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Facts on File World News Digest

April 20, 1984

SECTION: INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS

PAGE: Pg. 275 B3

LENGTH: 726 words

HEADLINE: U.S. Unveils Draft Treaty Banning Chemical Arms;
Asks Inspections on Short Notice

BODY:

U.S. Vice President George Bush April 18 presented a new U.S. proposal for a comprehensive worldwide chemical weapons ban. Bush unveiled the proposal, in the form of a 66-page draft treaty, before the 40-nation Conference of the Committee on Disarmament, a Geneva-based United Nations affiliate. [See p. 242E3]

The draft treaty, which had been announced two weeks earlier by President Reagan, was based on a paper Bush had delivered to the conference in February 1983. At the center of the treaty were a number of stringent verification provisions, which Bush called "indispensable to an effective treaty" that could "eliminate the possibility of chemical warfare forever." [See 1983, p. 87B2]

Under the U.S. proposal, treaty signatories would agree to stop "the development, production, stockpiling, acquisition and retention or transfer of chemical weapons." Provisions of the treaty would be administered by a consultative panel, composed of one representative from each signatory nation. A five-nation "fact-finding committee" with authority to order inspections would also be established. The inspection committee would consist of representatives from the U.S. and the Soviet Union, one from each of their allied blocs and one from a nonaligned country.

Following the formation of the committees, the signatories would be required to produce a complete inventory of the location and number of their chemical weapons and production and development facilities, as well as plans for the destruction of the weapons over a 10-year period. The stockpiles would then be subject to international inspection by representatives of signatory nations. Facilities would be inspected systematically, and the destruction of stockpiles would be consistently monitored.

The treaty provided for one signatory to request information from another, which would be required to respond within seven days. If a signatory refused to comply with such a request, the nation initiating the process could appeal to the two committees. Upon determining that the situation warranted an on-site inspection, the fact-finding committee could order such an inspection to take place within 24 hours. Signatories providing a "full explanation" and "concrete proposals for alternative means" of supplying requested information could object to on-site inspections. However, signatories were required to comply with an actual committee order of inspection by permitting "unimpeded access within 24 hours of notification" to all of their "military or government-owned and government-controlled facilities." Signatories refusing to cooperate would be

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reported to the U.N. Security Council.

"For a chemical weapon ban to work, each party must have confidence that the other parties are abiding by it," Bush told the conference. "No sensible government enters into those international contracts known as treaties unless it can ascertain or verify that it is getting what it contracted for." Bush welcomed an earlier offer by the Soviet Union to allow continuous international inspection at disposal sites. "We are encouraged by this recognition of the indispensability of on-site inspection," Bush said.

Bush criticized "some governments" for speaking "as if openness and effective verification cut against their interests alone." He said "openness entails burdens for every state, including the United States. Openness of the kind we are proposing for the chemical weapon ban would come at a price. The U.S. government is willing to pay the price of such openness."

Soviet Delegate Reacts Coolly -- Viktor Israelyan, the Soviet delegate to the Geneva conference, April 18 responded coolly to the U.S. proposal. [See p. 260E21]

The Soviet Union would give the draft treaty "serious study," Israelyan said. However, he said, it appeared that the Reagan administration lacked the necessary "political will" to carry through on its rhetoric. Israelyan suggested that the U.S. had formulated its proposal "for the purposes of propaganda and policy.

The proposed verification measures amounted to "asking nations voluntarily to sanction intelligence activities "by the other side on their territory, according to a commentary by the Soviet Novosti press agency issued following Bush's speech." In reality, Novosti said, the U.S. intention is to torpedo the possibility of an agreement."

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

#

NATIONAL SECURITY COUNCIL

September 21, 1989

NOTE FOR JIM CICONI

Attached are additional
comments on the remarks
and toast for UNGA.
Peter Reiman is available
to answer any questions,
if they should arise

cc: Chriss Winsto

PWR edits

8:00 pm 9/21

McGroarty/Dooley
September 20, 1989
6:00 pm
[UN]

89 SEP 20 P6:34

PRESIDENTIAL REMARKS: GENERAL ASSEMBLY OF THE UNITED NATIONS
NEW YORK CITY
SEPTEMBER 25, 1989
11:00 AM

Mr. President, Mr. Secretary-General, distinguished delegates of the United Nations: I am honored to speak to you today as you open the 44th Session of the General Assembly.

