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UNITED STATES MISSION
TO THE UNITED NATIONS

FOR IMMEDIATE RELEASE

Press Release USUN-28(71)
March 21, 1971

Ambassador George Bush, United States Ambassador to the United Nations, was guest on "Meet the Press" on the NBC Television Network Sunday, March 21 (1 p.m. NYT; also broadcast on NBC Radio 6:30 p.m. NYT). The press panel consisted of Robert Christopher, NEWSWEEK; Michael Berlin, NEW YORK POST; William Rusher, NATIONAL REVIEW, and Pauline Frederick, NBC NEWS. Lawrence E. Spivak was moderator.

MR. SPIVAK: Our guest today on "Meet the Press" is the new United States Permanent Representative to the United Nations, George Bush. Ambassador Bush is a Republican from Texas who served in the House of Representatives for two terms. He assumed his new post on March 1st of this year. Now we will have the first questions from Pauline Frederick of NBC News.

MISS FREDERICK: Mr. Ambassador, since coming to the United Nations you have been considerably involved in the Middle East discussions through the Big Four meetings, and because of your association with the White House. Now the whole Middle East situation seems to have reached a state of crisis over the dispute about boundaries. Do you have any reason to believe that the talks between the Israelis and the Arabs with Ambassador Jarring may be on the verge of breaking down?

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AMB. BUSH: I would simply have to say we have no plans for that and I don't know, I'm kind of a free election man myself, but I don't think that's going to happen. Both Chiang and Peking both say that Taiwan is part of China and this is, as you know, a fundamental part of the problem. I just don't know how to answer the question, I'm very sorry.

MR. CHRISTOPHER: Mr. Ambassador, I'd like to turn the conversation for a moment to your own role. I think there's fairly widespread feeling that the role of the U.S. Ambassador to the United Nations has been somewhat diminished in recent years. Specifically where the Ambassador to the UN once had or appeared to have a significant voice in the formulation of U.S. foreign policy it now seems more and more that he's become a spokesman. Do you think it would be useful if the Ambassador to the United Nations had a greater role in the formulation of foreign policy?

AMB. BUSH: Yes. Yes, sir, I do. And I certainly don't think you can have two State Departments. I certainly don't think that there's any reason in the world why the President or the Secretary should look unilaterally to me to make decisions on foreign policy. But if I do my job right and if the people in our Mission do their job right, and if we get a sense of urgency and we get to know the people here involved, then they will look to us for some inputs on foreign policy. This happened under Cabot Lodge. He started off as a defeated politician -- the words ring in my ears a little bit, you know, and yet before long Eisenhower and Dulles would consult him because he became very knowledgeable, and I want to be that kind of Ambassador, and, secondly, I want to be one who is uninhibited in advocating the policies of the President of the United States; and if they get so I'm different with them all the time he should find himself a new ambassador. But we cannot sit in this important and international forum and not use it to stand up for the policy of this country.

MR. SPIVAK: Miss Frederick and Gentlemen, we have less than three minutes.

MR. BERLIN: Mr. Ambassador, you mentioned that Lodge was a defeated candidate who stood up for foreign policy. He also ran for the Presidency subsequently. I was wondering if in your --

AMB. BUSH: Vice Presidency.

MR. BERLIN: The Vice Presidency, correct -- outlook on this job you feel that it's a suitable one for national office? And would you like to run for Vice President some day?

AMB. BUSH: I know you're going to find this hard to believe. I don't want to start a credibility gap because you cover the UN. I have no such ambitions, plans; I want to be a good ambassador here. If I had political ambitions I think I would have stayed in Texas and kind of watched, you know, other wise people start parking in front of our door. I don't have any such plans at all.



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United States Department of State

Washington, D.C. 20520

456-6218

From: PA/PRS (647-2492)

To: Peggy Dooley
White House - speechwriting

Date: 9/19/89

EAGLEBURGER
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TESTIMONY
OF
LAWRENCE S. EAGLEBURGER
DEPUTY SECRETARY OF STATE
BEFORE THE
SUBCOMMITTEE ON IMMIGRATION AND REFUGEE AFFAIRS
COMMITTEE ON THE JUDICIARY
UNITED STATES SENATE
SEPTEMBER 15, 1989

CHECK AGAINST DELIVERY

EMBARGOED BEFORE DELIVERY, 11:00 A.M., SEPTEMBER 15, 1989

Thank you, Mr. Chairman.

I am pleased to be here this morning to represent Secretary Baker at the annual consultations on the refugee admissions program. I will keep my opening statement brief in order to ensure that there is ample time for questions. At the second panel, Ambassador Lafontant, the U.S. Coordinator for Refugee Affairs, and Ambassador Lyman, the new Director of the State Department's Bureau for Refugee Programs, will present testimony covering the entire program.

I plan to concentrate on two subjects of particular concern to this Administration's foreign policy -- Indochinese asylum seekers and Soviet emigration. As is apparent from the President's proposal for refugee admissions, the situations in these two regions are creating the greatest demands on our refugee policies and on our resources. Before turning to these issues, however, I would like to say a word about how our refugee programs relate to U.S. foreign policy.

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Refugees and U.S. Foreign Policy

Refugees result from government oppression. One of the fundamental goals of U.S. foreign policy is to promote democratic values, human rights, and individual freedoms throughout the world. In every country where we identify a refugee problem, our first effort is to seek political change in that country so as to guarantee the respect for and protection of universally recognized human rights.

The ideal solution for any refugee situation is that the conditions which caused the refugees to flee be brought to an end. If and when political developments make it possible, refugees who have not been permanently resettled should return -- voluntarily -- to their homelands. To reconstruct a life in one's own land, with one's own language and culture, is for the great majority a far more humane solution than to become an outsider in a foreign land, however hospitable it may be.

Our humanitarian dilemma in responding to refugee situations lies in the uncertainty of the time frame in which political change will make the voluntary repatriation solution possible. We have had great hopes for the Afghans, yet the fighting in their homeland continues and the refugees remain in Pakistan and other neighboring countries. We have hopes for the Central American peace accord, so that Nicaraguans can return

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home in peace and safety. We hope that the recent repatriation to Namibia will be part of the successful birth of a new nation founded on democratic principles. We hope that a way to a peaceful future can be found for Cambodia. And we hope that political change in Poland and Hungary will remove those nations from their long-held position on the list of refugee-producing countries.

Almost all of the world's refugees and displaced persons are thus caught in limbo until such major political change occurs. The task facing the United States Government and the American people is to respond with our advocacy, with our leadership, and with our available resources to work toward the desired political change and, in the interim, to sustain the life and welfare of the refugees.

Within this context we must acknowledge that our refugee admissions program -- which is separate from and in addition to the normal U.S. immigration program -- gives a small minority of the world's refugees the extraordinary opportunity to become Americans. Yet, here too we are presented with a dilemma. To some degree it is the very promise of America that causes people to seek to leave their countries in search of the freedom and better life which America represents. We therefore must not create false expectations that are beyond our capacity to fulfill, lest we cause people to abandon their homes only to be

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left in limbo without any place to go. Moreover, as stated in the Refugee Act of 1980, we must encourage other nations to do their share in providing assistance and resettlement opportunities.

Let me now turn to the two most prominent refugee producing countries -- Vietnam and the Soviet Union.

Vietnamese Asylum Seekers

Since 1975, over 1.5 million Vietnamese have been resettled in third countries: 900,000 of them in the United States alone. Not only has the flow of Vietnamese asylum seekers continued for 14 years, it has increased in the past two years. The enormous pressure that this has placed on the countries in the region led to their call for the International Conference on Indochinese Refugees that I attended in Geneva this past June. The principles endorsed by that conference, as set forth in the document called the Comprehensive Plan of Action (or "CPA") are of critical importance and can be summarized briefly.

First, in order for there to be a truly viable alternative to clandestine flight, Vietnam must allow the legal emigration of all persons eligible for resettlement country programs.

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Second, nations in the region must allow asylum seekers to arrive safely and must treat them humanely.

Third -- and this point is essential for our discussion today -- there must be a legitimate process, in full compliance with international standards, to determine who is a bona fide refugee. In other words, the era of automatic resettlement for anyone who leaves Vietnam is over. Persons determined not to be bona fide refugees will not be resettled. Instead, they will be offered voluntary repatriation under a program administered by the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR).

For the U.S. admissions program, there are two key elements in the CPA -- one short-term, one long-term. In the short-term, we have made a commitment to join a multilateral three-year effort to resettle all of the Vietnamese asylum seekers who had arrived in first asylum countries prior to agreed cutoff dates. The U.S. share will be some 22,000 out of a total population of approximately 55,000 -- or 40 percent. I am pleased to report that our embassies, INS offices, and voluntary agency partners in the region are already vigorously at work to achieve half of the total U.S. offtake commitment in the first year. The United States is also committed to resettle our share of the new arrivals who are determined to be bona fide refugees.

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The long-term goal is to expand and improve our Orderly Departure Program (ODP) so that Vietnamese qualified for U.S. immigration and refugee programs will have -- and will believe that they have -- full access to the avenue of legal emigration. To that end we have recently taken three initiatives. First, we have expanded the interviewing capacity of our consular and INS teams to a rate of 4,500 persons per month in Ho Chi Minh City. Second, we are pressing the Vietnamese to allow the departure of up to 20,000 immigrant beneficiaries per year -- persons who would not require refugee numbers. And third, a new, historic agreement between the United States and Vietnam came into force on August 28 which provides for the resettlement in the United States of former reeducation center detainees and their families. This population, to which we have sought access through sustained negotiations for the past seven years, represents those Vietnamese who have suffered most due to their association with the United States or the Government of South Vietnam during the war period. These are the individuals with the strongest claim to U.S. resettlement, and it is therefore an extremely important development that they, too, will now have access to the ODP system. We hope to start interviewing these individuals as soon as October, beginning at a rate of 1,000 per month.

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In sum, the Vietnamese refugee problem is longstanding and extraordinarily complex. It will not disappear simply because of the International Conference. Our response -- indeed, the response of the 56 nations that participated in the International Conference -- is an effort to gain control over the problem with a comprehensive set of policies and principles. We are trying to bring the numbers down to manageable proportions. We are trying to convey an honest and responsible message to persons still in their country of origin, so that they do not make life-changing decisions based on false expectations. And we are trying to expand the U.S. capacity to handle an orderly, legal emigration program in the country of origin.

Soviet Emigration

I would characterize our approach to the Soviet emigration problem in the same manner. We are trying to manage the surge in Soviet emigration in the most humane and orderly way possible within the limits of expanded refugee and immigration programs. We are trying to expand the U.S. capacity to deal with Soviet emigrants while still in their country of origin. And we are trying to avoid giving false expectations to potential emigrants.

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The enormous increase in Soviet emigration over the past two years should be celebrated for the benefit it offers to people long deprived of this right. The Administration, the Congress, and the American people should be proud of our sustained and forceful advocacy of human rights for Soviet citizens, and particularly our insistence on freedom of emigration for Soviet Jews. This is a great success for our American foreign policy. In addition to the evidence of numbers, we now expect that the Supreme Soviet will soon act on new emigration legislation which would bring the Soviet Union far closer to acceptable international standards.

While we applaud these developments, we must be honest in appraising our national ability to respond to unprecedented, unpredictable, and previously unmanaged flows of people.

In FY 89 we have taken a series of interim measures to respond to this situation. Through the emergency determination process, the President more than doubled the refugee admissions ceiling for the Soviet/Eastern European region from 24,500 to 50,000. Congress responded promptly to the President's request for \$85 million in supplemental funds. And Attorney General Thornburgh announced that he would exercise his parole authority to benefit all Soviet applicants who were determined not to qualify under the refugee provisions of the statute. In addition to these programs for refugee applicants, the U.S.

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Embassy in Moscow also expects to issue approximately 500 regular immigrant visas in FY 89.

For FY 90, we are proposing a further increase in the refugee ceiling to 50,000 for the Soviet Union alone, plus 6,500 for Eastern Europe. We realize that there is a funding gap to be closed, which we estimate to be \$58 million. The Administration is committed to working with the Appropriations Committees to find the necessary funds for the President's program, recognizing that we must do so without infringing upon other important foreign policy programs and priorities.

Finally, the Administration has introduced legislation which could take effect in FY 90 to provide for the admission as special interest immigrants of up to an additional 30,000 persons per year. This would replace use of parole as a vehicle for the admission of applicants from the Soviet Union and other countries who may be of special interest to the United States but who are unable to qualify as refugees. Our legislation would also adjust the status of parolees who have arrived in the United States over the past year to that of permanent resident.

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These measures, however, will not suffice for the longer-term. The problem cannot be solved as long as the primary route for Soviet nationals seeking resettlement in the United States is through Vienna and Rome. The situation in Rome is extremely costly, requiring more than \$34 million for care and maintenance in FY 89. Unfortunately, we are all familiar with the problem of Soviet emigrants in Rome who have not been found eligible for refugee admission and have not accepted the opportunity to enter the United States as parolees. We will certainly work to resolve the situation of these people -- some 5,000 as of August 31. It is important that we institute a policy which ensures that no one leaves the Soviet Union in the future with false expectations as to the U.S. immigration laws and resettlement commitments.

For these and many other reasons, the Administration has decided to put in place, effective October 1, a set of measures to ensure that new Soviet applicants for refugee admission are dealt with in Moscow rather than in Vienna and Rome. This involves expanding our processing capability at Embassy Moscow, and establishing a Washington center to assist the Embassy with processing the application paperwork, in addition to diplomatic initiatives with the Soviet Union and other visa granting countries.

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Accordingly, after October 1, Soviet emigrants seeking admission to the United States will be required to apply at the U.S. Embassy in Moscow, unless they possess an Israeli visa predating October 1. Persons departing the Soviet Union with Israeli visas dated on or after October 1 will be assumed to have left the Soviet Union with the intention of emigrating to Israel; they will not be eligible to apply in a third country for refugee admission to the United States.

Those who are already in the pipeline as of October 1 -- a number we estimate may be well over 30,000 -- will continue to be adjudicated according to current procedures.

Finally, because we anticipate that the demand for scarce refugee admissions numbers may exceed our proposed admissions ceiling of 50,000, we will have to put in place some system of priority for scheduling interviews in Moscow. In accordance with our customary practice in refugee admissions processing throughout the world, we shall give first priority to cases of family reunification. We will continue to interview and accept for U.S. admission persons without family ties in the United States. Since we can neither control nor predict demand, we can give no guarantee that everyone who wishes to apply can be processed in any given time period.

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Conclusion

In closing, I would like to return to the point -- which certainly applies both for Vietnam and for the Soviet Union -- that the United States must make every effort to match our policies to our promises, and our promises to our resources. As foreign governments reform their treatment of legal emigration, we will continue to seek to expand our capacity to manage the orderly migration of people of concern to the United States. At the same time, we will endeavor to convey an honest and responsible message to persons still in their country of origin so that they do not make life-changing decisions based on false expectations.

The United States is the acknowledged world leader in the promotion of human rights in countries around the world. The generosity of the United States toward the world's refugees is a deeply rooted, bipartisan policy, which goes far beyond Washington to the beliefs of individual Americans and the activities of a myriad of voluntary, religious and community organizations. The trend toward liberalization and democratization in the Soviet Union and Eastern Europe is an historic departure. Emigration is one manifestation -- indeed, a central symbol -- of the success of U.S. human rights

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policies. We now face the challenge of managing this success in accordance with our foreign policy interests, our humanitarian objectives, and our national priorities for utilizing scarce federal resources.

We believe the President's proposed admissions program for FY 90, combined with our new policy for Soviet emigration, will constitute the most responsible and consistent national policy for dealing with this challenge.

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18 September 1989

PRESS BRIEFING BY UNDER-SECRETARY-GENERAL RONALD SPIERS

Ronald Spiers, the new Under-Secretary-General for Political and General Assembly Affairs and Secretariat Services, addressed correspondents at today's DPI noon briefing; he was accompanied by Gilberto Schlitter, Director of General Assembly Affairs and Director of Security Council Affairs. Mr. Spiers said he had worked for the United States State Department for more than 35 years, and had been a member of the United States delegation to the United Nations more than 30 years ago. He recalled participating in negotiations for the International Atomic Energy Agency (IAEA) Statute, which he said was one of the first real engagements between the United States and the Soviet Union at that time. During his tenure with the State Department he had enjoyed a fruitful working relationship with the press, and he hoped that would continue. While most of his experience had involved bilateral, as opposed to multilateral negotiations, he welcomed the opportunity to return to the United Nations.

The United Nations was on the verge of a very interesting time, he said. The Organization had originally been a creation of the winning coalition of the Second World War, which in searching for a new system of world order had devised the Charter of the United Nations. The key underlying assumption of the Charter, however, had been that the coalition's consensus would continue to function; the members of the coalition eventually became the permanent members of the Security Council. The Organization had then "degenerated into a propaganda instrument" rather than "a serious instrument of diplomacy". He recalled a time when "it was very easy to run up mechanical majorities" that did not make any real contributions to problems confronting the world.

A very basic change in international relations was now under way, he said. Troubles within the Eastern bloc and among the Western countries had created a new situation and the possibility for an emerging consensus among the Members of the United Nations. The assumptions originally underlying the Charter were once more coming into play so that the United Nations as an institution, and in particular the General Assembly, could serve as a forum which could allow Member States to understand each others' views. The Organization served as an instrument through which the nations of the world could attempt to achieve a consensus on matters of common concern.

In the month since he had taken up his post, Mr. Spiers said he had met with the leaders of several dozen delegations and had asked them what major issues they expected to hear debated by the forty-fourth General Assembly. He expected a "calm and quiet" Assembly, as fundamental changes were happening in the world, and now was not the time to play up confrontation and national differences. New issues could well arise, but he did not expect a bitter or angry set of meetings. His impression was that people wanted to work together, and wanted to seek solutions rather than score debating points, which was what he meant by the changing role of the United Nations.

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USG Spiers Briefing

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18 September 1989

Asked about the addition of "Political Affairs" to his job title and whether he would be involved in political affairs only within the context of the General Assembly, he said he would have a role in defining the job. The General Assembly could not be separated from political affairs, as it dealt in large part with political matters.

United States President George Bush was expected to address the Assembly on the morning of 25 September and would be the second speaker, he said in reply to a correspondent, although the United States Mission had not yet officially informed the Secretariat.

Asked how the emerging consensus among the five permanent members of the Security Council would affect the developing countries, he said past confrontation between East and West had contributed to confrontation between North and South. The big problems of the future were less traditional political issues than global questions, such as the environment. The nations of the world had to deal with those common problems through a co-operative and communicative approach. Although he had not yet read the communique of the recent Belgrade summit of the Non-Aligned Nations, he understood that they were also aware of a "new atmosphere", which he hoped would be reflected during the coming Assembly session. Problems such as the environment would take precedence at the United Nations over the next decade, and could only be solved through intensive, collaborative effort.

Asked if in his new capacity as Under-Secretary-General for General Assembly Affairs he felt that Yasir Arafat should be granted a visa by the United States in order to address the Assembly on the question of Palestine, he said the position taken by the Secretary-General on that matter was the correct one. As far as he knew, however, Mr. Arafat had not requested to come nor had he made a final decision on whether he would request a visa.

In reply to a question on whether the Assembly, in light of the new spirit of co-operation, would be weakened by a tendency to sacrifice certain principles in favour of expediency, he said there was a difference between a matter of style in international affairs and the maintenance of principle. There was no inconsistency between principle and a non-confrontational style. As a professional diplomat, he felt that anger in international relations was the single biggest enemy of progress.

Given that there would be a special session of the General Assembly on international economic co-operation in 1990, a correspondent asked whether the coming Assembly would pay particular attention to economic matters and the debt question. Mr. Spiers said he expected the special session to be the main focus of debate on those issues, but he did not know if there would be much duplication by the Second Committee (Economic and Financial) or the Plenary. Mr. Schittler agreed that issues of international economic co-operation would most likely be left for the special session, and not be taken up in detail by the regular session.

Asked if any controversial resolutions from years past, such as one concerning the Falklands/Malvinas Islands, would be dropped by the Assembly, Mr. Spiers said progress had been made by Argentina and the United Kingdom on that particular issue, and he did not anticipate that there would be much

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THE WHITE HOUSE

Office of the Press Secretary

For Immediate Release

January 20, 1989

INAUGURAL ADDRESS
OF THE PRESIDENT

The Capitol

12:05 P.M. EST

THE PRESIDENT: Mr. Chief Justice, Mr. President, Vice President Quayle, Senator Mitchell, Speaker Wright, Senator Dole, Congressman Michel, and fellow citizens, neighbors and friends.

There is a man here who has earned a lasting place in our hearts, and in our history. President Reagan, on behalf of our nation I thank you for the wonderful things that you have done for America. (Applause.)

I've just repeated word-for-word the oath taken by George Washington 200 years ago; and the Bible on which I placed my hand is the Bible on which he placed his.

It is right that the memory of Washington be with us today, not only because this is our Bicentennial Inauguration, but because Washington remains the father of our country. And he would, I think, be gladdened by this day. For today is the concrete expression of a stunning fact: Our continuity these 200 years since our government began.

We meet on democracy's front porch. A good place to talk as neighbors, and as friends. For this is a day when our nation is made whole, when our differences, for a moment, are suspended.

And my first act as President is a prayer. I ask you to bow your heads.

'Heavenly Father, we bow our heads and thank you for your love. Accept our thanks for the peace that yields this day and the shared faith that makes its continuance likely. Make us strong to do your work, willing to heed and hear your will, and write on our hearts these words: "Use power to help people." For we are given power not to advance our own purposes, nor to make a great show in the world, nor a name. There is but one just use of power, and it is to serve people. Help us remember, Lord. Amen.'

I come before you and assume the presidency at a moment rich with promise. We live in a peaceful, prosperous time, but we can make it better.

For a new breeze is blowing, and a world refreshed by freedom seems reborn; for in man's heart, if not in fact, the day of the dictator is over. (Applause.) The totalitarian era is passing, its old ideas blown away like leaves from an ancient lifeless tree.

A new breeze is blowing, and a nation refreshed by freedom stands ready to push on. There is new ground to be broken, and new action to be taken.

There are times when the future seems thick as a fog; you sit and wait, hoping the mists will lift and reveal the right path.

But this is a time when the future seems a door you can walk right through -- into a room called Tomorrow.

MORE

Great nations of the world are moving toward democracy -- through the door to freedom.

Men and women of the world move toward free markets -- through the door to prosperity.

The people of the world agitate for free expression and free thought -- through the door to the moral and intellectual satisfactions that only liberty allows.

We know what works: Freedom works. We know what's right: Freedom is right. We know how to secure a more just and prosperous life for man on Earth: through free markets, free speech, free elections, and the exercise of free will unhampered by the state. (Applause.)

For the first time in this century -- for the first time in perhaps all history -- man does not have to invent a system by which to live. We don't have to talk late into the night about which form of government is better. We don't have to wrest justice from the kings. We only have to summon it from within ourselves.

We must act on what we know. I take as my guide the hope of a saint: In crucial things, unity -- in important things, diversity -- in all things, generosity.

America today is a proud, free nation, decent and civil -- a place we cannot help but love. We know in our hearts, not loudly and proudly, but as a simple fact, that this country has meaning beyond what we see, and that our strength is a force for good.

But have we changed as a nation even in our time? Are we enthralled with material things, less appreciative of the nobility of work and sacrifice?

My friends, we are not the sum of our possessions. They are not the measure of our lives. In our hearts we know what matters. We cannot hope only to leave our children a bigger car, a bigger bank account. We must hope to give them a sense of what it means to be a loyal friend, a loving parent, a citizen who leaves his home, his neighborhood and town better than he found it.

And what do we want the men and women who work with us to say when we are no longer there? That we were more driven to succeed than anyone around us? Or that we stopped to ask if a sick child had gotten better, and stayed a moment there to trade a word of friendship?

No president, no government, can teach us to remember what is best in what we are. But if the man you have chosen to lead this government can help make a difference; if he can celebrate the quieter, deeper successes that are made not of gold and silk, but of better hearts and finer souls; if he can do these things, then he must.

America is never wholly herself unless she is engaged in high moral principle. We as a people have such a purpose today. It is to make kinder the face of the nation and gentler the face of the world.

My friends, we have work to do. (Applause.) There are the homeless, lost and roaming, there are the children who have nothing -- no love and no normalcy -- there are those who cannot free themselves of enslavement to whatever addiction -- drugs, welfare, the demoralization that rules the slums. There is crime to be conquered, the rough crime of the streets. There are young women to be helped who are about to become mothers of children they can't care for and might not love. They need our care, our guidance, and our education, though we bless them for choosing life.

The old solution, the old way, was to think that public money alone could end these problems. But we have learned that that is not so. And in any case, our funds are low. We have a deficit to bring down. We have more will than wallet, but will is what we need.

We will make the hard choices, looking at what we have and perhaps allocating it differently, making our decisions based on honest need and prudent safety.

And then we will do the wisest thing of all -- we will turn to the only resource we have that in times of need always grows: the goodness and the courage of the American people. (Applause.)

And I am speaking of a new engagement in the lives of others -- a new activism, hands-on and involved, that gets the job done. We must bring in the generations, harnessing the unused talent of the elderly and the unfocused energy of the young. For not only leadership is passed from generation to generation, but so is stewardship. And the generation born after the Second World War has come of age.

I have spoken of a thousand points of light -- of all the community organizations that are spread like stars throughout the nation, doing good.

We will work hand in hand, encouraging, sometimes leading, sometimes being led, rewarding. We will work on this in the White House, in the Cabinet agencies. I will go to the people and the programs that are the brighter points of light, and I'll ask every member of my government to become involved.

The old ideas are new again because they are not old, they are timeless: duty, sacrifice, commitment, and a patriotism that finds its expression in taking part and pitching in. (Applause.)

We need a new engagement, too, between the Executive and the Congress. The challenges before us will be thrashed out with the House and the Senate. And we must bring the federal budget into balance, and we must ensure that America stands before the world united -- strong, at peace and fiscally sound. But of course things may be difficult.

We need compromise; we've had dissension. We need harmony; we've had a chorus of discordant voices.

For Congress, too, has changed in our time. There has grown a certain divisiveness. We have seen the hard looks and heard the statements in which not each other's ideas are challenged, but each other's motives. And our great parties have too often been far apart and untrusting of each other.

It's been this way since Vietnam. That war cleaves us still. But, friends, that war began in earnest a quarter of a century ago, and surely the statute of limitations has been reached. This is a fact: The final lesson of Vietnam is that no great nation can long afford to be sundered by a memory.

A new breeze is blowing -- and the old bipartisanship must be made new again. (Applause.)

To my friends -- and, yes, I do mean friends -- in the loyal opposition -- and, yes, I mean loyal, I put out my hand.

I am putting out my hand to you, Mr. Speaker.

I am putting out my hand to you, Mr. Majority Leader.

For this is the thing: This is the age of the offered

MORE

hand.

And we can't turn back clocks and I don't want to. But when our fathers were young, Mr. Speaker, our differences ended at the water's edge. And we don't wish to turn back time, but when our mothers were young, Mr. Majority Leader, the Congress and the Executive were capable of working together to produce a budget on which this nation could live. Let us negotiate soon, and hard. But in the end, let us produce.

The American people await action. They didn't send us here to bicker. They ask us to rise above the merely partisan. (Applause.) "In crucial things, unity" -- and this, my friends, is crucial.

To the world, too, we offer new engagement and a renewed vow; we will stay strong to protect the peace. The "offered hand" is a reluctant fist; once made, strong and can be used with great effect.

There are today Americans who are held against their will in foreign lands and Americans who are unaccounted for. Assistance can be shown here and will be long remembered. Goodwill begets goodwill. Good faith can be a spiral that endlessly moves on.

"Great nations like great men must keep their word." When America says something, America means it, whether a treaty, or an agreement, or a vow made on marble steps. (Applause.) We will always try to speak clearly, for candor is a compliment. But subtlety, too, is good and has its place.

While keeping our alliances and friendships around the world strong, ever strong, we will continue the new closeness with the Soviet Union, consistent both with our security and with progress. One might say that our new relationship in part reflects the triumph of hope and strength over experience. But hope is good. And so is strength. And vigilance.

Here today are tens of thousands of our citizens who feel the understandable satisfaction of those who have taken part in democracy and seen their hopes fulfilled.

But my thoughts have been turning the past few days to those who would be watching at home.

To an older fellow who will throw a salute by himself when the flag goes by, and the woman who will tell her sons the words of the battle hymns. I don't mean this to be sentimental. I mean that on days like this, we remember that we are all part of a continuum, inescapably connected by the ties that bind.

Our children are watching in schools throughout our great land. And to them I say, thank you for watching democracy's big day. For democracy belongs to us all, and freedom is like a beautiful kite that can go higher and higher with the breeze.

And to all I say, no matter what your circumstances or where you are, you are part of this day; you are part of the life of our great nation. (Applause.)

A president is neither prince nor pope, and I don't seek "a window on men's souls." In fact, I yearn for a greater tolerance, an easy-goingness about each other's attitudes and way of life.

There are few clear areas in which we as a society must rise up united and express our intolerance. The most obvious now is drugs. And when that first cocaine was smuggled in on a ship, it may as well have been a deadly bacteria, so much has it hurt the body, the soul of our country. And there is much to be done and to be said, but take my word for it -- this scourge will stop. (Applause.)

MORE

And so there is much to do; and tomorrow the work begins.

And I do not mistrust the future; I do not fear what is ahead. For our problems are large, but our heart is larger. Our challenges are great, but our will is greater. And if our flaws are endless, God's love is truly boundless.

Some see leadership as high drama and the sound of trumpets calling. And sometimes it is that. But I see history as a book with many pages -- and each day we fill a page with acts of hopefulness and meaning.

The new breeze blows, a page turns, the story unfolds -- and so today a chapter begins -- a small and stately story of unity, diversity, and generosity -- shared, and written, together.

Thank you. God bless you. And God bless the United States of America. (Applause.)

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Week Ending Friday, May 19, 1989

Statement on International Discussions on Global Climate Change May 12, 1989

The United States delegation to the steering group of the Response Strategies Working Group on Climate Change carried instructions to move the international community forward in establishing a process for considering how to respond to climate change. I am pleased to note that the nations meeting in Geneva have agreed to a workshop this fall, looking at the range of financial, economic, technical, and legal issues for responding to climate change. The United States looks forward to playing a significant role in efforts to assess and respond to global climate change.

I expect that these efforts will lead to formal negotiations on the establishment of a framework convention on global climate. It is important that this process lead to international scientific consensus on the seriousness of the issue for the environment and for the world economy. At the same time, we should ensure that the interests of developing countries are taken into account in this process.

The United States will host a meeting under the auspices of the Response Strategies Working Group this fall that is intended to advance our understanding and promote consensus. I look forward, personally, to reviewing its results.

Note: This statement was not received in time for inclusion in last week's issue.

Remarks at the Texas A&M University Commencement Ceremony in College Station, Texas May 12, 1989

Thank you, Governor. Thank you all very much for that welcome. Good luck. Good luck to you. Thank you, ladies and gentle-

men. Thank you all. Chairman McKenzie and Dr. Adkisson and Dr. Mobley, thank you for having me here. And to the Singing Cadets, thank you for that very special treat. And to my Secretary of Commerce, Bob Mosbacher, I'm delighted that he's with me today.

I want to pay my special respects to our Governor, Bill Clements; to your Congressman from this district, Joe Barton; and then, of course, to Senator Phil Gramm. He said he taught economics here and in Congress. It's hard to be humble. But nevertheless—[laughter]—the point is the guy's telling the truth, and we are grateful to him every day for his leadership up there in Washington, as we are for Joe Barton as well. So, we've got a good combination—Phil Gramm in the Senate and today Joe Barton in the United States Congress—a wonderful combination, with these Aggie values in the forefront.

I was brought here today by an Aggie, and I brought him here to this marvelous ceremony with me. He was mentioned by Congressman Barton, but I would like to ask the pilot of Air Force One, Lt. Col. Dan Barr, to stand up so you can see another Aggie all suited up, up there. And you met my day-to-day inside Aggie, Fred McClure. We work every minute of the day on matters affecting the legislative interests of this country. But I won't reintroduce Fred.

But I am delighted to be back among my fellow Texans and friends. And for those of you who are Democrats, there is no truth to the rumor that Phil Gramm and I are ready to take our elephant walk. [Applause]

My sincerest congratulations go to every graduate and to your parents. In this ceremony, we celebrate nothing less than the commencement of the rest, and the best, of your life. And when you look back at your days at Texas A&M, you will have a lot to be proud of: a university that is first in baseball and first in service to our nation. Many are the heroes whose names are called at

muster. Many are those you remember in Silver Taps.

