee the disengagement of Israeli and Syrian forces in the Golan Heights in accordance with the Disengagement Agreement concluded by Israel and Syria in May 1974. This agreement is still in effect.

PURPOSE: Following the Israeli invasion of southern Lebanon in 1978, the Security Council called for the withdrawal of Israeli forces and set up UNIFIL to confirm the Israeli withdrawal, to restore international peace and security and to assist the Lebanese Government in ensuring the return of its effective authority in the area. After the Israeli invasion of 1982, UNIFIL remained in the area with the same mandate.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PEACEKEEPER'S HANDBOOK

Excerpt

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25.

FOREWORD

by

The President, International Peace Academy

The role of the International Peace Academy since its establishment in 1970, has been the development of skills and techniques for greater efficiency within peacekeeping forces. The Academy tries to achieve this by making use of the experience of present and former members of UN operations to disseminate their knowledge through its seminars. The Peacekeeper's Handbook is therefore an extension of the Academy's programmes and it is hoped that it will provide material and knowledge which national armed forces can use in the preparation of their contingents for international peacekeeping.

The idea of preparing this Handbook was first conceived at an Academy's Consultation held at Lake Mohonk, New York, in June 1973. While the Consultation recognized that a number of peacekeeping troop contributing countries had prepared instructions or guidelines for the preparation of their contingents and the conduct of operations in the field, there was a need for a general handbook which would enable any troop contributing country to prepare its own instructions and procedures for the preparation of its forces.

The Peacekeeper's Handbook is also intended to provide ready reference for planning and conduct of such operations.

Preparation of this Handbook was carried out under my supervision with a generous grant from the Rockefeller Foundation. The Academy is specially thankful to Mr. Elmore Jackson who helped from the start in developing this project.

The Academy is most grateful to Mr. Brian E. Urquhart, United Nations Under-Secretary-General for Special Political Affairs, for his generous assistance and advice in compiling the manuscript. We also wish to express our thanks to Mr. Fou-Tchin Liu and Dr. James O. C. Jonah of the Office of the Under-Secretaries-General for Special Political Affairs; Mr. George Lansky, Mr. Gerald Dunn and Mr. John Boe of Field Operations Services of the United Nations for their assistance.

The Academy gratefully acknowledges the contribution of Major (Police) Erik Baumel (Austria), Chief Superintendent (Police) Errol Canney (Australia), Colonel Christian Clausen (Austria), Lieutenant Colonel Eamon Doyle (Ireland) Major General Bjørn Egge (Norway), Colonel Yngve Ekman (Sweden), Colonel Patrick Hogan (Ireland), Brigadier Said Ud Din Khan (Pakistan), Lieutenant Colonel Gerald O'Sullivan (Ireland), Major General Hannes Philipp (Austria), Mr. George Ivan Smith (Australia), Commissioner of Police J. B. Tibiru (Ghana), and Colonel William J. Yost (Canada).

In particular, the Academy is greatly indebted to Brigadier Michael Harbottle (Retd) (United Kingdom) both for his personal contribution to the contents of the Handbook and for his work over two and a half years as its compiler and editor. Without him the Handbook could not have been completed.

The variety of experience of the contributors and the wide range of their geographical representation has enabled the Academy to harness a great breadth of experience to provide reference material which should meet different needs.

Indar Jit Rikhye
Major General (Retd)

the proficiency with which they are carried out. Only in cases where orders and directives are issued which run counter to accepted principles and policies governing the armed forces of the particular country, has the national contingent the right to appeal, if necessary to its home government. In the event of a withdrawal of a Force/Mission the executive command and control of such a withdrawal rests with the Force Commander.

46 The most complex operation of all was that of the Congo. The size of the force and the numbers of national contingents and detachments involved, made centralized control impractical. Subordinate headquarters were created to which were delegated district/area responsibilities, though they remained answerable to Force Headquarters and obedient to its orders and directives. These subordinate headquarters were commanded by the senior contingent commander and staffed from the contingents deployed in the area designated. Additional staff could be drafted in where necessary, either from Force Headquarters or from the countries whose contingents were operating in the specific district/area.

47 In the Cyprus and the Middle East peacekeeping Forces, the problem of subordinate headquarters did not arise; control being exercised from Force Headquarters.

48 The loyalty factor has already been mentioned but it is worth emphasizing again. Success in peacekeeping depends on the identity of the force as a single entity. If individual contingents were to operate independently and see their responsibility as being to their national government and not to the United Nations, operational efficiency would be jeopardized. There were examples of this in ONUC, where national interests clashed with those of the UN's operational requirements. The contingents in question as a result lost their credibility and had to be withdrawn.

49 The UN peacekeeping role is to keep the peace; to do so in an objective way a close working relationship must be maintained with the parties concerned in the dispute. At the highest level this is accomplished by the Force Commander and his senior staff constantly meeting with the senior members of government and the armed forces on the two sides. In intrastate conflict where the dispute is between two communities or rival groups, it is a matter of establishing working contacts with both. This same relationship also applies at the lower echelons of command where area/district/contingent commanders and their staffs need to be as closely linked to their counterparts on both sides. The closer the relations the greater the chance of keeping the situation peaceful, though care must be taken to avoid becoming so closely involved with either side as to lose one's objectivity and

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PRESS RELEASE

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Press Release USUN 13-(89)
February 23, 1989

NOTE TO CORRESPONDENTS
Statement Ambassador Thomas R. Pickering, United States Permanent Representative-Designate to the United Nations before the Senate Foreign Relations Committee, United States Senate

It is a privilege to appear before members of this Committee for confirmation as President Bush's nominee to be United States Ambassador to the United Nations. I am particularly honored to be nominated for a position that the President of the United States himself once occupied with such distinction.

I come to these hearings at a time of change in the United Nations. The President and the Secretary of State are engaged in an intensive review of our objectives, strategy and policy in many areas, including the United Nations. Certain elements of internal reform are now under way under the able leadership of the Secretary-General. Peacemaking and peacekeeping have been advanced over the last several years in ways that a decade ago would have seemed impossible. Regional disputes in some areas are now ripe for settlement, and the United Nations has played and can play a role in resolving many of them. The challenge of dealing with many problems of a global nature has become more significant.

The United Nations should be seen for what it is, an expression of the world's desire for peace, and also too often the scene of those passions that prevent peace. Experience indicates that when nations agree on procedures and substance, the United Nations offers a valuable forum for making progress. We will continue to keep a clear-eyed and realistic view towards the organization.

A solid bipartisan working relationship between Congress and the executive branch, as mentioned by Secretary of State Baker in his appearance before this committee and before the House Foreign Affairs Committee this week, is essential in the on-going conduct of United States foreign policy.

My distinguished predecessor, in testimony before you during his confirmation hearing four years ago, rated the United Nations as "six on a scale of ten" and expressed the hope to raise the grade to eight during his term in office. I believe that, thanks to the efforts of Ambassador Walters, his team at the United States Mission to the United Nations and my colleagues in the Department of State, the United Nations has certainly earned this higher grade. President Reagan himself took note of these improvements when, in his last speech to the United Nations General Assembly on September 26 last year, he said that the United Nations "is a better place than it was eight years ago."

One of the United Nations's most significant accomplishments has been the progress achieved in increasing its effectiveness through budget and program reform. Its budget outline for 1990-91, lower in real terms than the previous one, was adopted by consensus for the first time. There is a new mechanism for the establishment of program priorities in the budget.

The Secretary-General has taken painful but necessary steps to eventually reduce the size of the Secretariat by 15 percent. A reduction of 12 percent has already been made. The concept of an objective international civil service is being strengthened. The General Assembly last fall endorsed the Secretary-General's decision to refrain from granting to nationals of the Soviet Union and Eastern European member states a blanket exemption from the requirement that applicants for employment in the United Nations accept permanent or long-term contracts. We should monitor this reform process very closely to make sure that its momentum is maintained.

Because of this progress, the President recommended last fall that we fully fund our assessed contribution to the United Nations, including the amounts required for recently launched United Nations efforts to resolve regional conflicts and that we review plans for beginning to pay our sizeable arrears. This will enable us also to maintain the impetus toward reform that we and like-minded nations have begun.

For the first time in decades, our financial support of a reformed United Nations is now crucial because the potential of the Secretary-General and the Security Council for resolving regional disputes has become a reality. The United Nations, with the active support of the United States, is shutting down wars. Thanks to the steadfast determination of the Afghan Resistance and the support the United States, Pakistan, and other like-minded nations extended to the Resistance, the Secretary-General and his representative were able to negotiate an agreement which has led to the withdrawal of Soviet troops from Afghanistan. The Afghan people still face difficult times because there is still no internal settlement. Nevertheless, for the first time in nearly a decade, the people of Afghanistan are looking forward to the possibility of governing themselves as a non-aligned state, free of Soviet military occupation.

In adopting Resolution 598 in the summer of 1987, the Security Council for the first time ordered a halt to a conflict without knowing beforehand that the parties would agree to stop fighting. One year later, the war between Iran and Iraq, the bloodiest conflict the world has seen since the end of World War II, finally came to an end. The Secretary-General, with the support of the entire Security Council, is now fully engaged in trying to bring the two parties into direct negotiation of a formal settlement of the conflict.

Just last week the Security Council established a new United Nations peacekeeping force, UNTAG, which will help to bring about free and fair elections and genuine independence in Namibia. It has also put into place a verification mechanism to make sure that Cuban troops are completely withdrawn from Angola. The United Nations's peacekeeping forces are again demonstrating their achievements for which they won, most deservedly, last year's Nobel Peace Prize.

The Secretary-General remains deeply involved in efforts to find political solutions to the disputes in Cyprus and the Western Sahara. He may soon play a role in ensuring that the withdrawal of Vietnamese forces from Cambodia does not pave the way for the return to power of the Khmer Rouge, but establishing a Khmer state in which the Khmer people will be responsible for determining their own future.

One of the most dramatic and encouraging reasons for the recent peacemaking and peacekeeping successes of the United Nations has been the unprecedented collaboration among the five permanent members of the Security Council. They drafted Resolution 598 which ordered the end of the Iran-Iraq conflict. They made possible a less costly and more realistic United Nations force in Namibia which will insure free elections there. They may well be able to make a significant contribution to the solution of other regional disputes. Of course, much of this progress has depended on and came out of improved Soviet-American relations. Should our bilateral relationship with the USSR continue to move forward positively as a result of changed Soviet attitudes, we will, I expect, be able to achieve results in multilateral areas as well.

Name-calling has been largely relegated to the United Nations's dustbin. The General Assembly no longer criticizes the United States by name because we have adopted a different approach on issues such as equitable settlement of the Arab/Israeli dispute.

The General Assembly no longer seriously threatens Israel's participation in the organization. Even though a pro-forma challenge to Israel's credentials continues to be mounted at each General Assembly session, it has been rejected by steadily increasing majorities.

We have made great progress towards eliminating the Organization's previous double standard on human rights. The United Nations General Assembly has criticized Afghanistan and Iran, as well

as Chile and El Salvador, in balanced resolutions. At our initiative, we have been able to have the Human Rights Commission focus on human rights violations in Cuba and prodding Castro to release political prisoners. We are working now at the Commission's meetings in Geneva to keep the scrutiny on Cuba.

The record, therefore, of improvements during the past few years is impressive. There is, however, still a great deal left to accomplish.

I believe that the United States must work even more closely with our friends and allies in order to help put into practice the ideals of the United Nations Charter. There are additional social and economic themes which we should try to place on the agenda of the General Assembly. This will be an uphill fight. In the last few years, nevertheless, we have succeeded in winning General Assembly endorsement for the first time of such vital democratic concepts as the right to own private property and to hold genuinely free elections.

As regional conflicts become the object of serious negotiation rather than strident debate, I also see the United Nations system focusing more on new and vital issues of our time--Third World debt, economic development strategies, a series of global environmental issues, narcotics control, AIDS, and international terrorism. In this connection, I plan to work actively in the United Nations on problems that require multilateral solutions.

I look forward to the many challenges and opportunities for the United States that New York will present, and I hope that I will receive your confirmation for this position.

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PRESS RELEASE

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Press Release USUN 109-(88)
October 26, 1988

Statement by Ambassador Herbert S. Okun, United States Representative to the 43rd Session of the United Nations General Assembly, in the Special Political Committee, on Item 78, Comprehensive Review of the Whole Question of Peacekeeping Operations in all their Aspects, October 26, 1988

Mr. Chairman, 1988 has been an important year for United Nations Peacekeeping. The United States joins in congratulating the Secretary-General and the men and women who have served with United Nations Peacekeeping Forces for the Nobel Peace Prize that they have been awarded. The Peace Prize is a well deserved tribute to those troops dedicated to service in the cause of peace and it is a fitting recognition of those who have served under the blue United Nations Flag and lost their lives for this cause.

1988 has also seen important decisions taken to establish new Peacekeeping Operations in Afghanistan and along the border between Iran and Iraq. We are all aware of additional proposals for United Nations Peacekeepers in Africa and, possibly, in Kampuchea.

The demand for new Peacekeeping Operations is the surest recognition of the service that Peacekeeping Forces, under the leadership of the Secretary-General, perform for the cause of peace.

Several delegates have referred to the wise advice given us by the Secretary-General in his report on the work of the Organization. He said the success of Peacekeeping Operations "depends not only on the consent of the parties, but also on the consistent support of the Security Council, on a clear and practicable mandate, on the readiness of Member States to volunteer troops and on adequate financial arrangements."

In 1988, rising demands for Peacekeeping Operations have also encouraged proposals to change Peacekeeping Operations. As we judge new proposals, let us always recall the Secretary-General's advice.

There is another point to keep in mind. Although the Secretary-General refrained from saying so, all member states know that the success of Peacekeeping Operations depends on his office. The Secretary-General should continue to respond flexibly to requirements that differ from operation to operation.

Each peacekeeping operation requires the consent of the parties. The request by only one party to a dispute is not a viable basis for a peacekeeping operation. Such a request would inject United Nations forces into the middle of a conflict, putting these forces at risk and potentially involving the UN as a party to the conflict.

The Security Council, of course, has an essential role to play. It must judge recommendations to renew existing forces. It must also determine that the mandate for a new peacekeeping force is realistic and will assist the resolution of the conflict. This year the United States has worked closely with other members of the Security Council in support of peacekeeping forces.

We are all concerned with the growing cost of peacekeeping operations. This burden is substantial. Uncontrolled costs erode the willingness of member states to finance these operations or to contribute troops. We must contain costs, explore all means of financing, and ensure that the burden of funding is fairly distributed among the membership. These issues need renewed attention. The United States delegation for its part will work with others to ensure that costs are contained.

Let us take a closer look, Mr. Chairman, at how the special role of the Secretary-General has contributed to the success of Peacekeeping during the last year.

The Geneva Agreements on the situation in Afghanistan contain provisions for a United Nations Force to monitor compliance. As he should, the Secretary-General sought authorization from the Security Council, but he did so with flexibility. He recognized that, to launch these operations successfully, he would have to take into account the political sensitivities unique to the situation at hand. The Security Council provisionally authorized UNGOMAP in a letter. An authorizing resolution is now being considered. Attention to particular circumstances, rather than adherence to rigid, predetermined rules, was a key ingredient for launching this operation with success.

Let me now turn to the situation between Iran and Iraq. The Secretary-General and his staff prepared for the possibility that a Peacekeeping Operation could consolidate a cease-fire between the parties. His plan for implementation of Security Council Resolution 598, which was then discussed with the parties, recommended the basic structure of the force. Then, after Iran and Iraq agreed this August on a date for a cease-fire, he was ready to move immediately with authorization by the Security Council to deploy UNIIMOG.

UNIIMOG was dispatched to observe a cease-fire which ends a long and bitter conflict. The Secretary-General needed maximum flexibility in selecting troop contributors and commanders of the force. As is proper, the composition of the force was determined not by those who sought participation, but by the Secretary-General, exercising his discretion and judging the situation and the views of the parties. UNIIMOG, like UNGOMAP and previous peacekeeping forces, was established after the Secretary-General had exercised his discretion to make specific recommendations, in accordance with guidelines whose value has been proven by experience.

Two other developments during the last year also show the key role played by the Secretary-General. Following his consultations with the parties, the Secretary-General asked the Security Council to authorize the appointment of a special representative for the negotiations regarding the Western Sahara. The Council responded affirmatively to the Secretary-General's initiative.

Regarding the situation in Namibia, the Secretary-General, responding to progress in the talks among the parties, dispatched a technical mission to Namibia to review plans for UNTAG. Here again, the Secretary-General must retain the autonomy and the flexibility to keep preparations in line with developments.

Comments have been made in our debate by several delegations to indicate their willingness to participate in peacekeeping operations. My Government commends this. It is worth recalling that four of the five permanent members of the Security Council have participated in Peacekeeping. Both France and the United Kingdom have large contingents serving with Peacekeeping Forces in Lebanon and Cyprus. The United States and the Soviet Union have observers assigned to UNTSO. While keeping in mind this record of service by the Permanent Members, however, it is important that in each situation the Secretary-General retain the discretion to decide whether participation by a Permanent Member as a troop contributor is warranted. In most circumstances my Government believes it is not.

Proposals have been made to allow additional bodies, such as the General Assembly, to influence peacekeeping mandates or to revive other groups, such as the moribund Military Staff Committee, to advise the Secretary-General. The United States firmly opposes deviations from the path that brought success to United Nations Peacekeeping. We counsel the membership against creating or reviving institutions that would deprive the Secretary-General of his essential discretion. We warn against procrustean rules that would restrict his ability to respond to unique circumstances.

All members know that Peacekeeping Operations are not an end in themselves. They are an adjunct to the process of resolving disputes. We must not allow ourselves to believe that the mere establishment of a Peacekeeping Operation, or the adoption of a resolution indicating a specific solution, can end disputes. As the Secretary-General said in his report "Peace is secured by

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agreements, not by the illusion of agreements." The challenge for our delegations is not to manage the Peacekeeping Operations. That is the job of the Secretary-General. Our challenge is to see that real agreements to end the underlying disputes are arrived at.

All agree that 1988 has been a vintage year for United Nations Peacekeeping. It has also been a heady experience. Therefore, when making judgments on proposals for change, we all need to measure them soberly against the experience of the last forty years and the need to preserve the Secretary-General's initiative and flexibility. Thank you, Mr. Chairman.

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PRESS RELEASE

FOR IMMEDIATE RELEASE

Press Release USUN 27-(89)
March 16, 1989

Statement by Ambassador Thomas R. Pickering, United States Permanent Representative to the United Nations, before the House Foreign Affairs Committee, March 14, 1989

Mr. Chairman and members of the Committee:

I am pleased to appear before you this morning to support the President's request for the authorization of funds for the United Nations for fiscal years 1990 and 1991. This is my first appearance before this Subcommittee in my capacity of Permanent Representative to the United Nations, and I look forward to a very positive and productive working relationship.

As I said at my confirmation hearing recently, I come to the United Nations at a time of change. The President and the Secretary of State are engaged in an intensive review of our objectives, strategy and policy in many areas, including the United Nations. The Organization itself is engaged in a process of internal reform under the leadership of the Secretary-General. Peacemaking and peacekeeping have advanced over the past few years, and regional disputes in a number of areas are ripe for settlement, leading to possible additional roles for the United Nations. The challenge of dealing with many problems of a global nature has also become more significant.

I believe that we must be clear-eyed and realistic in our view of the United Nations and realize the Organization's abilities and limitations. When nations agree on procedures and are willing to discuss substance, the United Nations offers a valuable forum for making progress or keeping the peace. I will be working to make effective use of the United Nations in carrying out this nation's foreign policy, and I will keep this Committee apprised of our efforts and results in New York.

I will confine my remarks on the authorization request to the two areas which fall into my direct area of responsibility: the contributions to the United Nations regular budget and to UN-administered international peacekeeping activities.

Mr. Chairman, the administration's request of $205.5 million represents a return to essentially full funding of our regular budget contribution to the United Nations less the usual statutory and policy withholdings, based on the progress of the administrative and budgetary reforms for which the United States has worked so hard over the past several years. In addition, we are seeking $22.5 million as a first installment on the very substantial arrears which have built up.

As the Committee is aware, the United Nations General Assembly adopted in 1986 a resolution which put into effect a set of over 70 recommendations for administrative and budgetary reform. Those reforms were undertaken largely because of United States pressure, and we have watched closely as they have been carried out over the past two years. Progress on three of the reforms of particular interest to the Congress was sufficient to permit President Reagan, last September and December, to make the required determinations for the release of appropriated funds to the United Nations. Let me review what has happened in each of these three areas.

Most significant has been the implementation of the new budget process agreed to in 1986. Last fall the United Nations Committee for Program and Coordination agreed, by consensus, to recommend to the General Assembly a budget ceiling for 1990-1991 lower in real terms than the existing 1988-89 budget. The budget outline also includes a modest contingency fund which will eliminate the possibility of unrestrained add-ons to the budget. The Committee's recommendations were adopted by consensus in the General Assembly's Fifth Committee and in the Plenary in December. The Secretary-General now has binding guidance from the Member States of the United Nations concerning the size of his budget proposal for the coming two-year period. The new, consensus-based budget process approved in 1986 has therefore been put into operation, and its results have been respected by the General Assembly.

The Assembly also approved the elimination of more than 1,350 jobs in the United Nations Secretariat, representing some 12.1 percent of all Secretariat positions. In addition, the Secretary-General has been asked to recommend additional cuts to next fall's session. Thus, substantial progress has been made toward the 15 percent reduction target, and I assure members of this Committee that the United States will continue to press for reductions until the 15 percent target is achieved.

A third area of Congressional concern has been the abuse of United Nations employment by the eastern bloc countries through the practice of widespread secondment of staff to serve in the Secretariat. In this area as well, there is progress. Last spring, the Soviet Union announced that its longstanding policy of prohibiting its nationals from serving in the Secretariat on a permanent basis was being changed. Soviet nationals would serve on longer-term contracts than previously and, in some cases, would accept permanent contracts. To date, three permanent contracts have been given to Soviet nationals.

Mr. Chairman, I understand and agree with the concern that the Congress has had about the abuse of United Nations employment through secondment. At this point, I am very new to my job and do not yet have a specific approach to solving the problem. I want you to know, however, that I will give high priority to working with the United Nations Secretariat and with the other countries concerned to ensure that the principles of an independent international civil service, as laid out in the United Nations Charter, will not be violated through the kinds of abuses that have taken place in the past.

In summary, Mr. Chairman, the Administration believes that progress in the major areas of United Nations reform has been substantial, and fully warrants a return to full funding, with the exception, of course, of our traditional withholdings as mandated by legislative or policy considerations.