And I feel a great personal pleasure as well. This is a homecoming for me. The memories of my time here are still with me today -- the human moments -- the humorous moments -- that are part of even the highest undertaking.

Let me share one story -- from one of the many sessions of the Security Council. I was 45 minutes late getting to the meeting -- 45 minutes filled by the first speaker to take the floor. When I walked in and took my seat, the speaker paused and said with great courtesy: "I welcome the Permanent Representative of the United States, and now -- for his benefit -- I will start my speech again -- from the beginning." [[Pause]] At that moment, differences of alliance and ideology didn't matter. The universal groan that went up around the table -- from every member present -- and the laughter that followed -- united us all. [[Pause]]

[Today, I would like to begin by recognizing the seven delegates who served with me 18 years ago -- and who still serve

today. Mr. Secretary General. Undersecretary General Abdulrahim
Abby Farah. Ambassador Roberto Martinez-Ordonez. Manglyn
Dugersuren. Blaise Ratsafilika. Zenon Rossides. John Dube.
It's an honor to be back with you in this historic hall.]

All of us here today know first-hand the dedication -- the
sincere desire for peace -- inspired by the high, humane
principles enshrined in the UN Charter.

The United Nations was established forty-four years ago upon
the ashes of war -- amidst great hopes. And the United Nations
can do great things. No, the UN isn't perfect. It's not a
panacea for the world's problems. But it is -- and must remain --
a vital forum where the nations of the world seek to replace
conflict with consensus.

And the UN is moving closer to that ideal. In recent years
-- certainly since my time here -- the war of words that has
often echoed in this chamber is giving way to a new mood. We've
seen a shift -- from polemics to peacekeeping. The result: ^{a new} ~~the~~
^{opportunity for} ~~emergence of~~ the United Nations ^{to come into its own} as a force for peace.

The world has recognized the real ^{value -- and} valor of the peacekeeping
forces -- the valor that brought them the Nobel Prize for Peace
one year ago. They are on duty at this very moment: in South
Asia and Africa, in the Middle East and the Mediterranean.

Over the years, more than 700 Peacekeepers have given their
lives in service to the United Nations. Today, I want to
remember one of these soldiers of peace. An American -- on a
mission of peace under the UN flag -- on a mission for all the

A generation after decolonization, we are entering a new era of
maturity and independence. Ideologies are discredited. Practical
cooperation becomes imperative. Basic humane values are
universal.

"Beyond
Polemics"?

The positive
trends in East-
West relations
have contributed to
the prospects for
UN peacekeeping.

Some
broader
historical
perspective

world. A man of unquestioned bravery and unswerving dedication to the UN ideal: Lt. Col. William Richard Higgins. [[Pause]]

I call on the General Assembly to condemn the murder of this soldier of peace -- and to call on those responsible to return his remains to his family. And let us all right now -- right here -- rededicate ourselves and our nations to the cause that Colonel Higgins served so selflessly.

The founders of this historic institution believed that it was here at the UN that the nations of the world might come to find common ground. And the United Nations can play a key role in the central development of our time. For today, there is an idea at work around the globe -- an idea of undeniable force. That idea is: Freedom.

The advance of freedom is evident everywhere. In Central Europe: In Hungary -- where state and society are now in the midst of a movement towards political pluralism and a free market economy. Where the barrier that once enforced an unnatural division between Hungary and its neighbors to the West has been torn down -- replaced by new hope for the future. New hope in freedom.

Because where there is hope of freedom at home -- no one must flee to find it elsewhere.