We are reminded that no generation can escape history. Parents, we share a fervent desire for our children and their children to know a better world, a safer world. And students, your parents and grandparents have lived through a world war and helped America to rebuild the world. They witnessed the drama of postwar nations divided by Soviet subversion and force, but sustained by an Allied response most vividly seen in the Berlin Airlift.

And today I would like to use this joyous and solemn occasion to speak to you and to the rest of the country about our relations with the Soviet Union. It is fitting that these remarks be made here at Texas A&M University.

Wise men—Truman and Eisenhower; Vandenberg and Rayburn; Marshall, Acheson, and Kennan—crafted the strategy of containment. They believed that the Soviet Union, denied the easy course of expansion, would turn inward and address the contradictions of its inefficient, repressive, and inhumane system. And they were right. The Soviet Union is now publicly facing this hard reality. Containment worked. Containment worked because our democratic principles and institutions and values are sound and always have been. It worked because our alliances were, and are, strong and because the superiority of free societies and free markets over stagnant socialism is undeniable.

We are approaching the conclusion of an historic postwar struggle between two visions: one of tyranny and conflict, and one of democracy and freedom. The review of U.S.-Soviet relations that my administration has just completed outlines a new path toward resolving this struggle. Our goal is bold, more ambitious than any of my predecessors could have thought possible. Our review indicates that 40 years of perseverance have brought us a precious opportunity, and now it is time to move beyond containment to a new policy for the 1990's, one that recognizes the full scope of change taking place around the world and in the Soviet Union itself. In sum, the United States now has as its goal much more than simply containing Soviet expansionism. We seek the integration of the Soviet Union

into the community of nations. And as the Soviet Union itself moves toward greater openness and democratization, as they meet the challenge of responsible international behavior, we will match their steps with steps of our own. Ultimately, our objective is to welcome the Soviet Union back into the world order.

The Soviet Union says that it seeks to make peace with the world and criticizes its own postwar policies. These are words that we can only applaud. But a new relationship cannot simply be declared by Moscow or bestowed by others; it must be earned. It must be earned because promises are never enough. The Soviet Union has promised a more cooperative relationship before, only to reverse course and return to militarism. Soviet foreign policy has been almost seasonal: warmth before cold, thaw before freeze. We seek a friendship that knows no season of suspicion, no chill of distrust.

We hope *perestroika* is pointing the Soviet Union to a break with the cycles of the past—a definitive break. Who would have thought that we would see the deliberations of the Central Committee on the front page of Pravda or dissident Andrei Sakharov seated near the councils of power? Who would have imagined a Soviet leader who canvasses the sidewalks of Moscow and also Washington, DC? These are hopeful, indeed, remarkable signs. And let no one doubt our sincere desire to see *perestroika*, this reform, continue and succeed. But the national security of America and our allies is not predicated on hope. It must be based on deeds. And we look for enduring, ingrained economic and political change.

While we hope to move beyond containment, we are only at the beginning of our new path. Many dangers and uncertainties are ahead. We must not forget that the Soviet Union has acquired awesome military capabilities. That was a fact of life for my predecessors, and that's always been a fact of life for our allies. And that is a fact of life for me today as President of the United States.

As we seek peace, we must also remain strong. The purpose of our military might is not to pressure a weak Soviet economy or to seek military superiority. It is to deter

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war. It is to defend ourselves and our allies and to do something more: to convince the Soviet Union that there can be no reward in pursuing expansionism, to convince the Soviet Union that reward lies in the pursuit of peace.

Western policies must encourage the evolution of the Soviet Union toward an open society. This task will test our strength. It will tax our patience. And it will require a sweeping vision. Let me share with you my vision. I see a Western Hemisphere of democratic, prosperous nations, no longer threatened by a Cuba or a Nicaragua armed by Moscow. I see a Soviet Union as it pulls away from ties to terrorist nations like Libya that threaten the legitimate security of their neighbors. I see a Soviet Union which respects China's integrity and returns the northern territories to Japan, a prelude to the day when all the great nations of Asia will live in harmony.

But the fulfillment of this vision requires the Soviet Union to take positive steps, including: First, reduce Soviet forces. Although some small steps have already been taken, the Warsaw Pact still possesses more than 30,000 tanks, more than twice as much artillery, and hundreds of thousands more troops in Europe than NATO [North Atlantic Treaty Organization]. They should cut their forces to less threatening levels, in proportion to their legitimate security needs. Second, adhere to the Soviet obligation, promised in the final days of World War II, to support self-determination for all the nations of eastern Europe and central Europe. And this requires specific abandonment of the Brezhnev doctrine. One day it should be possible to drive from Moscow to Munich without seeing a single guard tower or a strand of barbed wire. In short, tear down the Iron Curtain. And third, work with the West in positive, practical—not merely rhetorical—steps toward diplomatic solution to these regional disputes around the world. I welcome the Soviet withdrawal from Afghanistan, and the Angola agreement. But there is much more to be done around the world. We're ready. Let's roll up our sleeves and get to work. And fourth, achieve a lasting political pluralism and respect for human rights. Dramatic events have already occurred in Moscow. We are impressed by limited, but freely contested

elections. We are impressed by a greater toleration of dissent. We are impressed by a new frankness about the Stalin era. Mr. Gorbachev, don't stop now. And fifth, join with us in addressing pressing global problems, including the international drug menace and dangers to the environment. We can build a better world for our children.

As the Soviet Union moves toward arms reduction and reform, it will find willing partners in the West. We seek verifiable, stabilizing arms control and arms reduction agreements with the Soviet Union and its allies. However, arms control is not an end in itself but a means of contributing to the security of America and the peace of the world. I directed Secretary [of State] Baker to propose to the Soviets that we resume negotiations on strategic forces in June and, as you know, the Soviet Union has agreed.

Our basic approach is clear. In the strategic arms reductions talks, we wish to reduce the risk of nuclear war. And in the companion defense and space talks, our objective will be to preserve our options to deploy advanced defenses when they're ready. In nuclear testing, we will continue to seek the necessary verification improvements in existing treaties to permit them to be brought into force. And we're going to continue to seek a verifiable global ban on chemical weapons. We support NATO efforts to reduce the Soviet offensive threat in the negotiations on conventional forces in Europe. And as I've said, fundamental to all of these objectives is simple openness.

Make no mistake, a new breeze is blowing across the steppes and the cities of the Soviet Union. Why not, then, let this spirit of openness grow, let more barriers come down. Open emigration, open debate, open airwaves—let openness come to mean the publication and sale of banned books and newspapers in the Soviet Union. Let the 19,000 Soviet Jews who emigrated last year be followed by any number who wish to emigrate this year. And when people apply for exit visas, let there be no harassment against them. Let openness come to mean nothing less than the free exchange of people and books and ideas between East and West.

And let it come to mean one thing more. Thirty-four years ago, President Eisenhower met in Geneva with Soviet leaders who, after the death of Stalin, promised a new approach toward the West. He proposed a plan called Open Skies, which would allow unarmed aircraft from the United States and the Soviet Union to fly over the territory of the other country. This would open up military activities to regular scrutiny and, as President Eisenhower put it, "convince the world that we are lessening danger and relaxing tension." President Eisenhower's suggestion tested the Soviet readiness to open their society. And the Kremlin failed that test. Now, let us again explore that proposal, but on a broader, more intrusive and radical basis, one which I hope would include allies on both sides. We suggest that those countries that wish to examine this proposal meet soon to work out the necessary operational details, separately from other arms control negotiations. Such surveillance flights, complementing satellites, would provide regular scrutiny for both sides. Such unprecedented territorial access would show the world the true meaning of the concept of openness. The very Soviet willingness to embrace such a concept would reveal their commitment to change.

Where there is cooperation, there can be a broader economic relationship. But economic relations have been stifled by Soviet internal policies. They've been injured by Moscow's practice of using the cloak of commerce to steal technology from the West. Ending discriminatory treatment of U.S. firms would be a helpful step. Trade and financial transactions should take place on a normal commercial basis.

And should the Soviet Union codify its emigration laws in accord with international standards and implement its new laws faithfully, I am prepared to work with Congress for a temporary waiver of the Jackson-Vanik amendment, opening the way to extending Most Favored Nation trade status to the Soviet Union. After that last weighty point, I can just imagine what you were thinking: It had to happen. Your last day in college had to end with yet another political science lecture. [Laughter]

In all seriousness, the policy I have just described has everything to do with you.

Today you graduate. You're going to start careers and families. And you will become the leaders of America in the next century. And what kind of world will you know? Perhaps the world order of the future will truly be a family of nations.

It's a sad truth that nothing forces us to recognize our common humanity more swiftly than a natural disaster. I'm thinking, of course, of Soviet Armenia just a few months ago, a tragedy without blame, war-like devastation without war. Our son took our 12-year-old grandson to Yerevan. At the end of the day of comforting the injured and consoling the bereaved, the father and son went to church, sat down together in the midst of the ruins, and wept. How can our two countries magnify this simple expression of caring? How can we convey the good will of our people?

Forty-three years ago, a young lieutenant by the name of Albert Kotzebue, the class of 1945 at Texas A&M, was the first American soldier to shake hands with the Soviets at the bank of the Elbe River. Once again, we are ready to extend our hand. Once again, we are ready for a hand in return. And once again, it is a time for peace.

Thank you for inviting me to Texas A&M. I wish you the very best in years to come. God bless you all. Thank you very much.

Note: The President spoke at 3:05 p.m. in G. Rollie White Coliseum. In his opening remarks, he referred to William McKenzie, Perry Adkisson, and William H. Mobley, chairman of the board of regents, chancellor, and president of the university, respectively. The President also referred to Frederick D. McClure, Assistant to the President for Legislative Affairs. These remarks were not received in time for inclusion in last week's issue.

Nomination of Jerry M. Hunter To Be General Counsel of the National Labor Relations Board

May 12, 1989

The President today nominated Jerry M. Hunter to be General Counsel of the Na-

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USIA WORLDNET "DIALOGUE"

GUESTS: MS. ALISON ROSENBERG,
DEPUTY ASSISTANT SECRETARY FOR AFRICAN AFFAIRS, STATE DEPARTMENT
MR. LARRY SAIERS, DEPUTY ASSISTANT ADMINISTRATOR FOR AFRICA,
US AGENCY FOR INTERNATIONAL DEVELOPMENT

MODERATED BY: MR. TIM WHITE

RE: AFRICAN DEBT RELIEF

KEYWORD: USIA WORLDNET-08/23/89 ROSENBERG AND SAIERS

BODY:

MR. WHITE: Good afternoon and welcome to Worldnet's "Dialogue." Today for our international audience and participants in Monrovia and Lusaka, we present a special program on African debt relief.

Recently, President Bush announced the US government's intention to forgive some \$1 billion in foreign assistance loans for some sub-Saharan African nations. The plan is part of a coordinated effort that emerged out of the economic summit held in Toronto in 1988. Now, at that time, seven major industrialized nations reached a broad agreement for debt relief for the poorest countries of Africa.

So far, several Western nations including Britain, France, West Germany, Canada and the Netherlands have announced debt relief measures for sub-Saharan Africa. By offering this debt relief, the US is supporting and encouraging the economic reform efforts of African countries. To qualify for debt relief, a country must be undertaking market-oriented economic reforms supported by either the World Bank or the International Monetary Fund.

Administration officials expect 16 countries to qualify for cancellation of debt. The nations are Benin, Cameroon, Ghana, Guinea, Ivory Coast, Kenya, Madagascar, Malawi, Mali, Niger, Senegal, Somalia, Tanzania, Uganda and Zaire. Seven other countries may still qualify at some later time based on the number of countries expected to have in effect a World Bank or IMF agreement.

Administration officials estimate that total debt relief, principle and lack of loan interest, will be approximately \$810 million. This figure could increase by as much as \$500 million if other sub-Saharan African countries reach reform agreements.

Today, we'll discuss the new plan, and we'll find out about other specifics called for in the initiative. We're pleased to have joining us two distinguished guests to discuss this very important topic.

First, Ms. Alison Rosenberg. Ms. Rosenberg is Deputy Assistant Secretary for African Affairs at the US State Department. She is a former member of the National Security Council staff under both Frank Carlucci and Colin Powell. She has also served as the director of the Office of Policy Development at the Agency for International Development.

Our second guest today is Larry Saiers. Mr. Saiers is deputy assistant administrator for Africa at the US Agency for International Development here

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in Washington. Dr. Saiers is former chief economist for Africa and deputy director of the Office of Development planning for the African Bureau at AID. Welcome to both of you. Thanks for taking part in this very special hour. We're going to go now to our international audiences for the questions and comments. Please, we would like to remind all of our participants to identify yourselves and your organization before commenting or questioning. For our first question, we're going to go to Monrovia. Go ahead, please, Monrovia.

Q I'm Gwendolyn Adiggidee (ph), senior economist at the Ministry of Foreign Affairs in Monrovia. Some debt-distressed African countries, due to their inability to meet their debt obligations, have stopped payment. How does the US see debt forgiveness in this situation having a significant impact in these countries?

MR. WHITE: Allison Rosenberg, why don't you take that one first?

MS. ROSENBERG: I'd be glad to begin that answer. I'm sure my colleague will have some additional information as well. We understand the difficulties faced by African governments who have a debt burden that they are trying to deal with. The object of this plan that we have announced is to assist governments in trying to put the burden of debt on old loans to the United States government behind them within the context of an overall economic reform program. We believe that a reform program creates the appropriate environment in a given country to allow growth to be stimulated and a better quality of life to be possible for a country's citizens. And when a reform program is in place -- an overhanging debt is a kind of a constraint on the growth that these countries should be realizing otherwise -- our plan is to come in with debt relief at that point to assist them in getting that problem behind them. So we think it has a very significant role in the encouraging trend in many African countries of moving in the direction of making fundamental economic changes which will bring about a new era in their economies.

MR. WHITE: Larry, would you like to take that a little bit further?

MR. SAIERS: Well, we've worked very diligently with several of these African countries to work out a plan that provides the funding necessary to have the incentives and the encouragement to be able to carry-on with these reform programs and to actually begin to stimulate some economic growth after, in many cases, a decade of very stagnant economic activity. Clearly, the debt problems in several of these countries is a major overhang that begins to put a damper on the growth prospects and, being able to provide this relief at a crucial time in this reform process that African countries are going through, we see as a major step to help these programs move much further and much faster.

MR. WHITE: Thank you, Monrovia. Let's switch now to our audience in Lusaka. Go ahead, please, Lusaka.

Q Good morning. I'm Kalib Fundaga (ph), Permanent Secretary for Economic and Finance, at cabinet office. Now, my question will be on the issue of debt forgiveness. Under the plan which the US government has announced, and which you -- was announced at the beginning of the program, \$1 billion has been set aside to forgive the debt of sub-Saharan countries; and that 16 names were mentioned, which Zambia is not one of them.

The problem I often have with debt forgiveness is that, for most of sub-Saharan countries, the bulk of their debt is always multilateral institutions, such as the World Bank and the IMF, and other institutions such as the European Investment Bank. Now, this forgiveness you are talking about does not include the cancellation of -- (inaudible) -- and yet it is such debt which has to be -- (inaudible) -- if the country's program has to be acceptable. So that if a -- (inaudible) -- country does have a minimum (?) macroeconomic framework, without settling the debt of the IMF and the World Bank --

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(inaudible). How do you resolve this problem?

MR. WHITE: Larry, why don't you take that?

MR. SAIERS: Well, there is clearly a problem with multilateral debt in African countries, it has grown over time. And, in some countries, Zambia being one of the preeminent examples, the levels of debt that are owed back to the multilateral institutions is really quite large. The mechanisms that the World Bank and the IMF use, and the decisions made as to how debt should be handled in those multilateral institutions is, of course, a decision that's made by all of the members of the International Monetary Fund, including all of the African countries themselves.

What the World Bank and the IMF have done over the last few years in recognition of that problem is, on the Fund side, to move to a structural adjustment facility, and now an enhanced structural adjustment facility, which provides substantial sums of money to African countries and to other less-developed countries, in support of reform programs, at terms and conditions that are much more flexible and much lower interest rates than the traditional IMF funds that have been available; and that's been one answer or one response to this mounting debt problem on the African countries' side.

Similarly, the World Bank, through its special program of action for debt-distressed countries, has mobilized the donor community, as well as world bank resources, to provide additional funds to those countries that are laboring under very heavy debt burdens. It doesn't solve the problem directly of past debts that were incurred by African countries, but it is a source of funding that helps to alleviate that debt problem for those countries that qualify for those particular loans.

Q Presently, Liberia has over 53 major creditors. We're talking about bilateral, multilateral and national institutions and short-term creditors. Last year, 1988, Liberia paid something over \$21 million to service her debt. Now of that \$21 million, \$15 million was paid to the USA, \$2.4 million to IMF, and \$4 million to other creditors -- (inaudible) -- 51 creditors. In 1989, already we have paid over \$12 million, \$9 million of that going out to the USA, \$1.5 [million] to IMF, and \$1.5 [million] to others. We're talking about 1988, we paid 71 percent to USA, and in 1989 we have already paid over 75 percent of that to the USA.

This shows how much we are concerned about our debt to the USA but, unfortunately for us, with the forgiveness program, Liberia has been left out of it completely, even though we know that you have your preconditions set. But don't you think that this is a slap in Liberia's face, as much as she is really trying to prioritize paying her debt?

MR. WHITE: Ms. Rosenberg.

MS. ROSENBERG: It is true, as we have both pointed out before, that our debt forgiveness plan is linked to an economic reform program, which regrettably is not in place at the current time in Liberia.

However, I would point out that we do view the relationship with Liberia as an important one, as a special one, one that has historic ties that are important to both of our countries. A number of other donors, a number of other international institutions, because of the economic difficulties at the present time, have chosen to curtail their own involvement in Liberia. And I would point out that the United States has not done so. We continue to provide a substantial amount of bilateral assistance to Liberia.

We would hope that, in a future time, conditions would be such that we could also include Liberia under this debt relief plan that we are now offering. But I think we do have reasons for linking it to an overall economic reform program. So I wouldn't view the current situation of ineligibility as a slap in the face. Quite the contrary, we would like to continue to work with our Liberian

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friends to bring about a situation which would enable us to do even more than we are currently doing.

Q I'm Joseph Signio (ph), editor-in-chief of the Liberian News Agency. My country, Liberia, in spite of its traditional ties with the US, is not on the list to be benefitted from the (first?) waiver of the debt of the sub-Saharan countries, because in the view of the United States, the country does not have a World Bank/IMF structural adjustment program in force at the moment. Now, my questions are, one: Is the United States convinced that only the World Bank/IMF structural agreement programs -- or adjustment programs -- are the best prescription for -- (inaudible) -- economic recovery in Third World countries, regardless of that country's geopolitical, social and cultural dynamics?

MS. ROSENBERG: We can both do this one, I think.

MR. WHITE: Well, why don't you both comment on this? This is a very important question, obviously.

MS. ROSENBERG: I'd be very happy to begin. I think that the view of the United States is shared, in fact, by the international donor community at large. All other Western donors and the international financial institutions as a whole look to a reform program under the auspices of the World Bank or the IMF as a signal that a country has taken its situation in hand, has a plan in place, knows where its going, and therefore deserves all the support -- additional support that it can get from the international donor community. So, I think the United States' position is one that's certainly shared, generally speaking, with Western Friends of Africa. As I say, we continue to provide a substantial amount of lateral help to Liberia because the United States continues to value its relationship with that country. But it's not an unusual thing, it's quite a common view and a more and more commonly accepted view to associate extraordinary assistance in the area of debt relief in the context of economic reform programs under the IMF or the World Bank.

When you have a program like that in place, you're eligible for assistance from those institutions and there are much greater resources than any one individual Western donor can provide in addition to what Western Friends can provide. So, it really is in the given country's interest itself to look to the Bank or the Fund to establish a program.

MR. WHITE: Larry?

MR. SAIERS: Well, I would only add the point that I think it's -- one always has to be careful about how you couch a Bank or a Fund program. They are not Bank and Fund programs, they are programs of the country in which the action is to be taken. I think it's pretty clear over the last several years that those country programs that have been the most successful are the ones which have had the strongest hand of the host country, of the African country involved in the putting together of such a program that generates the approval and the acceptance by the Bank and the Fund as opposed to having a World Bank or IMF mission coming out and putting a program together and then trying to sell it to the African country. So that I think the questioner's comment about -- that only Bank and Fund programs are any good and that any other programs are not so good, I think, is in a sense misplaced, that what we're all looking for are programs that are put together by the host country that win international acceptance as a sound way in which to proceed.

MR. WHITE: We're going to return to Lusaka for another question now. The audio link between Washington and Lusaka is not absolutely clear, so bear with us if we ask you to restate your question, please. Go ahead Lusaka.

Q (Name inaudible) -- I would like to know -- (inaudible) -- the long-term, that is, looking beyond the repayment of existing debt areas and into the future for most of these countries that are heavily indebted now. Now, it is quite clear that if these countries are really going to play a useful role in the

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world economy, it is important that there are programs of enhancing the production capacities of these countries. Now, this would seem to suggest that assistance should be provided for them in areas where they hold comparative advantage, so that they can be able to increase their exports, be able to therefore repay their loans and also develop.

However, some people have expressed reservations about what is happening so far in the world. For instance, it has been pointed out that some of these countries may hold a comparative advantage in lines such as textiles and leather. And this has been the case also for a number of Asian countries. But precisely in this line that the developed countries are very restrictive, and it sometimes is not possible to even get funding for projects in these lines because these products are likely to provide competition in those countries which have provided the funding.

Now, is this really not a restriction on the efficient allocation of worldwide resources? Now, similar to this, of course, are the other barriers that have already been talked about, and one would therefore be interested in hearing what the US government is doing in terms of improving the market accessibility of Third World products as part of the project to hopefully (?) achieve development.

MR. WHITE: Ms. Rosenberg, why don't you begin on this one as well?

MS. ROSENBERG: I think the questioner has raised an important issue. It's a very valid one. On the issue of trade, this administration, speaking for the US administration, for the Executive Branch, favors freer trade, favors the lowering of barriers to trade in both directions. Unfortunately, it is true, quite often as a result of the action of the US Congress representing their particular constituents, who may be experiencing difficult times, that we are faced with a number of imposed restrictions in various areas. And we try to do all that we can to reverse that trend for the very good reasons that the speaker laid out. I think we still have some room for improvement on that score. We should practice what we preach, and I hope we have made some progress in various areas.

MR. SAIERS: If I might just add?

MR. WHITE: Fine. Go ahead, Larry.

MR. SAIERS: I might just add to that that on this whole question of comparative advantage and where countries sort of find their niche in the global world market, that is clearly an important aspect of this whole structural adjustment process. It is to put into place signals that allow the correct investments to be made. And while there are times when the US as an official donor to a country would not be in a position to make investments directly into some particular commodity line, that doesn't exclude the broader-based assistance under which some of these products would find their ways into the international market in terms of helping get particular policies in place, in terms of helping with infrastructure or other kinds of accoutrements that will make these products more commercially competitive in the world market.

Q (Name, inaudible.) Further on the issue of enhancing the productive capacities of sub-Saharan countries, I would like to discuss the issue of the Overseas Private Investment Corporation. Now, this corporation was established by Congress in order to encourage joint ventures between the Third World private sector as well as the US. Now, when you look at the statistics, you find that the sub-Saharan Africa has so far been receiving less than 10 percent of the resources devoted to -- I mean available in this organization.

Now, quite clearly, this is not satisfactory, especially when one is given the fact that sub-Saharan Africa is one of those areas in the world that urgently requires an inflow of resources, as opposed to an area where there is the urgent need to develop the private sector. Now, what has been the problem with OPIC,

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and what is the US government doing in order to reverse this trend?

MR. WHITE: Larry, the question of OPIC and US private sector investment, why don't you develop that a little bit?

MR. SAIERS: Well, I think, first and foremost, one has to understand that OPIC's programs basically, by and large, are responsive to US private sector interests in programs. And there is

a clear difficulty with US businesses' knowledge base about Africa. They are clearly much more linked into Latin America, and increasingly have ties into East Asia. Africa is a relatively unknown continent for much of American business, and one of the foremost tasks in front of the US administration in terms of linking private US businesses with African businesses is this improvement of the knowledge base. It is also an issue that African countries need to pursue more aggressively to bring the story of African countries into the US marketplace. OPIC has in the recent past, and particularly in Southern Africa, has mounted investment missions that have brought fairly substantial numbers of potential American investors into Southern Africa to look at the investment opportunities in Botswana, in Lesotho, in Swaziland, at least -- and in Mozambique -- those four countries I'm aware of that have occurred in the recent past as part of an opportunity for American businesses to get to know the African scene better.

I think the second major issue for American investors has been the policy environment that they see when they look at Africa. It is only in the relatively recent past that I think most of them have seen large parts of the continent as potentially good ground for investment. An investor, first and foremost, is going to look at whether or not he's going to be able to repatriate profits at the time when a company becomes profitable. And under these structural adjustment programs that have been going on, that's increasingly a viable possibility for these businesses.

So, I think we're quite interested in -- quite excited about the prospects for American business expanding their investments in sub-Saharan Africa, and I think OPIC is doing a good job of setting the stage for those expanded investments to take place.

MR. WHITE: This might be a good time to point out that we have participants in Maputo as well, although we don't have an open audio line. And our participants there were curious for the comments that Ms. Rosenberg might make on the exclusion of Mozambique from the Brady plan or the other forgiveness plans. There seems to be a desire to have a spokesman for the State Department take that a little bit further, and it's now yours, Ms. Rosenberg.

MS. ROSENBERG: (Laughs.) I wish Mr. Brady could be here to supplement my comments, but I'm very glad to. We view our friendship, our growing-stronger-all-the-time friendship, with Mozambique as -- with great pleasure here in Washington.

I suppose I would say first that Mozambique is either blessed or cursed in a sense by a lack of a substantial kind of debt that we're talking about under this debt relief program. Furthermore, they have a very strong, very impressive economic reform program in place which is working and which has won high praise from the international donor community. And it's the reason that we and other bilateral donors and international institutions are providing a substantial amount of assistance to -- a growing amount of assistance to support that effort. We have a substantial bilateral program in Mozambique which we expect to grow and strengthen and prosper. So, whereas the debt relief plan in particular may not be relevant at the moment, we view what's going in -- going on in Mozambique and the prospects for the future as very promising. And we intend to be there as an important partner in helping Mozambique to continue in the same direction.

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MR. WHITE: And thanks to our friends in Maputo for that question. We're going to return now to Monrovia for more questioning. Go ahead, please.

Q I'm Gwendolyn Adiggidee (ph), Senior Economist at the Ministry of Foreign Affairs. Though a great deal of understanding could be achieved the US and African countries through these new debt forgiveness measures, there is still a big gap of disagreement on a lot of different issues, including Washington's tough insistence on economic reform. This resulted in an unfruitful ending of the June 15th Washington conference between the US and African government officials and the United Nations. What prospects do you think there are for a compromise? Does Washington share the view that hosting of an international conference on African debt could help find a lasting or more suitable solution to the crisis at hand?

MR. WHITE: Would you like to take that Ms. Rosenberg?

MS. ROSENBERG: I could begin. I think generally we are pleased that our dialogue with Africa has been mostly in a constructive direction in recent years. And the outlines of a proposed conference are still not entirely clear to me personally. I think any discussions, especially on a subregional or a bilateral level, are the most helpful because then we can really get into the details of a particular country. It's always a mistake, I like to point out to my friends here in Washington, to generalize about all of Africa because it's a very varied continent and you have an enormous number of countries and it represents an enormous variety of problems. And what may be true for one country is not necessarily true for another, either in terms of the nature of the problem or in terms of the nature of the solution. So, our preferred approach has always been to focus more in our discussion. If an international conference is going to inhibit that kind of substantive, in-depth, constructive discussion, then I think that we would be reluctant to go in that direction and would prefer to continue on other avenues of discourse.

We understand in a general way, obviously, what the debt problem is for Africa. That's the reason we're having this discussion this morning. That's the reason that we have announced a general debt relief assistance for Africa. But where we build from here, we think it's helpful, beneficial to Africa and to us and for our mutual understanding to have our discussions as focused as possible.

Q My name is Rennie (ph) Jackson, deputy comptroller of debt management, Ministry of Finance, Monrovia, Liberia. This question regards the World Bank and IMF. See, the World Bank and IMF, each of them, sets conditions regarding the procurement of loans, a part of which is normal in effecting our loans. However, most conditions set for the loans of these institutions include reduction in public work force or reduction in salaries. This results in most cases [in] unpopularity of the governments or sometimes their overthrow, especially in the Third World. Does the US still feel that the IMF or World Bank conditions, such as the above, are necessary to help the poor nations or Third World countries?

MR. WHITE: Who would like to try that? (Laughter.)

MR. SAIERS: Well, Ms. Rosenberg has taken the last question, so I'll try this one. I think it's just not sensible to generalize about what an IMF or a World Bank program ought to be. Ms. Rosenberg just explained that our view is that there are very large differences in African countries in terms of the circumstances under which they find themselves. I think it's clear that there are times and cases where there needs to be a reduction in the public expenditures of a country. There are some African countries where public expenditures are getting close to 40 and 50 percent of the total gross domestic product. And from our own perspective, we see that as a fairly stifling -- having a stifling effect on overall development prospects. It is also clear

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that in some countries, the wage scale for civil servants can be out of line with the wage scale for the rest of the country and for the rest of the economic actors in that particular country. But that doesn't mean to say that in every case that one would say that the program calls for a reduction in salaries or reduction in the public-sector work force. It depends on the circumstances within which a country finds itself. But I think it is also clear -- and as many African countries have begun to demonstrate -- that there needs to be a shift to more attention to the private sector and less attention and less attention and less resources going into sort of public-sector management of the incentive parts of the economy, that that is something that is clearly best left to the private sector to undertake.

MR. WHITE: The question raises an interesting point though. And to take it a step further, Dr. Saiers, if the US government and the IMF are encouraging market economies and a larger private sector, is there a stable and steady and predictable measure of movement toward a market economy? Or is it considered on a case-by-case, country-by-country basis?

MR. SAIERS: Well, it's clear that it's considered on a country-by-country basis. One has to look at what the economy of the -- of a particular country -- what situation it finds itself in at a particular point in time. There is no sort of pat answer -- it's too bad that there isn't. In the African context, there are 50 answers that are going to have to be found, and they'll each be found at different paces and in different time frames. It would be nice to have a -- one solid simple answer to lead to a sustainable growth pattern for most countries, but unfortunately it just isn't the case.

But having said that, I think the international community recognizes the difficulties that African countries are going through when they go through the structural adjustment program. The World Bank has been in the lead in trying to put together programs to alleviate the difficulties that occur when structural adjustment programs come into play. But I think the fact of the matter is that most of these structural adjustment programs have already demonstrated that the vast majority of citizens, because they are farmers, by and large, in almost every African country are in a better position as a result of freeing up of marketing systems or freeing up of pricing for commodities. And it is a fact that the continent as a whole last year had a food surplus, and I think a very large -- in very large measure, that has to be given credit to these incentive programs that have been put into place for the agriculturalists. There's no -- there is no placebo that is going to make a program increase the incomes, increase the well-being of every member of society. Those kinds of programs just don't exist. There is undoubtedly pain that is going to be felt by some elements of society, but in the longer run, I think most of these programs are going to be seen to have improved the well-being of a vast majority of the citizens.

MR. WHITE: We're more than halfway through our hour now and we're going to return to Lusaka for more questions. Go ahead, please.

Q (Name inaudible) -- Cabinet Office, Lusaka. Now, I want to continue on this issue of poverty alleviation program. Quite clearly, for most of the Sub-Saharan countries, especially those that have delayed adjustment, the kinds of programs that are required in order to really get out of the program often lead to quite a lot of difficult situations, especially for the poor or the weaker members of society. And it's therefore necessary that adequate funding is provided to certain programs that earmarked alleviating poverty. But the IMF obviously does not have that funding, and quite often it's left up to bilateral -- comes on a bilateral basis or through donor agencies to provide some of these funds. Now, to what extent does the US government support these poverty alleviation programs, especially in those countries that have adopted

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meaningful structural adjustment programs. And how do these programs relate to the old issue that money should not go into unproductive activity?