Let me now turn briefly to the question of arrears. The Administration request contains a first installment on the very substantial amounts we owe to the United Nations and other organizations for past dues. These are legal obligations and need to be paid, despite the extremely tight budgetary situation we face domestically. Payment of the amounts requested for the United Nations for fiscal 1990 will in no way leave the Organization awash in cash. These funds will be directed toward special activities that are mutually agreed upon by the United States and the United Nations, and their payment will be conditional upon such agreement. It is expected that the funds will be used to begin replenishing the United Nations working capital fund which is used, among other things, to cover start-up costs for peacekeeping activities prior to the receipt of assessed payments. This fund and other reserves have been seriously depleted during the past few years. Failure to honor our commitments in this area could call into question our commitment to reform and jeopardize the progress made to date as well as future progress.

The other topic I want to deal with is the financing of five peacekeeping activities financed from the CIPA account, for which the Administration is requesting $111.2 million in 1990. This request is larger than those of recent years because three of the five peacekeeping programs are new within the past year. The United Nations role in international peacemaking and peacekeeping has increased greatly in recent months, and other peacekeeping programs may well arise in the near future. The Administration believes that the United Nations has an important role to play in global peacekeeping, but each potential program must be looked at on its own merits. If the parties to a conflict honestly desire an end to hostilities, the United Nations can serve as a useful buffer or monitor. Each of the programs for which funds are being requested meets this basic criterion.

Two of the new peacekeeping programs represent the fruits of many years hard work on the part of the United States and other countries. They are the United Nations Transition Assistance Group in Namibia, or UNTAG, and the United Nations Angola Verification

Mission, UNAVEM. The former will monitor the withdrawal of South African forces from Namibia and will oversee Namibia's transition to independence, and the latter is monitoring the removal of Cuban troops from Angola. UNTAG will be expensive--a total of $416 million of which the U.S. share will be about $129 million--but these estimates have been scaled back considerably from initial projections made ten years ago because of the changed political conditions in Namibia. The bulk of the United States contribution to UNTAG would be financed by use of special authority of the President under Section 451 of the Foreign Assistance Act and through proposed FY 1989 transfer authority legislation; the request before you for FY 1990 contains the balance of $38 million.

UNAVEM is a much smaller operation, which extends over 31 months and utilizes some 70 military observers and 20 civilian support staff. The Administration is requesting $2.7 million in 1990 for UNAVEM.

UNIIMOG, the United Nations Iran-Iraq Military Observer Group, is maintaining peace in the Persian Gulf area while the Secretary-General, with the support of the Security Council, is fully engaged in trying to bring the two parties into direct negotiation of a formal settlement of the conflict. The Security Council, in adopting Resolution 598 in the summer of 1987, ordered a halt for the first time to a conflict without knowing beforehand that the parties would agree to stop fighting. It was not until a year later that such an agreement was reached, and the UNIIMOG force was then dispatched. The Administration is requesting $29.3 million in FY 1990 to pay our expected share of UNIIMOG.

The other two programs covered in the request are longstanding operations, UN Disengagement Observer Force (UNDOF) and UN Interim Force in Lebonon (UNIFIL), which directly support United States interests in the Middle East.

UNDOF is located on the Golan Heights between Israel and Syria, and serves as a significant buffer. It consists of 1,332 troops. The FY 1990 request for UNDOF is $11.016 million, plus $66,000 as a first payment on the arrears we owe.

UNIFIL, in southern Lebanon, plays a significant role in assuring the security of northern Israel and provides a stabilizing force in a chaotic area. Its withdrawal would risk renewed outbreaks of violence in southern Lebanon that would likely spill across the border. In view of funding constraints, the Administration has requested only $30.1 million for UNIFIL, substantially less than our expected assessment.

Mr. Chairman, this concludes my prepared statement. Bearing in mind that I have not yet taken up my duties in New York and am still very much in the learning process, I will be happy to respond to any questions the Committee may have to the best of my knowledge.

* * * * *

12.

United Nations Peace-Keeping

How the
Men and Women
of the United Nations
Keep the Peace

13.

Peace-Keeping Means a Minimum Use of Force

Only in exceptional circumstances may UN peace-keepers use force. They carry light arms and are allowed to use minimum force and then only if they are attacked, or if armed persons try to stop them from carrying out the orders of their commanders.

This means that UN soldiers can be put in the uncomfortable position of having to wait to be fired on before they can fire back. But if they were to take the initiative in using force against whoever might be threatening the peace, they would violate the United Nations' most basic peace-keeping principle—to intervene in a dispute only with the consent of the parties. When they shoot, they have clearly lost the consent of those they are shooting at.

The effectiveness of peace-keeping forces derives from a combination of factors—the physical presence of armed soldiers who will return fire if they are fired upon, the moral authority of the UN and the pressure of world public opinion. These work together to deter the hostile parties from taking rash military action.

The Peace-Keepers—Men and Women in the Middle

At present, nearly 10,000 soldiers from 23 Member States are serving in the UN peace-keeping operations *(see table, overleaf)*. They wear United Nations blue berets or blue helmets with the uniforms of their own countries. They serve under the operational command of their commanding officer (who takes his orders from the Secretary-General), but they remain under national command in matters of pay, discipline and promotion.

Some of the peace-keepers are regular soldiers whose units are assigned to serve with a UN peace-keeping operation for a specified period. Others are reservists who volunteer to serve with the United Nations. A normal tour of duty lasts six months to a year. Some countries maintain units and individuals on stand-by for UN service in case the Secretary-General should seek their support on short notice.

The requirements of peace-keeping can be very different from those of normal soldiering; diplomacy and tact are needed more than combat skills. Some of the major troop contributors, such as the Scandinavian countries, provide special training programmes for UN service. But these soldiers of peace can also find themselves under fire in dangerous situations. About 550 of them have given their lives while on operational duty with the United Nations.

How Peace-Keeping Operations are Set Up

When a UN Member State or group of States, or the Secretary-General, proposes the establishment of a peace-keeping operation, three basic conditions have to be met. First, the parties to the conflict must be agreeable to the idea. Second, the proposal must enjoy broad support from the international community—specifically, it must attract the necessary votes to be adopted by the Security Council. Third, Member States must be ready to volunteer the troops needed.

In order for the 15-member Security Council to adopt the proposal, there have to be at least nine votes in favour and no negative vote from any of its five permanent members (China, France, the Soviet Union, the United Kingdom, the United States). If the Council votes to establish a peace-keeping operation, the Secretary-General is asked to report back very quickly (usually within 24 hours) on how the operation can be launched. Subject to the Council's approval, he must then make the necessary arrangements—choosing the Force Commander and asking Member States to provide troops, supplies and equipment, transportation and logistical support.

The Council must also decide whether the operation will be paid for by United Nations Members on a voluntary basis or, as is usually the case, by obligatory contributions.

Countries Concerned Must Give Their Consent

Peace-keeping operations are only organized with the consent of the country or countries involved. United Nations peace-keepers are authorized to use force in certain clearly defined circumstances, but not to fight their way into position against the will of either party. The Governments that contribute to peace-keeping operations would be unlikely to volunteer their personnel if it meant exposing them to the risks of full scale combat.

And there is no legal basis for a UN peace-keeping force to stay in a country without that country's consent. A country that initially agrees to the establishment of a peace-keeping operation can later change its mind and insist that the operation be withdrawn, although this has happened only rarely.

Where Peace-Keepers Have Been Sent

Peace-keeping operations are one of the ways in which the United Nations tries to maintain international peace and security. The main responsibility for this lies with the Security Council.

The UN Charter states that when the Council determines the existence of any threat to the peace, breach of the peace, or act of aggression, it shall decide what the UN should do to maintain or restore international peace and security. The Security Council looks first for a peaceful settlement of the dispute. If its recommendations are not followed by the parties involved, it can call for action by the international community, which might include asking Member States to make armed forces available to enforce its wishes.

Since the UN was founded, there has in fact been only one military enforcement action—in 1950, when the Security Council, in a series of resolutions, recommended that Member States "furnish such assistance to the Republic of Korea as may be necessary to repel the armed attack" against it, and that States providing military forces and other assistance make such forces available "to a unified command under the United States". That operation differed from peace-keeping operations, which are based on the consent of the parties, are not permitted to use force except in self-defence, and are under the command of the Secretary-General.

Peace-keeping as a concept is not specifically described in the UN Charter, but it has evolved over the years as an internationally acceptable way of controlling conflicts and promoting the peaceful settlement of disputes. To date, there have been 13 peace-keeping operations: 7 peace-keeping forces and 6 military observer missions. Currently, 3 peace-keeping forces (UNFICYP, UNDOF, UNIFIL) and 2 observer missions (UNTSO and UNMOGIP) are in the field *(see table, overleaf)*.

Past peace-keeping forces were: the First UN Emergency Force (UNEF I), which operated in the Egypt-Israel sector from November 1956 to June 1967; the UN Operation in the Congo (ONUC), which was deployed in what is now Zaire from July 1960 to June 1964; the UN Security Force in West New Guinea (UNSF) from October 1962 to April 1963; and the Second UN Emergency Force (UNEF II), which functioned in Sinai from October 1973 to July 1979. Past observer missions were: the UN Observation Group in Lebanon (UNOGIL) in 1958, the UN Yemen Observation Mission (UNYOM) in 1963-64, the Mission of the Representative of the Secretary-General in the Dominican Republic (DOMREP) in 1965-66 and the UN India-Pakistan Observation Mission (UNIPOM) in 1965-66.

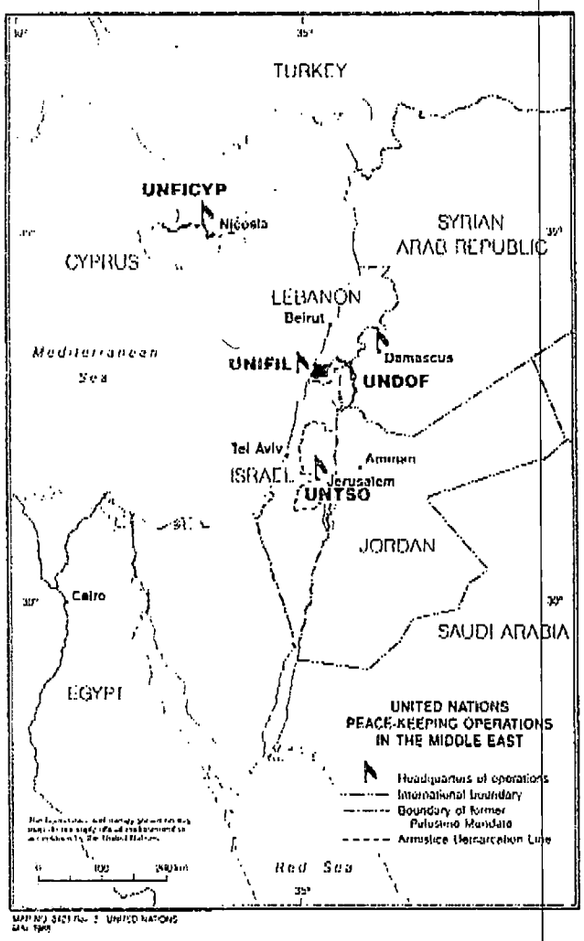
A Way to Control Conflicts and Promote Peace

United Nations "peace-keeping" is the use of multinational forces, under UN command, to keep disputing countries or communities from fighting while efforts are made to help them negotiate a solution. It is intended to keep tense situations from escalating into full-fledged wars, and it is undertaken only with the agreement of the hostile parties.

It may seem surprising that hostile countries and factions would request or accept the intervention of UN peace-keepers; but in practice this has often provided a way by which they could bring hostilities to an end without losing face.

As a technique for controlling conflicts, peace-keeping represents the most important advance by the international community since the Second World War. It is an innovative way to use armed forces, in that they achieve their objectives almost entirely without the use of arms. The UN pioneered this kind of operation, although it no longer has a monopoly on it; similar efforts have been launched by the United States and by regional bodies, such as the League of Arab States and the Organization of African Unity (OAU).

United Nations troops can be dispatched to conflict areas as unarmed observers or as lightly armed peace-keeping forces that are authorized to use force only in self-defence. They can do many things: they may be assigned to observe a situation and report on it to the Secretary-General, to investigate cease-fire violations, or to supervise troop withdrawals. They are also used to patrol buffer zones; their presence can prevent the resumption of hostilities by physically blocking the movement of troops and munitions and by providing a symbolic reminder that the eyes of the world are on both parties. In addition, they often provide emergency medical services, assist in the resettlement of refugees, and work to restore normal civilian activities in strife-torn areas.



For additional information, see *The Blue Helmets, A Review of United Nations Peace Keeping*, UN Publication No. E.85.1.18.

United Nations Truce Supervision Organization (UNTSO)

Headquarters: Jerusalem

Current Participating Countries: Argentina, Australia, Austria, Belgium, Canada, Chile, Denmark, Finland, France, Ireland, Italy, Netherlands, New Zealand, Norway, Sweden, Soviet Union, United States

Strength: 299 observers

Fatalities: 27

Purpose: Since its establishment in 1948, initially to supervise the truce called for in Palestine by the Security Council during the first Arab-Israeli war, UNTSO has played a central role in the Middle East. Its personnel have monitored the observance of cease-fire arrangements between the hostile parties, acted as go-betweens for those parties and ensured that isolated incidents were contained and prevented from escalating into major conflicts. UNTSO personnel have also been available at short notice to form the nucleus of other peace-keeping operations and have stayed on to assist those operations. In 1960, UNTSO military observers were detailed to Leopoldville (now Kinshasa), at the outset of the United Nations Operation in the Congo. Others were assigned with UNEF personnel to the United Nations Yemen Observation Mission in 1963. Today, UNTSO observers assist UNDOF and UNIFIL in the performance of their tasks. In addition, a group of observers has remained in the Sinai to maintain a UN presence. There are also small detachments of observers in Beirut and Amman.

United Nations Disengagement Observer Force (UNDOF)

Headquarters: Damascus, Syria

Current Participating Countries: Austria, Canada, Finland, Poland

Strength: 1,330 troops and observers

Fatalities: 21

Purpose: Following the 1973 Arab-Israeli war, a disengagement agreement was concluded in May 1974 between Israel and Syria. In accordance with the agreement, an "area of separation" was created on the Golan Heights between Israeli and Syrian troops. The parties further agreed to limit their forces and armaments in two equal "areas of limitation" on either side of the area of separation. UNDOF was set up by the Security Council on the day the agreement was signed and was deployed in the area of separation. UNDOF also monitors compliance by the parties with the agreed limitations on forces and armaments.

U.N. to Open Session in an Optimistic Mood

By PAUL LEWIS
Special to The New York Times

UNITED NATIONS, Sept. 18 — The United Nations gathers here Tuesday for the opening of its 44th General Assembly as the organization's prestige and support from the Soviet Union are growing.

President Bush, a former representative at the United Nations, is scheduled to make his first address to the General Assembly since taking office next Monday. The speech, diplomats say, will give him a chance to reply on behalf of the West to the ambitious proposals for strengthening the United Nations set out by President Mikhail S. Gorbachev of the Soviet Union in his General Assembly address last year. These proposals ranged from creating a "Security Council for the Environment" to strengthening the organization's peacemaking role.

U.S. Seen as Lagging

Many diplomats at the United Nations say they are concerned that the Soviet Union's growing enthusiasm for the organization is not matched by the United States, and that the real depth of American support for the organization remains untested.

Over the last two years, the United Nations has begun cost-cutting and internal reorganization as well as playing an especially useful role in helping to resolve various regional conflicts.

After brokering the Soviet withdrawal from Afghanistan and the cease-fire in the Iran-Iraq war, it is now helping on a Namibian independence plan and working on conflicts in Central America.

The basic reasons for the organization's increasing success as a peacemaker — improved Soviet-American relations and the reversal of Moscow's longtime suspicion toward the organization — also suggest that the fortunes of the United Nations will continue to improve.

"The United Nations had degenerated into a propaganda instrument instead of a tool of serious diplomacy," Ronald I. Spiers, the American Under Secretary General for Political and General Assembly Affairs, said at a news conference today. "But we now see a basic change in international relations, with the re-emergence of the consensus between the great powers assumed in the United Nations Charter."

A Western diplomat was even more optimistic. "This is the first General Assembly since the organization's earliest days when most delegates think a new era is beginning," he said.

Prime Minister Margaret Thatcher of Britain, Prime Minister Gro Harlem Brundtland of Norway and Prime Minister Geoffrey Palmer of New Zealand are the only other Western heads of government expected to address this year's General Assembly, which will continue until late December.

The Bush Administration has praised the work of the United Nations only in general terms, although it has asked Congress to pay all United States dues this year as well as starting to pay off other withheld dues.

In Financial Straits

But while Congress is likely to fully finance the United Nations, officials see little chance it will pay its back dues. The United Nations financial position remains precarious, largely as a result of the overdue American payments.

At the end of August the United States owed the regular budget $491.1 million, which amounted to two-thirds of the total $688 million in outstanding dues. The United States also owes $254.1 million on the bill for United Nations peacekeeping operations, which has tripled over the last two years to reach some $700 million a year. The Soviet Union owes $211 million for peacekeeping, but has started to pay this off.

The Bush Administration has also taken several steps that could bring it into conflict with other nations or groups of nations, diplomats here say.

Last week Washington appealed to the Arab world and the Soviet Union to drop their standard challenge to the Israeli delegation's credentials and accept Israel's right to exist.

The Administration may have to fight off a bid by the Palestine Liberation Organization to win acceptance by the General Assembly as the representative of a Palestinian state.

man Harris during the hearings on this legislation that the Board would take up its responsibilities to keep the system financially sound.

I also indicated to the Congress my hope that we might soon have some recommendations designed to remedy the financial situation of these systems. Accordingly I would like you to undertake immediately a review of the situation and to develop recommendations which I can consider for presentation to the Congress.

Sincerely, JOHN F. KENNEDY

[Honorable Howard W. Habermeyer, Chairman, Railroad Retirement Board, 44 Rush Street, Chicago 11, Illinois]

NOTE: For the President's statement upon signing S. 2395, see Item 384.

In his letter the President referred to U.S. Representative Oren Harris from Arkansas, Chairman of the Interstate and Foreign Commerce Committee.

386 Statement by the President Upon Signing Bill Relating to the Office of Emergency Planning. *September* 22, 1961

I HAVE TODAY approved H.R. 8406, a bill "To Change the Name of the Office of Civil and Defense Mobilization to Office of Emergency Planning."

Effective August 1, I assigned to the Secretary of Defense major Federal responsibilities for civil defense. The remaining responsibilities can more accurately be described as emergency planning functions, for they deal with responsibilities for investigation, advice, coordination, and policy formulation in connection with our preparedness effort.

These functions of the Office of Emergency Planning may be of critical importance to our very survival. The national security requires that there be soundly conceived and well-tested plans for every emergency.

NOTE: As enacted, H.R. 8406 is Public Law 87–296 (75 Stat. 630). See also Item 295.

The statement was released at Hyannis, Mass.

387 Address in New York City Before the General Assembly of the United Nations. *September* 25, 1961

Mr. President, honored delegates, ladies and gentlemen:

We meet in an hour of grief and challenge. Dag Hammarskjold is dead. But the United Nations lives. His tragedy is deep in our hearts, but the task for which he died is at the top of our agenda. A noble servant of peace is gone. But the quest for peace lies before us.

The problem is not the death of one man—the problem is the life of this organization. It will either grow to meet the challenges of our age, or it will be gone with the wind, without influence, without force, without respect. Were we to let it die, to enfeeble its vigor, to cripple its powers, we would condemn our future.

For in the development of this organization rests the only true alternative to war—and war appeals no longer as a rational alternative. Unconditional war can no longer lead to unconditional victory. It can no longer serve to settle disputes. It can no longer concern the great powers

alone. For a nuclear disaster, spread by wind and water and fear, could well engulf the great and the small, the rich and the poor, the committed and the uncommitted alike. Mankind must put an end to war—or war will put an end to mankind.

So let us here resolve that Dag Hammarskjold did not live, or die, in vain. Let us call a truce to terror. Let us invoke the blessings of peace. And, as we build an international capacity to keep peace, let us join in dismantling the national capacity to wage war.

II.

This will require new strength and new roles for the United Nations. For disarmament without checks is but a shadow—and a community without law is but a shell. Already the United Nations has become both the measure and the vehicle of man's most generous impulses. Already it has provided—in the Middle East, in Asia, in Africa this year in the Congo—a means of holding man's violence within bounds.

But the great question which confronted this body in 1945 is still before us: whether man's cherished hopes for progress and peace are to be destroyed by terror and disruption, whether the "foul winds of war" can be tamed in time to free the cooling winds of reason, and whether the pledges of our Charter are to be fulfilled or defied—pledges to secure peace, progress, human rights and world law.

In this Hall, there are not three forces, but two. One is composed of those who are trying to build the kind of world described in Articles I and II of the Charter. The other, seeking a far different world, would undermine this organization in the process.

Today of all days our dedication to the Charter must be maintained. It must be strengthened first of all by the selection of an outstanding civil servant to carry forward the responsibilities of the Secretary General—a man endowed with both the wisdom and the power to make meaningful the moral force of the world community. The late Secretary General nurtured and sharpened the United Nations' obligation to act. But he did not invent it. It was there in the Charter. It is still there in the Charter.

However difficult it may be to fill Mr. Hammarskjold's place, it can better be filled by one man rather than by three. Even the three horses of the Troika did not have three drivers, all going in different directions. They had only one—and so must the United Nations executive. To install a triumvirate, or any panel, or any rotating authority, in the United Nations administrative offices would replace order with anarchy, action with paralysis, confidence with confusion.

The Secretary General, in a very real sense, is the servant of the General Assembly. Diminish his authority and you diminish the authority of the only body where all nations, regardless of power, are equal and sovereign. Until all the powerful are just, the weak will be secure only in the strength of this Assembly.

Effective and independent executive action is not the same question as balanced representation. In view of the enormous change in membership in this body since its founding, the American delegation will join in any effort for the prompt review and revision of the composition of United Nations bodies.

But to give this organization three drivers—to permit each great power to decide its own case, would entrench the Cold War in the headquarters of peace. Whatever advantages such a plan may hold out to my own country, as one of the great powers, we

reject it. For we far prefer world law, in the age of self-determination, to world war, in the age of mass extermination.

III.

Today, every inhabitant of this planet must contemplate the day when this planet may no longer be habitable. Every man, woman and child lives under a nuclear sword of Damocles, hanging by the slenderest of threads, capable of being cut at any moment by accident or miscalculation or by madness. The weapons of war must be abolished before they abolish us.

Men no longer debate whether armaments are a symptom or a cause of tension. The mere existence of modern weapons—ten million times more powerful than any that the world has ever seen, and only minutes away from any target on earth—is a source of horror, and discord and distrust. Men no longer maintain that disarmament must await the settlement of all disputes—for disarmament must be a part of any permanent settlement. And men may no longer pretend that the quest for disarmament is a sign of weakness—for in a spiraling arms race, a nation's security may well be shrinking even as its arms increase.