We see the trend toward freedom at work in Poland -- where, for the first time in the history of communist rule, the Party has relinquished its monopoly on power, in deference to the will

We live in a world of sweeping change. Historic developments are taking place in Europe -- economic integration, East-West reconciliation, arms reduction, resurgence of the idea of democracy. It is a powerful example of the recognition of human interdependence, grounded in freedom. But the same forces are at work today on every continent, developed and developing. The principles of justice, the yearning for freedom and peace, the laws of economic discrimination between North + South East + West.

A useful historical perspective = some analogy to powerful trends at work in Europe.

of the people. And in the Soviet Union -- where the world hears the voices of people no longer afraid to speak out, to assert the right to rule themselves.

But freedom's ^{gains are} ~~(rise is)~~ not confined to a single continent -- or to the developed world alone. In Latin America, one by one, dictatorships are giving way to democracy. This year alone, fourteen free elections will be held across Latin America -- proof that the day of the dictator is over.

Freedom is alive on the continent of Africa -- where more and more nations see in the system of free enterprise salvation for economies crippled by excessive state control.

East and West -- North and South: on every continent, we can see a new world of freedom on the horizon.

Of course, freedom's work remains unfinished. The trend we see underway in the world is not yet universal. Some regimes stand against the tide. Some rulers will deny -- if they can -- the power of people to govern themselves. But never before have these regimes stood so isolated and alone -- so out of step with the steady advance of freedom. Never before have the forces of prejudice and sheer power faced such a challenge.

The world in this century has seen great change. Two world wars. The dissolution of the colonial system -- and the birth of dozens of new nations. And a battle in the war of ideas as well -- between the ideologies of right and left. One of these ideologies -- fascism -- defeated almost a half century ago, is today universally despised. The other -- communism -- has, for

Hasn't
won
yet

Check
this

most of this century, captivated the minds of some of the world's most powerful rulers -- and enslaved tens of millions of men and women around the globe.

Today, that grip is loosening each passing day. We are witnessing the collapse of communist ideology -- the demise of the totalitarian idea of the all-powerful State.

There are many reasons for this collapse. But in the end, one fact alone explains what we see today: Its advocates saw the triumph of the totalitarian ideal written in the laws of history. They failed to see the love of freedom written in the human heart.

From where we stand -- on the threshold of the final decade of this century -- the trend is clear enough. If, for those who write the history of our times, the 20th century is remembered as the century of the State -- the 21st must be an era of emancipation -- the age of the Individual. A day when freedom is seen the world over to be the universal birthright of every man and woman -- of every race and walk of life.

Make no mistake: Nothing can stand in the way of this advance. Even under the worst of circumstances, at the darkest of times, freedom has always remained alive -- a distant dream, perhaps, but always alive.

Today, that dream is no longer distant. Today is freedom's moment. For the first time, for millions around the world -- a new world of freedom is within reach.

Overstated

Today, the possibility exists ⁱⁿ ~~of~~ the creation of a true community of nations -- ~~on the basis of~~ ~~interests and ideals~~. A true community -- not one dominated by a single nation. A world where free government and free markets meet the rising desire we see all around us for people to control their own destiny.

[[Pause]]

It is time we worked together to deliver that destiny into the hands of men and women everywhere.

Our challenge is to strengthen the foundations of freedom -- and encourage its advance. Today, I want to speak to this distinguished assembly about the urgent challenges we face: ensuring -- on a global scale -- economic health, environmental well-being, and answering the great questions of war and peace.

First, global economic growth. During this decade, a number of developing ~~nations~~ have moved into the ranks of the world's most advanced economies -- all of them -- each and every one -- powered by the engine of free enterprise.

Taiwan, Hong Kong & "Others"

In the decade ahead, others can follow their lead. But -- for many nations -- barriers stand in the way. In the case of some countries, these are obstacles of their own making: excessive tariffs and other restrictions on trade.

We and our partners in the General Agreement on Trade and Tariffs are working now to complete the Uruguay Round. By year's end, we hope to have consensus on a system that promotes open, free and

fair trade -- a system that ~~works to the benefit of all~~ ^{harnesses the power of commerce as the engine of growth}

"The power of Commerce" (President wants)

The United States imports more goods from the developing world -- ~~than~~ ^{more than} either Western Europe or Japan. Last year those imports were 29 percent of the value of all our imports -- ~~more than~~ ^{more than} the proportion of that of our industrial ~~partners~~ ^{peers} in helping the developing world share in helping the world.