MR. SAIERS: Well, the US is one of those donor countries that is in the forefront of concern, worrying about the negative effects that sometimes can go along with structural adjustment. And it is true that the effects can be strongest on those countries that have got to go through the strongest reform program; that have had the longest time period in which the economic signals have gotten out of line.

The US has got programs in several African countries that are designed to support World Bank programs that have been put into place primarily for the alleviation of poverty that is associated with structural adjustment programs. We've been involved in the most famous one on the continent in Ghana. We have been involved in that since the beginning. But I think one should not sidetrack themselves to looking at a large number of special programs to alleviate every symptom of disadvantage that occurs with a structural adjustment program.

I think, by and large, from our own standpoint, the focus that we're trying to put on our projects and on the programs that are designed to improve the human condition directly really are focused on ways to improve the systems, whether that be the health system, the education system, the agricultural system in a country. Helping to design programs that can be afforded and can provide widespread benefits to the citizenry, whether that means reform in the health sector in terms of the way health services are financed, and the way that health budgets are allocated, and the way that programs are conceived. I think that is the far more long lasting and productive way to approach this structural adjustment problem and poverty alleviation.

It is one that is more than putting a bandaid on a problem and having us all feel a little bit better because a certain group of people got food this year of this month or this week, and it is more important to make sure that we help put into place systems that are going to be lasting and are going to get the services out to people; that we get beyond countries with only one-third of the school age children being able to afford school. One has to help build a system that is going to allow it in the resources available to the country to put into a system -- an education system that will allow the vast majority of students to attend school.

Q My name is Dave Barber (sp). I'm the Chairman of Zambia Association of Manufacturers. I have only one or two questions. One is that debt relief is one means of development in Zambia and the changing environment for economic cooperation, private sectors for private -- (inaudible) -- needs then modern machinery and investment -- (inaudible). Could we hope for some specific program which could even be by -- it could be -- (inaudible) -- from American organizations, one? And the other part is regarding Zambia, which could become one of the food granaries of Africa, badly needs a planned assistance for irrigation programs. Could there be private ventures in which we could all participate from the private sector of Zambia?

MR. WHITE: There was a lot of noise on the line, sir, but we're going to do our best to deal with your -- with your questions. The second question was the clearest and had to do with private assistance to the private sector in irrigation projects. Would you like to deal with that, Larry?

MR. SAIERS: Well, there's already been some US private investment that has been going into Zambia in joint ventures with Zambian partners to grow, I think, cotton, and in some cases, I think, looking at wheat production in Zambia, which we're quite excited about in terms of the prospects for such production. There aren't many countries on the continent that can actually produce wheat efficiently. I think the -- we would agree with the assessment that Zambia could be a granary for a large part of Africa, and what's going to be required

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for that to become a reality, I think, are exactly the kinds of programs that these structural adjustment models that are being looked at will require. I think it is clear that US investors have become more actively interested in Zambia on the agricultural side in the last couple of years. I think the -- we have had several inquiries and I think there are at least one or two investments of fairly substantial size that have been put into place. Those are things that would have not been considered, I think, by US investors several years before. Now, the situation in Zambia, in terms of the technical side of things, I think is one which the donors have been working with the Zambian government over a long period of time in terms of providing the kinds of information that are going to be necessary for this granary idea to actually take hold. And we've been pleased to be a part of that in terms of the research assistance that we've provided in the past to the government of Zambia.

I really didn't pick up on the first question. It was just so garbled that I don't --

MR. WHITE: Well, I think you touched on it as we were able to understand it, Larry. The questioner seemed to be asking about specific programs, specific bilateral programs, and the advisability of specific programs with the various sub-Saharan countries.

MR. SAIERS: Specific programs on?

MR. WHITE: Specific programs for economic development, which tied into the irrigation question.

MR. SAIERS: Well, there's -- the question on getting into irrigation in Africa has been one that has puzzled us for a long period of time. There are a lot of investments that have been made in the past, particularly in countries that have not had a history of irrigation. And none of them seem to be terribly successful. The development costs are extraordinarily high. We're not at all satisfied with the kinds of programs that AID or other donors of the World Bank have been able to help countries put into place on the side of irrigation. They have tended to always be so costly that they have never been able to amortize their costs, they've become a kind of a dead weight on the economy. And we're still, I think, at a very early stage of understanding how best to help countries put into place irrigation systems that really will allow commodities to be produced in a competitive environment for the world market.

MR. WHITE: And we will now return to Monrovia.

(Audio break.)

Q -- from ELTV (?) News in Monrovia. President Bush's forgiveness program; as we see it, forgiveness is to forego. But now we see, as one of the panelists in Monrovia has said, that more often than not, IMF and World Bank structural adjustment programs are taken without considering the internal realities in most developing countries. An American official admitted that this gesture seeks to accelerate the benefits to politically conscious African governments that have taken often painful adjustment program. How much more painful adjustment program does the United States want to see African governments employ before they can benefit from this forgiveness program announced by President Bush? Does it appear that if these conditions as outlined in the IMF and World Bank conditions are not employed by Liberia and the other countries, or does it go to imply that we will not benefit under this forgiveness program?

MR. WHITE: Alison?

MS. ROSENBERG: I'm not quite sure I understood the question entirely. I'm sorry.

MR. WHITE: As I understand it, I think it had to do with the level of compliance a particular country, Liberia in this case, must reach in order to qualify for the forgiveness programs.

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MS. ROSENBERG: I see. Generally speaking, we view ongoing compliance which is satisfactory to the particular donor institutions, either the IMF or the World Bank, as being good enough for us, in a sense. As long as the program continues and the next increment of assistance is provided by the Fund or the Bank, or both, then I think, generally speaking, we would consider the country to be in compliance. My colleague may want to add to that point.

MR. SAIERS: Well, I was struck by the questioner's view that somehow what we were looking for is painful adjustment and that the pain had to go along with it. I think that what we would hope is that adjustments aren't very painful; but it is not a situation where one goes through a period of adjustment for so many years and then, all of a sudden, one doesn't have to adjust any more. All countries are continually adjusting one way or the other. They either do it in a more rational or a less rational fashion. So it's not a question of, well, the adjustment period will be over at some point in time. The United States is going through continual adjustment periods as well. We have the same kind of budget problems that an awful lot of other countries have.

The fact is that, at this stage, 16 countries out of the 23 that have debts that are within the category that the Bush administration and the Congress have agreed to be forgiven, 16 countries would qualify, out of the 23, for debt forgiveness; and that program will begin in the beginning of Fiscal Year 1989, which starts for us -- or Fiscal Year 1990, which begins for us on October 1st, which is the date that the legislation set forth as the starting point for this program.

Q I am Joseph Cipio (ph), the editor-in-chief of the Liberian News Agency. My question is how can IMF, the World Bank structured programs, be best for African countries when even President Bush lamented from times back that World Bank rates are too high?

MR. SAIERS: Well, there's, of course, two windows -- or at least two windows of the World Bank. And for most African countries, the rates that African countries borrow from the World Bank are on IDA terms. And I'm absolutely sure that President Bush didn't intend to mean IDA when he talked about rates being too high. I think that's where the growth in the World Bank program for Africa has occurred, and that's been deliberate. There has been an intensified effort on the part of the members of the World Bank to see that Africa gets an increasing share, as being a deserving continent, as being a set of countries that are by and large undertaking the right kinds of policies and therefore deserving of this very concessional assistance that the World Bank provides under the IDA window.

Under IDA 8, there has been -- I think Africa has received very close to 50 percent of the total IDA flows, which is a substantial increase, in percentage terms, over what it had -- the continent had received under prior IDA arrangements.

The terms and conditions under IDRD -- I'm not an expert on that line, but I think that, by and large, is determined by world market conditions and the interest rates at which the World Bank itself has to borrow, by and large.

Q I'm Gwendolyn Addigavi (ph), senior economist at the Ministry of Foreign Affairs. How do you see the future of US assistance to Africa, especially in terms of new loans after this new debt - forgiveness policy measure goes well into action?

MS. ROSENBERG: We intend to do all that we can to maintain the largest and most responsive kinds of bilateral assistance programs that we can in Africa. It's no secret that the United States continues to face a very serious budget deficit program; we share that problem with a number of our African friends, and we're trying to do something about. And the word "painful" has been used before. I would invoke that word again in describing what we need to do to deal with our

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own budget deficit situation.

Nevertheless, unlike our foreign assistance programs in some other areas of the world, we have been able to maintain rather than fall back on levels of assistance that we provide bilaterally to Africa. We would like to do much more. I know Dr. Saiers shares that sentiment. But I would also point out that we have tried to do a number of things to improve what we call the quality of our assistance. So, you can't just look in terms of numbers. The questioner talked about new loans, for example. We have moved away from providing loans to Africa. We don't want them to incur new debts on top of the debts that they accrued in the past. So, now we provide assistance on a grant basis. That's one big improvement. Not every bilateral donor does that. But we think that's very important in the African context not to add on any additional debt burden. So, that's one way where the numbers are not necessarily going up, but the terms have improved greatly.

We also have, as the questioner may or may not know, something unique for Africa called the Development Fund for Africa. And this allows the United States to provide development assistance to Africa on a much more flexible basis in terms of time, in terms of the kinds of programs. We can be much more creative in providing assistance for various programs. We don't have a lot of conditions that have been imposed on what kinds of programs we must offer or we're not allowed to offer or various other strings that have been -- that are associated, frankly, with development programs in some other regions of the world. So, that's one additional indicator of what we look forward to in the future. So, we're optimistic in that sense.

MR. WHITE: Five minutes or so remaining. Let's return to Lusaka now. Go ahead. Q (Name inaudible.) I would now -- let's come to another form of debt reduction, and this is the debt for nature swap. This is relatively new and not very well known by most people in Sub-Saharan Africa. I would like to find out how significant this initiative is as a solution to the debt problem. And also, how much money has been earmarked for this initiative this fiscal year as well as the next year? And what criteria is used in accessing the countries to this facility.

MR. WHITE: Interesting question. Larry Saiers.

MR. SAIERS: It's a timely question, Mr. Fandango. We've, in the United States, just entered into an agreement with the government of Madagascar on a debt for nature swap that included the World Wildlife Fund. There is growing interest in the United States on this global environmental problem. I think it's clearly an issue that is not going to go away, it is only going to increase in intensity over time. And we're very excited about the prospects of debt for nature swaps, both because it helps to reduce the debt burden in countries as well as doing something very positive for the environment.

There is not an earmarked pot of money set aside for debt for nature swaps.

What has happened is, in the case of the United States, it has been our own bilateral programs, our own AID missions; in some cases it's the environmental groups such as the World Wildlife Fund that have instigated these. In some cases, it's been the African government itself that has expressed an interest in a debt for nature swap. There's no earmarked amount of money; there is no target that has been set up at this stage of the game. I think it's proceeding in the right way, and that is, as opportunities arise we are trying to respond to them, as I think other donors are interested in responding to them.

But I think it is a very important tool that is now in our arsenal to help along both lines. Although I suspect when it comes to the importance it's going to have in reducing overall debt, outside of perhaps a few special countries, by and large the amounts of money involved in this are not going to be so substantial that one could say that this is a solution to the debt problem.

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It is one small piece that has the additional very substantial benefit of doing something very positive for the environment at the same time.

MR. WHITE: A little bit of time remaining. Lusaka, do you have another question you'd like to present to our guests?

Q (Name and affiliation inaudible.) At the beginning, 16 countries were given -- the names of 16 countries were given as that are likely to benefit from the debt forgiveness. I didn't (?) mention in my first question that Zambia was not one of those countries listed.

But Zambia, since the end of June, has been implementing a number of reforms here and this seems to be quite positive in terms of what one would see as laying a background for dynamic (?) production. Does this development have any impact at all in whether Zambia will be accessed to the forgiveness or not?

MR. WHITE: Allison Rosenberg?

MS. ROSENBERG: Well, I think that's a good question, Dr. Fandango (ph). We are very pleased at the progress that Zambia has made very recently. We hope that they will be able soon to get back on the very promising track that they were on in the not too distant past. The criteria for this assistance, as Dr. Saiers had pointed out earlier, are spelled out quite clearly in legislation which was passed by the US Congress. And under that legislation, it's quite clear that a program needs to be in place under the auspices of either the IMF or the World Bank. What Zambia has done so far is a step in the right direction, and we hope that you can complete the process so that Zambia will be added to the names that you heard at the beginning of the program.

MR. WHITE: And with that, I'm afraid we've run out of time. Our thanks to Ms. Rosenberg and Dr. Saiers for taking the time to join us today. Thanks also to our interactive participants in Monrovia and Lusaka. From Washington, I'm Tim White for Worldnet's Dialogue. Good day.

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HEADLINE: Bush Announces Plan to Forgive Sub-Saharan Africa's Debt

BYLINE: By Linda Feldmann, Staff writer of The Christian Science Monitor

DATELINE: WASHINGTON

BODY:

JUST in time for next weekend's economic summit in Paris, President Bush has announced a plan to forgive the debt of some African nations.

The move signals a key departure for the United States in its approach to the world's poorest bloc of nations. It is also an acknowledgment that Africa's ailing economies will never turn around as long as they are weighted down by heavy debt.

'It's a new context,' says Frank Ferrari, senior vice-president of the African American Institute. 'The administration is beginning to make clear that its attitude toward third-world debt goes beyond the Brady plan,' which calls for reduction of commercial debts owed mainly by Latin American countries.

Third-world debt is expected to be high on the agenda when Mr. Bush meets his economic allies Saturday and Sunday. And evidently Bush felt obliged to have something to show in Paris. Last year's economic summit, held in Toronto, produced a broad agreement to relieve African debt, either through rescheduling or cancellation. Several Western nations, including Britain, France, West Germany, Canada, and the Netherlands, have already announced debt-relief measures for sub-Saharan Africa.

Bush's announcement - tucked so discreetly into a press conference for foreign journalists last Thursday that some major US news media missed it - consisted of one sentence: 'To fulfill our commitment at the Toronto economic summit, beginning Oct. 1, the US government will forgive official development loans of the sub-Saharan African countries.'

Administration officials expect 16 countries to qualify for the cancellation of some \$1 billion in development assistance and balance-of-payment assistance loans, some of which date back 30 years. To qualify, a nation must agree to undergo market-oriented economic reforms as prescribed by the International Monetary Fund and World Bank.

The 16 nations are: Benin, Cameroon, Ghana, Guinea, Ivory Coast, Kenya, Madagascar, Malawi, Mali, Niger, Nigeria, Senegal, Somalia, Tanzania, Uganda, and Zaire. Seven other countries could have qualified, but likely won't by Oct. 1, because they do not have a World Bank-IMF structural-adjustment program: Ethiopia, Sudan, Zambia, Liberia, Botswana, Swaziland, and Zimbabwe.

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Until the passage of last year's foreign aid bill, the US government was prohibited from canceling official debt. Now the administration can forgive sub-Saharan African debt or receive payments in local currency, as long as a structural adjustment program is in place. By Oct. 1, the start of the next fiscal year, the Treasury Department, State Department, and Agency for International Development (AID) must present Congress with a plan for African debt reduction.

Congress must then approve the new policy and any possible budget implications, which will be "fairly small," says a senior AID official. "One of the reasons is that a number of these countries were not paying the United States anyway. ... If they (the 16) had been fully servicing their debts, our estimate is that in the next several years they would be paying us \$42 million a year. Their actual payments to us have been a lot smaller than that."

It will take a year or two for AID, working with State and Treasury, to sit down with each African government to discuss the state of their reform programs and establish conditions for conversion - and in many cases forgiveness - of the debt owed to the US, the AID official says.

Advocates of debt relief for Africa had begun to despair of ever getting the US to take action. At a Capitol Hill conference on African debt last month, speaker after speaker spoke of the need to get Africa "off the back burner." They also noted a paradox of Africa's debt: Its numbers are small enough that they don't pose a serious threat to the world financial system, but because they aren't threatening, the Africans lack "debtor's leverage."

All told, in 1987 sub-Saharan Africa owed \$137.8 billion in medium- and long-term debt. (By comparison, Brazil alone owes \$120 billion.) Out of the \$137.8 billion, \$4.3 billion is owed to the US.

Now, some administration officials are starting to sound in some ways like United Nations officials.

"I don't want to overgeneralize (about the economies of Africa), because there is enormous diversity," says a high-ranking State Department official. "But I think it's fair to say that the debt that we're talking about looms large in terms of impact. They're not as highly developed as the Latin American economies, for example. So in Africa, the impact of the debt, however small in terms of numbers, is of much greater significance." (Mexican debt -reduction plan readied, Page 7.)

Given that view, which is echoed by other administration officials, why is the US following instead of leading the move toward debt reduction? Tradition, says the senior AID official. "That's a difficult issue, allowing debtors not to pay up," he says. "It goes back a bit. We still have World War I debts from a lot of countries that haven't paid us back. So there's a lot of theology involved which is pervasive in our legislation."

By uttering the taboo words "debt forgiveness" in his March 10 speech on commercial debt, Treasury Secretary Nicholas Brady started the US on a new course in its global economic strategy. Forgiving segments of Africa's official debt pushes the envelope a bit further.

(c) 1989 The Christian Science Publishing Society, July 10, 1989

But for Africa, there's a catch. By tying debt forgiveness to World Bank-IMF structural adjustment, the US is saying: Play by our rules and you will be rewarded. The problem is, many Africans feel the multilateral banks' formula for structural adjustment - which is heavily influenced by the US government emphasis on free-market economics - does not adequately address the differences among the African countries.

On the eve of Bush's announcement, the UN's Economic Commission for Africa issued a report on structural adjustment with a pointed title: 'African Alternative Framework.' The report is the latest salvo in an already heated debate over how best to help Africa recover. With the new US plan, the debate is sure to get livelier.

INTERNATIONAL

paired w/
'Structural adjustments'

Debt Crisis Locks Africa Into a Whirlpool of Despair

Poverty Makes Sub-Sahara-Region Susceptible to All Forms of Upheaval

By ROGER THURLOW

Staff Reporter of THE WALL STREET JOURNAL
EMBU, Kenya—When Africans relate their everyday tales of economic misery, they often talk in circles.

"Our countries are too poor to develop themselves, so we must go into debt to develop; but when we have debt, we must pay it back and then we can't develop," says Francis Wainaina, tidying the shelves of his general store here at the foot of Mount Kenya. "When there is no development, there are no jobs; and when no one has jobs, no one has money." The circle comes round in his shop. "When no one has money, business is slow."

Eighty miles to the south, in Nairobi's Pumwani slum, Angelina Kasiva leans against the plastic and cardboard hovel she calls home and spins another circle. Miss Kasiva, who doesn't know her precise age but guesses 26, recalls leaving her poor rural home as a teen-ager and coming to Nairobi in search of education or a job. She found neither. Today, a decade older and still illiterate, she collects and sells scrap metal to provide a little food for her three children. But she has no hope of paying for their schooling, and, she fears, they will end up just like her: no job, no education; no education, no job.

"No hope, no future," Miss Kasiva whispers. The circle is complete.

Economic Suffering

Life in Africa is an endless series of these vicious circles, which spread economic suffering across the continent like concentric rings rippling across a pond after the splash of a stone. In sub-Saharan Africa, the poorest pond on earth, the stone is the region's \$130 billion foreign debt.

"The impact [of the debt] is felt on the whole of the microeconomy," says Kenyan Finance Minister George Saitoti, who uses one-third of his country's export earnings to service its \$6 billion debt. "Without our debt repayments," he muses, "we could have at least 6% growth." Instead, the economy struggles to barely keep ahead of Kenya's 4% population growth. Poverty begets debt, debt begets poverty.

Sub-Saharan Africa's debt is about one-tenth of the debt in the developing world, one-quarter of Latin America's debt, and little more than the debt of Brazil.

But according to the World Bank, the debt of sub-Saharan Africa, where 22 of the world's 30 poorest countries are located, equals two-thirds of the region's gross domestic product. Per-capita GDP is \$380. The debt service, or the principal and interest obligations falling due, amounts to nearly half of the region's export revenues. Without rescheduling or other relief, some countries are obligated to pay out more than their exports bring in.

Overshadowed by Tragedy

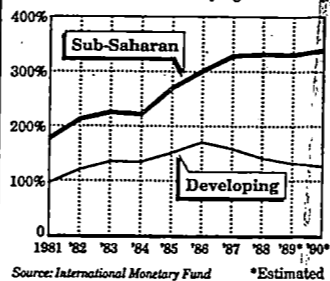
Still, the African debt crisis hasn't attracted anywhere near the attention focused on the Latin American debt problem. For in Africa, economic decay is simply overshadowed by the continent's constant stream of heart-wrenching tragedy.

"It's easy to see a crisis when it involves famine, locusts or war. You can photograph that and show it on television," says Bisi Ogunjobi, the southern Africa representative of the African Development Bank. "But this debt crisis is hard to see. You can't take a picture of debt."

The rigorous fiscal adjustments neces-

Falling Further Behind

Total external debt as a percentage of gross domestic product for sub-Saharan African countries and for all developing countries



Source: International Monetary Fund *Estimated

sary to meet debt-servicing obligations so strain and weaken a country's meager resources that it becomes susceptible to all manner of economic, social and political upheaval. Today, many of Africa's vital signs are worse than they were in the 1960s, during the first heady years of the post-colonial era.

In the west African country of Benin, government workers, medical staff and teachers go on strike because they haven't been paid in more than three months. In Zambia, 15 people die during a riot triggered by cornmeal-price boosts. In Malawi, industry is reduced to 50% of capacity by a cut in vital imports. In the Ivory Coast, the banking system nearly collapses when the government agricultural marketing board runs short of money.

Yet Africa's glorious post-independence dreams started shattering when the conti-

nent was awash in development money. Much of it was coming into Africa on expensive financing terms, and much of it was being wasted by mismanagement and corruption. Then came the oil shocks of the 1970s, which caused import prices to skyrocket, greatly increasing development costs. At the same time, the prices of Africa's basic commodities, from copper to cocoa, began a steady nosedive, triggering a prolonged foreign-currency drought. By the mid-1980s, as much money was leaving the continent in debt-service payments as was entering in development aid.

Creditor nations, slow to respond at first, are offering some relief; some are converting loans to grants, others are outright forgiving portions of the debt. Two months ago, the U.S. dropped its longstanding opposition to debt forgiveness and said it would write off about 20% of its loans, or a total of about \$1 billion, to 16 of the poorest African countries. In return, more than two dozen African countries are adopting market-oriented economic reforms under strict structural adjustment programs funded by the World Bank and the International Monetary Fund.

But, in typical African fashion, this discipline and outside pressure is causing the vicious circles to spin even faster.

Kenya, for example, is making a brave push to meet its debt obligations—it eschews rescheduling even though its 33% debt-service ratio (repayments as a portion of export earnings) is one of the highest in Africa—and it is swallowing the reform medicine of the IMF and World Bank. This has earned it a creditworthy reputation abroad.

At home, though, an economic and so-

cial time bomb is ticking. The debt payments and reform belt-tightening are holding back the economy at a time when it needs to be running flat out, making the state turn miserly precisely when it needs to be more generous. With the population growing at 4% a year, one of the highest rates in the world, there is tremendous pressure for more schools, health centers, agriculture output and, above all, jobs.

Even with substantial development-aid inflows, the government can't keep up with these demands, and the Kenyans, with an average per-capita income of about \$360, are expected to somehow uplift themselves. For instance, the biggest share of the state budget goes to education (mostly for teachers' salaries), but parents are obliged to pay for building and equipping schools. The result is that more and more children, whose parents can't afford these fees, are being forced to drop out after one or two years of education.

In Nairobi's slums, the Undugu Society, a private welfare agency (Undugu means "brotherhood" in Swahili), is swamped with pupils hoping to get into its free three-year education program. The only requirements are that the children be at least 12 years old, and have had no previous formal education. "When classes begin, all the children of the slums suddenly become 12 years old," says Gladys Wambui, the Undugu schools coordinator. "We have to look at the child's face and say, 'No, you're not 12 yet.'"

But even an education, a precious commodity in Africa, no longer guarantees a job. Each year, an additional 600,000 people enter the labor market, but the economy is creating less than 100,000 jobs annually. The streets of Nairobi are teeming with the unemployed. The more ambitious try to eke out a living in the informal sector, called *jua kali*, or hot sun, where they make and repair all manner of things in open-air workshops.

Amid a deafening din at one *jua kali* on the edge of town, where a couple of hundred men hammer metal into a variety of products, George Dhuu, 24, pounds out another chicken feeder. He sells enough to make about \$75 a month, which goes to

Nations to Work to Track Profits From Illegal Drugs

PARIS (Reuters)—Officials from the world's richest nations agreed to join forces in tracking billions of dollars of illegal drug money laundered through international banks, a U.S. diplomatic source said.

The meeting at the French Finance Ministry broadened a task force commissioned last July by the U.S. and its main economic partners at a Group of Seven summit in Paris.

G-7 officials from the U.S., France, Japan, Britain, West Germany, Italy and Canada were joined for the inaugural session of the task force by Switzerland, Sweden, Austria, Belgium, Luxembourg, Spain, Australia and the European Commission.

A senior U.S. Treasury official said a report with recommendations for action was scheduled to be handed to G-7 leaders by April 1990.

support his wife and young son and his mother and two brothers. "A lot of people depend on me," he says. "But I'm sorry, this is the best I can do."

Prospects are just as grim in the countryside, as the government scales back its ambitions to develop the productive capacity of Kenya's arid and semi-arid regions. Agriculture ministry officials say budgetary cuts have left the agriculture-extension services with a lack of vehicles, expert staff, veterinarian supplies and farming aids, which in turn means little or no improvement in the lives of the 15 million Kenyans involved in food production.

At the moment, Kenya is one of the few African countries able to feed itself, but officials worry that the delay in rural development may leave the country dangerously vulnerable to the next drought.

The last severe drought, which historically comes in five-year cycles, was in 1984, before the debt crisis fully hit and when the country still had plenty of foreign currency to import grain.

Photocopy-Preservation

ARTICLES IN ADDITION TO, AND AMENDMENT OF, THE
CONSTITUTION OF THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA,
PROPOSED BY CONGRESS, AND RATIFIED BY THE
SEVERAL STATES, PURSUANT TO THE FIFTH ARTI-
CLE OF THE ORIGINAL CONSTITUTION ¹

AMENDMENT [I.] ²

Congress shall make no law respecting an establishment of religion, or prohibiting the free exercise thereof; or abridging the freedom of speech, or of the press; or the right of the people peaceably to assemble, and to petition the Government for a redress of grievances.

¹ In *Dillon v. Gloss*, 256 U.S. 368 (1921), the Supreme Court stated that it would take judicial notice of the date on which a State ratified a proposed constitutional amendment. Accordingly the Court consulted the State journals to determine the dates on which each house of the legislature of certain States ratified the Eighteenth Amendment. It, therefore, follows that the date on which the governor approved the ratification, or the date on which the secretary of state of a given State certified the ratification, or the date on which the Secretary of State of the United States received a copy of said certificate, or the date on which he proclaimed that the amendment had been ratified are not controlling. Hence, the ratification date given in the following notes is the date on which the legislature of a given State approved the particular amendment (signature by the speaker or presiding officers of both houses being considered a part of the ratification of the "legislature"). When that date is not available, the date given is that on which it was approved by the governor or certified by the secretary of state of the particular State. In each case such fact has been noted. Except as otherwise indicated information as to ratification is based on data supplied by the Department of State.

² Brackets enclosing an amendment number indicate that the number was not specifically assigned in the resolution proposing the amendment. It will be seen, accordingly, that only the Thirteenth, Fourteenth, Fifteenth, and Sixteenth Amendments were thus technically ratified by number. The first ten amendments along with two others which failed of ratification were proposed by Congress on September 25, 1789, when they passed the Senate, having previously passed the House on September 24 (1 *Annals of Congress* 88, 913). They appear officially in 1 Stat. 97. Ratification was completed on December 15, 1791, when the eleventh State (Virginia) approved these amendments, there being then 14 States in the Union.

The several state legislatures ratified the first ten amendments to the Constitution on the following dates: New Jersey, November 20, 1789; Maryland, December 19, 1789; North Carolina, December 22, 1789; South Carolina, January 19, 1790; New Hampshire, January 25, 1790; Delaware, January 28, 1790; New York, February 27, 1790; Pennsylvania, March 10, 1790; Rhode Island, June 7, 1790; Vermont, November 3, 1791; Virginia, December 15, 1791. The two amendments which failed of ratification prescribed the ratio of representation to population in the House, and specified that no law varying the compensation of members of Congress should be effective until after an intervening election of Representatives. The first was ratified by ten States (one short of the requisite number) and the second, by six States. Connecticut, Georgia, and Massachusetts ratified the first ten amendments in 1939.

THE WHITE HOUSE
Office of the Press Secretary
(Kennebunkport, Maine)

For Immediate Release

September 23, 1989

STATEMENT BY THE PRESIDENT

I look forward to meeting with President Gorbachev. The state of U.S. - Soviet relations is good, and I have enjoyed a positive working relationship with Mr. Gorbachev. Our meeting will afford an opportunity to reaffirm our mutual commitment to moving the U.S. - Soviet relationship forward as underscored by the progress at the Wyoming Ministerial. I commend the efforts of Secretary Baker and Foreign Minister Shevardnadze. I envision a broad discussion of the full agenda that the two sides have established - human rights, bilateral relations, arms control, regional issues and transnational issues.

#

PRESS
STATEMENT.

THE WHITE HOUSE

Office of the Press Secretary
(Kennebunkport, Maine)

For Immediate Release

September 23, 1989

EXCERPTS OF
REMARKS BY THE PRESIDENT
AT THE CAPE ARUNDEL GOLF COURSE

Cape Arundel Golf Course
Kennebunkport, Maine

THE PRESIDENT: General Scowcroft and I just talked to Secretary Baker and I'm very pleased that we've reached agreement with the Soviets on several questions, only one of which I am prepared to mention here now. But in a few minutes, Mr. Shevardnadze will be have a press conference, followed promptly by Secretary Baker's press conference, at which it will be announced -- and they will discuss the details -- that we will be having a summit, that I will be meeting with Mr. Gorbachev in late spring or early summer. The agreement is set and I'm very pleased. And I'll leave further comment on what's been accomplished in Wyoming to our Secretary of State.

Q Where is the summit going to be, Mr. President?

THE PRESIDENT: Well, undoubtedly, it will be in the United States.

Q Has that been fixed in those talks, or is --

THE PRESIDENT: I'm not sure that that will be part of the announcement; I didn't discuss it. But it is just assumed -- I'm assuming it will be there.

Q And did they nail down the accords on nuclear testing and chemical weapons?

THE PRESIDENT: No, but I'd prefer to leave that to the Secretary and Mr. Shevardnadze. But I'm very pleased overall. I think you'll see why when they make their announcements there.

Q What accomplishment do you expect out of the summit? What will be the purpose of it then?

THE PRESIDENT: Well, a wide array of subjects, and we will be continuing to work on the arms control agenda. It's not my view that summits must have arms control agreements. But we're going to be working towards -- with full faith, going forward in every way to achieve further arms reductions. That's been a goal of mine for a long time and I think it's a goal of Mr. Gorbachev's. And so I would say that there's a chance for agreements of that nature. But there

comment on what's been accomplished in Wyoming to our Secretary of State.

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Q Why the late spring to early summer timetable? Could it not be sooner?

THE PRESIDENT: Well, you might make a case that it could be sooner, but this was the agreed timetable, and it's agreeable to us, and --

Q Did you want to give more time to the conventional weapons negotiations to go forward or --

THE PRESIDENT: Well, it gives us time to move forward on

MORE

a lot of fronts, is the way I see it. And it's not under the time gun, and yet, the summit being set, I think it will be useful on both sides to pushing both bureaucracies forward, both decision-making teams forward to achieve results. I think that was why the general agreement on time.

Anyway, it's good news, and I'm very pleased with what the Secretary has been able to accomplish out there. Maybe -- I don't know whether General Scowcroft would have more on all this later, but I know he's been in close touch with the Secretary, Bob Gates, out there, and will continue to be.

Q Will you now work this into your speech to the U.N. General Assembly?

THE PRESIDENT: Well, we may -- it's one of the things that you foresaw in your question a minute ago, but yes, we might touch on it. I think around the world, people will be pleased that there is this announcement, and there may be other things that will come out of the Wyoming meeting that we can talk about in New York.

Q Would you like to see this summit take place someplace other than Washington? You'd like to see it out in the country, wouldn't you?