For 15 years this organization has sought the reduction and destruction of arms. Now that goal is no longer a dream—it is a practical matter of life or death. The risks inherent in disarmament pale in comparison to the risks inherent in an unlimited arms race.

It is in this spirit that the recent Belgrade Conference—recognizing that this is no longer a Soviet problem or an American problem, but a human problem—endorsed a program of "general, complete and strictly an internationally controlled disarmament." It is in this same spirit that we in the United States have labored this year, with a new urgency, and with a new, now statutory agency fully endorsed by the Congress, to find an approach to disarmament which would be so far-reaching yet realistic, so mutually balanced and beneficial, that it could be accepted by every nation. And it is in this spirit that we have presented with the agreement of the Soviet Union—under the label both nations now accept of "general and complete disarmament"—a new statement of newly-agreed principles for negotiation.

But we are well aware that all issues of principle are not settled, and that principles alone are not enough. It is therefore our intention to challenge the Soviet Union, not to an arms race, but to a peace race—to advance together step by step, stage by stage, until general and complete disarmament has been achieved. We invite them now to go beyond agreement in principle to reach agreement on actual plans.

The program to be presented to this assembly—for general and complete disarmament under effective international control—moves to bridge the gap between those who insist on a gradual approach and those who talk only of the final and total achievement. It would create machinery to keep the peace as it destroys the machinery of war. It would proceed through balanced and safeguarded stages designed to give no state a military advantage over another. It would place the final responsibility for verification and control where it belongs, not with the big powers alone, not with one's adversary or one's self, but in an international organization within the framework of the United Nations. It would assure that indispensable condition of disarmament—true inspection—and apply it in

stages proportionate to the stage of disarmament. It would cover delivery systems as well as weapons. It would ultimately halt their production as well as their testing, their transfer as well as their possession. It would achieve, under the eyes of an international disarmament organization, a steady reduction in force, both nuclear and conventional, until it has abolished all armies and all weapons except those needed for internal order and a new United Nations Peace Force. And it starts that process now, today, even as the talks begin.

In short, general and complete disarmament must no longer be a slogan, used to resist the first steps. It is no longer to be a goal without means of achieving it, without means of verifying its progress, without means of keeping the peace. It is now a realistic plan, and a test—a test of those only willing to talk and a test of those willing to act.

Such a plan would not bring a world free from conflict and greed—but it would bring a world free from the terrors of mass destruction It would not usher in the era of the super state—but it would usher in an era in which no state could annihilate or be annihilated by another.

In 1945, this Nation proposed the Baruch Plan to internationalize the atom before other nations even possessed the bomb or demilitarized their troops. We proposed with our allies the Disarmament Plan of 1951 while still at war in Korea. And we make our proposals today, while building up our defenses over Berlin, not because we are inconsistent or insincere or intimidated, but because we know the rights of free men will prevail—because while we are compelled against our will to rearm, we look confidently beyond Berlin to the kind of disarmed world we all prefer.

I therefore propose, on the basis of this Plan, that disarmament negotiations resume promptly, and continue without interruption until an entire program for general and complete disarmament has not only been agreed but has been actually achieved.

IV.

The logical place to begin is a treaty assuring the end of nuclear tests of all kinds, in every environment, under workable controls. The United States and the United Kingdom have proposed such a treaty that is both reasonable, effective and ready for signature. We are still prepared to sign that treaty today.

We also proposed a mutual ban on atmospheric testing, without inspection or controls, in order to save the human race from the poison of radioactive fallout. We regret that that offer has not been accepted.

For 15 years we have sought to make the atom an instrument of peaceful growth rather than of war. But for 15 years our concessions have been matched by obstruction, our patience by intransigence. And the pleas of mankind for peace have met with disregard.

Finally, as the explosions of others beclouded the skies, my country was left with no alternative but to act in the interests of its own and the free world's security. We cannot endanger that security by refraining from testing while others improve their arsenals. Nor can we endanger it by another long, uninspected ban on testing. For three years we accepted those risks in our open society while seeking agreement on inspection. But this year, while we were negotiating in good faith in Geneva, others were secretly preparing new experiments in destruction.

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Our tests are not polluting the atmosphere. Our deterrent weapons are guarded against accidental explosion or use. Our doctors and scientists stand ready to help any nation measure and meet the hazards to health which inevitably result from the tests in the atmosphere.

But to halt the spread of these terrible weapons, to halt the contamination of the air, to halt the spiralling nuclear arms race, we remain ready to seek new avenues of agreement, our new Disarmament Program thus includes the following proposals:

—First, signing the test-ban treaty by all nations. This can be done now. Test ban negotiations need not and should not await general disarmament.

—Second, stopping the production of fissionable materials for use in weapons, and preventing their transfer to any nation now lacking in nuclear weapons.

—Third, prohibiting the transfer of control over nuclear weapons to states that do not own them.

—Fourth, keeping nuclear weapons from seeding new battlegrounds in outer space.

—Fifth, gradually destroying existing nuclear weapons and converting their materials to peaceful uses; and

—Finally, halting the unlimited testing and production of strategic nuclear delivery vehicles, and gradually destroying them as well.

V.

To destroy arms, however, is not enough. We must create even as we destroy—creating worldwide law and law enforcement as we outlaw worldwide war and weapons. In the world we seek, the United Nations Emergency Forces which have been hastily assembled, uncertainly supplied, and inadequately financed, will never be enough.

Therefore, the United States recommends that all member nations earmark special peace-keeping units in their armed forces—to be on call of the United Nations, to be specially trained and quickly available, and with advance provision for financial and logistic support.

In addition, the American delegation will suggest a series of steps to improve the United Nations' machinery for the peaceful settlement of disputes—for on-the-spot fact-finding, mediation and adjudication—for extending the rule of international law. For peace is not solely a matter of military or technical problems—it is primarily a problem of politics and people. And unless man can match his strides in weaponry and technology with equal strides in social and political development, our great strength, like that of the dinosaur, will become incapable of proper control—and like the dinosaur vanish from the earth.

VI.

As we extend the rule of law on earth, so must we also extend it to man's new domain—outer space.

All of us salute the brave cosmonauts of the Soviet Union. The new horizons of outer space must not be driven by the old bitter concepts of imperialism and sovereign claims. The cold reaches of the universe must not become the new arena of an even colder war.

To this end, we shall urge proposals extending the United Nations Charter to the limits of man's exploration in the universe, reserving outer space for peaceful use, prohibiting weapons of mass destruction in space or on celestial bodies, and opening the mysteries and benefits of space to every nation. We shall propose further cooperative efforts between all nations in weather prediction and eventually in weather control.

We shall propose, finally, a global system of communications satellites linking the whole world in telegraph and telephone and radio and television. The day need not be far away when such a system will televise the proceedings of this body to every corner of the world for the benefit of peace.

VII.

But the mysteries of outer space must not divert our eyes or our energies from the harsh realities that face our fellow men. Political sovereignty is but a mockery without the means of meeting poverty and illiteracy and disease. Self-determination is but a slogan if the future holds no hope.

That is why my Nation, which has freely shared its capital and its technology to help others help themselves, now proposes officially designating this decade of the 1960's as the United Nations Decade of Development. Under the framework of that Resolution, the United Nations' existing efforts in promoting economic growth can be expanded and coordinated. Regional surveys and training institutes can now pool the talents of many. New research, technical assistance and pilot projects can unlock the wealth of less developed lands and untapped waters. And development can become a cooperative and not a competitive enterprise—to enable all nations, however diverse in their systems and beliefs, to become in fact as well as in law free and equal nations.

VIII.

My Country favors a world of free and equal states. We agree with those who say that colonialism is a key issue in this Assembly. But let the full facts of that issue be discussed in full.

On the one hand is the fact that, since the close of World War II, a worldwide declaration of independence has transformed nearly 1 billion people and 9 million square miles into 42 free and independent states. Less than 2 percent of the world's population now lives in "dependent" territories.

I do not ignore the remaining problems of traditional colonialism which still confront this body. Those problems will be solved, with patience, good will, and determination. Within the limits of our responsibility in such matters, my Country intends to be a participant and not merely an observer, in the peaceful, expeditious movement of nations from the status of colonies to the partnership of equals. That continuing tide of self-determination, which runs so strong, has our sympathy and our support.

But colonialism in its harshest forms is not only the exploitation of new nations by old, of dark skins by light, or the subjugation of the poor by the rich. My Nation was once a colony, and we know what colonialism means; the exploitation and subjugation of the weak by the powerful, of the many by the few, of the governed who have given no consent to be governed, whatever their continent, their class, or their color.

And that is why there is no ignoring the fact that the tide of self-determination has not reached the Communist empire where a population far larger than that officially termed "dependent" lives under governments installed by foreign troops instead of free institutions—under a system which knows only one party and one belief—which suppresses free debate, and free elections, and free newspapers, and free books and free trade unions—and which builds a wall to keep truth a stranger and its own citizens prisoners. Let us debate colonialism in full—and apply the principle of free choice

and the practice of free plebiscites in every corner of the globe.

IX.

Finally, as President of the United States, I consider it my duty to report to this Assembly on two threats to the peace which are not on your crowded agenda, but which causes us, and most of you, the deepest concern.

The first threat on which I wish to report is widely misunderstood: the smoldering coals of war in Southeast Asia. South Viet-Nam is already under attack—sometimes by a single assassin, sometimes by a band of guerrillas, recently by full battalions. The peaceful borders of Burma, Cambodia, and India have been repeatedly violated. And the peaceful people of Laos are in danger of losing the independence they gained not so long ago.

No one can call these "wars of liberation." For these are free countries living under their own governments. Nor are these aggressions any less real because men are knifed in their homes and not shot in the fields of battle.

The very simple question confronting the world community is whether measures can be devised to protect the small and the weak from such tactics. For if they are successful in Laos and South Viet-Nam, the gates will be opened wide.

The United States seeks for itself no base, no territory, no special position in this area of any kind. We support a truly neutral and independent Laos, its people free from outside interference, living at peace with themselves and with their neighbors, assured that their territory will not be used for attacks on others, and under a government comparable (as Mr. Khrushchev and I agreed at Vienna) to Cambodia and Burma.

But now the negotiations over Laos are reaching a crucial stage. The cease-fire is at best precarious. The rainy season is coming to an end. Laotian territory is being used to infiltrate South Viet-Nam. The world community must recognize—and all those who are involved—that this potent threat to Laotian peace and freedom is indivisible from all other threats to their own.

Secondly, I wish to report to you on the crisis over Germany and Berlin. This is not the time or the place for immoderate tones, but the world community is entitled to know the very simple issues as we see them. If there is a crisis it is because an existing peace is under threat, because an existing island of free people is under pressure, because solemn agreements are being treated with indifference. Established international rights are being threatened with unilateral usurpation. Peaceful circulation has been interrupted by barbed wire and concrete blocks.

One recalls the order of the Czar in Pushkin's "Boris Godunov": "Take steps at this very hour that our frontiers be fenced in by barriers. . . . That not a single soul pass o'er the border, that not a hare be able to run or a crow to fly."

It is absurd to allege that we are threatening a war merely to prevent the Soviet Union and East Germany from signing a so-called "treaty" of peace. The Western Allies are not concerned with any paper arrangement the Soviets may wish to make with a regime of their own creation, on territory occupied by their own troops and governed by their own agents. No such action can affect either our rights or our responsibilities.

If there is a dangerous crisis in Berlin—and there is—it is because of threats against the vital interests and the deep commitments of the Western Powers, and the free-

dom of West Berlin. We cannot yield these interests. We cannot fail these commitments. We cannot surrender the freedom of these people for whom we are responsible. A "peace treaty" which carried with it the provisions which destroy the peace would be a fraud. A "free city" which was not genuinely free would suffocate freedom and would be an infamy.

For a city or a people to be truly free, they must have the secure right, without economic, political or police pressure, to make their own choice and to live their own lives. And as I have said before, if anyone doubts the extent to which our presence is desired by the people of West Berlin, we are ready to have that question submitted to a free vote in all Berlin and, if possible, among all the German people.

The elementary fact about this crisis is that it is unnecessary. The elementary tools for a peaceful settlement are to be found in the charter. Under its law, agreements are to be kept, unless changed by all those who made them. Established rights are to be respected. The political disposition of peoples should rest upon their own wishes, freely expressed in plebiscites or free elections. If there are legal problems, they can be solved by legal means. If there is a threat of force, it must be rejected. If there is desire for change, it must be a subject for negotiation and if there is negotiation, it must be rooted in mutual respect and concern for the rights of others.

The Western Powers have calmly resolved to defend, by whatever means are forced upon them, their obligations and their access to the free citizens of West Berlin and the self-determination of those citizens. This generation learned from bitter experience that either brandishing or yielding to threats can only lead to war. But firmness and reason can lead to the kind of peaceful solution in which my country profoundly believes.

We are committed to no rigid formula. We see no perfect solution. We recognize that troops and tanks can, for a time, keep a nation divided against its will, however unwise that policy may seem to us. But we believe a peaceful agreement is possible which protects the freedom of West Berlin and allied presence and access, while recognizing the historic and legitimate interests of others in assuring European security.

The possibilities of negotiation are now being explored; it is too early to report what the prospects may be. For our part, we would be glad to report at the appropriate time that a solution has been found. For there is no need for a crisis over Berlin, threatening the peace—and if those who created this crisis desire peace, there will be peace and freedom in Berlin.

x.

The events and decisions of the next ten months may well decide the fate of man for the next ten thousand years. There will be no avoiding those events. There will be no appeal from these decisions. And we in this hall shall be remembered either as part of the generation that turned this planet into a flaming funeral pyre or the generation that met its vow "to save succeeding generations from the scourge of war."

In the endeavor to meet that vow, I pledge you every effort this Nation possesses. I pledge you that we shall neither commit nor provoke aggression, that we shall neither flee nor invoke the threat of force, that we shall never negotiate out of fear, we shall never fear to negotiate.

Terror is not a new weapon. Throughout history it has been used by those who could not prevail, either by persuasion or

example. But inevitably they fail, either because men are not afraid to die for a life worth living, or because the terrorists themselves came to realize that free men cannot be frightened by threats, and that aggression would meet its own response. And it is in the light of that history that every nation today should know, be he friend or foe, that the United States has both the will and the weapons to join free men in standing up to their responsibilities.

But I come here today to look across this world of threats to a world of peace. In that search we cannot expect any final triumph—for new problems will always arise. We cannot expect that all nations will adopt like systems—for conformity is the jailor of freedom, and the enemy of growth. Nor can we expect to reach our goal by contrivance, by fiat or even by the wishes of all.

But however close we sometimes seem to that dark and final abyss, let no man of peace and freedom despair. For he does not stand alone. If we all can persevere, if we can in every land and office look beyond our own shores and ambitions, then surely the age will dawn in which the strong are just and the weak secure and the peace preserved.

Ladies and gentlemen of this Assembly, the decision is ours. Never have the nations of the world had so much to lose, or so much to gain. Together we shall save our planet, or together we shall perish in its flames. Save it we can—and save it we must—and then shall we earn the eternal thanks of mankind and, as peacemakers, the eternal blessing of God.

NOTE: The President spoke at 11:30 a.m. His opening words "Mr. President" referred to Mongi Slim, President of the General Assembly and U.N. Representative from Tunisia.

388 Remarks in New York City Upon Signing Bill Establishing the U.S. Arms Control and Disarmament Agency. *September* 26, 1961

WITH THE SIGNING of H.R. 9118, there is created the United States Arms Control and Disarmament Agency. This act symbolizes the importance the United States places on arms control and disarmament in its foreign policy.

The creation for the first time by act of Congress of a special organization to deal with arms control and disarmament matters emphasizes the high priority that attaches to our efforts in this direction.

Our ultimate goal, as the act points out, is a world free from war and free from the dangers and burdens of armaments in which the use of force is subordinated to the rule of law and in which international adjustments to a changing world are achieved peacefully. It is a complex and difficult task to reconcile through negotiation the many security interests of all nations to achieve disarmament, but the establishment of this agency will provide new and better tools for this effort.

I am pleased and heartened by the bipartisan support this bill enjoyed in the Congress. The leaders of both political parties gave encouragement and assistance. The new agency brings renewed hope for agreement and progress in the critical battle for the survival of mankind.

I want to express my thanks to the Members of the Congress, particularly who are

"A LONG AND HARD WAR"

December 26, 1941

Joint Session of Congress,
Washington D.C.

The Churchill-Roosevelt discussions opened with a draft declaration to be affirmed by all the anti-Axis nations–proposed by Roosevelt and at once accepted by the British. The principal discussions concerned the deteriorating situation in the East, and the need to establish a Supreme Allied Command in Southeast Asia. The United Nations Pact was important, but of more practical value was the establishment of the Combined Chiefs of Staff Committee.

On December 26 Churchill addressed a Joint Session of the United States Congress. This speech was also broadcast.

I feel greatly honoured that you should have invited me to enter the United States Senate Chamber and address the representatives of both branches of Congress. The fact that my American forebears have for so many generations played their part in the life of the United States, and that here I am, an Englishman, welcomed in your midst, makes this experience one of the most moving and thrilling in my life, which is already long and has not been entirely uneventful. I wish indeed that my mother, whose memory I cherish across the vale of years, could have been here to see. By the way, I cannot help reflecting that if my father had been American and my mother British, instead of the other way round, I might have got here on my own. In that case, this would not have been the first time you would have heard my voice. In that case I should not have needed any invitation, but if I had, it is hardly likely it would have been unanimous. So perhaps things are better as they are. I may confess, however, that I do not feel quite like a fish out of water in a legislative assembly where English is spoken.

I am a child of the House of Commons. I was brought up in my father's house to believe in democracy. "Trust the people"–that was his message. I used to see him cheered at meetings and in the streets by crowds of working men way back in those aristocratic Victorian days when, as Disraeli said, the world was for the few, and for the very few. Therefore I have been in full harmony all my life with the tides which have flowed on both sides of the Atlantic against privilege and monopoly, and I have steered confidently towards the Gettysburg ideal of "government of the people by the people for the people." I owe my advancement entirely to the House of Commons, whose servant I am. In my country, as in yours, public men are proud to be the servants of the State and would be ashamed to be its masters. On any day, if they thought the people wanted it, the House of Commons could by a simple vote remove me from my office. But I am not worrying about it at all. As a matter of fact, I am sure they will approve very highly of my journey here, for which I obtained the King's

permission in order to meet the President of the United States and to arrange with him all that mapping-out of our military plans, and for all those intimate meetings of the high officers of the armed services of both countries, which are indispensable to the successful prosecution of the war.

I should like to say first of all how much I have been impressed and encouraged by the breadth of view and sense of proportion which I have found in all quarters over here to which I have had access. Anyone who did not understand the size and solidarity of the foundations of the United States might easily have expected to find an excited, disturbed, self-centred atmosphere, with all minds fixed upon the novel, startling, and painful episodes of sudden war as they hit America. After all, the United States have been attacked and set upon by three most powerfully-armed dictator States. The greatest military power in Europe, the greatest military power in Asia, Germany and Japan, Italy, too, have all declared, and are making, war upon you, and a quarrel is opened, which can only end in their overthrow or yours. But here in Washington, in these memorable days, I have found an Olympian fortitude which, far from being based upon complacency, is only the mask of an inflexible purpose and the proof of a sure and well-grounded confidence in the final outcome. We in Britain had the same feeling in our darkest days. We, too, were sure in the end all would be well. You do not, I am certain, underrate the severity of the ordeal to which you and we have still to be subjected. The forces ranged against us are enormous. They are bitter, they are ruthless. The wicked men and their factions who have launched their peoples on the path of war and conquest know that they will be called to terrible account if they cannot beat down by force of arms the peoples they have assailed. They will stop at nothing. They have a vast accumulation of war weapons of all kinds. They have highly-trained, disciplined armies, navies, and air services. They have plans and designs which have long been tried and matured. They will stop at nothing that violence or treachery can suggest.

It is quite true that, on our side, our resources in man-power and materials are far greater than theirs. But only a portion of your resources is as yet mobilized and developed, and we both of us have much to learn in the cruel art of war. We have therefore, without doubt, a time of tribulation before us. In this time some ground will be lost which it will be hard and costly to regain. Many disappointments and unpleasant surprises await us. Many of them will afflict us before the full marshalling of our latent and total power can be accomplished. For the best part of twenty years the youth of Britain and America have been taught that war is evil, which is true, and that it would never come again, which has been proved false. For the best part of twenty years the youth of Germany, Japan and Italy have been taught that aggressive war is the noblest duty of the citizen, and that it should be begun as soon as the necessary weapons and organization had been made. We have performed the duties and tasks of peace. They have plotted and planned for war. This, naturally, has placed us in Britain and now places you in the United States at a disadvantage which only time, courage, and strenuous, untiring exertions can correct.

We have indeed to be thankful that so much time has been granted to us. If Germany had tried to invade the British Isles after the French collapse in June, 1940, and if Japan had declared war on the British Empire and the United States at about

the same date, no one could say what disasters and agonies might not have been our lot. But now at the end of December, 1941, our transformation from easy-going peace to total war efficiency has made very great progress. The broad flow of munitions in Great Britain has already begun. Immense strides have been made in the conversion of American industry to military purposes, and now that the United States are at war it is possible for orders to be given every day which a year or eighteen months hence will produce results in war power beyond anything that has yet been seen or foreseen in the dictator States. Provided that every effort is made, that nothing is kept back, that the whole man-power, brain-power, virility, valour, and civic virtue of the English-speaking world with all its galaxy of loyal, friendly, associated communities and States—provided all that is bent unremittingly to the simple and supreme task, I think it would be reasonable to hope that the end of 1942 will see us quite definitely in a better position than we are now, and that the year 1943 will enable us to assume the initiative upon an ample scale.

Some people may be startled or momentarily depressed when, like your President, I speak of a long and hard war. But our peoples would rather know the truth, sombre though it be. And after all, when we are doing the noblest work in the world, not only defending our hearths and homes but the cause of freedom in other lands, the question of whether deliverance comes in 1942, 1943, or 1944 falls into its proper place in the grand proportions of human history. Sure I am that this day—now—we are the masters of our fate; that the task which has been set us is not above our strength; that its pangs and toils are not beyond our endurance. As long as we have faith in our cause and an unconquerable will-power, salvation will not be denied us. In the words of the Psalmist, "He shall not be afraid of evil tidings; his heart is fixed, trusting in the Lord." Not all the tidings will be evil.