But other barriers to growth exist, and those too require effective action. Too many developing countries struggle today under a burden of debt that makes growth all but impossible. The developing nations of the world deserve the opportunity to build better lives for their people, to achieve a measure of control over their own economic fates.

The approach the U.S. has put forward -- the Brady plan -- will help these nations cope with debt -- and create conditions for the free market reforms that will fuel growth.

In just two days I will be speaking to the International Monetary Fund. I'll discuss there in more detail the next steps the U.S. and other developed nations can take in dealing with the debt problem. But I can say now: the new world of freedom is not a world where a few nations live in comfort, while others live in want.

I believe we'll learn in the century ahead that the nations of the world have barely begun to tap their true potential for development. The free market and its fruits are not the special preserve of a few. They belong equally to all.

Beyond the challenge of global growth lies another issue of global magnitude: the environment. No line drawn on a map can stop the advance of pollution. Threats to our environment have become an international problem. We must develop an international approach to current environmental issues -- one that seeks common solutions to common problems.

The United Nations is already at work. On the question of global warming.... In the effort to prevent oil spills and other disasters from fouling our seas and the air we breathe.

The United States will do its part. We've committed ourselves to banning the release of all CFCs into the atmosphere by the year 2000. We've introduced a comprehensive set of amendments to our Clean Air Act that will have a far-reaching impact on the quality of the environment in North America. And we have begun to explore ways to work with other nations -- the major industrialized democracies, with Poland and in Hungary -- to make common cause for the sake of our environment.

And we know that preserving the environment is an ongoing effort. It demands long-term commitment -- and a great increase in our understanding. [[That is why today, I want to announce an environmental initiative called Mission to Planet Earth. By the year {xxxx}, the United States will encircle the earth with a satellite observation system -- over the poles and in deep space -- that will provide a quantum leap in our knowledge about global environmental conditions. Knowledge that we must acquire -- and put to use -- if we are to preserve this common legacy.]]

As always, questions of war and peace are of utmost concern to the United Nations.

We must move forward to limit -- and eliminate -- weapons of mass destruction. Five years ago, I presented a U.S. draft treaty outlawing chemical weapons at the UN Conference on

(NSC
files)

(NSC
files)

Disarmament in Geneva... took the decisive steps necessary to rid ourselves of this chemical threat. The world has lived too long in the shadow of these truly terrible weapons.

The key is a system of extensive on-site inspections -- a monitoring system that will convince all signatories of any disarmament treaty that no nation is concealing chemical weapons or the means to manufacture them. Only then can all nations put their confidence -- and trust their national security -- to such a treaty.

*INSERT
SUBSTITUTE
(attached)*

~~Open and innovative measures like these are what will move disarmament forward -- and ease international tensions. That's the idea behind the Open Skies proposal I made this past spring. Any country willing to open its territory to regular surveillance over flights -- like any country ready to accept on-site inspections -- demonstrates that nations of peaceful intent have nothing to hide.)~~

And of course, the U.S. continues to negotiate with the Soviet Union reductions in the level of all armaments -- conventional and nuclear. [POSSIBLE ARMS CONTROL INSERT]

We have not entered an era of perpetual peace. The threats to peace that nations face may today be changing -- but they have not vanished. In fact, in a number of regions around the world, a dangerous combination is now emerging: Regimes armed with old and unproven weapons -- and modern weapons of mass destruction.

**NSC INSERT:
NEW "OPEN SKIES" INITIATIVE**

New para in middle of page 9

"Open and innovative measures like these are what will move disarmament forward -- and ease international tensions. That's the idea behind the Open Skies proposal I made this past spring. This would open airspace, on a reciprocal basis, to frequent unarmed surveillance flights by aircraft from the other side of the East-West divide. At this stage, all member states of the North Atlantic Alliance and the Warsaw Pact would be welcome to participate. We would consider broader participation once we see that the regime has been launched successfully.