THE PRESIDENT: No, I think probably Washington would be proper for this one, although I don't think they've discussed that or agreed on --

GENERAL SCOWCROFT: No, sir. It's just the ordinary run of things, it's your turn.

Q But, General, there is a commitment by the Soviets to have the summit in the U.S.?

GENERAL SCOWCROFT: Oh, I think so. It's assumed.

THE PRESIDENT: Yes. That was discussed, as a matter of fact, in the Oval Office and was almost a given. But I just have to hedge a little because I don't know whether that's in the announcement by the Foreign Secretary.

Q Do you think it would proceed or follow the economic summit?

THE PRESIDENT: Well, we haven't set a date. We're very open as to whether that economic summit should be in the spring of 1990 or into the fall of 1990. The last one, as you know, was -- the one just past -- in the summer. But I think our allies seem to be very flexible and I now must get in touch with them fairly soon to determine what their desires are. From the U.S. side, we can be very flexible on that.

Q And it might be as late as the fall?

THE PRESIDENT: I would think it could be. They've had

proper for this one, although I don't think they've discussed that or agreed on --

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Q And it might be as late as the fall?

THE PRESIDENT: I would think it could be. They've had several in the fall, I think. So there's no -- in other words, there is no set month or period, season in which to have these.

Q On the drug front, don't you think that Mrs. de Greiff's resignation in Colombia means that the drug lords are not -- that they seem to have the upper hand, they're not being beaten back at all?

THE PRESIDENT: Rita, I don't think so because of what I've been reading today coming out of Colombia and, obviously, from what she, herself, said. But that's their business; that's the internal affair of Colombia. But I see no reason that that single resignation will signal or lead to a lessening in resolve on the part of President Barco. So I don't worry about that.

MORE

Q But she might have been threatened out of office.

THE PRESIDENT: Well, I think that was the original fear, but I don't know the internals of that at all. But I think that the commitment of the Colombian government is such that this resignation by itself should not be interpreted as a signal that they're going to lighten up in some way.

Okay. Thank you all very much. Now for the river.

Q What?

(Laughter.) THE PRESIDENT: A little fishing down there. Come on.

Q You're kidding.

Q This is a joke, right?

END

Question 1000?
Molecular Biology?

SDI de linked.

CPE - hope that you want
reached by mid-1990.

US report
summarize before agreement

Today, I would like to begin by recognizing the current permanent representatives with whom I served. Roberto Martinez-Ordonez [OR-DOE-NYEZ]. Blaise [BLEZ] Rabetafika [RAH-BAY-TA-FEE-KA]. Permanent Observer John Dube [DOO-BAY].

It's wonderful to look around and see so many familiar faces -- foreign ministers, members of the Secretariat, delegates. And of course Mr. Secretary-General -- you were perm rep for your country when we served together. It's an honor to be back with all of you in this historic hall.

Photocopy-Preservation

Secretary-General of the United Nations Javier Perez de Cuellar was Perm Rep for Peru when the President was Perm Rep for the U.S.

The following is a list of people who were Perm Rep when the President was there, and who still are Perm Rep for their countries:

Roberto Martinez-Ordonez
Permanent Representative
Honduras (he's been there on and off, not the whole 18 years)

Blaise Rabetafika
Permanent Representative
Madagascar

Ambassador John Dube
Permanent Representative
Monaco (Observer-State)

Photocopy-Preservation

The following is a list provided by Under-Secretary-General for Political and General Assembly Affairs Ronald Spiers' office of former Perm Reps who have joined the UN. This is not necessarily a complete list and all of these people will not definitely be at the speech:

Eugeniusz Wyzner
Under-Secretary-General
Department for Conference Services & Special Assignments
(Poland)

M'Hamed Essafi
Under-Secretary-General
Disaster Relief Coordinator
(Tunisia)

Richard M. Akwei
Chairman
International Civil Service Commission
(Ghana)

Jose Maria Ruda
President of the International Court of Justice
(Argentina)

of...
Abdulrahim A. Farah
Under-Secretary-General
Department for Special Political Questions,
Regional Cooperation, Decolonization and Trusteeship
(Somalia)

Marti Ahtisaari
 Special Representative of the Secretary-General
 Office of the Special Representative of the Secretary-General for
 Namibia

Miljan Komatina
 Secretary of Conference on Disarmament
 (Yugoslavia)

Jan Eliasson
 Personal Representative of the Secretary-General on
 Issues Pertaining to Implementation of SCR 598
 Permanent Representative of Sweden to the United Nations
 (Sweden)

The following is a list provided by the State Department of
 people who were Perm Rep for their countries when the President
 was there, and who still serve their countries in some capacity.
 It is extremely difficult to determine if all of these people
 will be in the Chamber when the President speaks. They are all
expected (as of about a week ago -- the list is changing daily):

Manglyn Dugersuren
Ambassador to the United States
 Mongolia

Zenon Rossides
~~Special Advisor to the Cypriate Mission~~
 Cyprus

Simeon Ake
Foreign Minister
 Ivory Coast

Ahmed Esmat Abdel-Meguid
Foreign Minister
 Egypt

Shailendra K. Upadhyaya
Foreign Minister
 Nepal

Salim Ahmed Salim
 Secretary General of the Organization of African Unity (not part
 of the UN)
 Tanzania

Seferis

with different eyes:
those who stayed behind were
u
flesh, the lovely dance
edness. *Ib.*

Scorpion has set,
in has fled,
ughters of the sea, Nereids,

iance of the rising goddess:
er loved will love,
Ib.

descended on Greece.
thrown
f the sea, the jaws of the

ndulation, a bit of cloud,
cer, a swan's down,
—all for a Helen.

Helen [1953]

uch time
its head,
id emptying
ch time
ness:

id.
Salamis in Cyprus [1953]

ween the fires of Troy
s of Sicily.
ripides the Athenian [1953]

eins
made to catch us in like wild

e it.
an, his friends were few;
ame he was torn to pieces by
Ib.

n of many men, our words.
On Stage [1966],¹ 6

e of the wind
e wind has fled and is no
s.

of man
has fled and is no longer
Ib.

difficult mirror,
what you were.
Summer Solstice [1966],⁶

is life
n it if you wish,
this indifferent thing

ALTER KAISER.

Seferis — Stevenson

which casts you back
there where you set out. *Ib.*

All you have experienced falls in an unsub-
stantial heap
if you do not trust this void.

Perhaps you will find there what you thought
lost:

the flowering of youth, the rightful sinking of
age.

Your life is what you gave:
this void is what you gave:
the blank page. *Ib.*

I watched you with all the light and darkness
I have. *Ib. 11*

When, on the road to Thebes, Oedipus met
the Sphinx, who asked him her riddle, his
answer was: *Man*.¹ This simple word de-
stroyed the monster. We have many mon-
sters to destroy. Let us think of Oedipus' an-
swer.

*Speech upon receiving the Nobel
Prize [1963]*

Ignazio Silone [Secondo Tranquilli]

1900–1978

Liberty is the possibility of doubting, the
possibility of making a mistake, the possibil-
ity of searching and experimenting, the possi-
bility of saying "No" to any authority—liter-
ary, artistic, philosophic, religious, social,
and even political.

*Essay in The God That Failed
[1950]²*

Adlai Ewing Stevenson

1900–1965

The most American thing about America is
the free common school system.

*Address to Citizens' School
Committee, Chicago [1948]*

Government is more than the sum of all
the interests; it is the paramount interest,
the public interest. It must be the efficient,
effective agent of a responsible citizenry, not
the shelter of the incompetent and the cor-
rupt.

*Speech at Bloomington, Illinois
[1948]*

Communism is the corruption of a dream
of justice.

Speech at Urbana, Illinois [1951]

¹See *The Riddle of the Sphinx*, 74:25.

²Edited by RICHARD CROSSMAN.

⁸ More important than winning the election,
is governing the nation. That is the test of a
political party—the acid, final test.

*Speech accepting the Democratic
presidential nomination [July 26,
1952]*

⁹ Let's talk sense to the American people.
Ib.

¹⁰ When an American says that he loves his
country, he . . . means that he loves an
inner air, an inner light in which freedom
lives and in which a man can draw the breath
of self-respect.

*Speech at New York City [August
27, 1952]*

¹¹ A hungry man is not a free man.³
*Speech at Kasson, Minnesota
[September 6, 1952]*

¹² The time to stop a revolution is at the be-
ginning, not the end.

*Speech at San Francisco
[September 9, 1952]*

¹³ Your public servants serve you right.
*Speech at Los Angeles [September
11, 1952]*

¹⁴ Those who corrupt the public mind are just
as evil as those who steal from the public
purse.

*Speech at Albuquerque, New
Mexico [September 12, 1952]*

¹⁵ Nature is neutral. Man has wrested from
nature the power to make the world a desert
or to make the deserts bloom. There is no evil
in the atom; only in men's souls.⁴

*Speech at Hartford, Connecticut
[September 18, 1952]*

¹⁶ As citizens of this democracy, you are the
rulers and the ruled, the lawgivers and the
law-abiding, the beginning and the end.

*Speech at Chicago [September 29,
1952]*

¹⁷ Unreason and anti-intellectualism abomi-
nate thought. . . . But shouting is not a sub-
stitute for thinking and reason is not the sub-
version but the salvation of freedom.

*Godkin Lectures, Harvard
University [March 1954]*

¹⁸ Democracy cannot be saved by supermen,
but only by the unswerving devotion and
goodness of millions of little men.

Speech [1955]

³See Cato, 95:9, and La Fontaine, 296:21.

⁴See J. Robert Oppenheimer, 86:6.

- ¹ If total isolationism is no answer, total interventionism is no answer, either. In fact, the clear, quick, definable, measurable answers are ruled out. In this twilight of power, there is no quick path to a convenient light switch.¹

*Speech at Harvard University
[June 17, 1965]*

- ² The art of government has grown from its seeds in the tiny city-states of Greece to become the political mode of half the world. So let us dream of a world in which all states, great and small, work together for the peaceful flowering of the republic of man.

Ib.

- ³ This must be the context of our thinking — the context of human interdependence in the face of the vast new dimensions of our science and our discovery . . . the awful majesty of outer space.

Speech in Geneva [July 9, 1965]

Spencer Tracy

1900–1967

- ⁴ Just know your lines and don't bump into the furniture.

Advice on acting

William Lindsay White

1900–1973

- ⁵ They Were Expendable.

Title of book [1942]

Thomas Wolfe

1900–1938

- ⁶ A stone, a leaf, an unfound door.

*Look Homeward, Angel*² [1929],
foreword

- ⁷ Which of us has known his brother? Which of us has looked into his father's heart? Which of us has not remained forever prisoner? Which of us is not forever a stranger and alone?

Ib.

- ⁸ O lost, and by the wind grieved, ghost, come back again.

Ib.

- ⁹ Most of the time we think we're sick, it's all in the mind.

Ib. pt. I, ch. 1

- ¹⁰ Making the world safe for hypocrisy.

Ib. III, 36

- ¹¹ The young men of this land are not, as they are often called, a "lost" race—they are a

¹ See John F. Kennedy, 890:11.

² See Milton, 281:3.

race that never yet has been discovered. And the whole secret, power, and knowledge of their own discovery is locked within them — they know it, feel it, have the whole thing in them—and they cannot utter it.

The Web and the Rock [1939],
ch. 13

- ¹² If a man has a talent and cannot use it, he has failed. If he has a talent and uses only half of it, he has partly failed. If he has a talent and learns somehow to use the whole of it, he has gloriously succeeded, and won a satisfaction and a triumph few men ever know.

Ib. 30

- ¹³ You Can't Go Home Again.

Title of novel [1940]

Roy Campbell

1901–1957

- ¹⁴ The sap is the music, the stem is the flute,
And the leaves are the wings of the seraph I
shape

Who dances, who springs in a golden escape,
Out of the dust and the drought of the plain,
To sing with the silver hosannas of rain.

The Palm [1928]

- ¹⁵ Pass world! : I am the dreamer that remains:
The man clear cut against the last horizon.

*Epigraph for LAURENS VAN DER
POST, The Lost World of the
Kalahari*³

Margaret Craven

1901–

- ¹⁶ The Indian knows his village and feels for his village as no white man for his country, his town, or even for his own bit of land. His village is not the strip of land four miles long and three miles wide that is his as long as the sun rises and the moon sets. The myths are the village, and the winds and rains. The river is the village, and . . . the talking bird, the owl, who calls the name of the man who is going to die.

I Heard the Owl Call My Name
[1973], *pt. 1*

Werner Karl Heisenberg

1901–1976

- ¹⁷ Every tool carries with it the spirit by which it has been created.

Physics and Philosophy [1958]

³ See Van der Post, 867:16.

Stevenson

the answer. And the donkey's
n" (Victor).
serve that this excellent omen
been arranged by a thoughtful
young Caesar's staff.)

lier was involved in a lawsuit that
to go against him. He therefore
former commander, Augustus, in
asking him to appear in court on
emperor at once selected one of
year for the man and introduced
ant. But the soldier, rolling back
veal his scars, shouted, "When
nger at Actium, I didn't choose a
fought for you in person." Cha-
us appeared in court on the vet-

ple trained birds to make com-
tings to the emperor. Augustus
y the birds for generous sums of
r cobbler acquired a raven, in-
it to make such a remark. The
to be such a slow learner that
cobbler often used to say to it,
ow for all the trouble and ex-
y the raven began to repeat its
itus was passing. This time the
ed to buy, saying, "I get enough
nents at home." The bird, how-
remembering the words of his
complaint, went on, "Nothing
ll the trouble and expense."
tus bought the raven.

d ordered a young man of bad
dismissed from his service. The
n and begged for pardon, say-
to go home? What shall I tell
her that you didn't find me to
emperor replied.

oman nobleman died, leaving
that he had successfully con-
lifetime. When the estate was
ion, Augustus instructed his
man's pillow. To those who
se at the order he explained,
st be particularly conducive to
wner, in spite of all his debts,
"

6 The conduct of Augustus's daughter Julia was so blatant that a group of influential Romans threatened to denounce her as an adulteress in front of the whole court. Augustus anticipated them by banishing his daughter to a barren island. Her lovers were variously punished. One of Julia's attendants, the freedwoman Phoebe, hanged herself rather than give evidence against her mistress. "Oh, that I had been Phoebe's father, not Julia's," exclaimed Augustus when he heard of the suicide.



AUMALE, Henri, Duc d' (1822-97), *French aristocrat, son of King Louis Philippe.*

1 The Duc d'Aumale was one of the most aristocratic of the lovers of Léonide Leblanc, a fashionable courtesan. Léonide eventually hit on a subtle way to discourage unwanted lovers. She had a lifelike wax model of the duke set up at a table in a room of her house. When pestered by a suitor, she would half-open the door to that room, then close it quickly, and say, "Ssh! The duke is here."

2 The Duc d'Aumale's residence at Chantilly was at a distance from Paris convenient for the visits of Léonide Leblanc. One day she traveled out to Chantilly by train, sharing the compartment with a group of society ladies who began vying with each other to prove on what friendly terms they were with the duke. "We dined with His Highness last night," said one. "We shall be lunching there tomorrow," said another. "Of course, we went to the ball there last week," said a third. Léonide Leblanc held her peace until the train drew into Chantilly station. Then she stood up, said, "And I, ladies, am sleeping with His Highness tonight," and stepped lightly from the train.

3 During the Franco-Prussian War Marshal Achille Bazaine commanded the French troops in the fortress of Metz. It was his hesitations, misjudgments, and ultimate surrender that deprived France of the last forces capable of withstanding the German advance. In 1873 the marshal was arraigned before a French military court presided over by the Duc d'Aumale; he was charged with neglecting to do everything required by duty and honor before capitulating to the enemy. At one stage in the proceedings

the marshal sought to exonerate himself by reminding the court of the state of affairs at the time of his surrender: "There was no government, there was no order, there was nothing."

"There was still France," said the Duc d'Aumale.

4 Aumale, a great patriot, yearned for military glory in the cause of his beloved France. Commissioned as a sublieutenant in the infantry at the age of fifteen, he announced, "My only ambition is to be the forty-third Bourbon to be killed on the field of battle."

5 The Duc d'Aumale was renowned for his youthful love affairs, but in his old age he felt his powers failing. "As a young man I used to have four supple members and one stiff one," he observed. "Now I have four stiff and one supple."



AUSTIN, Alfred (1835-1913), *British poet, dramatist, and prose writer. One of his least happy poetic ventures was written shortly after he was appointed poet laureate (1896)—a lengthy ode on the Jameson Raid. He is remembered for two lines on the illness of the Prince of Wales, which he probably did not write: "Across the wires the electric message came:/ 'He is no better, he is much the same.'"*

1 Someone once chided the poet laureate for grammatical errors in his verses. Austin excused himself by saying, "I dare not alter these things; they come to me from above."



AUSTIN, Warren Robinson (1877-1962), *US politician, diplomat, delegate to the United Nations from 1947 to 1953.*

1 In a debate on the Middle East question, Austin exhorted the warring Jews and Arabs to sit down and settle their differences "like good Christians."

2 Someone once asked Austin whether he did not become tired during the apparently interminable debates at the UN. "Yes, I do," he replied, "but it is better for aged diplomats to be bored than for young men to die."



Shandy, of which the first two volumes were published in 1759, won the obscure Yorkshire parson a succès de scandale.

1 "Soon after *Tristram* appeared, Sterne asked a Yorkshire lady of fortune and condition whether she had read his book. 'I have not, Mr. Sterne,' was the answer; 'and to be plain with you, I am informed it is not proper for female perusal.' 'My dear good lady,' replied the author, 'do not be gulled by such stories; the book is like your young heir there' (pointing to a child of three years old, who was rolling on the carpet in his white tunic) 'he shows at times a good deal that is usually concealed, but it is all in perfect innocence!'"



STEVENS, Thaddeus (1792–1868), *US politician and lawyer, congressman from Pennsylvania (1849–53, 1859–68).*

1 At the beginning of the 1861 congressional session, a woman admirer broke into Stevens's office and begged for a lock of his hair. Stevens removed his chestnut wig and invited her, "Pray, madam, select any curl that strikes your fancy."

2 In a scandal over the awarding of army contracts in the early 1860s, it was widely rumored that Simon Cameron, the secretary of war, had been less than strictly honest. Thaddeus Stevens was on record as saying that Cameron would steal anything except a red-hot stove. Cameron appealed to Lincoln, who asked Stevens to say that he had been misquoted. "Certainly I'll say I've been misquoted," said the unrepentant Stevens. "What I actually said was that Cameron would steal anything, *even* a red-hot stove."

3 A visitor who called on Stevens during his last illness remarked on the patient's appearance. "It's not my appearance that troubles me right now," Stevens replied. "It's my disappearance."



STEVENSON, Adlai E[wing] (1900–65), *US statesman. He was instrumental in the founding of the United Nations and as governor of Illinois (1949–53) was able to bring about important public reforms. Twice Democratic*

candidate for the presidency (1952, 1956), he was defeated both times by Dwight D. Eisenhower.

1 Harry Truman finally persuaded Stevenson to campaign for the Democratic nomination in 1952. Stevenson stayed overnight at the White House and was put in the Lincoln Room. He wandered around the room, gazing with awe at the things in it, unable to bring himself to lie in the bed. So he spent the night on the sofa. He was unaware that in Lincoln's time the bed was not there, but the sofa was.

2 It was probably during his first campaign against Eisenhower that Stevenson was approached by an enthusiastic woman supporter who said to him, "Governor, every thinking person will be voting for you." Stevenson replied, "Madam, that is not enough. I need a majority."

3 At a Labor Day rally during the 1952 presidential campaign a photographer took a famous picture of Stevenson, showing him with a hole in the bottom of one shoe. When the photographer won a Pulitzer Prize for the picture, Stevenson sent him a telegram reading: "Congratulations. I'll bet this is the first time anyone ever won a Pulitzer Prize for a hole in one."

4 Alistair Cooke, talking to Stevenson shortly after his defeat in the 1952 election, was heartened to find him able to view the situation with objective humor. "After all," he said, "who did I think I was, running against George Washington?"

Four years later Eisenhower again defeated Stevenson in the presidential election, and Cooke sent Stevenson a cable reading simply: "How now?" Back came the reply: "Who did I think I was, running against George Washington twice?"

5 Stevenson was much praised in the European press for his condemnation of the American U-2 reconnaissance flights over Europe. Stevenson read the favorable comments and said wryly, "The trouble is, I always run in the wrong continent."

6 Stevenson arrived late to address the American Society of Newspaper Editors. Apologizing, he said he had been delayed at the airport

sidency (1952, 1956), *he res by Dwight D. Eisen-*

ally persuaded Stevenson democratic nomination in d overnight at the White in the Lincoln Room. He room, gazing with awe at to bring himself to lie in he night on the sofa. He incoln's time the bed was a was.

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uch praised in the Euro- ndemnation of the Ameri- nce flights over Europe. favorable comments and ible is, I always run in the

l late to address the Amer- spaper Editors. Apologiz- een delayed at the airport

by the arrival of President de Gaulle from France. "It seems to be my fate always to be getting in the way of national heroes," he added.

7 During his 1956 election campaign Stevenson asked some children, "How many children in this audience would like to be a candidate for president of the United States?" A number of hands went up. Stevenson continued: "How many candidates for president of the United States would like to be children again?" He raised his own hand.

8 *The New York Times* reported that when Stevenson was the US delegate to the United Nations, the question was put to him: "Here's Soviet Russia pushing for votes for her satellites, even one as improbable as Outer Mongolia; how can that be counterbalanced?" Stevenson replied, "It's easy. We give Texas her independence and change her name to Outer Arkansas."

9 As President-elect John F. Kennedy tapped four of Adlai Stevenson's law partners for top government posts. Assessing the situation, Stevenson wryly quipped: "I only regret that I have but one law firm to lose for my country."

☪ ☪

STEVENSON, Robert Louis (1850-94), *Scottish writer, celebrated for novels such as Treasure Island (1883), Kidnapped (1886), and Dr. Jekyll and Mr. Hyde (1886), and the lyrical A Child's Garden of Verses (1885). He died in Samoa.*

1 A young friend of Stevenson's had complained to him about being born on Christmas Day. She received presents only once a year and felt cheated. When Stevenson drew up his will as death approached, he remembered the girl and bequeathed his own birthday to her. He subsequently added the following clause: "If, however, she fails to use this bequest properly, all rights shall pass to the President of the United States."

☪ ☪

STILLMAN, James A. (1850-1918), *US banker and friend of William Rockefeller. He was president of the National City Bank (1891-1909).*

1 After visiting the famous 1913 Armory Show, the first exhibition of the work of avant-garde European painters for the American public, Stillman remarked, "Something is wrong with the world. These men know."

☪ ☪

STIMSON, Henry Lewis (1867-1950), *US attorney and statesman. His distinguished career included terms as secretary of war (1911-13 and 1940-45) and secretary of state (1929-33).*

1 Secretary of State Stimson once tried to close down the American counterintelligence and decipherment sources (known as "the Black Chamber"). Said Stimson: "Gentlemen do not read each other's mail."

☪ ☪

STOKOWSKI, Leopold (1882-1977), *British conductor who became a US citizen in 1915. He conducted many of the leading US orchestras, among them the Philadelphia (1912-38).*

1 During a performance of Beethoven's *Leonora Overture No. 3*, the offstage trumpet call twice failed to sound on cue. The overture finished, Stokowski dashed from the rostrum in a fury to seek out the errant trumpeter. He found the player in the wings wrestling with a burly janitor. "You can't blow that damn thing here, I tell you," the janitor was insisting. "There's a concert going on."

(The same story is told about other conductors and concert halls in Europe and America.)

2 Stokowski was intensely irritated by members of the audience who coughed during a performance. At the end of a series of concerts with the Philadelphia orchestra, shortly before his departure on a six-month tour of the Far East, he turned to the audience and said, "Goodbye for a long time. I hope when I come back your colds will all be better."

☪ ☪

STOPPARD, Tom (1937-), *British playwright, born in Czechoslovakia. He made his name with the play Rosencrantz and Guildenstern Are Dead (1967); his later works include Night and Day (1978) and The Real Thing (1984).*

Aiken — Hitler

topher Dawson
1889-1970
n decide that all means are
ht an evil, then their good
guishable from the evil that
lestroy.
gment of the Nations [1942]

ilip Guedalla
1889-1944
Henry James has always
e by a simple dynastic ar-
three reigns: James I, James
Pretender.³
upers and Supermen [1920]

Adolf Hitler
1889-1945
ies . . . applied the one
the easiest victory over rea-
force.
i Kampf (My Battle) [1933].
vol. I, ch. 2

an never replace the man.
ndred fools do not make one
roic decision is not likely to
ndred cowards. Ib. 3
not in defense but in attack.
Ib.

a has to be popular and has
itual level to the perception
igent of those towards whom
ect itself. Ib. 6
sses of the people . . . will
victims to a big lie than to a
Ib. 10

e the establishment of two
ers in Europe.
Ib. II. 14

ears of work I have achieved.
erman soldier and merely
il will power, the unity of the
and have freed it from the
of Versailles.⁴
mation to the troops on tak-
er the leadership of the Ger-
armed forces [December 21

652.
associated Governments affirm and
responsibility of Germany and her
the loss and damage to which the
d Governments and their nationals
as a consequence of the war imposed

Hitler — Lippmann

1 This war no longer bears the characteris-
tics of former inter-European conflicts. It is
one of those elemental conflicts which usher
in a new millennium and which shake the
world once in a thousand years.
Speech to the Reichstag [April
26, 1942]

2 Is Paris burning?¹
Asked at the Oberkommando der
Wehrmacht, Rastenburg, Germany
[August 25, 1944]

George S. Kaufman
1889-1961

3 Satire is what closes Saturday night.
Saying

George S. Kaufman
1889-1961
and

Moss Hart
1904-1961

4 You Can't Take It with You.²
Title of play [1936]

5 The Man Who Came to Dinner.
Title of play [1939]

6 George Washington Slept Here.
Title of play [1940]

Stoddard King
1889-1933

There's a long, long trail a-winding
Into the land of my dreams,
Where the nightingales are singing
And a white moon beams.
The Long, Long Trail [1913]

Walter Lippmann
1889-1974

* Whether we wish it or not we are involved
in the world's problems, and all the winds of
heaven blow through our land.
A Preface to Politics [1913], ch. 4

* The liberal philosophy holds that enduring
governments must be accountable to some-
one beside themselves; that a government re-

upon them by the aggression of Germany and her Allies.
— Article 231 (the "war guilt clause"), Treaty of Versailles
[June 28, 1919]

¹ Brennt Paris?

² See The Song of the Harper, 32; Ecclesiastes 5:15, 27:2;
1 Timothy 6:7, 5:11; and Theognis, 67:6.

sponsible only to its own conscience is not for
long tolerable. It holds that since any govern-
ment is liable to fail, there is needed a
method of changing the governors without
wrecking the state. It holds that unless there
is a method, be it through elections or other-
wise, by which the governed can make their
views effective in some proportion to their
weight, the nation is at the mercy of violence
in the form of terrorism, assassination, con-
spiracy, mass compulsion, and civil war.

In Defense of Liberalism. From
Vanity Fair [November 1934]

10 This law which is the spirit of law is the
opposite of an accumulation of old precedents
and new fiat. By this higher law, that men
must not be arbitrary, the old law is continu-
ally tested and the new law reviewed.

The Good Society [1937], ch. 15

11 In foreign relations, as in all other rela-
tions, a policy has been formed only when
commitments and power have been brought
into balance.

U.S. Foreign Policy [1943]

12 The final test of a leader is that he leaves
behind him in other men the conviction and
the will to carry on. . . . The genius of a
good leader is to leave behind him a situation
which common sense, without the grace of
genius, can deal with successfully.

Roosevelt Has Gone [April 14, 1945]

13 The world state is inherent in the United
Nations as an oak tree is in an acorn.

One World or None [1946]

14 A regime, an established order, is rarely
overthrown by a revolutionary movement;
usually a regime collapses of its own weak-
ness and corruption and then a revolutionary
movement enters among the ruins and takes
over the powers that have become vacant.

For Charles de Gaulle. From Today
and Tomorrow [June 5, 1958]

15 We have neglected our own affairs. Our ed-
ucation is inadequate, our cities are badly
built, our social arrangements are unsatisfac-
tory. We can't wait another generation. Un-
less we can surmount this crisis, and work
and get going onto the path of a settlement in
Asia, and a settlement in Europe, all of these
plans of the Great Society here at home, all
the plans for the rebuilding of backward
countries in other continents will all be put
on the shelf, because war interrupts every-
thing like that.

Conversations with Walter Lipp-
mann [1965]. Lippmann and Eric
Sevareid [February 22, 1965]

excuse that is not enough," replied coldly, "but as an explanation it is

's many titles included that of Maserman Forests. He was particularly with the Bialowieza National Park, lost much of its wildlife during I. Goering had the forest restocked and put a restriction on the number permits issued. So it was that one of powerful members of the Nazi party saw wall of his office the notice: "He as animals wounds the feelings of people."



Johann Wolfgang von (1749–1832), German poet, novelist, playwright, and with his friend Friedrich Schiller, the leading spirit in the Sturm und Drang movement of German literature. His autobiography, *The Sorrows of Young Werther* (1774), was acclaimed all over Europe. He settled at the court of Weimar and transformed a small German town into a major center. He wrote a number of plays and works in other European languages, but his greatest fame rests on his *Faust* (1808, 1832) and his *Wilhelm Meister's Apprenticeship* (1795–96, 1829), which describe different ways the pilgrimage of the soul. He also made contributions to comparative anatomy.

attle of Valmy in September 1792 revolutionary France confronted the forces of Austria and Prussia and compelled them to retreat. Goethe, in the battle, made the immortal remark: "Today and from this place there will begin a new epoch in the history of the world."

admired Napoleon, whom he saw as a defender of civilization against the Slavs. When they finally met at the battle of Borodino, Goethe's comment on Napoleon was "là un homme!" (There is a man!)

ie's mother lay on her deathbed, and he brought her an invitation to a party. He directed her thus: "Say that Frau Goethe would like to come; she is busy dying at the moment."

4 In 1830 Goethe's dissipated son August, who had caused his father much disappointment and care, died in Rome. When the news was brought to Goethe, he said, "I was not aware that I had begotten a mortal."

5 During Goethe's last years a disciple, Johann Peter Eckermann, recorded his conversations and also took down his last words: "Open the second shutter so that more light may come in."

{This is usually quoted simply as "More light!"}

6 When a new edition of Goethe's autobiography was produced by the greatest of the German annotators, a curious footnote crept in. After Goethe's confession, "With her, for the first time in my life, I really fell in love!" the scholarly editor added an asterisk and the information: "Here Goethe was in error."



GOGARTY, Oliver [Joseph] **St. John** (1878–1957), Irish poet. *The character of Buck Mulligan in James Joyce's Ulysses is based on him.*

1 Entering a tavern one day, Gogarty caught sight of a friend wearing a patch over one eye. He greeted him: "Drink to me with thine only eye."

2 (In January 1923 during the Irish civil war Gogarty, who had played a prominent role in the founding of the Free State, was seized by Republican extremists. William Butler Yeats continues:)

"[He was] imprisoned in a deserted house on the edge of the Liffey with every prospect of death. Pleading a natural necessity, he got into the garden, plunged under a shower of revolver bullets and as he swam the ice-cold December stream promised it, should it land him in safety, two swans. I was present when he fulfilled that vow."

{The title of Gogarty's volume of poems, *An Offering of Swans*, recalls this event.}



GOLDBERG, Arthur [Joseph] (1908–), US politician and lawyer. He was US ambassador to the United Nations (1965–68) and chairman of the US United Nations Association (1968–70).

1 Goldberg was waiting in line for sandwiches in a New York delicatessen when he was recognized by an elderly lady in front of him. "If it will help straighten out the problems of the world any quicker, Ambassador Goldberg," she said obligingly, "you can go ahead of me."

2 As secretary of labor, Goldberg was congratulated by President Kennedy for averting a labor strike. "How do you do it, Arthur?" he asked. Goldberg smiled. "The trick is to be there when it's settled," he replied.



GOLDEN, John (1874–1955), US playwright and theatrical producer. He also composed songs.

1 Golden had invited Rose Franken, author of the *Claudia* novels, to lunch. As they chatted in his office before leaving for the restaurant, Golden handed his guest a bar of chocolate. Mrs. Franken, pleasantly surprised, thanked him and put the chocolate in her purse. "I don't want to spoil my appetite," she explained. "I'll save it for later." Golden frowned. "You're supposed to spoil your appetite," he snapped. "Give it back."