On the contrary, mighty strokes of war have already been dealt against the enemy; the glorious defence of their native soil by the Russian armies and people have inflicted wounds upon the Nazi tyranny and system which have bitten deep, and will fester and inflame not only in the Nazi body but in the Nazi mind. The boastful Mussolini has crumbled already. He is now but a lackey and serf, the merest utensil of his master's will. He has inflicted great suffering and wrong upon his own industrious people. He has been stripped of his African empire, Abyssinia has been liberated. Our armies in the East, which were so weak and ill-equipped at the moment of French desertion, now control all the regions from Teheran to Benghazi, and from Aleppo and Cyprus to the sources of the Nile.

For many months we devoted ourselves to preparing to take the offensive in Libya. The very considerable battle, which has been proceeding for the last six weeks in the desert, has been most fiercely fought on both sides. Owing to the difficulties of supply on the desert flanks, we were never able to bring numerically equal forces to bear upon the enemy. Therefore we had to rely upon a superiority in the numbers and quality of tanks and aircraft, British and American. Aided by these, for the first time, we have fought the enemy with equal weapons. For the first time we have made the Hun feel the sharp edge of those tools with which he has enslaved Europe. The armed forces of the enemy in Cyrenaica amounted to about 150,000, of whom about one-third were Germans. General Auchinleck set out to destroy totally that armed

force. I have every reason to believe that his aim will be fully accomplished. I am glad to be able to place before you, members of the Senate and of the House of Representatives, at this moment when you are entering the war, proof that with proper weapons and proper organization we are able to beat the life out of the savage Nazi. What Hitler is suffering in Libya is only a sample and foretaste of what we must give him and his accomplices, wherever this war shall lead us, in every quarter of the globe.

There are good tidings also from blue water. The life-line of supplies which joins our two nations across the ocean, without which all might fail, is flowing steadily and freely in spite of all the enemy can do. It is a fact that the British Empire, which many thought eighteen months ago was broken and ruined, is now incomparably stronger, and is growing stronger with every month. Lastly, if you will forgive me for saying it, to me the best tidings of all is that the United States, united as never before, have drawn the sword for freedom and cast away the scabbard.

All these tremendous facts have led the subjugated peoples of Europe to lift up their heads again in hope. They have put aside for ever the shameful temptation of resigning themselves to the conqueror's will. Hope has returned to the hearts of scores of millions of men and women, and with that hope there burns the flame of anger against the brutal, corrupt invader, and still more fiercely burn the fires of hatred and contempt for the squalid quislings whom he has suborned. In a dozen famous ancient States now prostrate under the Nazi yoke, the masses of the people of all classes and creeds await the hour of liberation, when they too will be able once again to play their part and strike their blows like men. That hour will strike, and its solemn peal will proclaim that the night is past and that the dawn has come.

The onslaught upon us so long and so secretly planned by Japan has presented both our countries with grievous problems for which we could not be fully prepared. If people ask me—as they have a right to ask me in England—why is it that you have not got ample equipment of modern aircraft and Army weapons of all kinds in Malaya and in the East Indies, I can only point to the victories General Auchinleck has gained in the Libyan campaign. Had we diverted and dispersed our gradually growing resources between Libya and Malaya, we should have been found wanting in both theatres. If the United States have been found at a disadvantage at various points in the Pacific Ocean, we know well that it is to no small extent because of the aid you have been giving us in munitions for the defence of the British Isles and for the Libyan campaign, and, above all, because of your help in the battle of the Atlantic, upon which all depends, and which has in consequence been successfully and prosperously maintained. Of course it would have been much better, I freely admit, if we had had enough resources of all kinds to be at full strength at all threatened points; but considering how slowly and reluctantly we brought ourselves to large-scale preparations, and how long such prepartions take, we had no right to expect to be in such a fortunate position.

The choice of how to dispose of our hitherto limited resources had to be made by Britain in time of war and by the United States in time of peace; and I believe that history will pronounce that upon the whole—and it is upon the whole that these matters must be judged—the choice made was right. Now that we are together, now

that we are linked in a righteous comradeship of arms, now that our two considerable nations, each in perfect unity, have joined all their life energies in a common resolve, a new scene opens upon which a steady light will glow and brighten.

Many people have been astonished that Japan should in a single day have plunged into war against the United States and the British Empire. We all wonder why, if this dark design, with all its laborious and intricate preparations, had been so long filling their secret minds, they did not choose our moment of weakness eighteen months ago. Viewed quite dispassionately, in spite of the losses we have suffered and the further punishment we shall have to take, it certainly appears to be an irrational act. It is, of course, only prudent to assume that they have made very careful calculations and think they see their way through. Nevertheless, there may be another explanation. We know that for many years past the policy of Japan has been dominated by secret societies of subalterns and junior officers of the Army and Navy, who have enforced their will upon successive Japanese Cabinets and Parliaments by the assassination of any Japanese statesman who opposed, or who did not sufficiently further, their aggressive policy. It may be that these societies, dazzled and dizzy with their own schemes of aggression and the prospect of early victories, have forced their country against its better judgment into war. They have certainly embarked upon a very considerable undertaking. For after the outrages they have committed upon us at Pearl Harbour, in the Pacific Islands, in the Philippines, in Malaya, and in the Dutch East Indies, they must now know that the stakes for which they have decided to play are mortal.

When we consider the resources of the United States and the British Empire compared to those of Japan, when we remember those of China, which has so long and valiantly withstood invasion and when also we observe the Russian menace which hangs over Japan, it becomes still more difficult to reconcile Japanese action with prudence or even with sanity. What kind of a people do they think we are? Is it possible they do not realize that we shall never cease to persevere against them until they have been taught a lesson which they and the world will never forget?

Members of the Senate and members of the House of Representatives, I turn for one moment more from the turmoil and convulsions of the present to the broader basis of the future. Here we are together facing a group of mighty foes who seek our ruin; here we are together defending all that to free men is dear. Twice in a single generation the catastrophe of world war has fallen upon us; twice in our lifetime has the long arm of fate reached across the ocean to bring the United States into the forefront of the battle. If we had kept together after the last War, if we had taken common measures for our safety, this renewal of the curse need never have fallen upon us.

Do we not owe it to ourselves, to our children, to mankind tormented, to make sure that these catastrophes shall not engulf us for the third time? It has been proved that pestilences may break out in the Old World, which carry their destructive ravages into the New World, from which, once they are afoot, the New World cannot by any means escape. Duty and prudence alike command first that the germ-centres of hatred and revenge should be constantly and vigilantly surveyed and treated in good time, and, secondly, that an adequate organization should be set up to make sure that the

pestilence can be controlled at its earliest beginnings before it spreads and rages throughout the entire earth.

Five or six years ago it would have been easy, without shedding a drop of blood, for the United States and Great Britain to have insisted on fulfilment of the disarmament clauses of the treaties which Germany signed after the Great War; that also would have been the opportunity for assuring to Germany those raw materials which we declared in the Atlantic Charter should not be denied to any nation, victor or vanquished. That chance has passed. It is gone. Prodigious hammer-strokes have been needed to bring us together again, or if you will allow me to use other language, I will say that he must indeed have a blind soul who cannot see that some great purpose and design is being worked out here below, of which we have the honour to be the faithful servants. It is not given to us to peer into the mysteries of the future. Still, I avow my hope and faith, sure and inviolate, that in the days to come the British and American peoples will for their own safety and for the good of all walk together side by side in majesty, in justice, and in peace.

"SOME CHICKEN! SOME NECK!"

December 30, 1941

Joint Session of the Canadian Parliament, Ottawa

Churchill travelled from Washington D.C. to Canada by train on December 28, and attended a meeting of the Canadian War Cabinet on the following day. On December 30 he addressed the Canadian Parliament. This speech was also broadcast.

After his visit to Canada, Churchill returned to Washington for the signature of the United Nations Pact. It was agreed that American troops should be sent to Northern Ireland. Churchill had a brief holiday in Florida before returning to Washington again on January 11, 1942.

It is with feelings of pride and encouragement that I find myself here in the House of Commons of Canada, invited to address the Parliament of the senior Dominion of the Crown. I am very glad to see again my old friend Mr. Mackenzie King, for fifteen years out of twenty your Prime Minister, and I thank him for the too complimentary terms in which he has referred to myself. I bring you the assurance of good will and affection from every one in the Motherland. We are most grateful for all you have done in the common cause, and we know that you are resolved to do whatever more is possible as the need arises and as opportunity serves. Canada occupies a unique position in the British Empire because of its unbreakable ties with Britain and its ever-growing friendship and intimate association with the United States. Canada is a potent magnet, drawing together those in the new world and in the old whose fortunes are now united in a deadly struggle for life and honour against the

or been converted to it, and what was in May last only the expression of an unofficial congress has now become the adopted and concerted policy of almost all the Governments of western Europe.

We must hope, nay, we must make sure, that our present gathering is not less fortunate and fruitful. I will not anticipate the discussions which are to take place, but this is the hour for another positive, forward step towards the structure of united Europe. Thus we may clear the road, open the passage and smooth the path for the ponderous vehicles of executive responsibility and furnish those who drive them alike with a theme and with a plan. We may even, in the form of an active, enlightened and ever more dominant public opinion, give them the fuel they need for their journey and the electric spark to set all in motion. "Alors ca ira!"

EUROPEAN UNITY

February 26, 1949

Salle des Beaux Arts, Brussels

After each of the fearful wars which have ravaged the lives and homes of mankind, the hopes of humanity have centered upon the creation of an instrument of world government capable, at least, of maintaining peace and law among men. We have all been grieved and alarmed by the fact that the new United Nations Organization should have been so torn and broken. It has made a far less hopeful start in these first four years than its predecessor, the League of Nations.

In spite of the faithful efforts that have been made by the representatives of many countries, great and small, the new organization, to which we had looked for guidance in our problems and guardianship in our dangers, has already been reduced to a brawling cockpit where taunts and insults may be flung back and forth. An institution in this condition cannot have the authority to prevent the approach of a new war and is in danger of losing the confidence and even the respect of those who were most ardent for its creation.

The main cause of this disaster is, of course, the fact that the world is sundered by the aggression of the Communist ideology supported by the armed power of Soviet Russia. But there are also fundamental defects in the structure of the United Nations Organization which must be corrected if any progress is to be made. I had always felt during the war that the structure of world security could only be founded on regional organizations. Regional organizations are encouraged by the constitution of the United Nations, but they have so far played no effective part. In consequence, the supreme body has been cumbered and confused by a mass of questions, great and small, about which only a babel of harsh voices can be heard. Large regional units are the necessary elements in any scheme of world government. It is vain to build the dome of the temple of peace without the pillars on which alone it can stand.

Just as in a great army it is necessary to have army groups; just as in a division it

is necessary to have battalions, so there must be these intermediate organizations to make coherent and effective action possible at the supreme summit. What would happen to a military system where there was nothing between the supreme HQ and the commanders of all the different divisions? What plan could emerge from such a concourse? Such a method could only lead through chaos to defeat. Therefore, I believe that the creation of regional organisms is an inseparable part of any structure of world security.

It is the task and duty of the regional bodies to settle a vast number of regional questions among themselves within their own circle and to send representatives of the highest authority from their unit to the supreme world instrument. Unless and until this is done the United Nations Organization will be a failure and even a mockery.

Tonight we meet here, working patiently together, for the building of one and, in some respects, the greatest of the regional organizations. We work here for European Unity and for the creation of the necessary apparatus by which United Europe can become a principal factor in the life and peace of the world, and a worthy member of the world organization. If we are striving to raise Europe from the awful welter of misery and ruin into which we have been plunged, it is not only for the sake of Europe but for the sake of the whole world that we toil. It is not only to the regional organization but to the cause of world government that our loyalties are directed.

We are all encouraged by the progress which the European Movement is making. We feel conscious of the inherent force of the cause we serve and the idea which guides us. It shines like a bright, steady light. In the confusion and exhaustion of our age it shines all the brighter because of the storms which gather. Although we are a regional organism, it is not only geography that unites us. We find our principle of union in the moral sphere. We take our stand on human rights, as set forth in the Charter of Human Rights proclaimed by the United Nations Organization. Any European country that sincerely accepts and adopts the principles there set forth will be welcomed by the European Union.

Alas, there are a number of ancient and famous European States which are no longer free to take their stand for those human rights of which they have so great need. The yoke of the Kremlin oligarchy has descended upon them and they are the victims of a tyranny more subtle and merciless than any hitherto known to history. We are glad to see them represented here by men and women who have escaped from the trap that has closed upon their fellow-countrymen. It is this moral bond which first of all unites us.

In the report of the Executive Committee, our principles are set forth with clarity: love of freedom; hostility to totalitarianism of every kind; the humble and conscientious search for truth; respect for the human personality and for the individual as an individual. These moral values, founded alike on Christian faith and charity and on the critical spirit of rationalism, are the message of our 2,000-year-old European civilization and culture. Let us make sure that, enjoying as we do this common inheritance, we take all necessary steps lest it be wasted or cast away.

At The Hague Congress in May, two proposals for practical action were made: the creation of a European Assembly; and the setting up of a European Court for the

enforcement of Human Rights. The European Assembly is now on the point of being achieved. The responsible governments of all our countries have reached their agreements. We have now to take the second step forward and to try to establish, as the practical result of our meeting here, the setting up of a European Court of Human Rights. Such a court in no way challenges the authority of a world court, but it may well be that the principles laid down by the United Nations will be better and more effectively interpreted by courts in the more limited and homogeneous area of regional units: Let Europe judge Europe.

We have the Charter of Human Rights, and we must have a European means of defending and enforcing it. It must not be possible that, within the boundaries of United Europe, such a legal atrocity could be perpetrated as that which has confronted us all in the case of Cardinal Mindszenty. Here you have the crime of religious persecution committed on an innocent man under the direct orders of Moscow, and carried through with all those features of police government with which we are familiar in trials under the Soviets.

There must be means by which such events in any of the countries with which we can consort can be brought to the test of impartial justice. We cannot rest content with the division of Europe into two parts—the free and the unfree. The Europe we seek to unite is *all* Europe; and in our Movement we must strive, by every means in our power, to help bring about conditions in which our fellow-Europeans, now living in the satellite States of Russia, will be united with us.

The task of our Movement is to foster, encourage and develop the sense of being Europeans, a pride in Europe and what she has stood for, and confidence in the greatness of our common mission in the future. These sentiments can only be brought about by Europeans in different countries learning to know each other better. In all this work the new European Assembly can play a vital part. By its discussions, which will be reported in the Press and on the radio, it can create and express a European public opinion, a common European point of view, and the sense of all that we have in common.

We are all agreed that our ultimate aim—the unity and freedom of the whole of Europe—can only be achieved by stages. Our first task is to unite the free countries which are working together under the Marshall Plan. We recognize that individual countries have special problems for which solutions must be found. In Switzerland, in Sweden, in Germany, there are special conditions which must be patiently studied. Great Britain is herself the centre of a free and world-wide commonwealth of States. We are sure in our country that a satisfactory solution can be found whereby we can develop our new association with Europe without in the slightest degree weakening the sacred ties which unite Britain with her daughter States across the oceans.

Europe, which we are striving to revive, must be independent but not isolationist. We desire that our regional structure all be harmoniously fitted into a system of world government, but we stretch our hands out in gratitude and goodwill across the ocean to the other half of the free world, whose generous help has been forthcoming to assist our stricken continent on the path of recovery. We express our admiration of the great United States and of the part they are playing, not only in the restoration of European economy, but also in our security and defence.

The Brussels Pact united the five Western democracies in a scheme of common defence, and we in Britain are glad once again to take our stand with the gallant Belgian Army against the perils of the future. The Atlantic Pact will give us all the guarantee that the cause of freedom in the Old World will not be aggressively assailed without effective aid from the great Republic across the ocean.

This, therefore, is the hour in which we should move forward with confidence, offering to all the men in all the lands the human rights and freedom which we ourselves enjoy and for the preservation of which--if ever it should be necessary--we should be prepared to do our duty whatever the cost might be.

THE COMMUNIST MENACE

March 25, 1949

Dinner Given by Mr. Henry R. Luce, New York City

I am extremely complimented to be invited here tonight and to find myself your guest amidst a gathering of Americans among whom I can discern many doughty comrades in our common struggle and who, taken together, represent a powerful living element in the future and in the power of the United States. I thank you very much for all the kind things that you have said.

You yourself have rendered great services. The wonderful publications which spread so widely through the land and put quality and art and point and pith and so forth in their vanguard, these are in themselves great contributions to the life and strength not only of the United States but of the English-speaking world. This great company, these old friends and comrades, gives me confidence and I am glad to come here and express my profound thanks on behalf of Britain and on behalf of Western Europe, of free Europe, as I have some credentials to do--for all you have done and are doing.

Gentlemen--many nations have arrived at the summit of the world but none, before the United States, on this occasion, has chosen that moment of triumph, not for aggrandizement, but for further self-sacrifice--sacrifice for the causes by which the life and strength of mankind is refreshed. The United States has shown itself more worthy of trust and honour than any government of men or associations of nations, that has ever reached preeminence by their action on the morrow of the common victory won by all. I wish to express the thanks of my own dear island and of its Empire, Commonwealth and also of the many countries in Western Europe who are drawing together on the broad ideals of Anglo-Saxon, British-American, call it what you will, unity, which alone gives an opportunity for the further advance of the human race.

Gentlemen, some time ago, you may possibly remember, I made a speech in Missouri at Fulton--I got into great trouble for that. But now not so much. Now it is

REAGAN

Address Before the 38th Session of the United Nations General Assembly in New York, New York

September 26, 1983

Mr. Secretary-General, Mr. President, distinguished delegates, ladies and gentlemen of the world:

Thank you for granting me the honor of speaking today, on this first day of general debate in the 38th Session of the General Assembly. Once again I come before this body preoccupied with peace. Last year I stood in this chamber to address the Special Session on Disarmament. Well, I've come today to renew my nation's commitment to peace. And I have come to discuss how we can keep faith with the dreams that created this organization.

The United Nations was founded in the aftermath of World War II to protect future generations from the scourge of war, to promote political self-determination and global prosperity, and to strengthen the bonds of civility among nations. The founders sought to replace a world at war with a world of civilized order. They hoped that a world of relentless conflict would give way to a new era, one where freedom from violence prevailed.

Whatever challenges the world was bound to face, the founders intended this body to stand for certain values, even if they could not be enforced, and to condemn violence, even if it could not be stopped. This body was to speak with the voice of moral authority. That was to be its greatest power.

But the awful truth is that the use of violence for political gain has become more, not less, widespread in the last decade. Events of recent weeks have presented new, unwelcome evidence of brutal disregard for life and truth. They have offered unwanted testimony on how divided and dangerous our world is, how quick the recourse to violence. What has happened to the dreams of the U.N.'s founders? What has happened to the spirit which created the United Nations?

The answer is clear: Governments got in the way of the dreams of the people. Dreams became issues of East versus West. Hopes became political rhetoric. Progress became a search for power and domination. Somewhere the truth was lost that people don't make wars, governments do.

And today in Asia, Africa, Latin America, the Middle East, and the North Pacific, the weapons of war shatter the security of the peoples who live there, endanger the peace of neighbors, and create ever more arenas of confrontation between the great powers. During the past year alone, violent conflicts have occurred in the hills around Beirut, the deserts of Chad and the western Sahara, in the mountains of El Salvador, the streets of Suriname, the cities and countryside of Afghanistan, the borders of Kampuchea, and the battlefields of Iran and Iraq.

We cannot count on the instinct for survival to protect us against war. Despite all the wasted lives and hopes that war produces, it has remained a regular, if horribly costly, means by which nations have sought to settle their disputes or advance their goals. And the progress in weapons technology has far outstripped the progress toward peace. In modern times, a new, more terrifying element has entered into the calculations—nuclear weapons. A nuclear war cannot be won, and it must never be fought. I believe that if governments are determined to deter and prevent war, there will not be war.

Nothing is more in keeping with the spirit of the United Nations Charter than arms control. When I spoke before the Second Special Session on Disarmament, I affirmed the United States Government's commitment, and my personal commitment, to reduce nuclear arms and to negotiate in good faith toward that end. Today, I reaffirm those commitments.

The United States has already reduced the number of its nuclear weapons worldwide, and, while replacement of older weapons is unavoidable, we wish to negotiate arms reductions and to achieve significant, equitable, verifiable arms control agreements. And let me add, we must

ensure that world security is not undermined by the further spread of nuclear weapons. Nuclear nonproliferation must not be the forgotten element of the world's arms control agenda.

At the time of my last visit here, I expressed hope that a whole class of weapons systems, the longer range INF—intermediate nuclear forces—could be banned from the face of the Earth. I believe that to relieve the deep concern of peoples in both Europe and Asia, the time was ripe, for the first time in history, to resolve a security threat exclusively through arms control. I still believe the elimination of these weapons—the zero option—is the best, fairest, most practical solution to the problem. Unfortunately, the Soviet Union declined to accept the total elimination of this class of weapons.

When I was here last, I hoped that the critical strategic arms reduction talks would focus, and urgently so, on those systems that carry the greatest risk of nuclear war—the fast-flying, accurate, intercontinental ballistic missiles which pose a first-strike potential. I also hoped the negotiations could reduce by one-half the number of strategic missiles on each side and reduce their warheads by one-third. Again, I was disappointed when the Soviets declined to consider such deep cuts, and refused as well to concentrate on these most dangerous, destabilizing weapons.

Well, despite the rebuffs, the United States has not abandoned and will not abandon the search for meaningful arms control agreements. Last June I proposed a new approach toward the START negotiations. We did not alter our objective of substantial reductions, but we recognized that there are a variety of ways to achieve this end. During the last round of Geneva talks, we presented a draft treaty which responded to a number of concerns raised by the Soviet Union. We will continue to build upon this initiative.

Similarly, in our negotiations on intermediate-range nuclear forces, when the Soviet leaders adamantly refused to consider the total elimination of these weapons, the United States made a new offer. We proposed, as an interim solution, some equal number on both sides between zero and 572. We recommended the lowest possible level. Once again, the Soviets refused an equitable solution and proposed instead what might be called a "half zero option"—zero for us and many hundreds of warheads for them. And that's where things stand today, but I still haven't given up hope that the Soviet Union will enter into serious negotiations.

We are determined to spare no effort to achieve a sound, equitable, and verifiable agreement. And for this reason, I have given new instructions to Ambassador Nitze in Geneva, telling him to put forward a package of steps designed to advance the negotiations as rapidly as possible. These initiatives build on the interim framework the United States advanced last March and address concerns that the Soviets have raised at the bargaining table in the past.

Specifically, first, the United States proposes a new initiative on global limits. If the Soviet Union agrees to reductions and limits on a global basis, the United States for its part will not offset the entire Soviet global missile deployment through U.S. deployments in Europe. We would, of course, retain the right to deploy missiles elsewhere.