I wish to tell you today that, in elaborating this initiative, the United States has decided that it is prepared to open its airspace to such "Open Skies" observation flights without any restrictions, except for flight safety, on the area or altitude where such airplanes can fly. In other words, we are willing to follow through with a real commitment to openness; and we hope that the Soviet Union, and its allies, will do the same.

Such an Open Skies regime could transform the closed societies of the East bloc and offer a better mutual understanding of military installations and activities. Open Skies aircraft offer a flexibility and breadth of coverage that satellites cannot match, as well as the potential for overcoming obstacles such as cloud cover, while adding to nations' ability to verify compliance with the kind of far-reaching arms control agreements that we support."

This development will raise the stakes whenever war breaks out. Regional conflict may well threaten world peace as never before. *Developing nations themselves (tragically) spent, in 1987, more than \$170 billion on weapons. Instead of on their people's*

Could add:

(Gates asked for)

→ The challenge of preserving peace is a personal one for all of you here in this hall. [Mr. Secretary General, I know you have made it your own.] The United Nations can be a mediator -- a forum where parties in conflict come in search of peaceful solutions.

For the sake of peace, the UN must redouble the already urgent efforts now underway in the Middle East, in Southern Africa and Southeast Asia. Let the issue of peace in these regions stand at the top of the UN agenda. [[Pause]]

Other, less conventional threats are no less dangerous to international peace and stability. Illegal drugs are a menace to social order and a source of human misery wherever they gain a foothold. The nations who suffer this scourge must join forces in the fight. And we are. And let me salute the commitment and extraordinary courage of one country in particular -- Colombia -- where the people and their President, Virgilio Barco, are working with us to put the drug cartels out of business, and bring the drug lords to justice.

Finally, we must join forces to combat the threat of terrorism. Every nation -- and the United Nations -- must send the outlaws of the world a clear message: Hostage taking and the terror of random violence are methods that cannot win the world's approval. Terrorism of any kind is repugnant to all values a

civilized world holds in common. And make no mistake: Terrorism is a means that no end -- no matter how just -- can sanctify.

Whatever the challenge, the trend towards freedom we now see sweeping the world greatly raises the chances of our success. Freedom's moment is a time of hope for all the world. Because freedom -- once set in motion -- takes on a momentum of its own.

As I said the day I assumed the Presidency: "We don't have to talk late into the night about which form of government is better." We know that free government -- democracy -- is best.

I believe that is the hard-won truth of our time -- the unassailable fact that stands at the end of a century that has known great struggle and human suffering.

And this is true not because all our differences must give way to democracy -- but because democracy makes room for all our differences.

At the very heart of the democratic ideal is respect -- for freedom of belief, freedom of thought and action in all its diversity. The world has experienced enough of the ideologies that have promised to remake man in some new and better image. We've seen the colossal tragedies and dashed hopes. We know now that freedom and democracy hold the answers. What men and nations want is the freedom to live by their own lights, and a chance to prosper in peace.

Democracy satisfies these universal desires. It is the one way we can live amongst ourselves -- at peace with our neighbors, at home with our differences. [[Pause]]

And it can begin here in the United Nations. I remember sitting in this hall. I remember the mutual respect among all of us proudly serving as representatives. I remember the almost endless speeches, Security Council sessions. The receptions and receiving lines. The formal meetings of this Assembly -- and the informal discussions in the delegates' lounge.

And I remember something more -- something beyond the frantic pace and sometimes frustrating experiences of daily life here: the heartbeat of the United Nations -- the quiet conviction that most if not all of us truly wanted to help make the world more peaceful. More free.

Today, the world of freedom we sought then lies within reach. I ask each of you here in this hall: can we not bring a unity of purpose to the United Nations? Can we not make this new world of freedom the common destiny we seek?

I believe we can. I know we must. [[Pause]]

My solemn wish today is that here -- among the United Nations -- that spirit will take hold, and that all men and all nations will make freedom's moment their own.