GOLDSMITH, Oliver (1728–74), English poet, playwright, and novelist, born in Ireland. He was an intimate of the Samuel Johnson circle, and is best known for his comedy *She Stoops to Conquer* (1773) and his novel *The Vicar of Wakefield* (1766).

1 Goldsmith was talking about the writing of fables, and how necessary it was to make the animals talk in character so that little fishes spoke like little fishes. Samuel Johnson was overcome by laughter. "Why, Dr. Johnson," said Goldsmith smartly, "this is not so easy as you seem to think, for if you were to make little fishes talk they would talk like WHALES."



GOLDWYN, Samuel (1882–1974), US film producer. Goldwyn Pictures, the company he cofounded in 1916, merged with others to become Metro-Goldwyn-Mayer (MGM) in 1924. Among his many successes were *Wuthering Heights* (1939) and *Guys and Dolls* (1955). The

ELECTIONS IN LATIN AMERICA

Already Held:

El Salvador**	3/89 ✓	
Panama	5/89 ✓	
Bolivia	5/89 ✓	(no majority, was decided by Congress)
Argentina	5/89 ✓	
Paraguay	5/89 ✓	

To Be Held:

Honduras	11/89 ✓	
Costa Rica	2/90	
Ecuador	1/90	(Congressional)
Peru	4/90	
Chile	12/89 ✓	
Uruguay	11/89 ✓	
Brazil	11/89 ✓	
Colombia	3/90 & 5/90	(congressional/presidential)
Dominican Republic	5/90	
Nicaragua	2/90	

** all are national elections

Dennis Scocz
State Department
Policy, Planning & Coordination
647-9193

#

mitted, and to which we are
y at home and around the

ion know, whether it wishes
hat we shall pay any price,
, meet any hardship, support
se any foe to assure the sur-
ccess of liberty.

ugural address [January 20,
1961]

y cannot help the many who
ot save the few who are rich.

Ib.

egotiate out of fear, but let us
gotiate.

Ib.

ot be finished in the first one
vor will it be finished in the
rd days, nor in the life of this
nor even perhaps in our life-
net. But let us begin.

Ib.

pet summons us again — not
arms, though arms we need;
battle, though embattled we
o bear the burden of a long
e, 2 year in and year out, "re-
, patient in tribulation,"
t the common enemies of
poverty, disease and war it-

Ib.

low Americans, ask not what
in do for you; ask what you
country.¹

Ib.

n our time and in our genera-
n undiminished to those who
s was handed down to us by

son, 85:1.
the temporary associations which
now the moment when by common
become conscious of our national life
to recall what our country has done
ask ourselves what we can do for our
—OLIVER WENDELL HOLMES, JR., *Ad-
dwick Post No. 4, Grand Army of the
884*

said, the youth who loves his Alma
k, not "What can she do for me?" but
her?" — LE BARON RUSSELL BRIGGS
[1904], *College Life*
ment we must have a citizenship less
at the government can do for it and
what it can do for the nation. — WAR
DING, *Republican National Conven-
7, 1916*

lain in Kennedy's mind for a long
1945 he had noted down in a looseleaf
n from Rousseau: "As soon as any
irs of the state, What does it matter
y be given up as lost." — ARTHUR M
4 *Thousand Days* [1965], *prologue*

those who went before, the natural wealth
and beauty which is ours.

Address at the dedication ceremo-
nies of the National Wildlife Feder-
ation Building [March 3, 1961]

Unconditional war can no longer lead to
unconditional victory. It can no longer serve
to settle disputes. It can no longer be of con-
cern to great powers alone. For a nuclear dis-
aster, spread by winds and waters and fear,
could well engulf the great and the small, the
rich and the poor, the committed and the un-
committed alike. Mankind must put an end
to war or war will put an end to mankind.

Address to the United Nations
[September 25, 1961]

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. Ib.

Those who make peaceful revolution im-
possible will make violent revolution inevita-
ble.

Address to Latin American diplo-
mats, the White House [March 12,
1962]

There is always inequity in life. Some men
are killed in a war and some men are
wounded, and some men never leave the
country . . . Life is unfair.

Press conference [March 21, 1962]

The wave of the future is not the conquest
of the world by a single dogmatic creed but
the liberation of the diverse energies of free
nations and free men.

Address at the University of Cali-
fornia, Berkeley [March 23, 1962]

In a time of turbulence and change, it is
more true than ever that knowledge is
power.¹ Ib.

I think this is the most extraordinary col-
lection of talent, of human knowledge, that
has ever been gathered together at the White
House, with the possible exception of when
Thomas Jefferson dined alone.

Address at a White House dinner
and reception honoring Nobel Prize
winners [April 1962]

If . . . history . . . teaches us anything,
it is that man, in his quest for knowledge and
progress, is determined and cannot be de-
terred.

Address at Rice University, Hous-
ton [September 12, 1962]

¹See Bacon, 178:17.

We don't see the end of the tunnel, but I
must say I don't think it is darker than it was
a year ago, and in some ways lighter.²

Press conference [December 12, 1962]

Liberty without learning is always in peril
and learning without liberty is always in
vain.

Remarks on the ninetieth anni-
versary of Vanderbilt University
[March 18, 1963]

If we cannot end now our differences, at
least we can help make the world safe for
diversity.

Address at American University,
Washington, D.C. [June 10, 1963]

Every American ought to have the right to
be treated as he would wish to be treated, as
one would wish his children to be treated.
This is not the case.

Television address on civil rights,
after the registration of two
Negroes at the University of Ala-
bama [June 11, 1963]

No one has been barred on account of his
race from fighting or dying for America—
there are no "white" or "colored" signs on the
foxholes or graveyards of battle.

Message to Congress on proposed
civil rights bill [June 19, 1963]

All free men, wherever they may live, are
citizens of Berlin. And therefore, as a free
man, I take pride in the words "Ich bin ein
Berliner."

Address at City Hall, West Berlin
[June 26, 1963]

Yesterday, a shaft of light cut into the
darkness. . . . For the first time, an agree-
ment has been reached on bringing the forces
of nuclear destruction under international
control.

Television address in Washington
[July 26, 1963]³

When power leads man toward arrogance,
poetry reminds him of his limitations. When
power narrows the areas of man's concern,
poetry reminds him of the richness and diver-
sity of his existence. When power corrupts,⁴
poetry cleanses, for art establishes the basic
human truths which must serve as the touch-
stone of our judgment.

Address at Amherst College
[October 26, 1963]

²The light at the end of the tunnel. — *Current phrase*

³In Moscow on July 25, Averell Harriman, Lord Hail-
sham, and Andrei Gromyko initialed the nuclear test ban
treaty.

⁴See Pitt, 351:1; Shelley, 466:7; and Lord Acton,
615:15.

Tanizaki Junichiro

1886-1965

¹ The Chinese love jade. That strange lump of stone with its faintly muddy light, like the crystallized air of the centuries, melting dimly, dully back, deeper and deeper—are not we Orientals the only ones who know its charm? We cannot say ourselves what it is that we find in this stone. It quite lacks the brightness of a ruby or an emerald or the glitter of a diamond. But this much we can say: when we see that shadowy surface, we think how Chinese it is, we seem to find in cloudiness the accumulated sediment of the long Chinese past, we think how appropriate it is that the Chinese should admire that surface and that shadow.

In Praise of Shadows [1934]¹

² I would call back at least for literature this world of shadows we are losing. In the mansion called literature I would have the eaves deep and the walls dark, I would push back into the shadows the things that come forward too clearly, I would strip away the useless decoration. I do not ask that this be done everywhere, but perhaps we may be allowed at least one mansion where we can turn off the electric lights and see how it is without them. *Ib.*

Bruce Bairnsfather

1888-1959

³ Well, if you knows of a better 'ole,² go to it. *Fragments from France [1915].*
Caption of cartoon

Ruth Fulton Benedict

1887-1948

⁴ From the moment of his birth the customs into which [an individual] is born shape his experience and behavior. By the time he can talk, he is the little creature of his culture.³
Patterns of Culture [1934], ch. 1

⁵ Our children are not individuals whose rights and tastes are casually respected from infancy, as they are in some primitive societies. . . . They are fundamentally extensions of our own egos and give a special opportunity for the display of authority. *Ib. 7*

¹From Edward Seidensticker's adaptation, *Atlantic Monthly Supplement: Perspective of Japan* [January 1955].

²A shell crater.

³See Boas, 685:6.

⁶ In world history, those who have helped to build the same culture are not necessarily of one race, and those of the same race have not all participated in one culture. In scientific language, culture is not a function of race.

Race: Science and Politics [1940], ch. 2

⁷ Racism is the dogma that one ethnic group is condemned by nature to congenital inferiority and another group is destined to congenital superiority. *Ib. 7*

⁸ 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.

The Chrysanthemum and the Sword [1946], ch. 1

Rupert Brooke⁴

1887-1915

⁹ Breathless, we flung us on the windy hill,
Laughed in the sun, and kissed the lovely grass. *The Hill [1910]*

¹⁰ And then you suddenly cried, and turned away. *Ib.*

¹¹ Curates, long dust, will come and go
On lissom, clerical, printless toe.
The Old Vicarage, Grantchester [1912]

¹² Oh! yet
Stands the church clock at ten to three?
And is there honey still for tea? *Ib.*

¹³ Fish say, they have their stream and pond:
But is there anything beyond?
Heaven [1913]

¹⁴ And in that Heaven of all their wish,
There shall be no more land, say fish. *Ib.*

¹⁵ But there's wisdom in women, of more than they have known,
And thoughts go blowing through them, are wiser than their own.
There's Wisdom in Women [1913]

¹⁶ Then, the cool kindness of sheets, that soon
Smooth away trouble; and the rough male kiss
Of blankets; grainy wood; live hair that is
Shining and free; blue-massing clouds; the keen

⁴See Frances Cornford, 795:1

Longfellow

Longfellow

Saxon phrase, which calls
God's Acre!
God's Acre [1842], st. 1

stant feet,
nd river meet,
hildhood fleet!
Maidenhood [1842], st. 3

strange device,
Excelsior [1842], st. 1

er night!
eeps.
Irish Student [1843], act
I, sc. iii (serenade)

ge at midnight,
striking the hour.
The Bridge [1845]

id the darkness
gs of Night,
ted downward
is flight.
Day Is Done [1845], st. 1

s and longing,
pain. *Ib.* st. 3

heartfelt lay. *Ib.* st. 4

blime,
teps echo
ors of Time. *Ib.* st. 5

mbler poet. *Ib.* st. 7

be filled with music,
infest the day,
s, like the Arabs,
l away. *Ib.* st. 11

rnity
itly—

Old Clock on the Stairs
[1845], st. 9

the air,
ew not where.
Now and the Song [1845],
st. 1

beginning to end,
of a friend. *Ib.* st. 3

meval. The murmuring
emlocks³ . . .
old.
Evangeline [1847], l. 1

Alike were they free from
Fear, that reigns with the tyrant, and envy,
the vice of republics. *Ib.* pt. I, sec. 1

When she had passed, it seemed like the ceasing
of exquisite music. *Ib.*

Silently one by one, in the infinite meadows
of heaven
Blossomed the lovely stars, the forget-me-
nots of the angels. *Ib.* 3

Talk not of wasted affection! affection never
was wasted;
If it enrich not the heart of another, its wa-
ters, returning
Back to their springs, like the rain, shall fill
them full of refreshment:
That which the fountain sends forth returns
again to the fountain. *Ib.* II, 1

Give what you have. To someone, it may be
better than you dare to think.
Kavanagh [1849]

Build me straight, O worthy Master!
Staunch and strong, a goodly vessel.
The Building of the Ship [1849], l. 1

And see! she stirs!
She starts—she moves—she seems to feel
The thrill of life along her keel. *Ib.* l. 349

Sail on, O Ship of State!
Sail on, O Union, strong and great!
Humanity with all its fears,
With all the hopes of future years,
Is hanging breathless on thy fate! *Ib.* l. 378

Our hearts, our hopes, our prayers, our tears,
Our faith triumphant o'er our fears,
Are all with thee—are all with thee!
Ib. l. 397

There is no fireside, howsoever defended,
But has one vacant chair!
Resignation [1849], st. 1

There is no Death! What seems so is transi-
tion;
This life of mortal breath
Is but a suburb of the life elysian,
Whose portal we call Death. *Ib.* st. 5

Nothing useless is, or low.
The Builders [1849], st. 2

God sent his Singers upon earth
With songs of sadness and of mirth.
The Singers [1849], st. 1

But the great Master said, "I see
No best in kind, but in degree;
I gave a various gift to each,
To charm, to strengthen, and to teach."
Ib. st. 6

All your strength is in your union.
All your danger is in discord;
Therefore be at peace henceforward,
And as brothers live together.
The Song of Hiawatha [1855], pt. I

By the shores of Gitche Gumee,
By the shining Big-Sea-Water,
Stood the wigwam of Nokomis,
Daughter of the Moon, Nokomis. *Ib.* III

From the waterfall he named her,
Minnehaha, Laughing Water. *Ib.* IV

As unto the bow the cord is,
So unto the man is woman,
Though she bends him, she obeys him,
Though she draws him, yet she follows,
Useless each without the other! *Ib.* X

If we could read the secret history of our
enemies, we should find in each man's life
sorrow and suffering enough to disarm all
hostility. *Driftwood* [1857]

If I am not worth the wooing, I surely am not
worth the winning.
The Courtship of Miles Standish
[1858], pt. III

"Why don't you speak for yourself, John?"¹
Ib.

Saint Augustine! well hast thou said,
That of our vices we can frame
A ladder, if we will but tread
Beneath our feet each deed of shame.²
The Ladder of St. Augustine
[1858], st. 1

The heights by great men reached and kept
Were not attained by sudden flight,
But they, while their companions slept,
Were toiling upward in the night. *Ib.* st. 10

The long mysterious Exodus of death.
The Jewish Cemetery at Newport
[1858], st. 1

A boy's will is the wind's will,
And the thoughts of youth are long, long
thoughts.
My Lost Youth [1858], refrain

¹See Shakespeare, 209:9.²See St. Augustine, 129:10, and Tennyson, 531:19.

- ¹ For dronkenesse is verray sepulture
Of mannes wit and his discrecioun.
Ib. The Pardoner's Tale, l. 558
- ² Mordre wol out, certeyn, it wol nat faille.¹
Ib. The Prioress's Tale, l. 1776
- ³ This may wel be rym dogerel.
Ib. Chaucer's Tale of Sir Thopas, l. 2115
- ⁴ Ful wys is he that kan hymselfen knowe!²
Ib. The Monk's Tale, l. 3329
- ⁵ He was of knyghthod and of freedom flour.
Ib. l. 3832
- ⁶ For whan a man hath over-greet a wit,
Ful oft hym happeth to mysusen it.
Ib. The Canon Yeoman's Prologue, l. 648
- ⁷ My sone, keep wel thy tonge, and keep thy
freend. *Ib. The Manciple's Tale, l. 319*
- ⁸ Thing that is seyde, is seyde; and forth it
gooth.³ *Ib. l. 355*
- ⁹ For the proverbe seith that "manye smale
maken a greet."⁴
Ib. The Parson's Tale, l. 361
- ¹⁰ Reule wel thyself, that other folk canst rede.
And trouthe thee shal delivere, it is no drede.
Truth [c. 1390], l. 6
- ¹¹ The wrastling for this world axeth a fal.
Ib. l. 16

John Huss

c. 1370-1415

- ¹² O holy simplicity!⁵
Last words, at the stake

¹Proverbial.Also in *The Nun's Priest's Tale, ll. 4242 and 4247.*

How easily murder is discovered!—SHAKESPEARE,

Titus Andronicus [1593-1594], *act II, sc. iii, l. 28*

Truth will come to light; murder cannot be hid long.

—SHAKESPEARE, *The Merchant of Venice* [1596-1597].*act II, sc. ii, l. 86*

Murder, though it have no tongue, will speak / With

most miraculous organ.—SHAKESPEARE, *Hamlet* [1600-1601], *act II, sc. ii, l. 630*Murder will out.—CERVANTES, *Don Quixote, pt. I*[1605], *bk. III, ch. 8*

Carcasses bleed at the sight of the murderer.—ROBERT

BURTON, *Anatomy of Melancholy* [1621-1651], *pt. I, sec. I**member 2, subsec. 5*

Other sins only speak; murder shrieks out.—JOHN

WEBSTER, *Duchess of Malfi* [1623], *act IV, sc. ii*²See *The Seven Sages, 624.*³See Horace, 109:10.⁴The proverb goes back to St. Augustine.

See Hesiod, 61:20, and Cervantes, 170:9.

Many small make a great.—JOHN HEYWOOD, *Proverbs*[1546], *pt. I, ch. II*⁵O sancta simplicitas!

Chaucer — Charles d'Orléans

Thomas à Kempis

1380-1471

- ¹³ Sic transit gloria mundi [So passes away
the glory of this world].⁶
*Imitation of Christ [c. 1420],
bk. I, ch. 3*
- ¹⁴ Be not angry that you cannot make others
as you wish them to be, since you cannot
make yourself as you wish to be. *Ib. 16*
- ¹⁵ Man proposes, but God disposes.⁷ *Ib. 19*
- ¹⁶ What canst thou see elsewhere which thou
canst not see here? Behold the heaven and
the earth and all the elements; for of these
are all things created. *Ib. 20*
- ¹⁷ No man ruleth safely but he that is will-
ingly ruled. *Ib.*
- ¹⁸ And when he is out of sight, quickly also is
he out of mind.⁸ *Ib. 23*
- ¹⁹ First keep the peace within yourself, then
you can also bring peace to others. *Ib. II, 3*
- ²⁰ Love is swift, sincere, pious, pleasant, gen-
tle, strong, patient, faithful, prudent, long-
suffering, manly and never seeking her own;
for wheresoever a man seeketh his own,
there he falleth from love.⁹ *Ib. III, 5*

Charles d'Orléans

1391-1465

- ²¹ I am dying of thirst by the side of the foun-
tain.¹⁰ *Ballades, 2*
- ²² The season has shed its mantle of wind and
chill and rain.¹¹ *Rondeaux, 63*

⁶These words are used in the crowning of the pope.⁷Homo proponet et Deus disponit.—WILLIAM LANG-LAND [c. 1330-c. 1400], *The Vision of Piers Plowman, l.**13:994* [1550 edition]Man appoints, and God disappoints.—CERVANTES, *Don**Quixote, pt. II* [1615], *bk. IV, ch. 55*⁸See *Proverbs 16:9, 24:11.*⁹Out of sight, out of mind.—BARNABE GOOGE, *Eglogs*

[1563]

And out of mind as soon as out of sight.—FULKE GRE-

VILLE [1554-1628], *Sonnet 56*

Fer from eze, fer from herte, / Quoth Hendyng.—HEN-

DYNG [1272-1307], *Proverbs, MS*

I do perceive that the old proverbs be not always true,

for I do find that the absence of my Nath. doth breed in

me the more continual remembrance of him.—LADY ANN

BACON [1528-1610], *letter to Lady Jane Cornwallis*¹⁰See *I Corinthians 13:4 and 13:7, 48:23 and 48:24.*¹¹Je meurs de soif en cousté la fontaine.

See Wilbur, 900:4.

¹²Le temps a laissé son manteau / De vent, de froidure

et de pluie.

- 1 I am sure the grapes are sour.¹
The Fox and the Grapes
- 2 No act of kindness, no matter how small, is ever wasted.
The Lion and the Mouse
- 3 Slow and steady wins the race.
The Hare and the Tortoise
- 4 Familiarity breeds contempt.²
The Fox and the Lion
- 5 The boy cried "Wolf, wolf!" and the villagers came out to help him.
The Shepherd Boy and the Wolf
- 6 A crust eaten in peace is better than a banquet partaken in anxiety.³
The Town Mouse and the Country Mouse
- 7 Borrowed plumes.
The Jay and the Peacock
- 8 It is not only fine feathers that make fine birds.
Ib.
- 9 Self-conceit may lead to self-destruction.
The Frog and the Ox
- 10 People often grudge others what they cannot enjoy themselves.
The Dog in the Manger
- 11 It is thrifty to prepare today for the wants of tomorrow.
The Ant⁴ and the Grasshopper
- 12 Be content with your lot; one cannot be first in everything.
Juno and the Peacock⁵
- 13 A huge gap appeared in the side of the mountain. At last a tiny mouse came forth.⁶
The Mountain in Labor
- 14 Any excuse will serve a tyrant.
The Wolf and the Lamb
- 15 Beware lest you lose the substance by grasping at the shadow.
The Dog and the Shadow

¹The fox, when he cannot reach the grapes, says they are not ripe.—GEORGE HERBERT, *Jacula Prudentum* [1640]

"They are too green," he said, "and only good for fools."
—LA FONTAINE, *Fables*, bk. III [1668], fable 11, *The Fox and the Grapes*

²See Mark Twain, 626:14.

³See *Proverbs* 15:17, 24:7.

⁴See *Proverbs* 6:6-8, 23:11.

⁵See Sean O'Casey, 786:9.

⁶A mountain was in labor, sending forth dreadful groans, and there was in the region the highest expectation. After all, it brought forth a mouse.—PHAEDRUS [fl. c. A.D. 8] IV, 22:1

See Horace, 109:25.

- 16 Who shall bell the cat?
The Rats and the Cat
- 17 I will have nought to do with a man who can blow hot and cold with the same breath.
The Man and the Satyr
- 18 Thinking to get at once all the gold the goose could give, he killed it and opened it only to find—nothing.
The Goose with the Golden Eggs
- 19 Put your shoulder to the wheel.
Hercules and the Wagoner
- 20 The gods help them that help themselves.⁷
Ib.
- 21 We would often be sorry if our wishes were gratified.⁸
The Old Man and Death
- 22 Union gives strength.⁹
The Bundle of Sticks
- 23 While I see many hoof marks going in, I see none coming out. It is easier to get into the enemy's toils than out again.
The Lion, the Fox, and the Beasts
- 24 The haft of the arrow had been feathered with one of the eagle's own plumes. We often give our enemies the means of our own destruction.¹⁰
The Eagle and the Arrow
- ⁷God loves to help him who strives to help himself.—AESCHYLUS [525-456 B.C.], *Fragment 223*
Heaven helps not the men who will not act.—SOPHOCLES [495-405 B.C.], *Fragment 288*
Try first thyself, and after call in God; For to the worker God himself lends aid.—EURIPIDES [485-406 B.C.], *Hippolytus*, *Fragment 435*
See Hippocrates, 80:13.
Help thyself, and God will help thee.—GEORGE HERBERT, *Jacula Prudentum* [1640]
God helps those who help themselves.—ALGERNON SIDNEY, *Discourses on Government* [1698], sec. 23, and BENJAMIN FRANKLIN, *Poor Richard's Almanac* [1733-1758]
- ⁸Granting our wish one of Fate's saddest jokes is! —J. R. LOWELL [1819-1891], *Two Scenes from the Life of Blondel*, sc. II, st. 2
Beware, my lord! Beware lest stern Heaven hate you enough to hear your prayers! —ANATOLE FRANCE, *The Crime of Sylvestre Bonnard* [1881], pt. II, ch. 4
When the gods wish to punish us they answer our prayers.—OSCAR WILDE, *An Ideal Husband* [1895], act II
- ⁹See John Dickinson, 378:11.
- ¹⁰So in the Libyan fable it is told: That once an eagle, stricken with a dart, / Said, when he saw the fashion of the shaft, / "With our own feathers, not by others' hands, / Are we now smitten." —AESCHYLUS [525-456 B.C.], *Fragment 135*; translated [1868] by EDWARD HAYES PLUMPTRE
That eagle's fate and mine are one, / Which on the shaft that made him die / Espied a feather of his own, / Wherewith he wont to soar so high.—EDMUND WALLER [1605-1687], *To a Lady Singing a Song of His Composing*
See Byron, 456:17.

The Holy Bible: Romans

Acts — Romans

your own heads. Acts 18:6
 none of those things. 18:17
 tures. 18:24
 uch as heard whether lost. 19:2
 about the space of two t is Diana of the Ephe- 19:34
 o give than to receive. 20:35
 Jew of Tarsus, a city in o mean city. 21:39
 is city at the feet of 22:3
 tain answered, With a this freedom. And Paul born. 22:28
 ee, thou whited wall. 23:3
 's high priest? 23:4
 risee, the son of a Phari- 23:6
 l of offense toward God, 24:16
 onvenient season, I will 24:25
 asar. 25:11
 side thyself; much learn- 26:24
 mad. 26:24
 . . . but speak forth the soberness. 26:25
 as not done in a corner. 26:26
 suadest me to be a Chris- 26:28
 idgest another, thou con-
 stle of Paul the Apostle to the Romans 2:1
 ot the law, are a law unto 2:14
 are more excellent. 2:18
 , there is no transgression. 4:15

Who against hope believed in hope. Romans 4:18
 Where sin abounded, grace did much more abound. 5:20
 Death hath no more dominion over him. 6:9
 I speak after the manner of men. 6:19
 The wages of sin is death; but the gift of God is eternal life. 6:23
 The good that I would I do not: but the evil which I would not, that I do.¹ 7:19
 Who shall deliver me from the body of this death? 7:24
 Heirs of God, and joint-heirs with Christ. 8:17
 For we know that the whole creation groaneth and travaileth in pain together until now. 8:22
 All things work together for good to them that love God. 8:28
 For whom he did foreknow, he also did predestinate to be conformed to the image of his Son, that he might be the firstborn among many brethren.
 Moreover whom he did predestinate, them he also called: and whom he called, them he also justified: and whom he justified, them he also glorified. 8:29-30
 If God be for us, who can be against us? 8:31
 Who shall lay any thing to the charge of God's elect? It is God that justifieth. 8:33
 Who shall separate us from the love of Christ? 8:35
 Neither death, nor life, nor angels, nor principalities, nor powers, nor things present, nor things to come,
 Nor height, nor depth, nor any other creature, shall be able to separate us from the love of God, which is in Christ Jesus our Lord. 8:38-39
 Hath not the potter power over the clay, of the same lump to make one vessel unto honor, and another unto dishonor? 9:21
 For who hath known the mind of the Lord? 11:34

¹See Euripides, 76:19, and Ovid, 113:21.

I beseech you therefore, brethren . . . that ye present your bodies a living sacrifice, holy, acceptable unto God, which is your reasonable service.² Romans 12:1
 Let love be without dissimulation. 12:9
 Be kindly affectioned one to another with brotherly love. 12:10
 Given to hospitality. 12:13
 Be not wise in your own conceits. Recompense to no man evil for evil. 12:16-17
 If it be possible, as much as lieth in you, live peaceably with all men. 12:18
 Vengeance is mine; I will repay, saith the Lord. 12:19
 Be not overcome of evil, but overcome evil with good. 12:21
 The powers that be are ordained of God. 13:1
 Render therefore to all their dues: tribute to whom tribute is due; custom to whom custom; fear to whom fear; honor to whom honor.
 Owe no man anything, but to love one another. 13:7-8
 Love is the fulfilling of the law. 13:10
 The night is far spent, the day is at hand: let us therefore cast off the works of darkness, and let us put on the armor of light.
 Let us walk honestly, as in the day; not in rioting and drunkenness, not in chambering and wantonness, not in strife and envying.
 But put ye on the Lord Jesus Christ, and make not provision for the flesh, to fulfil the lusts thereof.³ 13:12-14
 Doubtful disputations. 14:1
 Let every man be fully persuaded in his own mind. 14:5
 For none of us liveth to himself, and no man dieth to himself.
 For whether we live, we live unto the Lord; and whether we die, we die unto the Lord: whether we live therefore, or die, we are the Lord's. 14:7-8
 Let us therefore follow after the things which make for peace. 14:19
 We then that are strong ought to bear the infirmities of the weak, and not to please ourselves. 15:1

²See Book of Common Prayer, 55:19.
³See St. Augustine, 129:4, and note.

¹ He that will have his son have a respect for him and his orders, must himself have a great reverence for his son.¹ *Ib.* 65

² The only fence against the world is a thorough knowledge of it. *Ib.* 88

Benedict [Baruch] Spinoza²

1632-1677

³ Peace is not an absence of war, it is a virtue, a state of mind, a disposition for benevolence, confidence, justice.

Theological-Political Treatise [1670]

⁴ Nature abhors a vacuum.
Ethics [1677],³ pt. I, proposition 15: note

⁵ God and all the attributes of God are eternal. *Ib.* 19

⁶ Nothing exists from whose nature some effect does not follow. *Ib.* 36

⁷ He who would distinguish the true from the false must have an adequate idea of what is true and false. *Ib.* II, 42: proof

⁸ Will and Intellect are one and the same thing. *Ib.* 49: corollary

⁹ He that can carp in the most eloquent or acute manner at the weakness of the human mind is held by his fellows as almost divine. *Ib.* III: preface

¹⁰ Surely human affairs would be far happier if the power in men to be silent were the same as that to speak. But experience more than sufficiently teaches that men govern nothing with more difficulty than their tongues. *Ib.* 2: note

¹¹ Pride is therefore pleasure arising from a man's thinking too highly of himself. *Ib.* 26: note

¹² It may easily come to pass that a vain man may become proud and imagine himself pleasing to all when he is in reality a universal nuisance. *Ib.* 30: note

¹³ Self-complacency is pleasure accompanied by the idea of oneself as cause. *Ib.* 51: note

¹ See Juvenal, 122:19.

² Ein Gottbetrunkenener Mensch [A God-intoxicated man]. — NOVALIS (FRIEDRICH VON HARDENBERG) [1772-1801]

The Lord blot out his name under heaven. The Lord set him apart for destruction from all the tribes of Israel, with all the curses of the firmament which are written in the Book of the Law. . . . There shall no man speak to him, no man write to him, no man show him any kindness, no man stay under the same roof with him, no man come nigh him. — *Amsterdam synagogue's curse on Spinoza* [1656]

³ Everyman edition, translated by ANDREW BOYLE.

¹⁴ It therefore comes to pass that everyone is fond of relating his own exploits and displaying the strength both of his body and his mind, and that men are on this account a nuisance one to the other. *Ib.* 54: note

¹⁵ I refer those actions which work out the good of the agent to courage, and those which work out the good of others to nobility. Therefore temperance, sobriety, and presence of mind in danger, etc., are species of courage; but modesty, clemency, etc., are species of nobility. *Ib.* 59: note

¹⁶ Fear cannot be without hope nor hope without fear. *Ib.* definition 13: explanation

¹⁷ So long as a man imagines that he cannot do this or that, so long is he determined not to do it: and consequently, so long it is impossible to him that he should do it. *Ib.* 28: explanation

¹⁸ Those who are believed to be most abject and humble are usually most ambitious and envious.

Ib. proposition 29: explanation

¹⁹ One and the same thing can at the same time be good, bad, and indifferent, e.g., music is good to the melancholy, bad to those who mourn, and neither good nor bad to the deaf. *Ib.* IV: preface

²⁰ Man is a social animal.⁴ *Ib.* proposition 35: note

²¹ Men will find that they can prepare with mutual aid far more easily what they need, and avoid far more easily the perils which beset them on all sides, by united forces. *Ib.*

²² Avarice, ambition, lust, etc., are nothing but species of madness.⁵ *Ib.* 44: note

²³ He whose honor depends on the opinion of the mob must day by day strive with the greatest anxiety, act and scheme in order to retain his reputation. For the mob is varied and inconstant, and therefore if a reputation is not carefully preserved it dies quickly. *Ib.* 58: note

²⁴ In refusing benefits caution must be used lest we seem to despise or to refuse them for fear of having to repay them in kind. *Ib.* 70: note

⁴ See Blackstone, 365:15.

⁵ To me, avarice seems not so much a vice, as a deplorable piece of madness. — SIR THOMAS BROWNE, *Religio Medici* [1642]

the improvement and growth of underdeveloped areas.

Inaugural Address (Point Four Program) [January 20, 1949]

1 If you can't stand the heat, get out of the kitchen. *Saying*¹

2 There is enough in the world for everyone to have plenty to live on happily and to be at peace with his neighbors.

Memoirs [1955], vol. I, Year of Decisions, preface

3 A President either is constantly on top of events or, if he hesitates, events will soon be on top of him. I never felt that I could let up for a single moment.