Second, the United States is prepared to be more flexible on the content of the current talks. The United States will consider mutually acceptable ways to address the Soviet desire that an agreement should limit aircraft as well as missiles.

Third, the United States will address the mix of missiles that would result from reductions. In the context of reductions to equal levels, we are prepared to reduce the number of Pershing II ballistic missiles as well as ground-launched cruise missiles.

I have decided to put forward these important initiatives after full and extensive consultations with our allies, including personal correspondence I've had with the leaders of the NATO governments and Japan and frequent meetings of the NATO Special Consultative Group. I have also stayed in close touch with other concerned friends and allies. The door to an agreement is open. It is time for the Soviet Union to walk through it.

I want to make an unequivocal pledge to

those gathered today in this world arena. The United States seeks and will accept any equitable, verifiable agreement that stabilizes forces at lower levels than currently exist. We're ready to be flexible in our approach, indeed, willing to compromise. We cannot, however, especially in light of recent events, compromise on the necessity of effective verification.

Reactions to the Korean airliner tragedy are a timely reminder of just how different the Soviets' concept of truth and international cooperation is from that of the rest of the world. Evidence abounds that we cannot simply assume that agreements negotiated with the Soviet Union will be fulfilled. We negotiated the Helsinki Final Act, but the promised freedoms have not been provided, and those in the Soviet Union who sought to monitor their fulfillment languish in prison. We negotiated a biological weapons convention, but deadly yellow rain and other toxic agents fall on Hmong villages and Afghan encampments. We have negotiated arms agreements, but the high level of Soviet encoding hides the information needed for their verification. A newly discovered radar facility and a new ICBM raise serious concerns about Soviet compliance with agreements already negotiated.

Peace cannot be served by pseudo arms control. We need reliable, reciprocal reductions. I call upon the Soviet Union today to reduce the tensions it has heaped on the world in the past few weeks and to show a firm commitment to peace by coming to the bargaining table with a new understanding of its obligations. I urge it to match our flexibility. If the Soviets sit down at the bargaining table seeking genuine arms reductions, there will be arms reductions. The governments of the West and their people will not be diverted by misinformation and threats. The time has come for the Soviet Union to show proof that it wants arms control in reality, not just in rhetoric.

Meaningful arms control agreements between the United States and the Soviet Union would make our world less dangerous; so would a number of confidence-building steps we've already proposed to the Soviet Union.

Arms control requires a spirit beyond narrow national interests. This spirit is a basic pillar on which the U.N. was founded. We seek a return to this spirit. A fundamental step would be a true nonalignment of the United Nations. This would signal a return to the true values of the charter, including the principle of universality. The members of the United Nations must be aligned on the side of justice rather than injustice, peace rather than aggression, human dignity rather than subjugation. Any other alignment is beneath the purpose of this great body and destructive of the harmony that it seeks. What harms the charter harms peace.

The founders of the U.N. expected that member nations would behave and vote as individuals, after they had weighed the merits of an issue—rather like a great, global town meeting. The emergence of blocs and the polarization of the U.N. undermine all that this organization initially valued.

We must remember that the nonaligned movement was founded to counter the development of blocs and to promote détente between them. Its founders spoke of the right of smaller countries not to become involved in others' disagreements. Since then, membership in the nonaligned movement has grown dramatically, but not all the new members have shared the founders' commitment of genuine nonalignment. Indeed, client governments of the Soviet Union, who have long since lost their independence, have flocked into the nonaligned movement, and, once inside, have worked against its true purpose. Pseudo nonalignment is no better than pseudo arms control.

The United States rejects as false and misleading the view of the world as divided between the empires of the East and West. We reject it on factual grounds. The United States does not head any bloc of subservient nations, nor do we desire to. What is called the West is a free alliance of governments, most of whom are democratic and all of whom greatly value their independence. What is called the East is an empire directed from the center which is Moscow.

The United States, today as in the past, is a champion of freedom and self-determination for all people. We welcome diversity; we support the right of all nations to define

and pursue their national goals. We respect their decisions and their sovereignty, asking only that they respect the decisions and sovereignty of others. Just look at the world over the last 30 years and then decide for yourself whether the United States or the Soviet Union has pursued an expansionist policy.

Today, the United States contributes to peace by supporting collective efforts by the international community. We give our unwavering support to the peacekeeping efforts of this body, as well as other multilateral peacekeeping efforts around the world. The U.N. has a proud history of promoting conciliation and helping keep the peace. Today, U.N. peacekeeping forces or observers are present in Cyprus and Kashmir, on the Golan Heights and in Lebanon.

In addition to our encouragement of international diplomacy, the United States recognizes its responsibilities to use its own influence for peace. From the days when Theodore Roosevelt mediated the Russo-Japanese War in 1905, we have a long and honorable tradition of mediating or damping conflicts and promoting peaceful solutions. In Lebanon, we, along with France, Italy, and the United Kingdom, have worked for a cease-fire, for the withdrawal of all external forces, and for restoration of Lebanon's sovereignty and territorial integrity. In Chad we have joined others in supporting the recognized government in the face of external aggression. In Central America, as in southern Africa, we are seeking to discourage reliance upon force and to construct a framework for peaceful negotiations. We support a policy to disengage the major powers from Third World conflict.

The U.N. Charter gives an important role to regional organizations in the search for peace. The U.S. efforts in the cause of peace are only one expression of a spirit that also animates others in the world community. The Organization of American States was a pioneer in regional security efforts. In Central America, the members of the Contadora group are striving to lay a foundation for peaceful resolution of that region's problems. In East Asia, the Asian countries have built a framework for peaceful political and economic cooperation that has greatly strengthened the prospects for lasting peace in their region. In Africa, organizations such as the Economic Community of West African States are being forged to provide practical structures in the struggle to realize Africa's potential.

From the beginning, our hope for the United Nations has been that it would reflect the international community at its best. The U.N. at its best can help us transcend fear and violence and can act as an enormous force for peace and prosperity. Working together, we can combat international lawlessness and promote human dignity. If the governments represented in this chamber want peace as genuinely as their peoples do, we shall find it. We can do so by reasserting the moral authority of the United Nations.

In recent weeks, the moral outrage of the world seems to have reawakened. Out of the billions of people who inhabit this planet, why, some might ask, should the death of several hundred shake the world so profoundly? Why should the death of a mother flying toward a reunion with her family or the death of a scholar heading toward new pursuits of knowledge matter so deeply? Why are nations who lost no citizens in the tragedy so angry?

The reason rests on our assumptions about civilized life and the search for peace. The confidence that allows a mother or a scholar to travel to Asia or Africa or Europe or anywhere else on this planet may be only a small victory in humanity's struggle for peace. Yet what is peace if not the sum of such small victories?

Each stride for peace and every small victory are important for the journey toward a larger and lasting peace. We have made progress. We've avoided another world war. We've seen an end to the traditional colonial era and the birth of a hundred newly sovereign nations. Even though development remains a formidable challenge, we've witnessed remarkable economic growth among the industrialized and the developing nations. The United Nations and its affiliates have made important contributions to the quality of life on this planet, such as directly saving countless lives through its refugee and emergency relief programs. These broad achievements, how-

ever, have been overshadowed by the problems that weigh so heavily upon us. The problems are old, but it is not too late to commit ourselves to a new beginning, a beginning fresh with the ideals of the U.N. Charter.

Today, at the beginning of this 38th Session, I solemnly pledge my nation to upholding the original ideals of the United Nations. Our goals are those that guide this very body. Our ends are the same as those of the U.N.'s founders, who sought to replace a world at war with one where the rule of law would prevail, where human rights were honored, where development would blossom, where conflict would give way to freedom from violence.

In 1956 President Dwight Eisenhower made an observation on weaponry and deterrence in a letter to a publisher. He wrote: "When we get to the point, as we one day will, that both sides know that in any outbreak of general hostilities, regardless of the element of surprise, destruction will be both reciprocal and complete, possibly we will have sense enough to meet at the conference table with the understanding that the era of armaments has ended and the human race must conform its actions to this truth or die." He went on to say, ". . . we have already come to a point where safety cannot be assumed by arms alone . . . their usefulness becomes concentrated more and more in their characteristics as deterrents than in instruments with which to obtain victory. . . ."

Distinguished ladies and gentlemen, as we persevere in the search for a more secure world, we must do everything we can to let diplomacy triumph. Diplomacy, the most honorable of professions, can bring the most blessed of gifts, the gift of peace. If we succeed, the world will find an excitement and accomplishment in peace beyond that which could ever be imagined through violence and war.

I want to leave you today with a message I have often spoken about to the citizens of my own country, especially in times when I felt they were discouraged and unsure. I say it to you with as much hope and heart as I've said it to my own people. You have the right to dream great dreams. You have the right to seek a better world for your people. And all of us have the responsibility to work for that better world. And as caring, peaceful peoples, think what a powerful force for good we could be. Distinguished delegates, let us regain the dream the United Nations once dreamed.

Thank you.

Note: The President spoke at 10:34 a.m. in the General Assembly Hall at the United Nations Headquarters Building. Upon arrival at the United Nations, the President met with Secretary-General Javier Perez de Cuellar de la Guerra and then with Jorge Illueca, President of the 38th Session of the General Assembly, who introduced the President to the session.

Following his address, the President returned to the Waldorf-Astoria Hotel.

Remarks at a Reception Sponsored by the Women's Sports Foundation in New York, New York

September 26, 1983

The President. I'm delighted to have this opportunity to be here with you today. I have just come from addressing the United Nations, and I have to tell you, with all due respect to them, I feel more at home here, because—[*laughter*]—

In addition to athletics in school, and when I was in school I started my career as a radio sports announcer, and thought that my life was going to go on connected with sports. Now here I am, and maybe I'm going to get back to it.

Ms. de Varona. We hope so. We welcome you.

The President. Well, I'd be pleased to do it.

"ANGERED FORCES OF HUMANITY"

June 14, 1942

United Nations Day Ceremony, London

In a Proclamation to the people of the United States our great friend, President Franklin D. Roosevelt, has reminded them that for many years it has been the American custom to set aside June 14 in honour of their flag, the emblem of their freedom, their strength, and their unity as an independent nation under God. He has told them that as a nation they are fighting not alone, but shoulder to shoulder with the valiant peoples of the United Nations, the massed angered forces of common humanity, and he has asked them that on their Flag Day, June 14, they should honour not only their own Colours but also the flags, and, through the flags, the peoples of the United Nations.

Outside the United Kingdom these are the peoples whose names to-day make up that great Roll of Honour. The United States of America, the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, China, Australia, Belgium, Canada, Costa Rica, Cuba, Czechoslovakia, the Dominican Republic, El Salvador, Free France, Greece, Guatemala, Haiti, Honduras, India, Luxembourg, Mexico, the Netherlands, New Zealand, Nicaragua, Norway, Panama, Poland, the Union of South Africa and Yugoslavia.

I join my voice to his in honouring to-day the forces of the United Nations. Let us pay this tribute to the valour and sacrifice of those who have fallen and to the courage and endurance of those who fight to-day. Let us remember every one, man, woman and child, who in the oppressed and tortured countries works for the day of liberation that is coming.

In this ceremony we pledge to each other not merely support and succour till victory comes, but that wider understanding, that quickened sense of human sympathy, that recognition of the common purpose of humanity without which the suffering and striving of the United Nations would not achieve its full reward.

THE TASK AHEAD

June 27, 1942

Fort Jackson, South Carolina

On June 17 Churchill flew to Washington, and thence to Hyde Park two days later to confer with Roosevelt. One of the key topics was that of "Tube Alloys," the code-word for the development of the atomic bomb, on which Churchill was convinced that there must be full Anglo-American cooperation. Such cooperation had been initiated in October 1941, and had produced results which raised the question of

t are the kind you want.
President, did any ques-
. MacArthur's resignation

'. No. No. I had no in-
ing. He told me very spe-
was happy in his job, and
ish it. And I am happy to

ent, did he indicate when
back here for a visit?
'. No. He did not want
ıtil his job is finished, he
he meant the Japanese
id that.
dicate how long—do you
ıat might be?
. No, I can't tell you how
to take to negotiate that
ıe it will be done promptly.
you have any appointment
tor Graham? [8]
. Senator Graham has in-
ıe wants to finish his term
then he would be willing

President, when might
ı the Japanese treaty begin?
. We are ready to begin

will the timing be

There are 11 nations that
it, and we are negotiating
rying to get started on it.

ık you, Mr. President.
You're welcome.

man's two hundred and forty-
ence was held in the Indian
ı 474) in the Executive Office
n Thursday, October 19, 1950.

Graham of North Carolina.

271 Address in New York City Before the United Nations General Assembly. *October 24, 1950*

Mr. President, Mr. Secretary General, the people of the United Nations:

Five years ago today the Charter of the United Nations came into force. By virtue of that event, October 24, 1945, became a great day in the history of the world.

Long before that day, the idea of an association of nations to keep the peace had lived as a dream in the hearts and minds of men. Woodrow Wilson was the author of that idea in our time. The organization that was brought into being on October 24, 1945, represents our greatest advance toward making that dream a reality.

The United Nations was born out of an agony of war—the most terrible war in history. Those who drew up the charter really had less to do with the creation of the United Nations than the millions who fought and died in that war. We who work to carry out its great principles should always remember that this organization owes its existence to the blood and sacrifice of millions of men and women. It is built out of their hopes for peace and justice.

The United Nations represents the idea of a universal morality, superior to the interests of individual nations. Its foundation does not rest upon power or privilege; it rests upon faith. They rest upon the faith of men in human values—upon the belief that men in every land hold the same high ideals and strive toward the same goals for peace and justice.

This faith is deeply held by the people of the United States of America and, I believe, by the peoples of all other countries.

Governments may sometimes falter in their support of the United Nations, but the peoples of the world do not falter. The demand of men and women throughout the world for international order and justice is one of the strongest forces in these troubled times.

We have just had a vivid demonstration of that fact in Korea. The invasion of the Republic of Korea was a direct challenge to the principles of the United Nations. That challenge was met by an overwhelming response. The people of almost every member country supported the decision of the Security Council to meet this aggression with force. Few acts in our time have met with such widespread approval.

In uniting to crush the aggressors in Korea, these member nations have done no more than the charter calls for. But the important thing is that they have done it, and they have done it successfully. They have given dramatic evidence that the charter works. They have proved that the charter is a living instrument backed by the material and moral strength of members, large and small.

The men who laid down their lives for the United Nations in Korea will have a place in our memory, and in the memory of the world, forever. They died in order that the United Nations might live.

As a result of their sacrifices, the United Nations today is stronger than it ever has been. Today, it is better able than ever before to fulfill the hopes that men have placed in it.

I believe the people of the world rely on the United Nations to help them achieve two great purposes. They look to it to help them improve the conditions under which they live. And they rely on it to fulfill their profound longing for peace.

These two purposes are closely interwoven. Without peace, it is impossible to

make lasting progress toward a better life for all. Without progress in human welfare, the foundations of peace will be insecure. That is why we can never afford to neglect one of these purposes at the expense of the other.

Throughout the world today, men are seeking a better life. They want to be freed from the bondage and the injustice of the past. They want to work out their own destinies. These aspirations of mankind can be met—met without conflict and bloodshed—by international cooperation through the United Nations.

To us in this assembly hall, the United Nations that we see and hear is made up of speeches, debates, and resolutions.

But to millions of people, the United Nations is a source of direct help in their everyday lives. To them it is a case of food or a box of schoolbooks; it is a doctor who vaccinates their children; it is an expert who shows them how to raise more rice, or more wheat, on their land; it is the flag which marks a safe haven to the refugee, or an extra meal a day to a nursing mother.

These are not the only ways in which the United Nations helps people to help themselves. It goes beyond these material things, it gives support to the spiritual values of men's lives.

The United Nations can and does assist people who want to be free. It helps dependent peoples in their progress toward self-government. And when new nations have achieved independence, it helps them to preserve and develop their freedom.

Furthermore, the United Nations is strengthening the concept of the dignity and worth of human beings. The protection of human rights is essential if we are to achieve a better life for people. The efforts of the United Nations to push ahead toward an ever broader realization of these rights is one of its most important tasks.

So far, this work of the United Nations for human advancement is only a beginning of what it can be and what it will be in the future. The United Nations is learning through experience. It is growing in prestige among the peoples of the world. The increasing effectiveness of its efforts to improve the welfare of human beings is opening up a new page in history.

The skills and experience of the United Nations in this field will be put to the test now that the fighting in Korea is nearly ended. The reconstruction of Korea as a free, united, and self-supporting nation is an opportunity to show how international cooperation can lead to gains in human freedom and welfare.

The work of the United Nations for human advancement, important as it is, can be fully effective only if we can achieve the other great objective of the United Nations, a just and lasting peace.

At the present time, the fear of another great international war overshadows all the hopes of mankind. This fear arises from the tensions between nations and from the recent outbreak of open aggression in Korea. We in the United States believe that such a war can be prevented. We do not believe that war is inevitable.

One of the strongest reasons for this belief is our faith in the United Nations.

The United Nations has three great roles to play in preventing wars.

First: it provides a way for negotiation and the settlement of disputes among nations by peaceful means.

Second: it provides a way of utilizing the collective strength of member nations, under the charter, to prevent aggression.

Third: it provides a way through which, once the danger of aggression is reduced, the nations can be relieved of the burden of armaments.

All of us must help the United Nations to

be effective in performing these functions.

The charter obligates all of us to settle our disputes peacefully. Today is an appropriate occasion for us solemnly to reaffirm our obligations under the charter.

Within the spirit and even the letter of the charter we shall go even further. We must attempt to find peaceful adjustments of underlying situations or tensions before they harden into actual disputes.

The basic issues in the world today affect the fate of millions of people. Here, in the United Nations, there is an opportunity for the large and the small alike to have their voices heard on these issues. Here the interests of every country can be considered in the settlement of problems which are of common concern.

We believe that negotiation is an essential part of this peaceful process. The United States, as one of the members of the United Nations, is prepared now, as always, to enter into negotiations. We insist only that negotiations be entered into in good faith and be governed throughout by a spirit of willingness to reach proper solutions.

While we will continue to take advantage of every opportunity—here in the United Nations and elsewhere—to settle differences by peaceful means, we have learned from hard experience that we cannot rely upon negotiation alone to preserve the peace.

Five years ago, after the bloodshed and destruction of World War II, many of us hoped that all nations would work together to make sure that war could never happen again. We hoped that international cooperation, supported by the strength and moral authority of the United Nations, would be sufficient to prevent aggression.

But this was not to be the case, I am sorry to say.

Although many countries promptly disbanded their wartime armies, other countries continued to maintain forces so large that they posed a constant threat of aggression. And this year, the invasion of Korea has shown that there are some who will resort to outright war, contrary to the principles of the charter, if it suits their ends.

In these circumstances, the United Nations, if it is to be an effective instrument for keeping the peace, has no choice except to use the collective strength of its members to curb aggression.

To do so, the United Nations must be prepared to use force. The United Nations did use force to curb aggression in Korea, and by so doing has greatly strengthened the cause of peace. I am glad that additional steps are being taken at this session to prepare for quick and effective action in any future case of aggression.

The Resolution on the United Action for Peace which is now being considered by the General Assembly recognizes three important principles:

To maintain the peace, the United Nations must be able to learn the facts about any threat of aggression.

Next, it must be able to call quickly upon the member nations to act if the threat becomes serious.

Above all, the peace-loving nations must have the military strength available, when called upon, to act decisively to put down aggression.

The peace-loving nations are building that strength.

However much they may regret the necessity, they will continue to build up their strength until they have created forces strong enough to preserve the peace under the United Nations. They will do all that is required to provide a defense against aggression. They will do that because, under the conditions which now exist in the world, it is the only way to maintain peace.

We intend to build up strength for peace as long as it is necessary. But at the same

time, we must continue to strive, through the United Nations, to achieve international control of atomic energy and the reduction of armaments and armed forces. Cooperative and effective disarmament would make the danger of war remote. It would be a way of achieving the high purposes of the United Nations without the tremendous expenditures for armaments which conditions in the world today make imperative.

Disarmament is the course which the United States would prefer to take. It is the course which most nations would like to adopt. It is the course which the United Nations from its earliest beginnings has been seeking to follow.

For nearly 5 years, two commissions of the United Nations have been working on the problem of disarmament. One commission has been concerned with the elimination of atomic weapons and the other with the reduction of other types of armaments and of armed forces. Thus far, these commissions have not been successful in obtaining agreement among all the major powers. Nevertheless, these years of effort have served to bring to the attention of all nations the three basic principles upon which any successful plan of disarmament must rest.

First, the plan must include all kinds of weapons. Outlawing any particular kind of weapon is not enough. The conflict in Korea bears tragic witness to the fact that aggression, whatever the weapons used, brings frightful destruction.

Second, the plan must be based on unanimous agreement. A majority of nations is not enough. No plan of disarmament can work unless it includes every nation having substantial armed forces. One-sided disarmament is a sure invitation to aggression.

Third, the plan must be foolproof. Paper promises are not enough. Disarmament must be based on safeguards which will insure the compliance of all nations. The safeguards must be adequate to give immediate warning of any threatened violation. Disarmament must be policed continuously and thoroughly. It must be founded upon free and open interchange of information across national borders.

These are simple, practical principles. If they were accepted and carried out, genuine disarmament would be possible.

It is true that, even if initial agreement were reached, tremendous difficulties would remain. The task of working out the successive steps would still be a complex one and would take a long time and much effort. But the fact that this process is so complex and so difficult is no reason for us to give up hope of ultimate success.

The will of the world for peace is too strong to allow us to give up in this effort. We cannot permit the history of our times to record that we failed by default.

We must explore every avenue which offers any chance of bringing success to the activities of the United Nations in this vital area.

Much valuable work has already been done by the two disarmament commissions on the different technical problems confronting them. I believe it would be useful to explore ways in which the work of these commissions could now be more closely brought together. One possibility to be considered is whether their work might be revitalized if carried forward in the future through a new and consolidated disarmament commission.

But until an effective system of disarmament is established, let us be clear about the task ahead. The only course the peace-loving nations can take in the present situation is to create the armaments needed to make the world secure against aggression.

That is the course to which the United

States is now firmly committed. That is the course we will continue to follow as long as it is necessary.

The United States has embarked upon the course of increasing its armed strength only for the purpose of helping to keep the peace. We pledge that strength to uphold the principles of the Charter of the United Nations. We believe that the peace-loving members of the United Nations join us in that pledge.

I believe that the United Nations, strengthened by these pledges, will bring us nearer to the peace we seek.

We know that the difficulties ahead are great. We have learned from hard experience that there is no easy road to peace.

We have a solemn obligation to the peoples we represent to continue our combined efforts to achieve the strength that will prevent aggression.