Thank you, God bless you, and may God bless the work of the United Nations.

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WHITE HOUSE STAFFING MEMORANDUM

DATE: 9/20/89

ACTION/CONCURRENCE/COMMENT DUE BY:

9/21/89 2:00 PM

SUBJECT:

PRESIDENTIAL REMARKS: UN GENERAL ASSEMBLY

	ACTION FYI			ACTION FYI	
VICE PRESIDENT	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	MCCLURE	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
SUNUNU	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	NEWMAN	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
SCOWCROFT →	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	PORTER	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
DARMAN	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	STUDDERT	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
BATES	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	UNTERMAYER	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
BREEDEN	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	ROGERS	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>
CARD	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	WINSTON	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>
CICCONI	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	PINKERTON	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
DEMAREST	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	BOSKIN	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
FITZWATER	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	_____	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
GRAY	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	_____	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
HAGIN	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	_____	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>

REMARKS:

Please forward any comments directly to Chriss Winston, Rm. 122, x2930, no later than 2:00 PM, Thursday, September 21, with a copy to my office. Thank you.

SEP 22 19:24

RESPONSE:

September 21, 1989

TO: CHRISS WINSTON

NSC concurs, with the additions and changes marked.

CLOSE HOLD SENSITIVE

Brent Scowcroft

James W. Cicconi
Assistant to the President
and Deputy to the Chief of Staff
Ext. 2702

cc: James W. Cicconi

Possible CFE addition to the President's UNGA speech:

[Transition, e.g.: While we are taking new steps to rid the world of the terrible scourge of chemical weapons, we are continuing to move forward at an accelerated pace on other fronts.]

Last Thursday in Vienna, the NATO Allies tabled new proposals on conventional arms control with the members of the Warsaw Pact. With these proposals, we reconfirm our commitment to accelerating the pace of these negotiations. Our aim is to alleviate the imbalance of armed forces which has threatened the security of Europe for four decades.

These negotiations are but one part of our larger ambition for the future of Europe. Our goal is nothing short of a Europe that is whole and free. It is a goal that will do justice to the aspirations of all Europeans; a goal that will enable them to live their lives free from intimidation, free from fear, free to choose. The commitment of the United States to achieving this goal is unswerving.

Concurrence by: ^{Arnold} Arnold Kanter, ^{Robert} Robert Blackwill, ^{Judyt} Judyt Mandel,
^{Barry} Barry Lowenkron

NSC Edits

McGroarty/Dooley
September 20, 1989
6:00 pm
[UN]

09 SEP 20 P6:34

PRESIDENTIAL REMARKS: GENERAL ASSEMBLY OF THE UNITED NATIONS
NEW YORK CITY
SEPTEMBER 25, 1989
11:00 AM

Mr. President, Mr. Secretary-General, distinguished delegates of the United Nations: I am honored to speak to you today as you open the 44th Session of the General Assembly.

And I feel a great personal pleasure as well. This is a homecoming for me. The memories of my time here ^{-- 1971 and 1972 --} are still with me today -- the human moments -- the humorous moments -- that are part of even the highest undertaking.

Let me share one story -- from one of the many sessions of the Security Council. I was 45 minutes late getting to the meeting -- 45 minutes filled by the first speaker to take the floor. When I walked in and took my seat, the speaker paused and said with great courtesy: "I welcome the Permanent Representative of the United States, and now -- for his benefit - - I will start my speech again -- from the beginning." [[Pause]] At that moment, differences of alliance and ideology didn't matter. The universal groan that went up around the table -- from every member present -- and the laughter that followed -- united us all. [[Pause]]

[Today, I would like to begin by recognizing the seven delegates who served with me 18 years ago -- and who still serve

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today. Mr. Secretary General. Undersecretary General Abdulrahim Abby Farah. Ambassadors Roberto Martinez-Ordonez. Manglyn Dugersuren. Blaise Rabetaflika. Zenon Rossides. John Dube. It's an honor to be back with you in this historic hall.]