Ib. II, Years of Trial and Hope, ch. 1

4 No one who has not had the responsibility can really understand what it is like to be President, not even his closest aides or members of his immediate family. There is no end to the chain of responsibility that binds him, and he is never allowed to forget that he is President. *Ib.*

5 Once a decision was made, I did not worry about it afterward. *Ib.*

6 Most of the problems a President has to face have their roots in the past. *Ib.*

7 The Marshall Plan will go down in history as one of America's greatest contributions to the peace of the world. *Ib. 8*

8 To me, party platforms are contracts with the people. *Ib. 13*

9 A President cannot always be popular. *Ib. 14*

10 A President needs political understanding to run the government, but he may be elected without it. *Ib.*

11 The convention system has its faults, of course, but I do not know of a better method for choosing a presidential nominee. *Ib.*

12 All my life I have fought against prejudice and intolerance. *Ib. 19*

¹ President Truman has used variations of the aphorism . . . for many years, both orally and in his writings. For instance, in his book *Mr. Citizen* [1960], in the chapter entitled "Some Thoughts on the Presidency," he states, "Some men can make decisions and some cannot. Some men fret and delay under criticism. I used to have a saying that applies here, and I note that some people have picked it up."—*Letter to editor from PHILIP D. LAGERQUIST, Harry S. Truman Library, Independence, Missouri* [February 11, 1966]

14 The Bill of Rights, contained in the first ten amendments to the Constitution, is every American's guarantee of freedom. *Ib.*

15 If there is one basic element in our Constitution, it is civilian control of the military. *Ib.*

16 There is a right kind and wrong kind of victory, just as there are wars for the right thing and wars that are wrong from every standpoint. . . . The kind of victory MacArthur had in mind—victory by the bombing of Chinese cities, victory by expanding the conflict to all of China—would have been the wrong kind of victory. *Ib.*

17 The buck stops here. *Sign on Truman's desk when President. From ALFRED STEINBERG, The Man from Missouri [1962]*

18 The only thing new in the world is the history you don't know. *From MERLE MILLER, Plain Speaking: An Oral Biography of Harry S. Truman [1974], ch. 23*

19 Secrecy and a free, democratic government don't mix. *Ib. 35*

20 A leader has to lead, or otherwise he has no business in politics. *Ib. 38*

Charter of the United Nations

21 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 [June 1945], preamble*²

Sophie Tucker³
c. 1884–1966

22 From birth to age eighteen, a girl needs good parents. From eighteen to thirty-five, she needs good looks. From thirty-five to fifty-

²The preamble is based on a draft by JAN CHRISTIAN SMUTS [1870–1950].

³Known as "The Last of the Red-Hot Mamas" from the title of a song by JACK YELLEN [1892–1958], which she introduced in 1928.

Padraic Colum

1881-1972

- 1 A little house—a house of my own—
Out of the wind's and the rain's way.
An Old Woman of the Roads, st. 6

Sir Alexander Fleming

1881-1955

- 2 It is the lone worker who makes the first
advance in a subject: the details may be
worked out by a team, but the prime idea is
due to the enterprise, thought and perception
of an individual.¹

*Address at Edinburgh University
[1951]*

Edgar Albert Guest

1881-1959

- 3 Somebody said that it couldn't be done,
But he with a chuckle replied
That maybe it couldn't, but he would be one
Who wouldn't say so till he'd tried.

It Couldn't Be Done

- 4 It takes a heap o' livin' in a house t' make it
home,
A heap o' sun an' shadder, an' ye sometimes
have t' roam
Afore ye really 'preciate the things ye lef'
behind,
An' hunger fer 'em somehow, with 'em allus
on yer mind. *Home*

- 5 Let me be a little kinder,
Let me be a little blinder
To the faults of those around me,
Let me praise a little more. *A Creed*

Pope John XXIII
[Angelo Giuseppe Roncalli]

1881-1963

- 6 The social progress, order, security and
peace of each country are necessarily con-
nected with the social progress, order, secu-
rity and peace of all other countries.

*Pacem in Terris. Encyclical letter
[April 11, 1963]*

- 7 The moral order, which needs public
authority in order to promote the common
good in human society, requires also that
the authority be effective in attaining that
end. . . .

¹ See Darwin, 66:3, and Zinsser, 76:5.

Today the universal common good poses
problems of world-wide dimensions, which
cannot be adequately tackled or solved ex-
cept by the efforts of public authorities en-
dowed with a wideness of power, structure
and means of the same proportions: that is, of
public authorities which are in a position to
operate in an effective manner on a world-
wide basis. The moral order itself, therefore,
demands that such a form of public authority
be established. *Ib.*

- 8 An act of the highest importance per-
formed by the United Nations Organization
was the universal Declaration of Human
Rights, approved in the General Assembly
of December 10, 1948. . . . The document
represents an important step on the path to-
wards the juridical-political organization of
the world community. For in it, in most sol-
emn form, the dignity of a person is acknowl-
edged to all human beings; and as a conse-
quence there is proclaimed, as a fundamen-
tal right, the right of free movement in search
for truth and in the attainment of moral good
and of justice, and also the right to a dignified
life. *Ib.*

- 9 The representative of the highest spiritual
authority of the earth is glad, indeed boasts,
of being the son of a humble but robust and
honest laborer.

*Remark to the mayor of Fleury-
sur-Loire. From Wit and Wisdom
of Good Pope John. collected by
HENRI FESQUET [1963]*

Pablo Picasso

1881-1973

- 10 For me, a painting is a dramatic action in
the course of which reality finds itself split
apart. For me, that dramatic action takes
precedence over all other considerations. The
pure plastic act is only secondary as far as I'm
concerned. What counts is the drama of that
plastic act, the moment at which the universe
comes out of itself and meets its own destruc-
tion.

*From FRANÇOISE GILOT AND
CARLTON LAKE, Life with Picasso
[1964], pt. I*

- 11 Painting isn't an aesthetic operation; it's a
form of magic designed as a mediator be-
tween this strange hostile world and us, a
way of seizing the power by giving form to our
terrors as well as our desires. *Ib. VI*

- 12 I am only a public entertainer who has un-
derstood his time. *Remark*

- ¹ The light is buried under chains and noises
in impudent challenge of rootless science.
Through the suburbs, sleepless people stag-
ger,
as though just delivered from a shipwreck of
blood. *Ib. st. 5*

George Gershwin¹

1898-1937

- ² Rhapsody in Blue.
Title of composition [1924]
- ³ True music . . . must repeat the thought
and inspirations of the people and the time.
My people are Americans. My time is today.
*From EDWARD JABLONSKI and
LAWRENCE D. STEWART, The
Gershwin Years [1926]*

Horace Gregory

1898-1982

- ⁴ My boyhood saw
Greek islands floating over Harvard Square.²
Chorus for Survival [1935], 14

Edgar Y. Harburg

1898-1981

- ⁵ Once I built a railroad, now it's done.
Brother, can you spare a dime?
*Americana, [third edition, 1932].³
Brother, Can You Spare a Dime?*
- ⁶ Somewhere over the rainbow
Bluebirds fly.
Birds fly over the rainbow—
Why then, oh why can't I?
*The Wizard of Oz [1939].⁴ Over
the Rainbow*
- ⁷ We gotta be free—
The eagle and me.
*Bloomer Girl [1944].⁵ The Eagle
and Me*
- ⁸ How are things in Glocca Morra this fine
day?
*Finian's Rainbow [1947].⁶ How
Are Things in Glocca Morra?*

¹ See Ira Gershwin, 835.

² The speaker in the poem is Emerson.

³ Music by JAY GORNEY.

⁴ Music by HAROLD ARLEN.

See Baum, 677:7.

⁵ Music by HAROLD ARLEN.

The emancipation of woman from intemperance, injus-
tice, prejudice, and bigotry.—AMELIA JENKS BLOOMER
[1818-1894], *masthead of her paper The Lily*

⁶ Music by BURTON LANE

Garcia Lorca — Robbins

Clive Staples Lewis

1898-1963

- ⁹ The safest road to Hell is the gradual one
—the gentle slope, soft underfoot, without
sudden turnings, without milestones, with-
out signposts.

The Screwtape Letters [1941], 12

- ¹⁰ The Future is something which everyone
reaches at the rate of sixty minutes an hour,
whatever he does, whoever he is.

Ib. 25

- ¹¹ The long, dull, monotonous years of mid-
dle-aged prosperity or middle-aged adversity
are excellent campaigning weather [for the
Devil].

Ib. 28

Golda Meir

1898-1978

- ¹² We only want that which is given naturally
to all peoples of the world, to be masters of
our own fate, only of our fate, not of others,
and in cooperation and friendship with oth-
ers.

*Address to Anglo-American Com-
mittee of Inquiry [March 25, 1946]*

Norman Vincent Peale

1898-

- ¹³ The Power of Positive Thinking.

Title of book [1952]

Amelia Earhart Putnam

1898-1937

- ¹⁴ Courage is the price that life exacts for grant-
ing 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. *Courage*

**Lionel Charles Robbins,
Lord Robbins**

1898-

- ¹⁵ Economics is the science which studies
human behavior as a relationship between
ends and scarce means which have alterna-
tive uses.

*An Essay on the Nature and
Significance of Economic Science
[1932], ch. 1, sec. 3*

The Holy Bible: Matthew

rypha — Matthew

Testament²
all be with child, and
and they shall call his
ch being interpreted is,

ie Gospel According to
St. Matthew 1:23

s born in Bethlehem of
Herod the king, behold,
from the east to Jerusa-

e that is born King of
e seen his star in the
worship him.

2:1-2

ng child with Mary his
n, and worshipped him:
ted unto him gifts; gold,
d myrrh.

of God in a dream that
rn to Herod, they de-
n country another way.

2:11-12

I called my son.

2:15

for her children, and
orted, because they are

2:18

a Nazarene.

2:23

kingdom of heaven is at

3:2

rying in the wilderness,
of the Lord, make his

3:3

s locusts and wild honey.

3:4

ripers, who hath warned
wrath to come?

3:7

is laid unto the root of the
ery tree which bringeth
t is hewn down, and cast

3:10

d descending like a dove.

3:16

ed Son, in whom I am well

3:17

n writings [A.D. c. 50-c. 64] are
Paul the Apostle. The Gospels are
s 70 and 100.

her children refused to be com-
y were not. —Jeremiah 31:15
30.

1 And when he had fasted forty days and
forty nights, he was afterward an hungred.

Matthew 4:2

2 The people which sat in darkness saw great
light.¹

4:16

3 Follow me, and I will make you fishers of
men.

4:19

4 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 meek: for they shall inherit
the earth.²

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

Blessed are the merciful: for they shall ob-
tain 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.

5:3-11³

5 Ye are the salt of the earth: but if the salt
have lost his savor, wherewith shall it be
salted?

5:13

6 Ye are the light of the world. A city that is
set on an hill cannot be hid.

Neither do men light a candle, and put it
under a bushel, but on a candlestick; and it
giveth light unto all that are in the house.

Let your light so shine before men, that
they may see your good works, and glorify
your Father which is in heaven.

Think not that I am come to destroy the
law, or the prophets: I am not come to de-
stroy, but to fulfill.

5:14-17

7 Till heaven and earth pass, one jot or one
tittle shall in no wise pass from the law, till
all be fulfilled.

5:18

8 Whosoever looketh on a woman to lust
after her hath committed adultery with her
already in his heart.

And if thy right eye offend thee, pluck it
out, and cast it from thee: for it is profitable

¹See Psalm 107:10, 21:13, and Luke 1:79, 4:26.

²See Psalm 37:11, 18:24.

³The Beatitudes are the opening of the Sermon on the
Mount, which continues through Matthew 7.
See Lao-tzu, 64:10.

for thee that one of thy members should per-
ish, and not that thy whole body should be
cast into hell.

And if thy right hand offend thee, cut it off.

Matthew 5:28-30

9 Swear not at all; neither by heaven; for it
is God's throne:

Nor by the earth; for it is his footstool.

5:34-35

10 Resist not evil: but whosoever shall smite
thee on thy right cheek, turn to him the other
also.

5:39

11 Love your enemies, bless them that curse
you, do good to them that hate you, and pray
for them which despitefully use you, and per-
secute you.

5:44

12 He maketh his sun to rise on the evil and
on the good, and sendeth rain on the just and
on the unjust.

5:45

13 Be ye therefore perfect, even as your Fa-
ther which is in heaven is perfect.

5:48

14 When thou doest alms, let not thy left hand
know what thy right hand doeth.

6:3

15 After this manner therefore pray ye: Our
Father which art in heaven,⁴ Hallowed be
thy name.

Thy kingdom come. Thy will be done in
earth, as it is in heaven.

Give us this day our daily bread.

And forgive us our debts, as we forgive our
debtors.⁵

And lead us not into temptation, but de-
liver us from evil: For thine is the kingdom,
and the power, and the glory,⁶ for ever.
Amen.

6:9-13⁷

16 Lay not up for yourselves treasures upon
earth, where moth and rust doth corrupt, and
where thieves break through and steal:

But lay up for yourselves treasures in
heaven.

6:19-20

17 For where your treasure is, there will your
heart be also.

6:21

18 The light of the body is the eye.

6:22

19 If therefore the light that is in thee be
darkness, how great is that darkness!

6:23

⁴Our Father, who art in heaven.—Book of Common
Prayer, Morning Prayer

⁵And forgive us our trespasses, As we forgive those
who trespass against us.—Book of Common Prayer,
Morning Prayer

⁶See Chronicles 29:11, 14:25.

⁷The Lord's Prayer.

¹ No man is good enough to govern another man without that other's consent.

Speech at Peoria, Illinois
[October 16, 1854]

² I am not a Know-Nothing . . . How could I be? How can anyone who abhors the oppression of Negroes be in favor of degrading classes of white people? Our progress in degeneracy appears to me to be pretty rapid. As a nation we began by declaring that "all men are created equal." We now practically read it "all men are created equal, except Negroes." When the Know-Nothings get control, it will read "all men are created equal, except Negroes and foreigners and Catholics." When it comes to this, I shall prefer emigrating to some country where they make no pretense of loving liberty—to Russia, for instance, where despotism can be taken pure, and without the base alloy of hypocrisy.¹

Letter to Joshua F. Speed
[August 24, 1855]

³ The ballot is stronger than the bullet.

Speech at Bloomington, Illinois
[May 19, 1856]

⁴ "A house divided against itself cannot stand."² I believe this government cannot endure permanently half slave and half free. I do not expect the Union to be dissolved—I do not expect the house to fall—but I do expect it will cease to be divided. It will become all one thing, or all the other. Either the opponents of slavery will arrest the further spread of it, and place it where the public mind shall rest in the belief that it is in the course of ultimate extinction; or its advocates will push it forward till it shall become alike lawful in all the states, old as well as new, North as well as South.

Speech at the Republican State Convention, Springfield, Illinois
[June 16, 1858]

⁵ Nobody has ever expected me to be President. In my poor, lean, lank face nobody has ever seen that any cabbages were sprouting out.³

Second campaign speech against Douglas, Springfield, Illinois [July 17, 1858]

⁶ As I would not be a *slave*, so I would not be a *master*. This expresses my idea of democ-

¹See Niemoeller, 824:1.

²See *Mark* 3:25, 41:35.

³They have seen in his [Douglas's] round, jolly, fruitful face, post offices, land offices, marshalships and cabinet appointments, chargeships and foreign missions, bursting and sprouting out in wonderful exuberance, ready to be laid hold of by their greedy hands.—LINCOLN, *ib.*

racy. Whatever differs from this, to the extent of the difference, is no democracy.⁴

Fragment [August 1, 1858?]. From
ROY P. BASLER, *The Collected Works of Abraham Lincoln* [1953],
vol. II, p. 532

⁷ When . . . you have succeeded in dehumanizing the Negro; when you have put him down and made it impossible for him to be but as the beasts of the field; when you have extinguished his soul in this world and placed him where the ray of hope is blown out as in the darkness of the damned, are you quite sure that the demon you have roused will not turn and rend you? What constitutes the bulwark of our own liberty and independence? It is not our frowning battlements, our bristling sea coasts, our army and our navy. These are not our reliance against tyranny. All of those may be turned against us without making us weaker for the struggle. Our reliance is in the love of liberty which God has planted in us. Our defense is in the spirit which prized liberty as the heritage of all men, in all lands everywhere. Destroy this spirit and you have planted the seeds of despotism at your own doors. Familiarize yourselves with the chains of bondage and you prepare your own limbs to wear them. Accustomed to trample on the rights of others, you have lost the genius of your own independence and become the fit subjects of the first cunning tyrant who rises among you.⁵

Speech at Edwardsville, Illinois
[September 11, 1858]

⁸ That is the issue that will continue in this country when these poor tongues of Judge Douglas and myself shall be silent. It is the eternal struggle between these two principles—right and wrong—throughout the world. They are the two principles that have stood face to face from the beginning of time; and will ever continue to struggle. The one is the common right of humanity, and the other the divine right of kings. It is the same principle in whatever shape it develops itself. It is the same spirit that says, "You toil and work and earn bread, and I'll eat it." No matter in what shape it comes, whether from the mouth of a king who seeks to bestride the people of his own nation and live by the fruit of their labor, or from one race of men as an apology for enslaving another race, it is the same tyrannical principle.

Reply, seventh and last joint debate.
Alton, Illinois [October 15, 1858]

⁴See *Address to Indiana Regiment*, 524:8.

⁵See Einstein, 764:4.

Warhol — Sexton

Toffler — King

Alvin Toffler

Future shock . . . the shattering stress and disorientation that we induce in individuals by subjecting them to too much change in too short a time.

Future Shock [1970]. ch. 1

Anne Frank

1929-1945

Whoever is happy will make others happy too. He who has courage and faith will never perish in misery!

Anne Frank: The Diary of a Young Girl [1952].³ Ma

What one Christian does is his own responsibility, what one Jew does is thrown back at the Jews.

May 22, 1944

[Daddy] said: "All children must look after their own upbringing." Parents can only give good advice or put them on the right paths, but the final forming of a person's character lies in their own hands.

May 25, 1944

In spite of everything I still believe that people are really good at heart.

Ib.

Martin Luther King, Jr.

1929-1968

If a man hasn't discovered something that he will die for, he isn't fit to live.

Speech in Detroit [June 23, 1963]

Injustice anywhere is a threat to justice everywhere.

Letter from the Birmingham In the Atlantic Monthly [August 1963]

Unearned suffering is redemptive

Ib.

I have a dream⁴ that one day on the red hills of Georgia the sons of former slaves and the sons of former slaveowners will be able to sit down together at the table of brotherhood.

Speech at Civil Rights March on Washington [August 28, 1963]

Future shock . . . the dizzying disorientation brought on by the premature arrival of the future.—TOFFLER, article in Horizon [1963]

Two months before Holland was liberated, Anne died in the concentration camp at Bergen-Belsen.

Translated by B. M. MOGYART "I see an America in which Martin Luther King's dream is our national dream.—JIMMY CARTER, letter to Martin Luther King Hospital, Los Angeles

10 I have a dream that my four little children will one day live in a nation where they will not be judged by the color of their skin, but by the content of their character. Ib.

11 Nonviolence is the answer to the crucial political and moral questions of our time; the need for man to overcome oppression and violence without resorting to oppression and violence.

Man must evolve for all human conflict a method which rejects revenge, aggression and retaliation. The foundation of such a method is love.⁵

Speech accepting the Nobel Peace Prize [December 11, 1964]

12 The tortuous road which has led from Montgomery to Oslo is a road over which millions of Negroes are traveling to find a new sense of dignity. It will, I am convinced, be widened into a superhighway of justice.

Ib.

13 I refuse to accept the idea that the "isness" of man's present nature makes him morally incapable of reaching up for the "oughtness" that forever confronts him.

Ib.

14 I refuse to accept the cynical notion that nation after nation must spiral down a militaristic stairway into the hell of nuclear destruction. I believe that unarmed truth and unconditional love will have the final word in reality.

Ib.

Nonviolent action, the Negro saw, was the way to supplement, not replace, the process of change. It was the way to divest himself of passivity without arraying himself in vindictive force. Why We Can't Wait [1964]

The Negro was willing to risk martyrdom in order to move and stir the social conscience of his community and the nation . . . he would force his oppressor to commit his brutality openly, with the rest of the world looking on . . . Nonviolent resistance paralyzed and confused the power structures against which it was directed.

Ib.

15 I just want to do God's will. And He's allowed me to go to the mountain. And I've looked over, and I've seen the promised land . . . So I'm happy tonight. I'm not worried about anything. I'm not fearing any man.

Speech at Clayborn Temple, Memphis, Tennessee [April 3, 1968], the evening before his assassination

⁵See Gandhi, 727:5.

Bush & Quayle

10/3/88

GEORGE BUSH ON SPACE FACT SHEET

George Bush is fully committed to America's space program. He is committed to manned -- and unmanned -- missions for the purposes of human exploration and scientific research.

Exploration of space defines us as a people -- our willingness to take great risks for great rewards, to challenge the unknown, to reach beyond ourselves, to strive for knowledge, innovation and growth. Space is our nation's frontier, our manifest destiny.

George Bush believes our commitment to space is important to our nation's future, our national security, continued economic growth and our quality of life on Earth. He will set ambitious goals for a space comeback and will reestablish U.S. preeminence in space. A resurgent America, renewed economically and in spirit, must get on with its business of greatness.

George Bush believes education and training of our young citizens is critical to revitalizing our national space program. Our space program during the 1960s and 70s captured the imagination of our young people. Our young people looked up to astronauts as heroes. Students were interested in math, science, and engineering. This interest must once again be nurtured or we will not be equipped to compete in the highly competitive and technical world marketplace.

In order to develop a comprehensive strategy for space, George Bush will reestablish the National Aeronautics and Space Council, chaired by the Vice President and composed of the heads of such departments as Commerce, Defense, State and Transportation in addition to NASA. The Council will build on the great progress we have made in space and aeronautics and serve as focal point for international cooperation.

George Bush believes a space station is the next critical step in our space endeavors. It will allow us not only to pursue scientific experiments, but also to make progress in becoming acclimated to living and working in space.

George Bush will support the full participation of the private sector in revitalizing our space program.

- o The Reagan-Bush Administration's proposed space station will create additional research and manufacturing opportunities for the private sector.
- o We must encourage private sector initiatives in transport, particularly in the launch of commercial satellites.

George Bush endorses "Mission Earth", an initiative put forth by Dr. Sally Ride in a report to the NASA administrator. Such a mission would create a global observational system in space, aimed at developing a fundamental understanding of the Earth system, in order to predict changes that might occur -- either naturally or as a result of human activity.

The deteriorating ozone layer, the "greenhouse effect" and global warming are matters of international concern and demand solutions. Mission Earth can provide the insights we need to design effective solutions to these environmental problems. Mission Earth channels the great energy and excitement of our space expeditions inward, to discover what it is we are doing to our Earth. Yes, let us dream, and let us pursue those dreams, but let us first preserve the fragile and precious world we inhabit.

George Bush believes our space effort must incorporate elements of not only pure science and exploration, but also national security and economic growth.

We need to compete with the Soviets, the Europeans, the Japanese and the Chinese in learning how to best use space. We must promote the development of the space station, the National Aerospace Plane, and Project Pathfinder.

George Bush is committed to a vigorous SDI program. The Soviets have been working on strategic defense for a long time. They want to monopolize strategic defense, but they will not succeed. George Bush strongly supports this research -- because it will give us a defensive shield that puts weapons at risk, not people.

In the defense of our country or in the interest of economic growth, we must compete with the other spacefaring nations. But, the expansion of our frontiers to the far reaches of the solar system should be a matter for cooperation among the peoples of the world -- for ultimately we voyage outward not as Americans or Soviets, French or Japanese, but as humans. George Bush believes the five-year agreement with the Soviet Union to cooperate "in the exploration and use of outer space for peaceful purposes" is a first step in this direction.

As we approach the end of this century, George Bush believes we must plan and leap ahead in our exploration of space. And, we must promote the development of new technologies resulting from space experiments. We cannot do otherwise if we are to secure a better life for ourselves in this country, and for all mankind on this planet.

Page 3

As a nation, we must continue on the path that we have blazed, to discover and examine what lies beyond the Earth. We are building the technology base, and we have the resources and the proven genius to achieve what are the unimaginable benefits from space exploration.

George Bush will provide the leadership America needs to reach out from our planet -- to grasp the opportunities and treasures found in space.

#

UN PEACEKEEPING FORCES

1. State of Jammu, India and Kashmir, Pakistan, on the Indian/Pakistani border [UNMOGIP - UN Military Observer Group in India and Pakistan] Troops arrived 1/24/49.
2. Jerusalem [UNTSO - UN Truce Supervision Organization] Troops arrived 6/11/48.
3. Golon Heights [UNDOF - UN Disengagement Observer Force] Troops arrived 6/3/74.
4. Southern Lebanon [UNIFIL - UN Interim Force in Lebanon; this is who Colonel Higgins was with] Troops arrived 3/19/78.
5. Cyprus [UNFICYP - UN Peacekeeping Force in Cyprus] Troops arrived 3/27/64.
6. Namibia [UNTAG - UN Transition Assistance Group] Established 4/1/89.
7. Angola [UNAVM - UN Angola Verification Mission] Established 12/20/88.
8. Iran & Iraq [UNIIMOG - Iran-Iraq Military Observer Group] Established 8/20/88.
9. Afghanistan & Pakistan border [UNGOMAP - UN Good Offices Mission in Afghanistan and Pakistan] Established 5/15/88.

MAYBE by time of President's address, there will be another peacekeeping force established in Central America

OUTGOING FAX



UNITED STATES MISSION TO THE UNITED NATIONS

Unclassified
CLASSIFICATION

1 of 18

FROM: *Helen Mahoney - Mrs* DATE: *9/7/89*

TO: 1) *Peggy Daby - WH - 212-456-7750* *456-6218*
(NAME) (OFFICE/TEL #) (FAX # ONLY)

2) _____
(NAME) (OFFICE/TEL #) (FAX # ONLY)

SUBJECT: *U.N. Chronicle - Peace Keeping*

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UN Chronicle

December 1988
Volume XXV, Number 4

The Quest for Peace A Universal Undertaking

Essays by



1988 Nobel Prize Goes to
UN Peace-keeping Forces

Department of Public Information
United Nations

3/18

1988 Nobel Peace Prize awarded to

The Quest for Peace . . .



UN Photo/24620/ Nagari

Now 10,000 strong, the United Nations peace-keepers—soldiers from countries around the world who monitor regional trouble spots—have been awarded the 1988 Nobel Peace Prize.

Blue-helmeted troops gathered around their radios to hear the news at outposts in Afghanistan and Pakistan, Iran and Iraq, on the island of Cyprus, in southern Lebanon, Sinai, Jerusalem and the Golan Heights, and along the India-Pakistan border.

3

4 of 18

UN peace-keeping forces

A Universal Undertaking



The Nobel Committee on 29 September revealed their choice in Oslo, Norway. Thus it recognized that "the quest for peace is a universal undertaking involving all the nations and peoples of the world", as UN Secretary-General Javier Pérez de Cuéllar told an enthusiastic General Assembly that same day.

4

59/14



The recent achievements of the UN have been neither sudden nor fortuitous; rather, they are the result of the persistent and dedicated work done throughout the many years of the Organization's peace-keeping activities", he said.

"The Prize is a tribute to the idealism of all those who have served the Organization, and in particular to the courage and sacrifices of all those who have

operation was launched in the Middle East in 1948. Currently there are just over 10,000 from 35 countries involved in seven peace-keeping operations—two of them launched since May 1988, one to help implement the Geneva Accords on Afghanistan, the other to monitor the end to hostilities in the Gulf region.

Diplomatic efforts still in progress may soon result in the dispatch of another 7,500 to monitor implementation of a settlement

United Nations Forces Win Nobel Peace Prize

Award Signifies Restoration of Organization's Prestige Around World

Nobel Prize
 BY LESLIE PLOMMER
 Special to The Globe and Mail
 NICOSIA
 The no...

聯合國維和部隊獲諾貝爾和平獎

L'attribution du prix Nobel de la paix aux « forces de la paix » de l'ONU

M. de Cuellar reste étroitement lié à cette distinction, qu'il viendra recevoir le 10 décembre, en sa qualité de Secrétaire général de l'ONU.

Les membres du comité Nobel du Parlement ont attribué, jeudi 29 septembre, le prix Nobel de la paix 1988 aux Forces des Nations Unies pour le maintien de la paix. En particulier, ils ont salué le rôle joué par M. A. Resqas et M. Gorbatchev.

contributed, and continue to contribute, to the peace-keeping operations."

General Assembly President Dario Caputo called it a tribute as well to the Secretary-General, "whose intelligent and dedicated efforts have without any doubt been a vital, indeed crucial, element in the creation of this new international context which is clear to all of us"

Half a million "Blue Helmets"

Some 500,000 persons—mostly military personnel, but also many civilians—from 58 countries throughout the world have served as UN peace-keepers since the first

for the independence of Namibia, and a smaller force to Western Sahara, for which the UN recently successfully crafted a peace agreement.

The Nobel Committee said the 1988 Prize was made because the peace-keepers "represent the manifest will of the community of nations to achieve peace through negotiations, and the forces have by their presence made a decisive contribution towards the initiation of actual peace negotiations"

This is the eighth time that the work of the UN has been recognized by the prestigious Nobel Committee. Lord Boyd Orr, first Director-General of the Food and Agriculture Organization of the United Nations, received it in 1949. Ralph J. Bunche, working

5

9/18

peace keeping had become the proudest post-war tradition for the Canadian military.

The courage not to use force

Soldiers from 35 countries are serving in the seven peace-keeping operations now in place. They wear UN blue helmets, blue berets or blue aviator caps with the military uniform of their own nations.

The commanding officers are appointed by the Secretary-General and take orders from him. About 2,000 civilians perform support services for the operations.

Lt-Gen Gustav Hägglund, who until June 1988 was Commander of the United Nations Interim Force in Lebanon (UNIFIL) perhaps the most embattled of any current UN operation—recently said a UN "peace soldier" must be above all "calm, patient, loyal and courageous". Ironically they must have the courage not to use force in the face of a potential threat.

Those who serve as military observers carry no weapons, armed only with binoculars or telescopes and notebooks. Because they are considered impartial witnesses and respected by all sides, their reports help prevent misunderstandings between opposing sides and reduce the risk of renewed conflict, Lt-Gen. Hägglund said.

Others—members of UN peace-keeping contingents along cease-fire lines between armed hostile forces—carry only light firearms, which they are instructed to use as a last resort in self-defence.

They risk their lives in the cause of peace. A total of 733 peace-keepers have died while serving the UN, and one, Lieutenant-Colonel William Higgins of the United States, is being held hostage after being abducted in southern Lebanon.

In southern Lebanon, young UN soldiers at more than 100 check



UN P-86 5508

points stop vehicles day and night, probing under hoods and in trunks for illegal arms and explosives, wielding mirrors on long metal poles to continue their dangerous searches under the cars or trucks.

In the Golan Heights, in the shadow of Mt. Hermon where ferocious fighting occurred regularly until a UN presence was installed, the peace-keepers take mine-sweepers in hand, walking the former battlefields in search of the remnants of those battles.

Outside the Cypriot capital of Nicosia, where UN troops have been stationed continuously for more than 24 years, farmers with beards and rough hands till small gardens in the "buffer zone" between Greek Cypriot and Turkish Cypriot communities, patrolled by UN soldiers with rifles in hand.

What price-tag?

Since the first group of observers was hastily dispatched to the Middle East in 1948 to separate Arabs and Israelis at war, there have been a total of 15 UN peace-keeping operations. The yearly

price tag for the UN now runs \$230 million, equivalent to more than a fourth of its annual budget.

And the UN peace-keeping function could expand dramatically in the near future, with operations possible soon in Namibia and Western Sahara. A resolution of the situation in Kampuchea could also involve a UN presence.

Even with the proposed Namibia operation estimated to cost possibly as much as \$600 million, Under-Secretary General Goulding feels it would be "not such a bad deal", as it would still be less than the annual budget of the New York City Fire Department.

Peace keeping operations, particularly the ones in Lebanon and Cyprus, seem to be particularly in the red, Mr. Goulding said. He hopes the Nobel Prize will encourage some countries to pay their back assessments.

"The essential point is that these operations, which are set up by the international community, should be internationally financed", Under-Secretary-General Goulding states "Their cost should not fall on the taxpayers of the Member States who so generously contribute troops to them"

7

68/14

7

as the UN Secretary-General's Acting Mediator, was awarded it in 1950 for the crucial role he played in achieving the 1949 armistice between Israel and its Arab neighbours. Secretary-General Dag Hammarskjöld received it posthumously in 1961. The Geneva-based UN Office of the High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR) received it twice—in 1954 and again in 1981—for its humanitarian work worldwide. The United Nations Children's Fund

paid tribute to his predecessor and countryman, Brian Urquhart, a UN international civil servant for more than 40 years until his retirement. Mr. Urquhart, he said, had played "a giant's role" in the development of peace-keeping for almost 40 years, until he retired in 1986.