At the same time, we have an equally solemn obligation to continue our efforts to find solutions to the major problems and issues that divide the nations. The settlement of these differences would make possible a truly dependable and effective system for the reduction and control of armaments.

Although the possibility of attaining that goal appears distant today, we must never stop trying. For its attainment would release immense resources for the good of all mankind. It would free the nations to devote more of their energies to wiping out poverty, hunger, and injustice.

If real disarmament were achieved, the nations of the world, acting through the United Nations, could join in a greatly enlarged program of mutual aid. As the cost of maintaining armaments decreased, every nation could greatly increase its contributions to advancing human welfare. All of us could then pool even greater resources to support the United Nations in its war against want.

In this way, our armaments would be transformed into foods, medicine, tools for use in underdeveloped areas, and into other aids for human advancement. The latest discoveries of science could be made available to men all over the globe. Thus, we could give real meaning to the old promise that swords shall be beaten into plowshares, and that nations shall not learn war any more.

Then, man can turn his great inventiveness, his tremendous energies, and the resources with which he has been blessed, to creative efforts. Then we shall be able to realize the kind of world which has been the vision of man for centuries.

This is the goal which we must keep before us—and the vision in which we must never lose faith. This will be our inspiration, and, with God's help, we shall attain our goal.

NOTE: The President spoke at 11:30 a.m. in New York City. In his opening words he referred to Nasrollah Entezam, President of the General Assembly, and Trygve Lie, Secretary General of the United Nations. The address was carried on a nationwide radio broadcast.

272 Remarks to Members of the National Guard Association. *October 25, 1950*

Mr. President and gentlemen of the National Guard of the United States:

On June 14, 1905, I became a private in Battery B of the Missouri National Guard. There were just two batteries in the National Guard at that time, one in St. Louis and one in Kansas City. About a year after that, I got a certificate making me a corporal. I

NIXON

365 Address Before the 24th Session of the General Assembly of the United Nations. *September* 18, 1969

Madam President, Mr. Secretary General, distinguished Foreign Ministers, Prime Ministers, delegates—my fellow citizens of the world community:

I first wish to express my deep appreciation for the honor of addressing this organization for the first time and also to take this opportunity to welcome all of those from 126 countries who are here at the United Nations General Assembly session.

Particularly, on a personal note, I appreciate the opportunity to have been welcomed today by the Secretary General. It is hard to realize, as we were reminiscing, that just 16 years ago he welcomed me to Burma when he was Chief of Protocol and I was Vice President.

Since then, we have both come up in the world to a certain extent.

I think we would all agree that there is no nobler destiny, nor any greater gift that one age could make to the ages that follow, than to forge the key to a lasting peace.

In this great Assembly, the desirability of peace needs no affirmation. The methods of achieving it are what so greatly challenge our courage, our intelligence, our discernment.

Surely if one lesson above all rings resoundingly among the many shattered hopes in this world, it is that good words are not a substitute for hard deeds, and noble rhetoric is no guarantee of noble results.

We might describe peace as a process embodied in a structure.

For centuries, peace was the absence of war; stability was the absence of change.

But in today's world, there can be no stability without change—so that peace becomes a continuing process of creative evolution. It is no longer enough to restrain war. Peace must also embrace progress—both in satisfying man's material needs and in fulfilling his spiritual needs.

The test of the structure of peace is that it ensure for the people of each nation the integrity of their borders, their right to develop in peace and safety, and their right to determine their own destiny without outside interference.

As long as we live with the threat of aggression, we need physical restraints to contain it.

But the truest peace is based on self-restraint—on the voluntary acceptance of those basic rules of behavior that are rooted in mutual respect and demonstrated in mutual forbearance.

The more closely the world community adheres to a single standard in judging international behavior, the less likely that standard is to be violated.

Role of the United States

I am well aware that many nations have questions about the world role of the United States in the years ahead—about the nature and extent of our future contribution to the structure of peace.

Let me address those doubts and address them quite candidly before this organization.

In recent years, there has been mounting criticism here in the United States of the scope and the results of our international commitments.

This trend, however, has not been con-

fined to the United States alone. In many countries we find a tendency to withdraw from responsibilities, to leave the world's often frustrating problems to the other fellow and just to hope for the best.

As for the United States, I can state here today without qualification: We have not turned away from the world.

We know that with power goes responsibility.

We are neither boastful of our power, nor apologetic about it. We recognize that it exists, and that, as well as conferring certain advantages, it also imposes upon us certain obligations.

As the world changes, the pattern of those obligations and responsibilities changes.

At the end of World War II, the United States for the first time in history assumed the major responsibility for world peace.

We were left in 1945 as the one nation with sufficient strength to contain the new threats of aggression, and with sufficient wealth to help the injured nations back to their feet.

For much of the world, those first difficult postwar years were a time of dependency.

The next step was toward independence, as new nations were born and old nations revived.

Now we are maturing together into a new pattern of interdependence.

It is against this background that we have been urging other nations to assume a greater share of responsibility for their own security, both individually and together with their neighbors. The great challenge now is to enlist the cooperation of many nations in preserving peace and in enriching life. This cannot be done by American edict, or by the edict of any other nation. It must reflect the concepts and the wishes of the people of those nations themselves.

The history of the postwar period teaches that nationalism can be dangerously disruptive—or powerfully creative.

Our aim is to encourage the creative forms of nationalism; to join as partners where our partnership is appropriate, and where it is wanted, but not to let a U.S. presence substitute for independent national effort or infringe on national dignity and national pride.

It is not my belief that the way to peace is by giving up our friends or letting down our allies. On the contrary, our aim is to place America's international commitments on a sustainable, long term basis, to encourage local and regional initiatives, to foster national independence and self-sufficiency, and by so doing to strengthen the total fabric of peace.

It would be dishonest, particularly before this sophisticated audience, to pretend that the United States has no national interests of its own, or no special concern for its own interests.

However, our most fundamental national interest is in maintaining that structure of international stability on which peace depends, and which makes orderly progress possible.

Toward Peace in Vietnam

Since I took office as President, no single question has occupied so much of my time and energy as the search for an end to the war in Vietnam—an end fair to the people of South Vietnam, fair to the people of North Vietnam, and fair to those others who would be affected by the outcome.

We in the United States want to end

this war, and we are ready to take every reasonable step to achieve that goal. But let there be no question on this one fundamental point: In good conscience we cannot—in the long term interests of peace we will not—accept a settlement that would arbitrarily dictate the political future of South Vietnam and deny to the people of South Vietnam the basic right to determine their own future free of any outside interference.

As I put it in my address to the American people last May: "What the United States wants for South Vietnam is not the important thing. What North Vietnam wants for South Vietnam is not the important thing. What is important is what the people of South Vietnam want for South Vietnam."

To secure this right—and to secure this principle—is our one limited but fundamental objective.

Both in public and at the Paris talks, we have offered a number of proposals which would bring peace and provide self-determination. And we are ready to consider any other proposals that have the same objective. The missing ingredient so far has been the willingness of the other side to talk on any terms other than those that would predetermine the result and deny the right of self-determination to the people of South Vietnam. Once that willingness exists, and once there is a genuine willingness by the other side to reach agreement, the practical solutions can readily be found.

This makes it urgent that the U.N. members, those in this room who have long taken an active interest in peace in Vietnam, now take an active hand in achieving it.

Many urged that if only we halted our bombing of the North, peace would follow. Nearly a year has passed since the bombing of the North was halted.

Three months have passed since we began the process of troop replacement, signaling both our own genuine desire for a settlement and the increased readiness of the South Vietnamese to manage their own defense.

As I announced on Tuesday, by December 15 our troop strength in Vietnam will have been reduced by a minimum of 60,000 men.

On September 2, 1969, North Vietnam's chief negotiator in Paris said that if the United States committed itself to the principle of totally withdrawing its forces from South Vietnam, and if it withdrew a significant number of troops, Hanoi would take this into account.

I repeat here today what I said in my speech of May 14: that we are prepared to withdraw all of our forces from South Vietnam.

And the replacement of 60,000 troops is a significant step.

The time has come for the other side to respond to these initiatives.

The time has come for peace.

And in the name of peace, I urge all of you here—representing 126 nations—to use your best diplomatic efforts to persuade Hanoi to move seriously into the negotiations which could end this war. The steps we have taken have been responsive to views expressed in this room. And we hope that views from this organization may also be influential in Hanoi. If these efforts are successful, this war can end.

The people of Vietnam, North and South alike, have demonstrated heroism enough to last a century. And I speak from personal observation. I have been to North Vietnam, to Hanoi, in 1953, and

all over South Vietnam. I have seen the people of the North and the people of the South. The people of Vietnam, North and South, have endured an unspeakable weight of suffering for a generation. And they deserve a better future.

When the war ends, the United States will stand ready to help the people of Vietnam—all of them—in their tasks of renewal and reconstruction. And when peace comes at last to Vietnam, it can truly come with healing in its wings.

An Era of Negotiations

In relations between the United States and the various Communist powers, I have said that we move from an era of confrontation to an era of negotiation.

I believe our relations with the Soviet Union can be conducted in a spirit of mutual respect, recognizing our differences and also our right to differ, recognizing our divergent interests and also our common interests, recognizing the interests of our respective allies as well as our own.

Now, it would be idle to pretend that there are not major problems between us, and conflicting interests. The tensions of the past 30 years have not been caused by mere personal misunderstandings. This is why we have indicated the need for extended negotiations on a broad front of issues.

Already, as you know, we have had extensive consultations with the Soviet Union as well as with others about the Middle East, where events of the past few days point up anew the urgency of a stable peace.

The United States continues to believe that the U.N. cease-fire resolutions define the minimal conditions that must prevail on the ground if settlement is to be achieved in the Middle East. We believe the Security Council resolution of November 1967 charts the way to that settlement.

A peace, to be lasting, must leave no seeds of a future war. It must rest on a settlement which both sides have a vested interest in maintaining.

We seek a settlement based on respect for the sovereign right of each nation in the area to exist within secure and recognized boundaries. We are convinced that peace cannot be achieved on the basis of substantial alterations in the map of the Middle East. And we are equally convinced that peace cannot be achieved on the basis of anything less than a binding, irrevocable commitment by the parties to live together in peace.

Failing a settlement, an agreement on the limitation of the shipment of arms to the Middle East might help to stabilize the situation. We have indicated to the Soviet Union, without result, our willingness to enter such discussions.

In addition to our talks on the Middle East, we hope soon to begin talks with the Soviet Union on the limitation of strategic arms. There is no more important task before us.

The date we proposed for the opening of talks has passed for lack of response. We remain ready to enter negotiations.

Since the United States first proposed strategic arms talks 3 years ago, the task of devising an effective agreement has become more difficult.

The Soviet Union has been vigorously expanding its strategic forces; weapons systems themselves have become more sophisticated, more destructive. But as the difficulty of the talks increases, so, too, does their importance.

Though the issues are complex, we are

prepared to deal with them seriously, concretely, and purposefully—and to make a determined effort not only to limit the buildup of strategic arms, but to reverse it.

Meanwhile, I want to affirm our support for arms control proposals which we hope the Geneva conference will place before this Assembly, with regard to the seabed and chemical and bacteriological weapons. We hope also that the Nuclear Nonproliferation Treaty will soon enter into force.

We should be under no illusion, however, that arms control will in itself bring peace. Wars are fought by soldiers, but they are declared by politicians. Peace also requires progress on those stubbornly persistent political questions, questions that are considered in this room, questions that still divide the world—and it requires other exchanges, not only of words but of deeds, that can gradually weave a fabric of mutual trust among the nations and the peoples of the world.

We intend to conduct our negotiations with the Soviet Union soberly and seriously, neither encumbered by prejudice nor blinded by sentimentality, seeking to reach agreement, rather than to make propaganda.

Whenever the leaders of Communist China choose to abandon their self-imposed isolation, we are ready to talk with them in the same frank and serious spirit.

Peace-Keeping and Peace-Building

For nearly a quarter of a century, the U.N. has struggled with the often thankless task of peace-keeping.

As we look to the future, however, keeping the peace is only part of our task. We also must concentrate on building the peace.

Let us be candid. There are many differences among the great powers, and among other powers, which as realists we know cannot be resolved quickly, cannot be resolved even by this organization. But we also know that there are at least five areas in particular of great concern to everyone here with regard to which there should be no national differences, in which our interests are common and on which there should be unanimity.

They are these:

—securing the safety of international air travel,

—encouraging international voluntary service,

—fostering economic development, population control,

—protecting our threatened environment,

—exploring the frontiers of space.

By any standards, aircraft hijackings are morally, politically, and legally indefensible. The Tokyo Convention [1] has now been brought into force, providing for prompt release of passengers, crew, and aircraft. Along with other nations, we also are working on a new convention for the punishment of hijackers. But neither of these conventions can be fully effective without cooperation; sky piracy cannot be ended as long as the pirates receive asylum.

Consequently, I urge the United Nations to give high priority to this matter. This is an issue which transcends politics;

[1] The Tokyo Convention on Offenses and Certain Other Acts Committed on Board Aircraft was favorably considered by the Senate on May 13, 1969. It was ratified by the President on June 30, 1969, and the instrument of ratification was deposited on September 5, 1969. The text is printed in United States Treaties and Other International Agreements (20 UST 2941).

there is no need for it to become the subject of polemics or a focus of political differences. It involves the interests of every nation, the safety of every air passenger, and the integrity of that structure of order on which a world community depends.

The creative, dynamic kind of peace I have spoken of, of course, requires more than such basic protections as the one I have just described.

To build this kind of peace, we must join together in building our societies—in raising a great cathedral of the spirit, which celebrates the infinite possibilities of man himself.

Such a peace requires a fuller enlistment, not only of government resources and of private enterprise resources, but also of the dedication and skill of those thousands of people all over the world who are ready to volunteer in the cause of human achievement. Our own Peace Corps has helped in many countries. And I especially welcome the consideration of the U.N. itself, which it is now giving to establishment of an International Volunteer Corps. We stand ready to give this exciting new venture our full and enthusiastic cooperation.

As the U.N. looks toward the beginning of its second development decade, it faces a time of enormous challenge, but enormous opportunity.

We can only guess at the new scientific discoveries that the seventies may bring. But we can see with chilling clarity the gap that already exists between the developed economies and the economies of the developing countries and the urgent need for international cooperation in spurring economic development.

If, in the course of that second development decade, we can make both significant gains in food production and significant reductions in the rate of population growth, we shall have opened the way to a new era of splendid prosperity. If we do only one without the other, we shall be standing still, and if we fail in both, great areas of the world will face human disaster.

Increasingly, the task of protecting man's environments is a matter of international concern. Pollution of air and water, upsetting the balance of nature—these are not only local problems, and not only national problems, but matters that affect the basic relationships of man to his planet.

The United Nations already is planning a conference on the environment in 1972. I pledge the strongest support of the United States for that effort. I hope that even before then we can launch new national and international initiatives toward restoring the balance of nature, and maintaining our world as a healthy and hospitable place for man.

Of all of man's great enterprises, none lends itself more logically or more compellingly to international cooperation than the venture into space. Here, truly, mankind is one: as fellow creatures from the planet earth, exploring the heavens that all of us enjoy.

The journey of Apollo 11 to the moon and back was not an end, but the beginning.

There will be new journeys of discovery. Beyond this, we are just beginning to comprehend the benefits that space technology can yield here on earth. And the potential is enormous.

For example, we now are developing earth resource survey satellites, with the first experimental satellite to be launched sometime early in the decade of the seventies.

Present indications are that these satellites should be capable of yielding data which could assist in as widely varied tasks as these: the location of schools of fish in the oceans, the location of mineral deposits on land, the health of agricultural crops.

I feel it is only right that we should share both the adventures and the benefits of space. As an example of our plans, we have determined to take actions with regard to earth resource satellites, as this program proceeds and fulfills its promise.

The purpose of those actions is that this program will be dedicated to produce information not only for the United States, but also for the world community.

We shall be putting several proposals in this respect before the United Nations.

These are among the positive, concrete steps we intend to take toward internationalizing man's epic venture into space—an adventure that belongs not to one nation but to all mankind, and one that should be marked not by rivalry but by the same spirit of fraternal cooperation that so long has been the hallmark of the international community of science.

And now, Madam President, Mr. Secretary General, if I could speak a personal word to the representatives gathered in this room.

I recognize that those here are dedicating their lives to the cause of peace and that, in this room, what is done here will have an enormous effect on the future of peace.

I have had the great privilege over the past 23 years to travel to most of the countries represented in this room. I have met most of the leaders of the nations represented in this room. And I have seen literally thousands of people in most of the countries represented in this room.

There are differences between the nations and differences between the leaders and differences between the peoples in this world. But based on my own experience, of this one thing I am sure: The people of the world, wherever they are, want peace. And those of us who have the responsibilities for leadership in the world have an overwhelming world mandate from the people of the nations we represent to bring peace, to keep the peace, and to build the peace.

Now, I realize that a survey of history might discourage those who seek to establish peace.

But we have entered a new age, different not only in degree but in kind from any that has ever gone before.

For the first time ever, we have truly become a single world community.

For the first time ever, we have seen the staggering fury of the power of the universe unleashed, and we know that we hold that power in a very precarious balance.

For the first time ever, technological advance has brought within reach what once was only a poignant dream for hundreds of millions: freedom from hunger and freedom from want—want and hunger that I have personally seen in nation after nation all over this world.

For the first time ever, we have seen changes in a single lifetime—in our lifetime—that dwarf the achievements of centuries before, and those changes continue to accelerate.

For the first time ever, man has stepped beyond his planet—and revealed us to ourselves as "riders on the earth together," bound inseparably on this one bright,

beautiful speck in the heavens, so tiny in the universe and so incomparably welcoming as a home for man.

In this new age of "firsts," even the goal of a just and lasting peace is a "first" we can dare to strive for. We must achieve it. And I believe we can achieve it.

In that spirit, then, let us press toward an open world—a world of open doors, open hearts, open minds; a world open to the exchange of ideas and of people, and open to the reach of the human spirit; a world open in the search for truth, and unconcerned with the fate of old dogmas and old isms; a world open at last to the light of justice, and the light of reason, and to the achievement of that true peace which the people of every land carry in their hearts and celebrate in their hopes.

NOTE: The President spoke at 11:23 a.m. at United Nations headquarters in New York. The President of the General Assembly was Miss Angie Brooks, Assistant Secretary of State of Liberia, and the Secretary General of the United Nations was U Thant of Burma.

366 Remarks Concerning Changes in Draft Calls and Pending Draft Legislation. *September* 19, 1969

Ladies and gentlemen:

I have an announcement today, and the Secretary of Defense will answer questions on that announcement when it is concluded.

Acting on the recommendation of the Secretary of Defense, the programed draft calls for the months of November and December—32,000 for November and 18,000 for December—will be canceled.

The draft call previously announced for the month of October will be phased out over the final quarter of the year.

These actions have been made possible by the reduction in our forces of 60,000 in Vietnam which I announced on Tuesday,[1] and by other actions taken by the Department of Defense under the manpower program.

Further, with regard to the future of the draft program, as you know, we have been considering that in the National Security Council. The Secretary of Defense had a meeting yesterday with various congressional leaders on it. I have an announcement to make with regard to that program at this time.

On May 13, I submitted legislation to the Congress which would have removed from vulnerability to the draft all young men between the ages of 20 and 26, and which would provide for draft eligibility only those 19 years of age under a system of random selection.

The Congress has not yet acted on this legislation; and we have decided that if the Congress does not act on this legislation during this session of the Congress that then I shall take, by unilateral action, by Executive order, the recommendation of the Secretary of Defense which he will describe in detail, which will move toward that objective and which will remove uncertainties from the age group of 20 to 26, although it will not accomplish the objective as clearly and as fairly as would the legislation if it were passed.

The Secretary of Defense will be able to answer all your questions on the technical details of these two actions, and I

[1] See Item 361.

39-861—71——50

235 Statement by the President Concerning the National School Lunch Program. *October 22, 1946*

WHEN I SIGNED the National School Lunch Act last June fourth, I pointed out that Congress had provided the basis for strengthening the Nation through better nutrition for our school children and wider markets for the products of our farms. Today you who administer the cooperative program in all the States and territories are met to build upon that basis—to see that the full potentialities of the program are realized in the years ahead.

Nothing is more important in our national life than the welfare of our children, and proper nourishment comes first in attaining this welfare. The well nourished school child is a better student. He is healthier and more alert. He is developing good food habits which will benefit him for the rest of his life. In short, he is a better asset for his country in every way.

The school lunch program provides a cooperative means of assuring adequate nutrition for millions of our children who otherwise might be denied this basic need. Even in this first year of operation under the new permanent legislation, nearly 8 million boys and girls are expected to receive the benefit of school lunches. This is a splendid start, but we must look forward to the day when the lunches are available in every community in every State and territory.

To you who carry out the program locally falls the crucial job of seeing to it that we build well for the future. I wish you every success in the great task you are undertaking.

NOTE: The President's statement was read at 10 a.m. on October 22 by Paul Stark, Director, Food Distribution Program Branch, Department of Agriculture, at the opening session of the National Conference of State School Lunch Officials held in the Department of Agriculture Building.

For the President's statement upon signing the National School Lunch Act, see Item 128.

236 Address in New York City at the Opening Session of the United Nations General Assembly. *October 23, 1946*

Mr. President, members of the Assembly of the United Nations:

On behalf of the Government and the people of the United States I extend a warm and hearty welcome to the delegates who have come here from all parts of the world to represent their countries at this meeting of the General Assembly of the United Nations.

I recall with great pleasure the last occasion on which I met and spoke with the representatives of the United Nations. Many of you who are here today were present then. It was the final day of the Conference at San Francisco, when the United Nations Charter was signed. On that day the constitutional foundation of the United Nations was laid.

For the people of my country this meeting today has a special historic significance. After the first world war the United States refused to join the League of Nations and our seat was empty at the first meeting of the League Assembly. This time the United States is not only a member; it is the host to the United Nations.

I can assure you that the Government and the people of the United States are deeply proud and grateful that the United Nations

has chosen our country for its headquarters. We will extend the fullest measure of cooperation in making a home for the United Nations in this country. The American people welcome the delegates and the Secretariat of the United Nations as good neighbors and warm friends.

This meeting of the Assembly symbolizes the abandonment by the United States of a policy of isolation.

The overwhelming majority of the American people, regardless of party, support the United Nations.

They are resolved that the United States, to the full limit of its strength, shall contribute to the establishment and maintenance of a just and lasting peace among the nations of the world.

However, I must tell you that the American people are troubled by the failure of the Allied nations to make more progress in their common search for a lasting peace.

It is important to remember the intended place of the United Nations in moving toward this goal. The United Nations—as an organization—was *not* intended to settle the problems arising immediately out of the war. The United Nations *was* intended to provide the means for maintaining international peace in the future after just settlements have been made.