All of us here today know first-hand the dedication -- the sincere desire for peace -- inspired by the high, humane principles enshrined in the UN Charter.

The United Nations was established forty-four years ago upon the ashes of war -- amidst great hopes. And the United Nations **can** do great things. No, the UN isn't perfect. It's not a panacea for the world's problems. But it is -- and must remain - a vital forum where the nations of the world seek to replace ^{armed} conflict ^{the peaceful resolution of disputes according to the law of the UN Charter} ~~with consensus~~. ^{This organization has the strong support of the United States of America.}

And the UN is moving closer to that ideal. In recent years -- certainly since my time here -- the war of words that has often echoed in this chamber is giving way to a new mood. We've seen a shift -- from polemics to peacekeeping. The result: the emergence of the United Nations as a force for peace.

The world has recognized the real valor of the peacekeeping forces -- the valor that brought them the Nobel Prize for Peace one year ago. They are on duty at this very moment: in South Asia and in Africa, in the Middle East and the Mediterranean.

Over the years, more than 700 Peacekeepers have given their lives in service to the United Nations. Today, I want to remember one of these soldiers of peace. An American -- on a mission of peace under the UN flag -- on a mission for all the

There isn't just common ground or consensus, but better standards of conduct
Explicit endorsement

world. A man of unquestioned bravery and unswerving dedication to the UN ideal: Lt. Col. William Richard Higgins. [[Pause]]

build on the Security Council's efforts and to
I call on the General Assembly to condemn the murder of this soldier of peace -- and to call on those responsible to return his remains to his family. And let us all right now -- right here -- rededicate ourselves and our nations to the cause that Colonel Higgins served so selflessly.

The founders of this historic institution believed that it was here at the UN that the nations of the world might come ^{together} to agree ~~not law, not force, shall govern their relations. That effort is unfinished, and find common ground. And the United Nations can play a key role~~ *remains a part of our task of making the hopes of 1945 a living reality. Inspiring & in the central development of our time! For today, there is an effort* *the flowering of the idea of freedom.* *idea at work around the globe -- an idea of undeniable force.* *today!*

~~That idea is: Freedom.~~

The advance of freedom is evident everywhere. In Central Europe: In Hungary -- where state and society are now in the midst of a movement towards political pluralism and a free market economy. Where the barrier that once enforced an unnatural division between Hungary and its neighbors to the West has been **torn down** -- replaced by new hope for the future. New hope in freedom.

Because where there is hope of freedom at home -- no one must flee to find it elsewhere.

We see the trend toward freedom at work in Poland -- where, for the first time in the history of communist rule, the Party has relinquished its monopoly on power, in deference to the will

Security Council passed condemnatory resolution, which called for release of hostages, etc.

See note on p. 2

of the people. And in the Soviet Union -- where the world hears the voices of people no longer afraid to speak out, to assert the right to rule themselves.

But freedom's rise is not confined to a single continent -- or to the developed world alone. In Latin America, one by one, dictatorships are giving way to democracy. This year alone, fourteen free elections will be held across Latin America -- proof that **the day of the dictator is over.**

Freedom is alive on the continent of Africa -- where more and more nations see in the system of free enterprise salvation for economies crippled by excessive state control.

East and West -- North and South: **on every continent, we can see a new world of freedom on the horizon.**

Of course, freedom's work remains unfinished. The trend we see underway in the world is not yet universal. Some regimes stand against the tide. Some rulers will deny -- if they can -- the power of people to govern themselves. **But never before have these regimes stood so isolated and alone -- so out of step with the steady advance of freedom.** Never before have the forces of prejudice and sheer power faced such a challenge.

The world in this century has seen great change. Two world wars. The dissolution of the colonial system -- and the birth of dozens of new nations. And a battle in the war of ideas as well

-- ~~between the~~ ^{as freedom was assaulted by two great totalitarian} ideologies of right and left. One of these ideologies -- fascism -- ^{was} defeated almost a half century ago. ~~It~~

~~today universally despised~~ The other -- communism -- has, for

Battle is
not between
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most of this century, captivated the minds of ~~some of the world's~~
~~most~~ powerful rulers -- and ^{consumed or constricted the lives of} ~~enslaved~~ tens of millions of men and women around the globe.