Both men will accompany Secretary-General Pérez de Cuéllar to Oslo to pick up the Prize on 10 December—the anniversary of Swedish philanthropist Alfred Nobel's

منح جائزة «نوبل» للسلام لقوات حفظ السلام التابعة للأمم المتحدة

• وأرسو - «وصف» ن والمحوذ الزرق حقيقه السلاح وال
 • أعلنت لجنة «نوبل» ان برافين القعات

Nobel's
 THE Nobel Peace
 time

El Nobel fue para Fuerzas de Paz de las Naciones Unidas

Решение
 Нобелевского
 КОМИТЕТА

ОСЛО, 29. (ТАСС). Решением норвежского Нобелевского комитета Нобелевская премия мира за 1988 год присуждена международным силам ООН по поддержанию мира. Об этом объявил сегодня здесь председатель эж комитета, депутат стортинга в Орвик, Норвегии Эйвинг Леб

news; they urge mis- the Nobel the un- he next. merely bypas vaded Lebanon they first arriv there have susta This year's an

(UNICEF) was the recipient in 1965. The International Labour Organisation received it in 1969.

Upsurge in prestige

The award coincides with an upsurge in the Organization's prestige throughout the world in the wake of diplomatic breakthroughs concerning Afghanistan, the Iran-Iraq conflict, southern Africa and Western Sahara.

Under-Secretary-General Murrack Goulding, the former British diplomat now in charge of all UN peace keeping operations, calls it "beautifully timed", coinciding with "a great upsurge of interest in the United Nations". He

death in 1896. They will return to UN Headquarters in New York with a diploma, a gold medal and 2.5 million Swedish kronor—about \$388,000.

Hats off around the world

The news made the front pages of major newspapers around the world. The Boston-based *Christian Science Monitor* said the award was "a sound choice" that honoured, in large measure, Secretary-General Pérez de Cuéllar.

In Paris, *Le Monde* said the Prize was "resounding recognition" of the usefulness of the UN. The *Globe and Mail* of Canada said that Canada's frequent contributions to UN

6

10218



**THE UN FORCES:
WHERE THEY KEEP PEACE**

- 1 UN Iran-Iraq Military Observer Group (UNIIMOG)
Created: 8 August 1988
Location: Iran-Iraq war front
Mission: Observe cease-fire, monitor troop withdrawal
Current participants: 350 unarmed observers from Argentina, Australia, Austria, Bangladesh, Canada, Denmark, Finland, Ghana, Hungary, India, Indonesia, Ireland, Italy, Kenya, Malaysia, New Zealand, Nigeria, Norway, Peru, Poland, Senegal, Sweden, Turkey, Uruguay, Yugoslavia, Zambia
Cost: \$37.5 million (first 3 months)
- 2 UN Good Offices Mission in Afghanistan and Pakistan (UNGOMAP)
Created: 14 April 1988
Location: Afghanistan/Pakistan
Mission: Assist in implementation of Geneva Accords on Afghanistan.
Current participants: Fully observers drawn from other UN peace keeping groups
Cost: \$3.7 million (1988)
- 3 UN Interim Force in Lebanon (UNIFIL)
Created: 19 March 1978
Location: Southern Lebanon
Mission: Contain Israeli withdrawal, ensure peace and security.
Current participants: 5,800 troops from Fiji, Finland, France, Ghana, Ireland, Italy, Nepal, Norway, Sweden
Cost: \$139.4 million (1988)
- 4 UN Disengagement Observer Force (UNDOF)
Created: 3 June 1974
Location: Syrian Golan Heights
Mission: Supervise area of separation between Israeli and Syrian forces.
Current participants: 1,330 troops and observers from Austria, Canada, Finland, Poland
Cost: \$34.7 million (1988)
- 5 UN Peace-keeping Force in Cyprus (UNFICYP)
Created: 27 March 1964
Location: Cyprus
Mission: Maintain buffer-zone between two sides in Cyprus.
Current participants: 2,150 troops and 35 civilian police from Australia, Austria, Canada, Denmark, Finland, Ireland, Sweden, United Kingdom
Cost: \$25.2 million (1988)
- 6 UN Military Observer Group in India and Pakistan (UNMOGIP)
Created: 24 January 1949
Location: India-Pakistan line of control in Kashmir
Mission: Supervise India Pakistan cease-fire in Jammu-Kashmir area.
Current participants: 38 observers from Belgium, Chile, Denmark, Finland, Italy, Norway, Sweden, Uruguay.
- 7 UN Truce Supervision Organization (UNTSO)
Created: June 11, 1948
Location: Various places in Middle East
Mission: Supervise several Arab-Israeli truces: currently also assists UNIFIL and UNDOF.
Current participants: 300 troops from Argentina, Australia, Austria, Belgium, Canada, Chile, Denmark, Finland, France, Ireland, Italy, Netherlands, New Zealand, Norway, Sweden, USSR, United States.

8



UN PHOTO SERVICE

Sir Brian Urquhart (right) in the field with a UN peace-keeper.

'A risky business . . .'

Former Under-Secretary-General for Special Political Affairs Sir Brian Urquhart headed the UN peace-keeping effort for 15 years (1971-1986), after being the right hand of his predecessor—Ralph Bunche—for more than 20 years. He served with the British forces throughout World War II. The author of the biography, *Hammar-skjöld*, and of his own memoir, *A Life in Peace and War*, Sir Brian was the second person recruited by the United Nations, which he joined in 1945. He is now Scholar-in-Residence at the Ford Foundation. He talked to the *UN Chronicle* shortly after the Nobel Award was announced.

9

How did peace-keeping get started?

The situation in Palestine in 1948 was very serious. War had broken out immediately after the announcement of the statehood of Israel on the 14th of May. There was a Truce Commission in Jerusalem, which consisted of the consuls of the United States, Belgium and France. Very soon they discovered that they alone could not monitor the truce and they asked for help. Count Folke Bernadotte became the Mediator and started bringing in officer observers from those three countries and Sweden to monitor the first truce which was called for by the Security Council in late May.

Originally the observers were a few soldiers and what members of the Secretariat could be spared. A lot of them were civilians carrying out all sorts of functions.

They had no communications, which was extremely dangerous in those days, when even landing an aircraft in Palestine was a risky business unless they'd got some advance word that you were coming. An American, General Stoen, set up the the first ever UN field communications. He had a radio station on Ramat Gan with links to the observers in the field. That was a very rudimentary business, but at least they could communicate, which was very important.

The principles of impartiality, the observers not being armed, their being identified as UN, the whole way they would behave was all worked out as they were actually functioning. Nine observers were killed in the first summer.

Ralph Bunche wrote the rules, briefed the observers, and designated where they were to go. He invented the whole thing. And he did it while he was doing all the work of mediation as well, which was an extraordinary performance.



UN Photo 5282

Ralph Bunche, at left



UN Photo 5307

Count Bernadotte, at left

Had this type of operation been considered before or was it improvised?

It was improvised. Improvised from scratch. They did not have blue helmets in those days; they only had arm bands. There were a lot of problems about aircraft security. They finally agreed to paint them white with UN written on them. The whole logistics had to be improvised.

The most important thing about the first Palestine operation was that it established as a goal the idea of absolutely impartial observers who reported only the objective truth of what they saw on the basis of the truce agreement.

Did the concept of peace-keeping become institutionalized after that first operation?

They were not even called peace-keepers. They were called military observers. By 1949 we had two groups, one in the Middle East—which was to become UNTSO—supervising the armistice agreements which Bunche negotiated in the winter of 1948-1949, and the group in Kashmir—UNMOGIP—beginning early in 1949.

After that, nothing very much happened about what we now call peace-keeping for another seven years until 1956.

Between Kashmir in 1949 and 1956, were people at the UN thinking about peace-keeping, conceptualizing it?

Nobody was thinking about it. By 1956, the armistice arrangements in the Middle East had begun to erode quite badly, particularly on the Israeli-Syrian front, and also to some extent on the demarcation line around Gaza. There were raids and counter-raids and a lot of action.

Secretary-General Hammarskjöld made a highly-publicized trip to the area in April 1956 to try to get these agreements pinned down. He thought it likely that if they collapsed we would have a war situation again.



UN Photo 4777

During that period, he was also trying to negotiate a settlement of the problem of the Suez Canal. In September 1956, he got the Foreign Ministers of Egypt, Britain, France and the United States to come to New York to negotiate such a settlement. His efforts were stalled, and Israel, France and Britain invaded Egypt.

Lester Pearson, who was then Prime Minister of Canada, made a speech in the Assembly saying that obviously unarmed military observers were not enough to cope with this problem, which was a major international crisis. A peace-keeping force was needed to separate the combatants. People were very dubious about this completely new idea. The new force (UNEF I) was the pretext for the withdrawal of the British and French, and later for the Israeli, forces. After that, it had a new role as a buffer force along the Egyptian-Israeli border, and in the Gaza Strip. After all the initial doubts, UNEF was a brilliant success.

By mid-summer 1957, UNEF was generally acknowledged as a great achievement. In August, the two Houses of the United States Congress passed a unanimous resolution, backed by John Foster Dulles, asking for the establishment of a standing UN peace-keeping force.

Hammarskjöld was skeptical about this enthusiasm. He felt that in peace-keeping, the UN should not run

before it could walk, and should learn lessons from the UNEF experience, which would help in meeting new emergencies.

UNEF kept the peace on the Israeli-Egyptian border for 10 years, until 1967.

We had by then about 1,300 men, a more or less symbolic force. The important thing was the buffer zone. When Nasser withdrew permission for the Force to be on Egyptian soil—which he had a perfect right to do because that was in the original agreement—Egyptian troops came into the buffer zone and the whole arrangement collapsed. The Six-Day War followed.

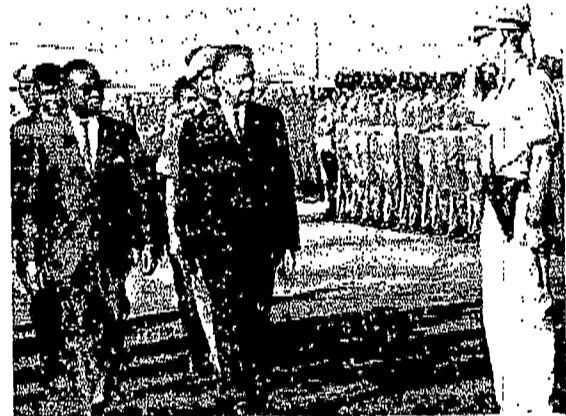
What was the peace-keeping situation in the Middle East between 1967 and 1974?

It was a very difficult period. We had an observer group on the Canal which was on the front line. That was a very dangerous duty, because there was a perpetual artillery exchange going on and we lost a number of people there. They were there observing what supposedly was a cease-fire on the Canal which was always being broken.

Sadat's forces crossed the Canal in 1973 to take Sinai back, and the October War followed. The cease-fire demanded by the Security Council failed to hold and the situation became very dangerous. Secretary-General Waldheim and the non-aligned group suggested that the only thing to do was to inject a peace-keeping force between the two armies.

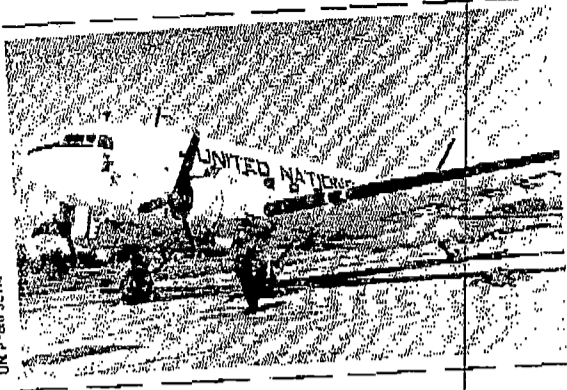
The Security Council immediately voted for putting in UNEF II. In less than 24 hours we got troops in from Cyprus and the crisis was averted.

In 1974, United States Secretary of State Kissinger negotiated the disengagement agreement with Israel and Syria. UNDOF was installed in the Golan Heights with a buffer zone and limited arms zones between the two armies—an arrangement that still holds.



UN Photo 7652

Dag Hammarskjöld in the Congo, five days before his death.



UN Photo 5378

the best possible solution of the actual problem, like they did on Iraq-Iran. That is new. And if they can do that and if they can use peace-keeping techniques to help, and really back them up - give them full financial, logistical and all sorts of support, free from the political in-fighting of the past - that will make a huge difference.

Maybe some time in the future the Soviet Union and the United States might even take part in some of these operations. Why not? A peace-keeping force with a Soviet and an American contingent would be greatly respected.

What about the Congo operation?

The Congo operation from 1960 to 1964, was easily the biggest, most complicated peace-keeping operation we've ever done.

In the Congo operation we were operating within the borders of the state, in a situation which was really a civil war. And that is the worst situation for a peace-keeping force to be in.

I think that the Congo operation was much more successful than anybody is prepared to admit, because we did exactly what we were told to do. We were told to get the foreign troops out of the Congo and we did. And we were told to preserve the territorial integrity of the Congo and then to maintain it, which we did. We were told to help the Government establish administrative control over the country and to some extent we did that. We had a huge civilian operation there, trying to keep the administration going.

How would you define peace-keeping?

Every operation is different. Peace keeping has to go hand in hand with an effort to solve the basic problem, but sometimes it's not so easy. It may take years. If fighting breaks out again, you can't negotiate anything.

Peace-keeping is a sort of daily nursing care. It's like the staff in a hospital engaged in getting the patient's temperature down and keeping him reasonably healthy. And when you get to a certain point, a great surgeon may be able to arrive and deal with the real problem. Maybe there isn't a great surgeon, maybe the case is not operable, in which case the aim must be to keep the patient reasonably comfortable. One's got to be realistic about the difficulty of settling the basic disputes which give rise to peace-keeping.

Is anything new happening with the theory and practice of peace-keeping?

What's new now, and it's wonderful, is a unanimous Security Council. This means that the Security Council, instead of bickering among themselves about how to go about some problems, get together and try to work out



UN Photo 6835

The idea of a UN standing force—does it have a chance now?

It's probably premature to have a standing peace-keeping force and the institutional development it would need. In the first place, someone has to pay for it, but that's the least of the problem. In the second place, you would have to denationalize the troops, so they would be genuinely UN, not Norwegian or Fijian or something else. There would have to be a much greater degree of international sovereignty to control such a force effectively. Such developments are still way off in the future.

At the moment, we're still in a world of national states which, in emergencies, are prepared to make international arrangements. I do not think that this world is prepared to have supranational institutions yet. Maybe we'll get to it. I hope so. But it must come by a process of evolution and consensus.

What do you think was your major contribution to peace-keeping during your many years as head of these operations?

I learned almost all I know from two great men: Ralph Bunche and Dag Hammarskjöld. At the beginning I was the only person on the 38th Floor

LSC AUTHORIZATION BROUGHT UP	N*	Y	Y(358-34)
GREEN AMENDMENT	Y*	Y	Y(245-166)
REIMBURSEMENT OF ATTORNEY FEES	Y*	Y	N(159-237)
LOBBYING RESTRICTIONS	Y*	Y	Y(200-181)
POLITICAL ACTIVITIES	Y*	Y	Y(207-171)
DESEGREGATION PROHIBITON	Y*	Y	Y(221-150)
GREEN AMENDMENT	Y*	Y	Y(233-139)
STRIKE ENACTING CLAUSE(KILL)	Y*	N	N(91-283)
ABORTION PROHIBITIONS/PROCUREMENT	Y*	Y	Y(316-53)
ABORTION PROHIBITIONS/PROCUREMENT	Y*	Y	Y(301-68)
PASSAGE OF BILL	N*	N	Y(276-95)

* Ashbrook did not vote but was polled by Congressional Quarterly for his position.

JUNE 1977

H.R.6666 TO REAUTHORIZE THE LEGAL SERVICES CORPORATION

LSC AUTHORIZATION BROUGHT UP	Y	Y	Y(359-1)
KEEP APP. AT SAME LEVEL OF \$175M	Y	N	N(158-221)
LSC BUDGET APPROVED BY OMB	Y	Y	N(160-223)
DESEGREGATION PROHIBITION	Y	Y	Y(208-174)
TERMINATE LSC IN 1979	Y	N	N(166-214)
GAY RIGHTS PROHIBITION	Y	Y	Y(230-133)
PROHIBITON OF SUPPORT CENTERS	Y	N	N(154-213)
PASSAGE OF BILL	N	Y	Y(267-103)

JUNE 1981

H.R.3480 TO REAUTHORIZE THE LEGAL SERVICES CORPORATION

SOLE FUNCTION REQUIREMENT	N	N	N(155-249)
NO FUNDING TERMINATION TIME LIMIT	Y	N	N(152-251)
LSC AUTHORIZATION/WHOLE HOUSE	Y	Y	Y(389-9)
LOBBYING RESTRICTIONS	Y	Y	Y(271-141)
CLASS ACTION PROHIBITIONS	Y**	Y	Y(241-167)
"LEGALIZATION" OF GAYS PROHIBITION	N	N	N(151-245)
"PROMOTION" OF GAYS PROHIBITION	Y	Y	Y(281-124)
ABORTION PROHIBITIONS	Y	N	N(160-242)
SCHOOL LITIGATION PROHIBITIONS	Y	N	N(176-219)
ALIEN RESTRICTIONS LIMITATION	Y	N	N(141-262)
LSC BUDGET APPROVED BY OMB	Y	Y	N(185-210)
RECOMMITT THE BILL (KILL)	Y	N	N(165-221)
PASSAGE OF BILL	N	Y	Y(245-137)

** Ashbrook was paired "for" on this vote.

6/78	HR12929	FEDERAL FUNDS FOR ABORTION	N	Y	N(122-287)
6/78	HR12929	EXCEPTION FOR PROMPT RAPE REPORT	N	Y	N(198-212)
7/78	HR6075	INSURANCE DOES NOT COVER ABORT.	Y	N	Y(376-43)
8/78	HR13635	NO DOD ¹ FUNDS FOR ABORTION	Y	N	Y(226-163)
9/78	HR12432	NO USGRC ² FUNDS TO STUDY ABORT.	Y	Y	Y(234-131)
10/78	HR12929	"HEALTH OF MOTHER" EXCEPTION	N	Y	N(188-216)
10/78	HR12929	EXCEPTION FOR PROMPT RAPE REPORT	N	Y	Y(196-195)
6/79	HR4389	"HEALTH OF MOTHER" EXCEPTION	N	Y	N(180-241)
10/79	HJR413	"HEALTH OF MOTHER" EXCEPTION	N	Y	N(162-234)
10/79	HR4389	EXCEPTION FOR PROMPT RAPE REPORT	N	Y	N(187-219)
12/79	HR4962	RAPE OR INCEST EXCEPTION	N	Y	N(180-209)
12/79	HR4962	LIFE OF THE MOTHER EXCEPTION	N	Y	Y(217-169)
12/79	HR4962	NO STATE FUNDS FOR ABORTION	Y	N	Y(235-155)
8/80	HR7583	HEALTH INSURANCE PROHIBITION	Y	N	Y(228-170)
5/81	HJR325	HEALTH INSURANCE PROHIBITION	Y	N	Y(242-155)
6/81	HR3480	LSC ³ ABORTION RESTRICTIONS	Y	N	N(160-242)
7/81	HJR325	HEALTH INSURANCE PROHIBITION	Y	N	Y(253-167)
9/82	HR6457	FETAL EXPERIMENT PROHIBITION	Y	N	Y(260-140)

* Butler was paired "for".

¹Department of Defense

²United States Civil Rights Commission

³Legal Services Corporation

Inside Washington

THIS WEEK'S NEWS FROM

Bush Pressed to Pick Butler

Conservatives Concerned About New LSC Chairman

The White House is expected shortly to name a new Legal Services Corporation board of directors pledged in advance to electing as its chairman an anathema to LSC reformers: former Virginia GOP Rep. Caldwell Butler.

Since the President does not have the power to directly appoint the LSC chairman, Butler



BUTLER

supporters like Sen. Warren Rudman (R.-N.H.) are advancing pro-Butler board candidates and attempting to get the White House to persuade other prospective nominees to "check off" on the ex-congressman.

But what particularly puzzles long-time critics of legal services is the support for

Says Howard Phillips, who supervised the legal services program when he served in the Nixon Administration:

"You can have a solid conservative board of directors, but unless your chairman is truly reform minded, it will be extremely difficult to enact important changes." What's more, he cautioned, while Butler compiled a fairly conservative over-all record in Congress, he was frequently on the wrong side of the pro-life battles, right along with LSC-funded attorneys.

The chairman's attitude on the pro-life issue is especially critical now, Phillips added, because, as a result of Webster, LSC's pro-abortion lawyers are going to be far more active on the state level than they have been in the past. Butler's own view, he said, was "not solidly pro-life."

McCollum has told alarmed conservatives that he has had lengthy discussions with Butler and says he is convinced his former colleague is committed to reform.

Indeed, the letter to Bush says that Butler "is ideally suited" to be LSC chairman and "has a track record demonstrating his belief in the mission of LSC as well as strong convictions that significant reforms need to be implemented to assure that LSC lawyers provide day-to-day legal services to the poor and not focus on lobbying, directly or indirectly, political activities or class action suits to try to change broad social policies."

A review of Butler's House record, however, offers little reassurance. Although Butler began his congressional career as a strong conservative in 1972, he moderated over the years and by 1980 had been elected chairman of the liberal Republican House Wednesday Group.

Before retiring in 1982, Butler took a leadership role, along with Rep. Tom Railsback (R.-Ill.), Rep. Harold Sawyer (R.-Mich.) and Sen. Lowell Weicker (R.-Conn.), in opposing Reagan Administration efforts to turn Legal Services over to the states through a block-grant program, calling it "counterproductive."

In fact, Butler voted on several occasions against reforms designed to tame LSC's worst feature: its role as a taxpayer-funded political and lobbying

Will Contras Lay Down Arms?

Despite the Central American Presidents' agreement in Teln, Honduras last week, Nicaraguan Resistance spokesmen stress that their 10,000 troops in Honduras will not return to Nicaragua because of fears of revenge by Sandinista backers.

"These people have seen farmers, relatives, neighbors destroyed, killed by the state security," Rosco Matamoros told Peter LaDabera of the Washington Times. "Thousands have suffered the loss of relatives, hopes, to be free men."

"We are not going to lay down our arms after 10 years of promises based on lies," said Matamoros, adding that the Resistance would face retaliatory murders and human rights abuses. "We are not guessing," he said. "We have seen 10 years of Sandinista rule."

gram, such as Rudman and the politically liberal American Bar Association. The ABA submitted a list of 48 prospective board nominees to the White House for consideration, which quickly came under fire by conservatives. (See HUMAN EVENTS, July 8.)

Instead of seeking an overtly liberal board, LSC supporters are now willing to see the appointment of several conservatives to the board as long as they will have an ally as chairman. Presumably, they hope the fact that Butler is a former Republican member of Congress will make it more difficult for conservatives to criticize the choice.

But such an appointment is already being criticized. The newly formed Legal Services Reform Coalition, comprised of a number of groups from the conservative and agricultural communities, is urging the White House to nominate a candidate truly committed to reform. Among the groups participating are the American Conservative Union, Conservative Campaign Fund, United Conservatives of America, and the American Farm Bureau Federation.

strong conservative who has very ably served in recent years as the point man in the House on trying to better the LSC.

On June 30, McCollum sent a letter to President Bush through Chief of Staff John Sununu calling for the President to appoint Butler to the board and then designate him "as your preferred candidate to be chairman of the LSC board."

Signing the letter were 32 key House Republicans, the majority of them rock-ribbed conservatives, including McCollum, Henry Hyde (Ill.), Bob Walker (Pa.), Newt Gingrich (Ga.) and Duncan Hunter (Calif.).

Because of the power he wields, the board chairman is crucial to shaping LSC's policy direction.

In 1976, he voted to fund legal centers specializing in "poverty law." In 1977, he voted against efforts to end LSC funding for national and state "support centers," the heart of left-wing activism. These institutions provide no direct legal services to the poor, but instead engage in "law reform" to advance a host of ideological and social causes.

In 1981, Butler also opposed an amendment by Rep. Jim Sensenbrenner (R.-Wis.) to prohibit LSC lawyers from giving advice on abortion laws. During debate, Butler stated he objected because it would interfere with the ability of poor clients to get abortions, which was in keeping with his generally pro-abortion voting record.

The recruitment of Butler for the LSC chair represents a shift in strategy by defenders of the pro-

Butler nomination is also not likely to go down well with Vice President Dan Quayle. During a hearing in December 1982, Butler gratuitously insulted Quayle's former law professor and friend, William Hurvey, who had been appointed an LSC board member from which it is customary to receive compensation.

Despite the fact that there was no allegation by anyone that the fees received by Harvey were either inappropriate or excessive, Butler accused Harvey, a prominent conservative and distinguished educator from the University of Indiana Law School, of "putting all four feet and snout into the trough."

Both sides are putting emphasis on the chairmanship because of the unusual LSC structure. As



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8. TO (Include Office Code and telephone number.) (May also be used for remarks):

Peggy Dooley
Research
The White House

Peggy:

Following is probably more than you ever wanted to know about ISY.

I've put a short summary on top, followed by some relevant background. At back, I've included a couple of PR pieces to give you an idea of other programs/plans.

If you have any questions on any of this (and I realize it's a bit of a complicated story), please feel free to give me a call at 453-8452.

Also, Brad and I are in touch regularly, so you can always get to me through him.

Cheers,

Ralph.



National Aeronautics and
Space Administration

Washington, D.C.
20546

Reply to Attn of: **XID**

International Space Year (ISY)

- o In May 1986, President Reagan reported to Congress on the desirability of establishing an International Space Year (ISY) in 1992, an idea first proposed by Senator Matsunaga of Hawaii.
- o The ISY will commemorate the 35th anniversary of the International Geophysical Year and the 500th anniversary of Columbus' voyage to the New World. Thus, it unites the universal themes of exploration, discovery, and intellectual inquiry that have powered the human spirit in the past and continue to point to a future of unlimited horizons.
- o President Reagan directed NASA to lead an interagency effort to develop the ISY concept and to gather international support for it.
- o Within the U.S., NASA began to chair an Interagency Working Group on ISY which is composed of representatives from a number of domestic agencies and organizations such as the Agency for International Development, the Department of State, the National Academy of Sciences, the National Science Foundation, NOAA, and the U.S. Information Agency.
- o In the international arena, NASA sent out cables and telexes to 28 countries and 4 international organizations, many of which responded quite favorably. Most countries indicated initial support for the concept and some called for an opportunity to consult with other nations to share ISY ideas.
- o NASA sponsored an international conference on ISY in April 1988 at Durham, New Hampshire, which focused on the ISY theme of Mission to Planet Earth.
- o Senior management officials from 17 space agencies and organizations participated in the conference, as well as approximately 60 Earth observation officials and scientists.

- o The senior management officials agreed to establish a Space Agency Forum on International Space Year (SAFISY) which meets periodically to facilitate the exchange of information and ideas on ISY programs.
- o SAFISY met for the second time in July 1988 alongside the COSPAR conference in Helsinki, Finland, to discuss specific activities and to coordinate plans with the International Council of Scientific Unions.
- o Three Panels of Experts (one on Earth Science & Technology; one on Education & Applications, and one on Space Science) have been set up to recommend and coordinate the implementation of specific ISY activities.
- o The Panel of Experts on Earth Science and Technology met for the first time in Abingdon, England, in early 1989 and generated 10 projects in the Earth sciences which will be carried out internationally for ISY.
- o SAFISY met most recently in May 1989, hosted by the European Space Agency in Frascati, Italy. The Earth science projects were adopted and it was determined that much of the emphasis over the next year will be placed on planning educational activities for ISY.
- o An ISY Education and Applications conference hosted by CNES, the French space agency, will be held in February 1990 to begin implementing international activities in education for ISY.
- o The next SAFISY meeting is scheduled for May 1990 in Kyoto, Japan, and will be hosted by the Science and Technology Agency of Japan.
- o With respect to the United Nations, the U.S. has proposed to the Committee on Peaceful Uses of Outer Space (COPUOS) that the focus of the UN's involvement in ISY should be on substantive training and educational activities conducted under the auspices of the UN Space Applications Programme. With particular emphasis on the needs of the developing countries, the US has offered contributions for such a UN role in the form of support for training courses, datasets, workshops and a major conference in 1992.



National Aeronautics and
Space Administration

Washington, D.C.
20546

Reply to Attn of: X ID

PARTICIPATION IN THE INTERNATIONAL SPACE YEAR
BY THE
NATIONAL AERONAUTICS AND SPACE ADMINISTRATION

Origins

On May 15, 1986, President Reagan reported to Congress on the desirability of establishing an International Space Year (ISY) in 1992, an idea first proposed by Senator Matsunaga of Hawaii in 1985. In the report, the President stated "a major objective of the International Space Year should be to maximize, through international cooperation, the achievements and benefits of the current and prospective space programs of the participating world community. Such efforts should emphasize the involvement of both the developed countries and the developing countries in ways that demonstrate the benefits to everyone from discoveries in space science and the practical utilization of space."

In consulting the space agencies of other nations, the National Aeronautics and Space Administration (NASA) found substantial international support for the idea of an International Space Year.

The President directed NASA to lead an interagency effort in developing the idea of an International Space Year so the United States would be fully prepared to move the concept forward internationally. In addition, the President asked the National Academy of Sciences (NAS) to help focus discussion within the domestic scientific community regarding the scientific content of ISY.

Scientific Proposals

The NASA-chaired Interagency Working Group on ISY recognized from the outset that ISY must have a strong scientific content in order to sustain interest. The Working Group also determined that the science be defined and endorsed by respected international organizations to ensure international participation. Consequently, the Working Group focused on the International Council of Scientific Unions (ICSU) and its Committee on Space Research (COSPAR) as key potential supporters. ICSU and COSPAR have both begun planning for ISY.

To organize the non-scientific aspects of ISY, the Working Group turned to the International Astronautical Federation (IAF). The IAF, at the invitation of the AIAA, has agreed to hold its 1992 meeting in the U.S. to help celebrate the ISY. IAF has also established a committee to coordinate its ISY activities.

As the US adherent to ICSU, the National Academy of Sciences (NAS) in March 1987 forwarded a scientific proposal for ISY to ICSU. Their proposal discussed four themes as the scientific content of an ISY program: studying the universe at large, exploring the solar system, understanding the Earth as a planet, and qualifying humans for long-duration flight. The report also suggested the ISY be constructed so as to involve all peoples of the world through a program of education and public understanding. Finally, the NAS proposal recommended the ISY be extended to include the years 1992-1994.

Mission To Planet Earth

Building upon these early preparatory activities, NASA has identified its Mission to Planet Earth program as a major ISY activity. Studying the Earth as a planet involves not only the spacefaring nations, but also the developing countries since such data is critical to long-term economic development.

An integrated model of the Earth offers the potential for predicting the future course of the global environment as well as for understanding the global change already taking place. The development of this capability requires long-term, consistent observations of the Earth. The global perspective offered by remote sensing instruments in Earth orbit is uniquely suited to providing these data. The ultimate accomplishment of this goal, though, will require many contributions from government agencies, the international space and research communities, and others. It is NASA's role to develop revolutionary new Earth observing systems, to assure their reliable long-term deployment on orbit, and to integrate the resulting data into the study and modeling of the Earth as a system.

To these ends, NASA has developed the orbiting capabilities which today form the basis of the US NOAA and GOES operational weather satellites and the Landsat commercial land remote sensing satellites. These systems have been emulated abroad with geostationary weather satellites GMS, Meteosat, and Insat being launched by Japan, Europe, and India respectively and by the SPOT commercial land remote sensing satellite program of France. NASA is currently orbiting the Nimbus 7 and ERBS research satellites which are providing global data on stratospheric ozone, sea surface and sea ice variables, and the balance of radiation input and output between the Earth and space which is key to improving our understanding of climate.