The settlement of these problems was deliberately consigned to negotiations among the Allies as distinguished from the United Nations. This was done in order to give the United Nations a better opportunity and a freer hand to carry out its long-range task of providing peaceful means for the adjustment of future differences, some of which might arise out of the settlements made as a result of this war.

The United Nations cannot, however, fulfill adequately its own responsibilities until the peace settlements have been made and unless these settlements form a solid foundation upon which to build a permanent peace.

I submit that these settlements, and our search for everlasting peace, rest upon the four essential freedoms.

These are freedom of speech, freedom of religion, freedom from want, and freedom from fear. These are fundamental freedoms to which all the United Nations are pledged under the Charter.

To the attainment of these freedoms—everywhere in the world—through the friendly cooperation of all nations, the Government and people of the United States are dedicated.

The fourth freedom—freedom from fear—means, above all else, freedom from fear of war.

This freedom is attainable *now*.

Lately we have all heard talk about the possibility of another world war. Fears have been aroused all over the world.

These fears are unwarranted and unjustified.

However, rumors of war still find willing listeners in certain places. If these rumors are not checked they are sure to impede world recovery.

I have been reading reports from many parts of the world. These reports all agree on one major point—the people of every nation are sick of war. They know its agony and its futility. No responsible government can ignore this universal feeling.

The United States of America has no wish to make war, now or in the future, upon any people anywhere in the world. The heart of our foreign policy is a sincere desire for peace. This nation will work patiently for peace by every means consistent with self-respect and security. Another world war would shatter the hopes of mankind and completely destroy civilization as we know it.

I am sure that every delegate in this hall

will join me in rejecting talk of war. No nation wants war. Every nation needs peace.

To avoid war and rumors and danger of war the peoples of all countries must not only cherish peace as an ideal but they must develop means of settling conflicts between nations in accordance with the principles of law and justice.

The difficulty is that it is easier to get people to agree upon peace as an ideal than to agree upon principles of law and justice or to agree to subject their own acts to the collective judgment of mankind.

But difficult as the task may be, the path along which agreement may be sought is clearly defined. We expect to follow that path with success.

In the first place, every member of the United Nations is legally and morally bound by the Charter to keep the peace. More specifically, every member is bound to refrain in its international relations from the threat, or use, of force against the territorial integrity or political independence of any state.

In the second place, I remind you that 23 members of the United Nations have bound themselves by the Charter of the Nuremberg Tribunal to the principle that planning, initiating or waging a war of aggression is a crime against humanity for which individuals as well as states shall be tried before the bar of international justice.

The basic principles upon which we are agreed go far, but not far enough, in removing the fear of war from the world. There must be agreement upon a positive, constructive course of action as well.

The peoples of the world know that there can be no real peace unless it is peace with justice for all—justice for small nations and for large nations and justice for individuals without distinction as to race, creed or color—a peace that will advance, not retard, the attainment of the four freedoms.

We shall attain freedom from fear when every act of every nation, in its dealings with every other nation, brings closer to realization the other freedoms—freedom of speech, freedom of religion, and freedom from want. Along this path we can find justice for all, without distinction between the strong and the weak among nations, and without discrimination among individuals.

After the peace has been made, I am convinced that the United Nations can and will prevent war between nations and remove the fear of war that distracts the peoples of the world and interferes with their progress toward a better life.

The war has left many parts of the world in turmoil. Differences have arisen among the Allies. It will not help us to pretend that this is not the case. But it is not necessary to exaggerate these differences.

For my part, I believe there is no difference of interest that need stand in the way of settling these problems and settling them in accordance with the principles of the United Nations Charter. Above all, we must not permit differences in economic and social systems to stand in the way of peace, either now or in the future. To permit the United Nations to be broken into irreconcilable parts by different political philosophies would bring disaster to the world.

So far as Germany and Japan are concerned, the United States is resolved that neither shall again become a cause for war. We shall continue to seek agreement upon peace terms which ensure that both Germany and Japan remain disarmed, that Nazi influence in Germany be destroyed and that the power of the war lords in Japan be eliminated forever.

The United States will continue to seek settlements arising from the war that are just to all states, large and small, that uphold

UN- conflict
cooperation....

ideals as old as
this organization
itself.

the human rights and fundamental freedoms to which the Charter pledges all its members, and that do not contain the seeds of new conflicts.

A peace between the nations based upon justice will make possible an early improvement in living conditions throughout the world and a quick recovery from the ravages of war. The world is crying for a just and durable peace with an intensity that must force its attainment at the earliest possible date.

If the members of the United Nations are to act together to remove the fear of war, the first requirement is for the Allied Nations to reach agreement on the peace settlements.

Propaganda that promotes distrust and misunderstanding among the Allies will not help us. Agreements designed to remove the fear of war can be reached only by the cooperation of nations to respect the legitimate interests of all states and act as good neighbors toward each other.

And lasting agreements between allies cannot be imposed by one nation nor can they be reached at the expense of the security, independence or integrity of any nation. There must be accommodation by all the Allied Nations in which mutual adjustments of lesser national interests are made in order to serve the greater interest of all in peace, security and justice.

This Assembly can do much toward recreating the spirit of friendly cooperation and toward reaffirming these principles of the United Nations which must be applied to the peace settlements. It must also prepare and strengthen the United Nations for the tasks that lie ahead after the settlements have been made.

All member nations, large and small, are represented here as equals. Wisdom is not the monopoly of strength or size. Small nations can contribute equally with the large nations toward bringing constructive thought and wise judgment to bear upon the formation of collective policy.

This Assembly is the world's supreme deliberative body.

The highest obligation of this Assembly is to speak for all mankind in such a way as to promote the unity of all members in behalf of a peace that will be lasting because it is founded upon justice.

In seeking unity we should not be concerned about expressing differences freely. The United States believes that this Assembly should demonstrate the importance of freedom of speech to the cause of peace. I do not share the view of those who are fearful of the effects of free and frank discussions in the United Nations.

The United States attaches great importance to the principle of free discussion in this Assembly and in this Security Council. Free and direct exchange of arguments and information promotes understanding and therefore contributes in the long run to the removal of the fear of war and some of the causes of war.

The United States believes that the rule of unanimous accord among the five permanent members of the Security Council imposes upon these members a special obligation. This obligation is to seek and reach agreements that will enable them and the Security Council to fulfill their responsibilities under the Charter toward their fellow members of the United Nations and toward the maintenance of peace.

It is essential to the future of the United Nations that the members should use the Council as a means of promoting settlement of disputes as well as for airing them. The exercise of neither veto rights nor majority rights can make peace secure. There is no substitute for agreements that are universally acceptable because they are just to all con-

cerned. The Security Council is intended to promote that kind of agreement and it is fully qualified for that purpose.

Because it is able to function continuously, the Security Council represents a most significant development in international relations—the continued application of the public and peaceful methods of a council chamber to the settlement of disputes between nations.

Two of the greatest obligations undertaken by the United Nations toward the removal of the fear of war remain to be fulfilled.

First, we must reach an agreement establishing international controls of atomic energy that will ensure its use for peaceful purposes only, in accordance with the Assembly's unanimous resolution last winter.

Second, we must reach agreements that will remove the deadly fear of other weapons of mass destruction, in accordance with that same resolution.

Each of these obligations is going to be difficult to fulfill. Their fulfillment will require the utmost in perseverance and good faith, and we cannot succeed without setting fundamental precedents in the law of nations. Each will be worth everything in perseverance and good faith that we can give to it. The future safety of the United Nations, and of every member nation, depends upon the outcome.

On behalf of the United States I can say we are not discouraged. We shall continue to seek agreement by every possible means.

At the same time we shall also press for preparation of agreements in order that the Security Council may have at its disposal peace forces adequate to prevent acts of aggression.

The United Nations will not be able to remove the fear of war from the world unless substantial progress can be made in the next few years toward the realization of another of the four freedoms—freedom from want.

The Charter pledges the members of the United Nations to work together toward this end. The structure of the United Nations in this field is now nearing completion, with the Economic and Social Council, its commissions and related specialized agencies. It provides more complete and effective institutions through which to work than the world has ever had before.

A great opportunity lies before us.

In these constructive tasks which concern directly the lives and welfare of human beings throughout the world, humanity and self-interest alike demand of all of us the fullest cooperation.

The United States has already demonstrated in many ways its grave concern about economic reconstruction that will repair the damage done by war.

We have participated actively in every measure taken by the United Nations toward this end. We have in addition taken such separate national action as the granting of large loans and credits and renewal of our reciprocal trade-agreements program.

Through the establishment of the Food and Agriculture Organization, the International Bank for Reconstruction and Development and the International Monetary Fund, members of the United Nations have proved their capacity for constructive cooperation toward common economic objectives. In addition, the International Labor Organization is being brought into relationship with the United Nations.

Now we must complete that structure. The United States attaches the highest importance to the creation of the International Trade Organization now being discussed in London by a Preparatory Committee.

This country wants to see not only the rapid restoration of devastated areas but the industrial and agricultural progress of

the less well-developed areas of the world.

We believe that all nations should be able to develop a healthy economic life of their own. We believe that all peoples should be able to reap the benefits of their own labor and of their own natural resources.

There are immense possibilities in many parts of the world for industrial development and agricultural modernization.

These possibilities can be realized only by the cooperation of members of the United Nations, helping each other on a basis of equal rights.

In the field of social reconstruction and advancement the completion of the Charter for a World Health Organization is an important step forward.

The Assembly now has before it for adoption the constitution of another specialized agency in this field—the International Refugee Organization. It is essential that this Organization be created in time to take over from UNRRA as early as possible in the new year the tasks of caring for and repatriating or resettling the refugees and displaced persons of Europe. There will be similar tasks, of great magnitude, in the Far East.

The United States considers this a matter of great urgency in the cause of restoring peace and in the cause of humanity itself.

I intend to urge the Congress of the United States to authorize this country to do its full part, both in financial support of the International Refugee Organization and in joining with other nations to receive those refugees who do not wish to return to their former homes for reasons of political or religious belief.

The United States believes a concerted effort must be made to break down the barriers to a free flow of information among the nations of the world.

We regard freedom of expression and freedom to receive information—the right of the people to know—as among the most important of those human rights and fundamental freedoms to which we are pledged under the United Nations Charter.

The United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization, which is meeting in November, is a recognition of this fact. That Organization is built upon the premise that since wars begin in the minds of men, the defense of peace must be constructed in the minds of men, and that a free exchange of ideas and knowledge among peoples is necessary to this task. The United States therefore attaches great importance to all activities designed to break down barriers to mutual understanding and to wider tolerance.

The United States will support the United Nations with all the resources that we possess.

The use of force or the threat of force anywhere in the world to break the peace is of direct concern to the American people.

The course of history has made us one of the stronger nations of the world. It has therefore placed upon us special responsibilities to conserve our strength and to use it rightly in a world so interdependent as our world today.

The American people recognize these special responsibilities. We shall do our best to meet them, both in the making of the peace settlements and in the fulfillment of the long-range tasks of the United Nations.

The American people look upon the United Nations not as a temporary expedient but as a permanent partnership—a partnership among the peoples of the world for their common peace and common well-being.

It must be the determined purpose of all of us to see that the United Nations lives and grows in the minds and the hearts of all people.

May Almighty God, in His infinite wis-

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dom and mercy, guide and sustain us as we seek to bring peace everlasting to the world.

With His help we shall succeed.

NOTE: The President spoke at 4:30 p.m. in the Assembly Hall, Flushing Meadow, New York City. His opening words referred to Paul-Henri Spaak of Belgium, President of the Assembly.

237 The President's News Conference of *October* 24, 1946

THE PRESIDENT. [1.] I want to announce the reappointment of Clarence Young to the Civil Aeronautics Board this morning.

[2.] And, I am having prepared a statement on the present situation with regard to the budget and the order which was made in August, which will be ready for distribution before the day is over.[1]

That's the only announcements I have.

[3.] Q. Mr. President, would you care to comment on the rumors that Attorney General Tom Clark is resigning, and that Senator Wheeler may succeed him? Likewise that Mr. Justice Jackson is resigning?

THE PRESIDENT. Both so absurd I have no comment to make.

Q. Too absurd to comment on it?

THE PRESIDENT. Too absurd to comment on it.

[4.] Q. When do you expect to take action on the resignation of Solicitor General McGrath?

THE PRESIDENT. That action has already been taken, I think.

Q. You have accepted the resignation, sir?

THE PRESIDENT. Yes, I think it's accepted. He is going to be Senator from Rhode Island. He can't hold two jobs.[2] [*Laughter*]

Q. A little matter of election there, sir. [*More laughter*]

[5.] Q. Mr. President, has the matter of John L. Lewis' latest statement on the coal contract come to you?

THE PRESIDENT. No, it has not.

Q. Have you anything to say?

THE PRESIDENT. No comment. That is in the hands of Mr. Krug.

[6.] Q. Mr. President, yesterday Mr. Churchill said, "It is not right for the United States, who are keen for immigration into Palestine, to take no share in the task and reproach us for our obvious incapacity to cope with the difficulties of the problem." Would you comment on that, sir?

THE PRESIDENT. I have no comment on that.

[7.] Q. Mr. President, do you expect to issue the wage decontrol order before November 1?

THE PRESIDENT. That was covered in the meat speech completely. If you will read that, you will get your answer.

Q. You say "Yes"——

THE PRESIDENT. I said read the meat speech and you will get your answer.

[8.] Q. Mr. President, the Army and Navy Bulletin says this morning that the State Department has something in line for Mr. Forrestal, that he is leaving the Navy. Is there anything you might say about that?

THE PRESIDENT. That is in the same category with Tom Clark and Jackson.

[9.] Q. Mr. President, time left in the campaign is running short. Are you going to make any speeches?

THE PRESIDENT. I have no plans to make any speeches.

[1] See Items 187, 194, 195, and 238.

[2] The President's letter accepting Mr. McGrath's resignation, effective at the close of business on October 7, was released by the White House on October 25.

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Opinion Poll

UN

U.S. Opinion in a Watershed Year: Pragmatic Multilateralism in 1989

A Poll conducted by the Roper Organization
Sponsored by the United Nations Association of the USA
March 1989

The March 1989 Roper survey conducted for UNA-USA demonstrates the U.S. public's swelling support for practical multilateralism. The survey reaffirms the traditional attachment of Americans to the institutions for international cooperation created in the postwar era and the American public's belief that international problems can only be resolved by the concerted efforts of countries working together.

The questions posed tough choices for Americans, and in their answers they consistently affirmed that they would entrust greater power to the U.N. system rather than leave problems to governments pursuing individual national interests. Such support runs across regional, class and partisan lines on question after question. If any demographic distinction repeatedly emerges, it is the tendency of the "baby boom" generation--persons born between 1945 and 1960--to be the strongest backers of a revitalized U.N.

* Asked whether the U.S. should intervene in regional conflicts to produce a result advantageous to U.S. interests, or support U.N. intervention to produce some accommodation acceptable to all sides, Americans by a 3-to-1 margin support the multilateral rather than the unilateral alternative (49% to 17%).

The "baby boom" generation is even more inclined to support U.N. intervention (52%), 5 points higher than that registered by other age groups. (Support for military unilateralism is highest among the young [20%] and drops with increasing age [14% for the 60-plus age group]). There is some regional variation--the margin for U.N. intervention is "only" 2-to-1 in the South (41% to 21%), a 20 point spread compared to the 37 points in the Midwest or 34 points in the Northeast. But, in a finding with clear implications for U.S. policy choices in Lebanon and the Persian Gulf in the 1980s, even those who want to reduce U.S. involvement in the U.N. prefer U.N. peacekeeping over U.S. intervention (42% to 33%), as do those who rate the U.N.'s job performance poorly (50% to 25%) and those who support withholding of U.N. dues (45% to 25%). (In all categories, there is also a significant minority of people [approximately 15-20%] who believe each situation should be decided separately.)

* Presented with the arguments for addressing environmental problems on a case-by-case basis or through international actions, Americans nonetheless call for giving the U.N. more power to deal with environmental problems worldwide by a 2-to-1 margin (56% to 27%).

Once again it is "baby boomers" whose preference is most dramatically multilateralist (61% to 26%, a 35 point spread). Those over age 60 show the smallest, though still a sizable, margin of support (48% to 32%). There is also some regional variation--the margin for giving the U.N. more authority over environmental issues is 23 and 24 points in the West and South and 36 and 37 points in the Northeast and Midwest.

Among those who rate the U.N.'s job performance poorly a large majority still wants to increase U.N. power in this area (58% to 34%), as does a plurality of those who back withholding of U.N. dues (49% to 43%). But a majority (52%) of those who want the U.S. to reduce its U.N. participation opposes a strong environmental role for the world body.

* Asked whether the U.S. government should abide by an adverse decision of the World Court or feel free to ignore it, an overwhelming 4-to-1 majority of Americans opts for accepting the rule of international law as defined by the World Court (58% to 15%).

Today's 30-to-45-year-olds are the strongest multilateralists (65% to 13%); and senior citizens are the least supportive of accepting the Court's rulings (49% to 16%). There is little difference among respondents based on income, profession, region or even education; and while Democrats are more suppportive than Republicans, self-described conservatives are as strongly behind the Court as liberals.

Even Americans who give the U.N. poor marks for performance give the World Court better than 2-to-1 backing (57% to 25%). Among those who favor intervening with U.S. forces in crisis situations almost half (49%) would have the U.S. obey adverse Court rulings (34% would not); the margin among those who favor U.N. intervention in conflicts is a lopsided 75% to 12%. And even those who want to reduce U.S. involvement in the U.N. are evenly divided on the U.S. government's obligation to accept Court decisions (42% to 41%).

* Americans support giving the U.N. power to control the manufacture and spread of chemical weapons (49% to 33%) and nuclear weapons (46% to 36%).

While on most questions there is little difference between men's and women's attitudes, the response of males to these two questions indicates a greater male willingness to give the U.N. power to control chemical weapons (53% to 32%) and nuclear weapons (48% to 37%). Adherents of both political parties show approximately equal support for U.N. policing on chemical weapons. Among regions, Southerners are less supportive and correspondingly more undecided on the role of the U.N. in arms control issues. Those giving negative job ratings to the U.N. still favor U.N. control on chemical weapons (50% to 42%); a narrow plurality of these oppose U.N. control on nuclear arms (45% to 48%).

* There is one major area where Americans are not convinced there is any need to involve a multilateral agency: resolving disputes on international trade. Asked whether they would rely on an international trade agency to settle international trade disputes or on national governments' retaliation against trade competitors a large majority favors unilateral action (25% to 54%).

Contrary to the other questions, it is the highest income and most educated respondents who are the most "unilateralist" in their answers. Even a majority of those who say the U.N. is doing a good job want to retain the option of unilateral trade retaliation.

* * *

One of the most significant Roper findings is that after wide press coverage of U.N. success in bringing several stubborn conflicts to an end in 1988, American assessments of the U.N.'s job performance have turned positive for the first time since 1975. The March survey found a nine-point positive edge (38% to 29%) in response to a question of whether the UN is doing a good or poor job and a large bloc of undecided. Not surprisingly, younger age groups are most positive--as they are on most questions--but on this issue a rare gender gap appears: While women rate the U.N. as doing a good job by a 2-to-1 margin (41% to 20%), men rate it slightly negatively (35% to 38%).

People give a variety of reasons why they assess United Nations' performance as good or poor. Among those who give the UN a positive grade, fully a quarter offer explanations that the U.N. is "keeping world peace," "halting conflicts," or helping ensure that

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there is "no war now"; another fifth say it is doing a good job because it is a place to discuss problems, a forum for talking out contentious issues (22%).

Among those critical of the U.N.'s performance, a quarter simply see it as ineffective--"nothing gets accomplished" (26%). Twelve percent say the problem is that the U.N. does not have enough power. (This reason is cited most often by those in executive/professional occupations [23%], by college graduates [19%] and by Republican critics, 17% of whom attribute their dissatisfaction to insufficient U.N. powers, compared to only 7% of Democratic critics.) Interestingly, 17% of self-described liberals dissatisfied with the UN also list its lack of real power as a cause for their dissatisfaction with its performance. Explanations revealing a deeper irritation or hostility to the U.N. are mentioned rather less frequently. Only 4% of those negatively evaluating the U.N. complain that the U.S. is "treated disrespectfully" there (8% among seniors), 6% complain that the "U.S. pays too much," and 6% cite the fact that there is still no Mideast peace. Barely 1% say the UN is too pro-Russian, while 3% say the U.N. has "too much politics" in it and 3% feel that the third world has too much say.

Many Americans believe the U.N. should be given more tax dollars to deal with major problems. The two issues with the widest support are U.N. efforts to protect the environment (58% vs. 6% call for governments to provide for more U.N. spending in this area and U.N. programs to enhance food production (58% vs. 7%--spreads of over 50 percentage points). Large majorities also call for higher funding for disaster relief and for disease prevention. Almost as strong is the backing for more spending on U.N. birth control programs (including programs that provide birth control devices)--48% favor more U.N. spending on population control, and only 11% favor less. Peacekeeping and human rights monitoring draw slightly weaker but still lopsided pluralities, as does even "helping poor countries develop their economies." Indeed, support (in the form of more funds) for U.N. programs is so strong that even among those people who want to reduce U.N. involvement in the U.N. a majority favors increased U.N. spending to protect the environment (50%) and to enhance food production (52%).

But there is one issue area on which a sizable minority (20%) calls for spending less and where many fewer respondents want to increase U.N. spending: managing the global economy. The Americans seem clearly reluctant to give the United Nations much money or responsibility for involving itself in trade and economic policy questions.

Perhaps the best general measure of American support for the U.N. and its programs is to be found in the question which asks whether the United States should increase or decrease its participation in the United Nations. According to the Roper poll, by a 2-to-1 margin respondents favor getting the U.S. more deeply involved in the U.N. system (34% to 16%). Another third (31%) want to maintain America's current level of participation. Thus, 65% of the population is satisfied with the U.S. role in the U.N. Put another way, efforts

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to distance the U.S. from the U.N. system meet with public disapproval by a 4-to-1 margin. Even 1/3 of the people who rate the U.N.'s job performance negatively look favorably on expanded American involvement in the U.N.

Finally, Americans by a 46 point margin (60% to 14%) overwhelmingly insist that governments, including their own, must pay their full dues to the U.N. on a regular basis rather than hold back dues to try to force others in the organization to undertake reforms. The Roper survey turned up no difference on party lines or by political ideology on this question, although there are surprising variations by region (the Northeast gives a 38-point spread to full payment over withholding, 55% to 17%, while the margin in the West is 60 points (69% to 9%). Even those giving the U.N. poor job ratings overwhelmingly favor always paying dues (64% to 19%), so do those who favor U.S. unilateral intervention in conflict situations (57% vs. 20%), those who oppose a strong U.N. role in protecting the global environment (55% to 22%), and even those who want to reduce U.S. participation in the U.N. (48% to 32%).

In short, the 1989 survey demonstrates Americans' enduring and pragmatic multilateralism. They want to see the U.N. succeed, and believe that recently it has begun to be successful once again. They see the U.N. as an important arena for addressing global problems that they know individual nations cannot solve on their own, and they know that that means it needs more power--and money. But they have a clear skepticism about U.N. involvement where it is not needed or likely to be successful--and show discriminating judgment in such assessment.

Toby Trister Gati
Vice President for Policy Studies

Jeffrey Laurenti
Executive Director
Multilateral Studies Program

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Roper Organization Questions on UN
Sponsored by the United Nations Association of the USA
March, 1989

Q. 7 Have you heard of an international organization called the United Nations?

Yes	92%
No	7%
Don't know	1%

Q. 47 Turning now to another subject. In general, do you feel that the United Nations is doing a good job or a poor job in trying to solve the problems it has had to face?

Good job	38%
Poor job	29%
Don't know	34%

Q. 49 Do you think that the U.S. should increase or decrease its participation in the U.N?

Increase	34%
Decrease	16%
No change (volunteered)	31%
Don't know	19%

Q. 52 Do you think the United States and the other U.N. member countries should provide the United Nations with more money that it has now to (read items below), or less money, or are they providing the U.N. with the right amount of money now for that purpose? (ASK ABOUT EACH)

	MORE	LESS	RIGHT AMOUNT	DON'T KNOW
a. Stop disease and improve health care around the world	53%	8%	28%	11%
b. Help poor countries develop their economies	40%	15%	35%	10%
c. Slow population growth by providing birth control information and devices	48%	11%	30%	12%
d. Help increase world food production	58%	7%	26%	9%
e. Improve and protect the environment	58%	6%	26%	10%
f. Bring peace to regional conflicts	46%	11%	31%	11%
g. Provide relief to victims of disaster	53%	6%	32%	9%
h. Help manage the world's economy	31%	20%	36%	14%
i. Monitor violations of human rights throughout the world	45%	12%	31%	12%

Q. 53 (A) Should the member countries of the U.N. give or not give the United Nations the power to control the manufacture and spread of chemical weapons by the countries of the world, including the United States?

(B) What about nuclear weapons--should the U.N. have or not have the power to control the manufacture and spread of nuclear weapons in both the U.S. and other countries? (RECORD BELOW)

	CHEMICAL WEAPONS	NUCLEAR WEAPONS
Should	49%	46%
Should not	33%	36%
Don't know	18%	18%

Q. 54 When there are conflicts among other countries where the United States has an interest, should the United States be prepared to use U.S. forces so that the conflicts are resolved the way we think they ought to be, or should we support the use of United Nations forces so that they are resolved in a way that tries to accommodate all sides?

U.S. forces	17%
U.N. forces	49%
Depends (volunteered)	20%
Don't know	14%

Q. 55 Some say environmental problems are now worldwide and that unified international action on such things as pollution is needed. Others say different countries have different priorities, and environmental problems should be handled on a country-by-country basis. Do you think the United States and other member countries should or should not give the United Nations more power to deal with environmental problems on a worldwide basis?

Should	56%
Should not	27%
Don't know	17%

Q. 56X As you may know there is an organization called the "World Court" that tries to settle international disputes peacefully among countries that accept its jurisdiction. If the World Court finds that actions by the United States Government have violated international law, should the U.S. accept the Court's decisions or should it feel free to ignore the Court's decisions if it disagrees with them?

Accept Court's decisions	58%
Ignore the Court	15%
Don't know	26%

Q. 56Y Do you think that an international agency on trade negotiations should be given the power to settle trade disputes among nations, or should the U.S. and other countries rely on their own actions against trade competitors?

International agency	25%
Rely on own actions	54%
Don't know	21%

Q. 60 Do you believe that U.N. member states, including the U.S., should always pay their full dues to the U.N. on a regular basis, or should a country--perhaps even the U.S.--hold back its dues to pressure other members to agree to changes it believes are needed?

Always pay	60%
Hold back	14%
Depends (vol.)	14%
Don't know	12%

who'd had a lot of military experience. I was an officer in the British army for six years during the war.

The setting-up of the first peace-keeping force was a great team effort on the political, diplomatic, and legal side as well as on the logistical, military side. The Lebanon observer group in 1958 was an extremely important political element in the final solution of the problem.

I think the Congo operation was a major achievement, but it got caught up in East-West rivalries which distracted people's attention from what we'd actually done.

I think that the speed with which we managed to react in the 1973 war in the Middle East was important. It was a very dangerous situation. And, again, the speed with which we managed to set up the Golan Heights operation in 1974 was a positive success.

We've not mentioned UNIFIL, the operation in South Lebanon. We went in there, into a confusing situation, with an absolutely unclear mandate, and I'm very proud of the way the soldiers reacted to what, for a peace keeper, was a very difficult situation, and a very dangerous one. By their courage and a great deal of political effort, UNIFIL has become a considerable success. It has still not achieved what it was sent there to do. But it's a very important element in the stability of that whole, very explosive, area. People have been very slow to recognize that fact.

But the most important thing is that a lot of very hard work by a great number of people—some half a million soldiers, 738 dead– has launched an accepted

UN Photo 149574/J Isaac

new institution in international life. We have pioneered the use of soldiers in a non-violent role as the representatives and the servants of the whole international community. That is a tremendous achievement, which people now accept as a matter of course.

We need to get better each time, to push that concept a step further . . . In most national States there was originally a patchwork of forces disagreeing with each other, causing civil wars, tribal wars and so on. Eventually, people got fed up with this and decided to have a central authority, a central legal system, and a non-violent police force to guard it.

I see peace-keeping as just the beginning of that process at the international level. That's the most important thing we've done. And it's taken a long time and much sacrifice.

Peace-keeping depends on the non-use of force and on political symbolism. It is the projection of the principle of non-violence onto the military plane. It requires discipline, initiative, objectivity, and leadership, as well as ceaseless supervision and political direction. It takes time to develop the full effectiveness of a peace-keeping operation and to secure the confidence and co-operation of the conflicting parties with which it is dealing. For soldiers, peace-keeping can be a thankless and unglamourous task, and yet we have found that most of the soldiers value the experience and volunteer for additional tours of duty.

A peace-keeping force is like a family friend who has moved into a household stricken by disaster. It must conciliate, console, and discreetly run the household without ever appearing to dominate or usurp the natural rights of those it is helping. There have been times when the peace-keeping function was more like that of an attendant in a lunatic asylum, and the soldiers had to accept abuse and harassment without getting into physical conflict or emotional involvement with the inmates. The feelings and reactions of peace keepers must be kept under rigid control and must always come second to those of the afflicted. Thus they must often turn the other cheek, and never, except in the most extreme circumstances, use their weapons or shoot their way out of a situation. But they must also be firm and assert their authority in violent situations.

—Sir Brian Urquhart
"A Life in Peace and War"

Peace keeping

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"Blue Helmets"

1/2 mil. have served.

'The vision was there . . .'

Marrack Goulding has been in charge of UN peace-keeping operations since 1986, when Sir Brian Urquhart retired. After studying Greek and Latin at Oxford's Magdalen College and Arabic in Lebanon, the British diplomat served his country in Kuwait, Tripoli, Cairo, Lisbon, New York and Luanda. Before becoming Under-Secretary-General for Special Political Affairs, he had already had a taste of the United Nations from 1979 to 1983 when he represented his country in the Security Council and the General Assembly and presided over the Trusteeship Council for a year.

Mr. Goulding *(right)* in southern Lebanon with UNIFIL Force Commander Hägglund.

What repercussions do you think the Nobel Prize will have for peace-keeping?

I hope it will have two political repercussions. One is that this recognition at a very high international level of the value of peace-keeping will make parties to conflicts where there are peace-keeping operations readier to co-operate with the peace-keeping operation. It will enhance the prestige of peace-keeping, which will make it more effective in that sense.

Secondly, I hope that this international recognition of peace-keeping, of the value of peace-keeping, will cause parties to conflicts, where at present there is no peace-keeping involvement, to think about using this service that the United Nations makes available to them. Peace-keeping is available

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to all the Member States of the United Nations—to use the techniques that have been developed here, which we believe play a valuable role in controlling conflict. I hope this recognition will make Member States who find themselves in conflict with their neighbours readier to turn to the Secretary-General, to turn to the Security Council and seek the help of the UN.

You recently said that peace-making and peace-keeping should go hand in hand. However, that seems not to have been always the case, particularly in the Middle East. How do you explain this?

It has always been clear that peace keeping cannot solve the problem by itself. Peace keeping can create conditions in which peace-making can take place. And peace-making, obviously, we think should be done by the United Nations, by the Secretary-General or a special representative of the Secretary-General.

Why has the UN been more successful lately in its peace-keeping/peace-making efforts?

A number of things have contributed to that. First of all, the fact that relations are better between the United States and the Soviet Union is important. UN peace making and peace-keeping efforts always flourish at times of détente. Détente makes it possible for the United States and the Soviet Union jointly to support the Secretary-General's efforts. That's a very important change.

Secondly, I think there has been a realization amongst the parties to many of these conflicts that they cannot be resolved by war, that there's got to be a negotiation. These two things interact. This time of détente has made it easier for the parties to see that the answer to their problems lies in negotiating a settlement rather than fighting.

There have also been conspicuous failures in recent years of bilateral or unilateral attempts to resolve international problems. The experience of recent years has reminded the world that the multilateral approach is the approach most likely to succeed.

All of these things coming together have created a climate in which there has been greater willingness on the part of the membership to use the peace making and peace-keeping functions of the United Nations.

The two new peace-keeping operations—Afghanistan and Iran-Iraq—both have very precise time-frames and come at the end of a long negotiating process, in contrast to some operations in the past. Is this the kind of operation the UN can now afford politically and financially? Is this the wave of the future?

It has always been clear that these operations are interim arrangements, that they should have a time-frame. Sometimes it has not proved possible to negotiate the settlement as quickly as it was hoped. In 1978, for instance, Israeli troops did not withdraw from South Lebanon within three months as had been hoped. In such cases the operations do get renewed, as you just said, by the Security Council.

Take UNIIMOG—it has a time-frame of six months. But let us suppose that after six months the negotiations are continuing and have not yet reached a successful conclusion. Are we going to withdraw and jeopardize the cease-fire by taking away the observers who are there every day monitoring the situation, the tension on the cease-fire lines? I cannot believe the Security Council would do that.

You cannot guarantee that peace-making is going to succeed. If peace-making does not succeed or if its success is delayed, it would seem irresponsible to withdraw the peace-keeping operation, thereby running the risk of provoking a resumption of fighting.

Some critics say that the Cyprus operation has "frozen" the possibility of a political solution there. And it seems to be true that the presence of UN troops may make some Governments less eager to solve a problem. This may in turn discourage contributing Governments. Is there anything that can be done to restore a sense of urgency?

You are absolutely right. The parties to the conflict may take comfort from the knowledge, or the assumption, that the force will have its mandate renewed. You are also absolutely right that there is disquiet within the Security Council about the tendencies of these operations to become self-perpetuating.

Various ideas have been put forward about how you could work against that. One idea which has been put forward is that the Security Council should decide that the parties to the conflict would bear a rising share of the cost of the operation—5 per cent in year one, 10 per cent in year two, 15 per cent in years three and four and so on. Again the problem you face is what do you do if they refuse to pay? Do you withdraw the force or the observer group in the knowledge that the very fact of withdrawing it could raise tension to a point that fighting breaks out again?

Yes, I know it is unsatisfactory that the forces seem to be stuck there now. But maybe it is a better deal for the international community to have, let us say, UNDOF on the Golan Heights—which, heaven knows, is a sensitive area—costing the international community about $35 million a year, than to run the risk of an outbreak of hostilities between Israel and Syria. Maybe this is the best we can do at the moment: to have a peace-keeping force or a

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An UNDOF soldier on the Golan Heights

group of observers keeping the situation under control, waiting for the political environment to evolve in a way that makes negotiations and a settlement possible.

The UN is now spending around $230 million a year in peace-keeping operations. The Namibia operation will carry a $600 million price-tag. A number of countries owe money. Who is going to pay for all of this?

As far as arrears are concerned, things look brighter. The Soviet Union, which owes a lot of money, announced last year and repeated recently—that it was ready to pay off its arrears. And it has begun to pay off its arrears on the peace-keeping accounts. That is a very positive development.

The United States now also owes money to these peace keeping accounts and we hope that the United States will decide to pay off its arrears.

As far as new operations are concerned, the Secretary-General is quite clear that they have to be financed by assessed contributions. If you go for voluntary contributions you will not get the money. Therefore either the operation will not take place, or will take place at the cost of those Member countries who contribute troops. This is what happened in Cyprus—it's not fair, it's not right, it's not a stable financial basis. If these new operations are going to take place they will have to be paid for by the Member States, by the international community which sets them up.

My own view is that although $600 million sounds a terribly large sum of money, it is not a very large price to pay for bringing to independence a country that has been ravaged by 22 years of war. When you compare $600 million dollars to the sums of money that are spent on armaments, on fighting wars, it is not a lot of money. And it's not $600 million a year. The Namibia operation is a one time event.

I very much hope that the Member States will see their way to paying their share of the cost of that operation. If they are not prepared to do that then the operation cannot take place. The Security Council obviously cannot set up an operation of that magnitude unless the money is made available to pay for it.

You are now doing the job that Ralph Bunche and Sir Brian Urquhart did before you. What particular vision are you bringing to it?

I do not think I have a particular vision. The vision that I have I inherited from Brian Urquhart. I regard my part as being very much to keep going what he and, before him, Ralph Bunche started. I believe as they did that peace-keeping is something which has evolved, which has tremendous potential and must evolve all the time. We must refine the technique, develop the technique of peace-keeping.

So I see my task as being to carry on and develop this peace-keeping which was so inventively developed by Ralph Bunche and then Brian Urquhart. I don't claim to bring any particular new vision to it. The vision was there. I inherited the vision from my predecessors.

Your presence here coincides with an improvement in the international climate...

That's right. It's not the first time when there has been a sudden improvement in the political climate for peace-keeping. Peace-keeping went through a gray period between 1967, when UNEF was withdrawn, and 1973, when suddenly there was a great resurgence of interest in peace-keeping and UNEF II was established. Then in 1974 you had UNDOF, the force on the Golan Heights. That was another exciting period. Then things went rather quiet again and now after 10 years—because the last peace-keeping operation was set up in 1978—we have two new operations already this year and two others are being actively discussed. It is a very exciting time.

What next, after Afghanistan, Iran Iraq, Namibia, Western Sahara...?

It is not for us to decide ... It's up to the international community, and above all the parties in conflict, to decide whether they want to avail themselves of this service of the United Nations. There is not a conflict in the world today which would not benefit from the peace-keeping treatment. But you have first to have the political will of the parties to that conflict to accept the peace-keeping treatment. If all the conflicts you have mentioned are resolved there would still be plenty of scope for peace-keeping.

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Past peace-keeping operations

First UN Emergency Force (UNEF I), 1956-1967

Mission: Secure and supervise cessation of hostilities, including withdrawal of armed forces of France, Israel and the United Kingdom from Egyptian territory. Provide buffer between Egyptian and Israeli forces.
Maximum strength: 6,000 soldiers from Brazil, Canada, Colombia, Denmark, Finland, India, Indonesia, Norway, Sweden and Yugoslavia.
Dead: 90 **Cost:** About $220 million.

UN Observation Group in Lebanon (UNOGIL), 1958

Mission: Ensure no illegal infiltration of personnel or supply of arms or other *matériel* across Lebanese border.
Maximum strength: 591 military observers from Afghanistan, Argentina, Burma, Canada, Ceylon (now Sri Lanka), Chile, Denmark, Ecuador, Finland, India, Indonesia, Ireland, Italy, Nepal, Netherlands, New Zealand, Norway, Peru, Portugal, Thailand.
Dead: none **Cost:** About $3.6 million.

United Nations Operation in the Congo (ONUC), 1960-1964

Mission: Initially to ensure withdrawal of Belgian forces, assist Government in maintaining law and order and provide technical assistance. Modified subsequently to include maintaining territorial integrity and political independency of the country, preventing occurrence of civil war, and securing removal of all foreign military, paramilitary and advisory personnel not under UN command, and all mercenaries.
Maximum strength: 19,828 from Argentina, Austria, Brazil, Burma, Canada, Ceylon (now Sri Lanka), Denmark, Ethiopia, Ghana, Guinea, India, Indonesia, Iran, Ireland, Italy, Liberia, Malaysia, Federation of Mali (now Mali and Senegal), Morocco, Netherlands, Nigeria, Norway, Pakistan, Philippines, Sierra Leone, Sudan, Sweden, Tunisia, United Arab Republic, Yugoslavia.
Dead: 234 **Cost:** About $400 million.

United Nations Security Force in West New Guinea (West Irian), 1962-1963

Mission: Maintain peace and security in the territory under the UN Temporary Executive Authority established by agreement between Indonesia and the Netherlands.
Maximum strength: 1,500 infantry personnel and 16 aircraft personnel from Canada, Pakistan and the United States.
Dead: none **Cost:** Financed, in equal amounts, by Indonesia and the Netherlands.

United Nations Yemen Observation Mission (UNYOM), 1963-1964

Mission: Observe and certify implementation of disengagement agreement between Saudi Arabia and United Arab Republic.
Maximum strength: 189 military observers and officers from Australia, Canada, Denmark, Ghana, India, Italy, Netherlands, Norway, Pakistan, Sweden and Yugoslavia.
Dead: None **Cost:** About $1.8 million.

Mission of the Representative of the Secretary-General in the Dominican Republic (DOMREP), 1965-1966

Mission: Observe situation and report on breaches of cease-fire between two *de facto* authorities.
Strength: a Military Adviser with a staff of two military observers at any one time, provided by Brazil, Canada and Ecuador.
Dead: none **Cost:** About $275,000.

United Nations India-Pakistan Observation Mission (UNIPOM), 1965-1966

Mission: Supervise cease-fire along India-Pakistan border except the State of Jammu and Kashmir where UNMOGIP operates, and withdrawal of all armed personnel.
Maximum strength: 96 military observers from Australia, Belgium, Brazil, Burma, Canada, Ceylon (now Sri Lanka), Chile, Denmark, Ethiopia, Finland, Ireland, Italy, Nepal, Netherlands, New Zealand, Nigeria, Norway, Sweden, Venezuela.
Dead: none **Cost:** About $1.7 million

Second UN Emergency Force (UNEF II), 1973-1979

Mission: Supervise cease-fire and redeployment of Egyptian and Israeli forces. Man and control buffer zones established under agreements reached in 1974 and 1975.
Maximum strength: 6,973 soldiers from Australia, Austria, Canada, Finland, Ghana, Indonesia, Ireland, Nepal, Panama, Peru, Poland, Senegal, Sweden.
Dead: 52 **Cost:** About $446 million.

Two New UN Videos

"United Nations Peacemaking" provides a behind the scenes look at the "quiet diplomacy" of the United Nations Secretary-General, and includes sequences on the signing of the Afghanistan Accords and events leading to the Iran-Iraq cease fire.

"Soldiers for Peace", made on location in Fiji, Lebanon, Syria, Iran and Iraq, shows UN peace-keepers in action and how a new force is established.

Information on obtaining these half-hour video documentaries can be obtained by writing to: UN Publications, Rm. DC2 0853, United Nations, New York, New York 10017.

No day of peace should pass without a special salute to the brave men and women of our international peace-keeping forces. For them, every day is devoted to peace. For this, they have earned the respect, the admiration and the gratitude of the international community.

—Message by Secretary-General Javier Pérez de Cuéllar on the International Day of Peace, 20 September.

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Duty in Darkness on Falcon Peak

Men and dogs on night patrol in the mountains of southern Lebanon

A shell case had been flung down the steep and muddy track that winds up the slopes to the top of Falcon Peak. The silent tail of a march column moves slowly at the head, the doghandler with UNIFIL's veteran patrol dog "Boss". The dog in question is serving his seventh UNIFIL contingent right now. He is a proud Alsatian who will celebrate his 10th birthday in September. "Boss" is the only dog in UNIFIL service with a UNIFIL medal. Even though it's a starry night, it is pitch dark around us. The patrol leader, Second Lieutenant Jim Both, advances six metres ahead, a moving shadow hardly discernable from the rocky, rugged terrain. Time: Midnight.

UN Photo 158149/ Israel

A tense and total stillness prevails. This is an area where armed elements of various categories frequently intrude. Falcon Peak, a good-sized hilltop not far from Norbatt– the Norwegian Battalion—headquarters in Ebel es Saqi, has been increasingly a focus for such activity.

In the evening, before the squad left on patrol, the air was filled with the backing of heavy machine guns and the rapid staccato sound from light machine guns. Flares had been dropped from aircraft along the hillsides which had been lit up in search of intruders. "Something" was clearly in the offing in the area.

Watching the shadowy figure in front of me adds to my vigilance. To keep in touch, not to lose visible contact even for a minute– this is the standing order. And every one of the four-man patrol is alert—with a sense of tense expectancy each time the signal is given by the patrol leader, raising his right arm while squatting. All four men instantly do the same. "Boss" and his handler both look for something up there. That's all we know. We can do nothing but wait. Lie down and wait in the roadside ditch until the move signal is given again.

After a 45-minute walk the stop order was given and the patrol reassembled. In front of us, on the brink beyond a narrow plain there is a mountain slope covered with rugged stones, a very suitable position for a dog patrol ambush. The "ambush order" is given instantly.

The regrouping is on. Nothing is said if not needed, and in that case just in the form of careful whispering. Again there is complete stillness. Nothing moves except watchful eyes —and the ears of "Boss" once in a while.

The sound of an aircraft approaches and becomes a mounting roar up in the starlit sky. The clattering propeller makes us believe that the totally darkened aircraft may be a combat helicopter, totally invisible against the night sky over us. Below our position the lights from Saqi and some other villages around Falcon Peak lie resting in the early morning hours. Peacefully sleeping, their inhabitants truly know nothing of what happens in the dark surrounding them this particular night. All they know is that the area is generally regarded unsafe, particularly at nightime. But the people of southern Lebanon are used to a battle area in their neighbourhood.

The night I went with the lads to Falcon Peak there seemed to be no threatening forces in the area. Despite initial firing and the flares dropped from a plane in the hours before, we discovered no unusual movement.

I can nevertheless guarantee that both the dogs and their young soldier companions really do a painstaking, risky and very valuable job in the mountains of southern Lebanon.

Adapted from an article by Major Einar Kr. Holtet, written for Litani, *the UNIFIL magazine.*