Approved future programs at NASA in Earth science and applications throughout the ISY timeframe include the Upper Atmosphere Research Satellite (UARS), the N-ROSS Scatterometer, and the US-French TOPEX/Poseidon mission. UARS will provide the first comprehensive measurements of the interplay among dynamic, radiative, and chemical processes in the stratosphere and mesosphere which determine the extent and durability of the ozone layer. The Scatterometer will provide global measurements of sea surface wind velocity. TOPEX/Poseidon will provide the first detailed measurements of the global circulation patterns of the oceans including the manner in which strong poleward currents such as the Gulf Stream are balanced by equatorward flow. These missions are building blocks of a comprehensive understanding of the Earth as a system. Each mission addresses a key aspect of the system and a particular environmental region for a time of a few years.

Looking beyond the ISY time period, the comprehensive approach to observing the full spectrum of processes which comprise the Earth system requires enlarged concentrations of orbiting remote sensing instrumentation and mission lifetimes of a decade or more. The key pieces of new space infrastructure to enable such an effort are the Polar Platforms which NASA and ESA are developing as part of the Space Station program. NASA is working with the Earth observations offices of our Space Station partners (ESA, Japan, and Canada) and with the US National Oceanic and Atmospheric Administration (NOAA) as well as with the Earth science community to define and implement the Earth Observing System (Eos) which will provide the instruments and data systems to capitalize on the polar platforms capability. The full scope of the Mission to Planet Earth initiative anticipates the requirement to place at least four platforms in sun-synchronous polar orbits to cover both morning and afternoon equator crossing time requirements and to accommodate the full suite of remote sensing instruments to meet the overall measurement requirements. NASA is currently considering the provision of two of these platforms with the others presumably coming from ESA and Japan. Mission to Planet Earth also includes a similar approach to enhancing geostationary satellite measurements through a transition to geo-platforms supporting combined research and operational payloads. The Tropical Rainfall Explorer Mission is an additional modest-sized element in the overall Mission to Planet Earth strategy.

The ISY time period is critical for establishing the international coordination needed before deployment of polar platforms and the testing of major data and information systems approaches using multiple satellite data sources along with field experiments to do real science in a cooperative manner. As such, it is appropriate to view the ISY activities in Earth observation during 1992/93 as the initiation of Mission to Planet Earth.

NASA will also continue its support of efforts by the US Earth science community to pursue the study of Global Change and to shape a comprehensive national contribution to the International Council of Scientific Unions' International Geosphere Biosphere program. The US National Science Foundation will play a major role in ground-based observations and fundamental research through its Global Geosciences initiative and NOAA will be an invaluable source of data from its ground-based and space-based operational measurement systems. The other substantive contributions from the full range of US agencies involved in Earth science can be coordinated to ensure full US participation in this critical international arena.

Additional ISY Activities

In addition to understanding the Earth as a planet, the NAS proposal to ICSU mentioned studies of the universe, solar system, and long-duration flight as other potential areas for ISY activity.

NASA, through its Office of Exploration and Office of Space Science and Applications, is considering ISY activities in these areas.

Education

Public understanding of the worldwide benefits, scientific advantages, and global perspectives of space research will be fostered as part of the ISY activities.

NASA agrees with the NAS that the ISY educational campaign should stress both scientific results of space exploration and the benefits of space applications, such as: satellite communications and broadcasting; satellite navigation and positioning; search and rescue efforts; weather and forecasting; manufacture and investigation of improved processes, materials, and drugs in microgravity environments. The Education Subcommittee of the Interagency Working Group on ISY is focusing many of the educational activities around the theme "Mission to Planet Earth," although other themes will be developed as well.

Some current projects underway include:

- o The development and production of the television series "Space Age," a collaborative effort among NASA, NAS, WQED/Pittsburgh, and the Corporation for Public Broadcasting, in part devoted to understanding the Earth as a planet.
- o A National Air and Space Museum (NASM) traveling exhibit entitled "Voyages of Exploration -- from Columbus to Columbia."

5

- o An IMAX film, "Mission to the Blue Planet," sponsored by NASM, to be released in advance of ISY, focusing on the Earth's systems. Another IMAX film is being planned for ISY on the utilization of space for humanity in the next century.

The Education Subcommittee is in the process of producing a catalogue of ISY activities. The publication will include those activities that are currently planned, those that are proposed, and existing activities/programs, such as those at the International Space University (ISU), that could be influenced to support ISY themes.

In addition to these programs, with the help of start-up funding from NASA, the US/ISY Association is producing an ISY newsletter that is being used as a vehicle for informing the public about ISY.

NASA has been working closely with the Department of State to develop an appropriate role to be played in ISY by the United Nations Committee on the Peaceful Use of Outer Space (COPUOS). The US position is that the UN should focus on a specific substantive role in the ISY, that its involvement should be implemented within existing funding, and that it should avoid duplicating the work being done by other bodies. In NASA's view, the educational area is an excellent candidate for this purpose, since the UN Space Applications Programme (under the Outer Space Affairs Division of the Secretariat) is already engaged in educational/training activities, and is relatively effective and non-political in its approach.

99th Congress, 2d Session - - - - - House Document 99-221

**ESTABLISHMENT OF AN INTERNATIONAL SPACE
YEAR IN 1992**

MESSAGE

FROM

THE PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED STATES

TRANSMITTING

A REPORT ON THE DESIRABILITY OF ESTABLISHING AN INTERNATIONAL SPACE YEAR IN 1992, PURSUANT TO PUBLIC LAW 99-170, SEC. 115 (99 Stat. 1016)



May 15, 1986.—Message and accompanying papers referred to the Committee on Science and Technology and ordered to be printed

U.S. GOVERNMENT PRINTING OFFICE
WASHINGTON : 1986

71-011 O

To the Congress of the United States:

I am pleased to submit the attached report on the desirability of establishing an International Space Year in 1992. The year 1992 will be very special indeed. It will mark not only the 500th anniversary of Christopher Columbus' historic voyage of discovery, but also it will be the 35th anniversary of the International Geophysical Year, which ushered in the space age.

A major objective of an International Space Year should be to maximize, through international cooperation, the achievements and benefits of the current and prospective space programs of the participating world community. Such efforts should emphasize the involvement of both the developed countries and the developing countries in ways that demonstrate the benefits to everyone from discoveries in space science and the practical utilization of space.

In consulting the space agencies of other nations, the National Aeronautics and Space Administration found substantial international support for the idea of an International Space Year.

I am directing NASA to continue to lead an interagency effort to develop the idea of an International Space Year so that the United States will be fully prepared to move this concept forward internationally. I would also expect the National Academy of Science to play a key role in focussing discussion within the United States' scientific community regarding the scientific content of an International Space Year.

RONALD REAGAN.

THE WHITE HOUSE, May 15, 1986.

(1)

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

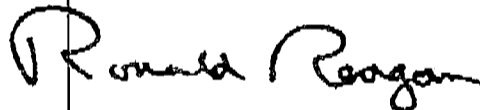
April 27, 1988

Greetings to everyone gathered with the US-ISY Association for the International Space Year Mission to Planet Earth Conference.

As you know, in 1986 I endorsed an International Space Year (ISY) for 1992, the quincentury of the discovery of America by Christopher Columbus; and I directed the National Aeronautics and Space Administration to organize an interagency effort to develop this idea. All of you can be proud that your spirit and hard work have created so much progress. As I said in 1986, the ISY should maximize, through international cooperation, the achievements and benefits of the world's current and prospective space programs and emphasize the involvement of both developed and developing countries in ways that show the benefits of space discoveries and the practical uses of space. That's exactly what you've been doing by reminding us all of how space cooperation can help us better understand and manage our surroundings and lead us to new horizons of human potential here and throughout God's universe.

Such cooperation can meet the challenges ahead; respond to humanity's deepest aspiration for peace, progress and freedom; preserve a healthful planet for generations yet unborn; and give us new realms to explore. That potential gives added meaning to your meeting, the first assembly of senior space agency officials from throughout the world to discuss ISY planning.

You have my best wishes for a truly productive conference and for the years to come. God bless you.



THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

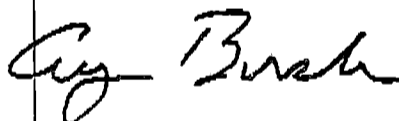
July 7, 1989

It gives me great pleasure to greet everyone participating in the ISY Global Outlook Conference sponsored by NASA and the United States International Space Year Association.

The space age requires a global vision to meet new challenges -- from threats to the environment to the desire to explore new frontiers so vast that no nation can hope to conquer them alone. I am delighted that the world community will be exploring the opportunities and challenges of this space era through the year-long worldwide celebration of The International Space Year in 1992.

We will be relying on the expertise of scientists and other scholars from space agencies around the world to help us lay the groundwork for the exploration of space and in the proposed monitoring of the global environment. However, it is my hope that the general public will also share in the excitement of Mission to Planet Earth and get involved in this opportunity to increase our understanding of our planet. With appropriate activities and ceremonies across America, The International Space Year can be a recognition of our destiny in space, a source of inspiration and a challenge to our young people, on whom we are relying to better understand and protect this planet we call earth.

Best wishes for a successful conference.



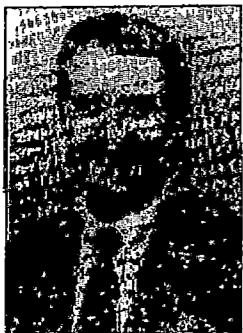


MESSAGE FROM THE NASA ADMINISTRATOR *The International Space Year (ISY) in 1992 will be the first year-long worldwide celebration of humanity's future in the space age. It will mark the transition to an age in which life will move from the planet of its origins onto a cosmic sea of limitless discovery. Life on planet earth will acquire a new dimension.*

In 1988, NASA hosted a space agency summit meeting that established the Space Agency Forum on ISY (SAFISY). SAFISY will coordinate space agency participation in ISY. A primary SAFISY activity is Mission to Planet Earth. It will be supported by activities relating to all other aspects of space exploration.

But the ISY isn't only for space specialists. It celebrates the age-old quest for New Worlds. Indeed, the ISY in 1992 will commemorate the 500th anniversary of Columbus' voyage to a New World. Everyone can and should take part

in the ISY. Its worldwide activities will range from classroom projects to exhibitions and essay contests. The ISY's opportunities are as boundless as the new era it celebrates.



Richard H. Truly
Richard H. Truly

***From space,
the Earth is one...***

***In space,
the challenge
is infinite...***

***The International Space Year
in 1992 celebrates the global
spirit of the space age.***

***From space, nations will
join forces on a great Mission
to Planet Earth: Coordi-
nated space-based platforms
will chart pollution, defores-
tation, ozone depletion, and
other threats to the Earth's
environment. Other missions
will point to new worlds on
the space frontier.***

***And through those united
efforts will come the greatest
discovery of all — a common
purpose that transcends
national rivalries.***



NEWS RELEASE

INTERNATIONAL SPACE YEAR

ISY Information Service
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Washington DC 20024

phone 202 863 1734
fax 202 863-5240
telex 910 250.8319

For Release

April 6, 1989

SENATE COALITION CALLS FOR BROAD ISY EFFORT

Washington, DC - A bipartisan Senate coalition, including the Senate majority and minority leaders and the chairmen of key space authorization and appropriations committees, has introduced legislation calling for a broad program of activities for the International Space Year (ISY) in 1992.

Senator Albert Gore (D-TN), chairman of the Senate's space authorization subcommittee, said on the Senate floor that the ISY offers an "ideal opportunity . . . to increase efficiency and maximize the scientific return" of space programs.

The resolution applauds NASA's "admirable leadership" in establishing an ISY space agency coordinating committee, called the Space Agency Forum on ISY (SAFISY). SAFISY has 23 space agency members, including all the major powers.

SAFISY already has adopted Mission to Planet Earth as a primary ISY activity, consisting of coordinated missions to monitor the Earth's environment.

The Senate resolution endorses that primary theme and also calls for "a strong emphasis on the other space sciences, human exploration, education, and developing nations applications."

In floor statements accompanying introduction of the resolution on March 9, Senators strongly endorsed Mission to Planet Earth and also placed special emphasis on preparing for long duration flight and long-term program planning.

Senator John Glenn (D-OH) said the ISY could "pave the way for much greater cooperation in the preparation of humans for long-duration flight."

Glenn called for focused ISY activities in space biology and space medicine, as well as overall standardization of research efforts of all nations preparing for long-duration flight.

Senator Gore hailed ISY Mission to Planet Earth efforts for coordinating existing activities and proposed they be expanded to other areas.

"On Earth, national highway systems, national telephone systems, mail systems, medical research efforts, and other such activities are interlinked for the sake of efficiency without compromising national programs in the slightest," Gore said. "The ISY could introduce that basically accepted approach to space exploration planning."

-more-



ISY

NEWS RELEASE

INTERNATIONAL SPACE YEAR

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Washington DC 20024

phone 202 863-1734
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telex 910 250 8319

For Release

March 28, 1989

ISY TELEVISION SERIES PLANNED

Washington, DC - The producers of the award-winning Planet Earth public television series have announced plans for a series dedicated to the International Space Year (ISY) in 1992.

The series, entitled Space Age, will be produced by television station WQED of Pittsburgh, PA, in association with the National Academy of Sciences. It will consist of eight one-hour programs that will be aired on PBS and internationally during 1992.

"Our series is inspired by the ISY's premise that the exploration of space marks an age as important and far-reaching as the Renaissance or Industrial Revolution," said Greg Andorfer, Vice President of National Programming at WQED.

The series will highlight how the space programs of many nations are converging toward common objectives as they encounter unprecedented challenges on the space frontier.

The series will chart the history of space exploration, its long-term cultural significance, its challenges, opportunities, and rewards.

It will be developed with the cooperation of NASA and the space agencies of Europe, Japan, the U.S.S.R., and others.

NASA provided preliminary funding for the research and development of Space Age, a WQED spokesman said, and will complement many of NASA's own educational efforts. The Public Broadcasting Service and the Corporation for Public Broadcasting provided additional funding.

Plans are also underway to work with the Soviet space program in obtaining film from Soviet robotic and piloted spacecraft.

Topics covered in the series will range from the origins and fate of the universe to the ISY's Mission to Planet Earth in which globally-coordinated spacecraft and ground instruments will monitor immediate threats to the environment.

As in the Planet Earth series, and the subsequent Infinite Voyage science series, the National Academy of Sciences (NAS) will work with WQED in involving the international scientific community in the project and in insuring scientific accuracy.

"But Space Age isn't only about science and technology or the mechanics of space missions," WQED's Andorfer said. "It's also about an age that will affect the character and future of the human species in every respect. It's about the mission of planet Earth in the cosmos."

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** TOTAL PAGE 015 **

THE WHITE HOUSE
Office of the Press Secretary

For Immediate Release

September 20, 1989

The President today announced his intention to nominate the following individuals to be Representatives and Alternate Representatives of the United States of America to the 44th Session of the General Assembly of the United Nations:

PEARL BAILEY, of Arizona, to be a Representative. Mrs. Bailey is an entertainer and author.

SAM GEJDENSON, of Connecticut, to be a Representative. Mr. Gejdenson is a United States Representative from the State of Connecticut.

THOMAS R. PICKERING, of New Jersey, to be a Representative. Ambassador Pickering is United States Ambassador to the United Nations.

CHRISTOPHER H. SMITH, of New Jersey, to be a Representative. Mr. Smith is a United States Representative from the State of New Jersey.

ALEXANDER FLETCHER WATSON, of Massachusetts, to be a Representative. Currently, he serves as the Ambassador to Peru.

BARBARA HACKMAN FRANKLIN, of Pennsylvania, to be an Alternate Representative. Ms. Franklin serves as President and Chief Executive Officer of Franklin Associates in Washington, D.C.

GARY EDWARD MACDOUGAL, of Illinois, to be an Alternate Representative. He has served as Chairman, Chief Executive Officer and Chairman of the Board for Mark Controls Corporation in Skokie, Illinois.

JONATHAN MOORE, of Massachusetts, to be an Alternate Representative. Currently, Mr. Moore serves as Alternate Representative of the United States of America for Special Political Affairs in the United Nations.

MILTON JAMES WILKINSON, of New Hampshire, to be an Alternate Representative. Currently, Mr. Wilkinson serves as Deputy Assistant Secretary of State for European and Canadian Affairs at the Department of State in Washington, D.C.

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1. TRANSMITTING STATION NO. (202) 453-2628	2. VOICE PHONE CONTACT NO. x8452	3. MESSAGE NO.	4. TOTAL PAGES (including lead) 15	5. DATE 22 September 1989
6. FROM (Name, organization and location): Ralph P. Brescia International Relations NASA Headquarters Washington, D.C. 20546			7. OFFICE CODE XID	8. OFFICE PHONE NO. (202) 453-8452

8. TO (Include Office Code and telephone number.) (May also be used for remarks):

Peggy Dooley
Research
The White House

Peggy:

Following is probably more than you ever wanted to know about ISY.

I've put a short summary on top, followed by some relevant background. At back, I've included a couple of PR pieces to give you an idea of other programs/plans.

If you have any questions on any of this (and I realize it's a bit of a complicated story), please feel free to give me a call at 453-8452.

Also, Brad and I are in touch regularly, so you can always get to me through him.

Cheers,

Ralph.

→ PEGGY —
PAGE TWO OF
THE APRIL 6TH
NEWS RELEASE.

Senator Spark Matsunaga (D-HI) reviewed the ISY's congressional origins in 1985, in a resolution he introduced with Senator Jake Garn (R-UT) as original cosponsor.

Matsunaga said that landmark SAFISY initiatives to coordinate more than 20 Earth observing spacecraft that will be in orbit in 1992 mean "the ISY already can be judged a historic success."

Senator Garn, who is ranking Republican on the Senate's space appropriations subcommittee, placed special emphasis on the need for a broad ISY program.

Garn said that the ISY "will greatly affect public perceptions of what our space program is all about." He said the ISY should encourage "a broad perspective on space exploration."

The ISY resolution calls for a report from NASA on its expanded ISY efforts. It also invites President Bush to reaffirm his support for the ISY and consider taking it up with foreign leaders.

Other cosponsors, besides Senators Matsunaga, Garn, Gore, and Glenn, include Senators George J. Mitchell (D-ME), Robert Dole (R-KS), Alan Cranston (D-CA), Alan K. Simpson (R-WY), Barbara A. Mikulski (D-MD), John C. Danforth (R-MO), and Ernest F. Hollings (D-SC).

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NOTE: THE ISY Information Service has bureaus serving different regions. This bureau is a division of the U.S. International Space Year Association (US-ISY) and serves the United States. A Paris bureau serves Europe and others are being formed. For further information, contact Harvey Meyerson at the above address.

Week Ending Friday, May 19, 1989

**Statement on International Discussions
on Global Climate Change**
May 12, 1989

The United States delegation to the steering group of the Response Strategies Working Group on Climate Change carried instructions to move the international community forward in establishing a process for considering how to respond to climate change. I am pleased to note that the nations meeting in Geneva have agreed to a workshop this fall, looking at the range of financial, economic, technical, and legal issues for responding to climate change. The United States looks forward to playing a significant role in efforts to assess and respond to global climate change.

I expect that these efforts will lead to formal negotiations on the establishment of a framework convention on global climate. It is important that this process lead to international scientific consensus on the seriousness of the issue for the environment and for the world economy. At the same time, we should ensure that the interests of developing countries are taken into account in this process.

The United States will host a meeting under the auspices of the Response Strategies Working Group this fall that is intended to advance our understanding and promote consensus. I look forward, personally, to reviewing its results.

Note: This statement was not received in time for inclusion in last week's issue.

**Remarks at the Texas A&M University
Commencement Ceremony in College
Station, Texas**
May 12, 1989

Thank you, Governor. Thank you all very much for that welcome. Good luck. Good luck to you. Thank you, ladies and gentle-

men. Thank you all. Chairman McKenzie and Dr. Adkisson and Dr. Mobley, thank you for having me here. And to the Singing Cadets, thank you for that very special treat. And to my Secretary of Commerce, Bob Mosbacher, I'm delighted that he's with me today.

I want to pay my special respects to our Governor, Bill Clements; to your Congressman from this district, Joe Barton; and then, of course, to Senator Phil Gramm. He said he taught economics here and in Congress. It's hard to be humble. But nevertheless—*[laughter]*—the point is the guy's telling the truth, and we are grateful to him every day for his leadership up there in Washington, as we are for Joe Barton as well. So, we've got a good combination—Phil Gramm in the Senate and today Joe Barton in the United States Congress—a wonderful combination, with these Aggie values in the forefront.

I was brought here today by an Aggie, and I brought him here to this marvelous ceremony with me. He was mentioned by Congressman Barton, but I would like to ask the pilot of Air Force One, Lt. Col. Dan Barr, to stand up so you can see another Aggie all suited up, up there. And you met my day-to-day inside Aggie, Fred McClure. We work every minute of the day on matters affecting the legislative interests of this country. But I won't reintroduce Fred.

But I am delighted to be back among my fellow Texans and friends. And for those of you who are Democrats, there is no truth to the rumor that Phil Gramm and I are ready to take our elephant walk. *[Applause]*

My sincerest congratulations go to every graduate and to your parents. In this ceremony, we celebrate nothing less than the commencement of the rest, and the best, of your life. And when you look back at your days at Texas A&M, you will have a lot to be proud of: a university that is first in baseball and first in service to our nation. Many are the heroes whose names are called at

May 12 / Administration of George Bush, 1989

muster. Many are those you remember in Silver Taps.

We are reminded that no generation can escape history. Parents, we share a fervent desire for our children and their children to know a better world, a safer world. And students, your parents and grandparents have lived through a world war and helped America to rebuild the world. They witnessed the drama of postwar nations divided by Soviet subversion and force, but sustained by an Allied response most vividly seen in the Berlin Airlift.

And today I would like to use this joyous and solemn occasion to speak to you and to the rest of the country about our relations with the Soviet Union. It is fitting that these remarks be made here at Texas A&M University.

Wise men—Truman and Eisenhower; Vandenberg and Rayburn; Marshall, Acheson, and Kennan—crafted the strategy of containment. They believed that the Soviet Union, denied the easy course of expansion, would turn inward and address the contradictions of its inefficient, repressive, and inhumane system. And they were right. The Soviet Union is now publicly facing this hard reality. Containment worked. Containment worked because our democratic principles and institutions and values are sound and always have been. It worked because our alliances were, and are, strong and because the superiority of free societies and free markets over stagnant socialism is undeniable.

We are approaching the conclusion of an historic postwar struggle between two visions: one of tyranny and conflict, and one of democracy and freedom. The review of U.S.-Soviet relations that my administration has just completed outlines a new path toward resolving this struggle. Our goal is bold, more ambitious than any of my predecessors could have thought possible. Our review indicates that 40 years of perseverance have brought us a precious opportunity, and now it is time to move beyond containment to a new policy for the 1990's, one that recognizes the full scope of change taking place around the world and in the Soviet Union itself. In sum, the United States now has as its goal much more than simply containing Soviet expansionism. We seek the integration of the Soviet Union

into the community of nations. And as the Soviet Union itself moves toward greater openness and democratization, as they meet the challenge of responsible international behavior, we will match their steps with steps of our own. Ultimately, our objective is to welcome the Soviet Union back into the world order.

The Soviet Union says that it seeks to make peace with the world and criticizes its own postwar policies. These are words that we can only applaud. But a new relationship cannot simply be declared by Moscow or bestowed by others; it must be earned. It must be earned because promises are never enough. The Soviet Union has promised a more cooperative relationship before, only to reverse course and return to militarism. Soviet foreign policy has been almost seasonal: warmth before cold, thaw before freeze. We seek a friendship that knows no season of suspicion, no chill of distrust.

We hope *perestroika* is pointing the Soviet Union to a break with the cycles of the past—a definitive break. Who would have thought that we would see the deliberations of the Central Committee on the front page of Pravda or dissident Andrei Sakharov seated near the councils of power? Who would have imagined a Soviet leader who canvasses the sidewalks of Moscow and also Washington, DC? These are hopeful, indeed, remarkable signs. And let no one doubt our sincere desire to see *perestroika*, this reform, continue and succeed. But the national security of America and our allies is not predicated on hope. It must be based on deeds. And we look for enduring, ingrained economic and political change.

While we hope to move beyond containment, we are only at the beginning of our new path. Many dangers and uncertainties are ahead. We must not forget that the Soviet Union has acquired awesome military capabilities. That was a fact of life for my predecessors, and that's always been a fact of life for our allies. And that is a fact of life for me today as President of the United States.

As we seek peace, we must also remain strong. The purpose of our military might is not to pressure a weak Soviet economy or to seek military superiority. It is to deter

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war. It is to defend ourselves and our allies
and to do something more: to convince the
Soviet Union that there can be no reward
in pursuing expansionism, to convince the
Soviet Union that reward lies in the pursuit
of peace.

Western policies must encourage the evolu-
tion of the Soviet Union toward an open
society. This task will test our strength. It
will tax our patience. And it will require a
sweeping vision. Let me share with you my
vision. I see a Western Hemisphere of
democratic, prosperous nations, no longer
threatened by a Cuba or a Nicaragua armed
by Moscow. I see a Soviet Union as it pulls
away from ties to terrorist nations like
Libya that threaten the legitimate security
of their neighbors. I see a Soviet Union
which respects China's integrity and returns
the northern territories to Japan, a prelude
to the day when all the great nations of Asia
will live in harmony.

But the fulfillment of this vision requires
the Soviet Union to take positive steps, in-
cluding: First, reduce Soviet forces. Al-
though some small steps have already been
taken, the Warsaw Pact still possesses more
than 30,000 tanks, more than twice as much
artillery, and hundreds of thousands more
troops in Europe than NATO [North Atlantic
Treaty Organization]. They should cut their
forces to less threatening levels, in
proportion to their legitimate security needs.
Second, adhere to the Soviet obligation,
promised in the final days of World War II,
to support self-determination for all the
nations of eastern Europe and central
Europe. And this requires specific abandon-
ment of the Brezhnev doctrine. One day it
should be possible to drive from Moscow to
Munich without seeing a single guard tower
or a strand of barbed wire. In short, tear
down the Iron Curtain. And third, work
with the West in positive, practical—not
merely rhetorical—steps toward diplomatic
solution to these regional disputes around
the world. I welcome the Soviet withdrawal
from Afghanistan, and the Angola agree-
ment. But there is much more to be done
around the world. We're ready. Let's roll
up our sleeves and get to work. And fourth,
achieve a lasting political pluralism and re-
spect for human rights. Dramatic events
have already occurred in Moscow. We are
impressed by limited, but freely contested

elections. We are impressed by a greater
toleration of dissent. We are impressed by a
new frankness about the Stalin era. Mr.
Gorbachev, don't stop now. And fifth, join
with us in addressing pressing global prob-
lems, including the international drug
menace and dangers to the environment.
We can build a better world for our chil-
dren.

As the Soviet Union moves toward arms
reduction and reform, it will find willing
partners in the West. We seek verifiable,
stabilizing arms control and arms reduction
agreements with the Soviet Union and its
allies. However, arms control is not an end
in itself but a means of contributing to the
security of America and the peace of the
world. I directed Secretary [of State] Baker
to propose to the Soviets that we resume
negotiations on strategic forces in June and,
as you know, the Soviet Union has agreed.

Our basic approach is clear. In the strate-
gic arms reductions talks, we wish to reduce
the risk of nuclear war. And in the compa-
nion defense and space talks, our objective
will be to preserve our options to deploy
advanced defenses when they're ready. In
nuclear testing, we will continue to seek the
necessary verification improvements in ex-
isting treaties to permit them to be brought
into force. And we're going to continue to
seek a verifiable global ban on chemical
weapons. We support NATO efforts to
reduce the Soviet offensive threat in the
negotiations on conventional forces in
Europe. And as I've said, fundamental to all
of these objectives is simple openness.

Make no mistake, a new breeze is blow-
ing across the steppes and the cities of the
Soviet Union. Why not, then, let this spirit
of openness grow, let more barriers come
down. Open emigration, open debate, open
airwaves—let openness come to mean the
publication and sale of banned books and
newspapers in the Soviet Union. Let the
19,000 Soviet Jews who emigrated last year
be followed by any number who wish to
emigrate this year. And when people apply
for exit visas, let there be no harassment
against them. Let openness come to mean
nothing less than the free exchange of
people and books and ideas between East
and West.

And let it come to mean one thing more. Thirty-four years ago, President Eisenhower met in Geneva with Soviet leaders who, after the death of Stalin, promised a new approach toward the West. He proposed a plan called Open Skies, which would allow unarmed aircraft from the United States and the Soviet Union to fly over the territory of the other country. This would open up military activities to regular scrutiny and, as President Eisenhower put it, "convince the world that we are lessening danger and relaxing tension." President Eisenhower's suggestion tested the Soviet readiness to open their society. And the Kremlin failed that test. Now, let us again explore that proposal, but on a broader, more intrusive and radical basis, one which I hope would include allies on both sides. We suggest that those countries that wish to examine this proposal meet soon to work out the necessary operational details, separately from other arms control negotiations. Such surveillance flights, complementing satellites, would provide regular scrutiny for both sides. Such unprecedented territorial access would show the world the true meaning of the concept of openness. The very Soviet willingness to embrace such a concept would reveal their commitment to change.

Where there is cooperation, there can be a broader economic relationship. But economic relations have been stifled by Soviet internal policies. They've been injured by Moscow's practice of using the cloak of commerce to steal technology from the West. Ending discriminatory treatment of U.S. firms would be a helpful step. Trade and financial transactions should take place on a normal commercial basis.

And should the Soviet Union codify its emigration laws in accord with international standards and implement its new laws faithfully, I am prepared to work with Congress for a temporary waiver of the Jackson-Vanik amendment, opening the way to extending Most Favored Nation trade status to the Soviet Union. After that last weighty point, I can just imagine what you were thinking: It had to happen. Your last day in college had to end with yet another political science lecture. [Laughter]

In all seriousness, the policy I have just described has everything to do with you.

Today you graduate. You're going to start careers and families. And you will become the leaders of America in the next century. And what kind of world will you know? Perhaps the world order of the future will truly be a family of nations.

It's a sad truth that nothing forces us to recognize our common humanity more swiftly than a natural disaster. I'm thinking, of course, of Soviet Armenia just a few months ago, a tragedy without blame, war-like devastation without war. Our son took our 12-year-old grandson to Yerevan. At the end of the day of comforting the injured and consoling the bereaved, the father and son went to church, sat down together in the midst of the ruins, and wept. How can our two countries magnify this simple expression of caring? How can we convey the good will of our people?

Forty-three years ago, a young lieutenant by the name of Albert Kotzebue, the class of 1945 at Texas A&M, was the first American soldier to shake hands with the Soviets at the bank of the Elbe River. Once again, we are ready to extend our hand. Once again, we are ready for a hand in return. And once again, it is a time for peace.

Thank you for inviting me to Texas A&M. I wish you the very best in years to come. God bless you all. Thank you very much.

Note: The President spoke at 3:05 p.m. in G. Rollie White Coliseum. In his opening remarks, he referred to William McKenzie, Perry Adkisson, and William H. Mobley, chairman of the board of regents, chancellor, and president of the university, respectively. The President also referred to Frederick D. McClure, Assistant to the President for Legislative Affairs. These remarks were not received in time for inclusion in last week's issue.

Nomination of Jerry M. Hunter To Be General Counsel of the National Labor Relations Board

May 12, 1989

The President today nominated Jerry M. Hunter to be General Counsel of the Na-

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SG/SM/4202
GA/7706
29 September 1988

SECRETARY-GENERAL CALLS PEACE PRIZE TRIBUTE TO ALL WHO HAVE SERVED UN

Following is the text of a statement made this morning by Secretary-General Javier Perez de Cuellar to the General Assembly:

I wish to convey to you certain news which I am sure will be a source of pleasure and of pride to the Organization. I was informed this morning that the Nobel Peace Prize has been awarded to our peace-keeping forces.

In awarding their Peace Prize to the peace-keeping forces of the United Nations today, the Nobel Committee recognizes that the quest for peace is a universal undertaking involving all the nations and peoples of the world.

The recent achievements of the United Nations have neither been sudden nor fortuitous but are the hard-won results of persistence and dedication over many years, epitomized by the peace-keeping activities of the Organization. The Award is a tribute to the idealism of all who have served this Organization and in particular to the valour and sacrifices of those who have contributed, and continue to contribute, to our peace-keeping operations.

N.B.:

Number of personnel who have served in operations since their inception -- approaching	500,000
Number of peace-keepers who have lost their lives to date --	733
Number of countries that have participated in United Nations peace-keeping operations since their inception --	58
Number of countries at present participating --	35

* *** *

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The following press release of the Department of Public Information has been reprinted by the Department of Conference Services for distribution to Missions and senior United Nations officials.