Today, that grip is loosening each passing day. We are witnessing the collapse of communist ideology -- the demise of ^{an idea that is now discredited...derpised...and increasingly discarded.} ~~the totalitarian idea of the all-powerful State.~~

There are many reasons for this collapse. But in the end, one fact alone explains what we see today: **Its advocates saw the triumph of the totalitarian ideal written in the laws of history. They failed to see the love of freedom written in the human heart.**

From where we stand -- on the threshold of the final decade of this century -- the trend is clear enough. If, for those who write the history of our times, the 20th century is remembered as the century of the State -- the 21st must be an era of emancipation -- the age of the Individual. A day when freedom is seen the world over to be the universal birthright of every man and woman -- of every race and walk of life.

Make no mistake: Nothing can stand in the way of this advance. Even under the worst of circumstances, at the darkest of times, freedom has always remained alive -- a distant dream, perhaps, but always alive.

Today, that dream is no longer distant. **Today is freedom's moment. For the first time, for millions around the world -- a new world of freedom is within reach.**

Today, the possibility exists for the creation of a true community of nations -- built on shared interests and ideals. A true community -- not one dominated by a single nation. A world where free government and free markets meet the rising desire we see all around us for people to control their own destiny.

[[Pause]]

It is time we worked together to deliver that destiny into the hands of men and women everywhere.

Our challenge is to strengthen the foundations of freedom -- and encourage its advance. Today, I want to speak to this distinguished assembly about the urgent challenges we face: ensuring -- on a global scale -- economic health, environmental well-being, and answering the great questions of war and peace.

First, global economic growth. During this decade, a number of developing nations have moved into the ranks of the world's most advanced economies -- all of them -- each and every one -- powered by the engine of free enterprise.

In the decade ahead, others can follow their lead. But -- for many nations -- barriers stand in the way. In the case of some countries, these are obstacles of their own making: excessive tariffs and other restrictions on trade. We and our partners in the General Agreement on Trade and Tariffs are working now to complete the Uruguay Round. By year's end, we hope to have consensus on a system that promotes open, free and fair trade -- a system that works to the benefit of all.

x

But other barriers to growth exist, and those too require effective action. Too many developing countries struggle today under a burden of debt that make growth all but impossible. The developing nations of the world deserve the opportunity to build better lives for their people, to achieve a measure of control over their own economic fates.

The approach the U.S. has put forward -- the Brady plan -- will help these nations cope with debt -- and create conditions for the free market reforms that will fuel growth.

In just two days I will be speaking to the International Monetary Fund. I'll discuss there in more detail the next steps the U.S. and other developed nations can take in dealing with the debt problem. But I can say now: the new world of freedom is not a world where a few nations live in comfort, while others live in want.

I believe we'll learn in the century ahead that the nations of the world have barely begun to tap their true potential for development. The free market and its fruits are not the special preserve of a few. They belong equally to all.

Beyond the challenge of global growth lies another issue of global magnitude: the environment. No line drawn on a map can stop the advance of pollution. Threats to our environment have become an international problem. We must develop an international approach to current environmental issues -- one that seeks common solutions to common problems.

The United Nations is already at work. On the question of global warming.... In the effort to prevent oil spills and other disasters from fouling our seas and the air we breathe.

The United States will do its part. We've committed ourselves to banning the release of all CFCs into the atmosphere by the year 2000. We've introduced a comprehensive set of amendments to our Clean Air Act that will have a far-reaching impact on the quality of the environment in North America. And we have begun to explore ways to work with other nations -- the major industrialized democracies, with Poland and in Hungary -- to make common cause for the sake of our environment.

And we know that preserving the environment is an ongoing effort. It demands long-term commitment -- and a great increase in our understanding. [[That is why today, I want to announce an environmental initiative called Mission to Planet Earth. By the mid-1990s, ^{and its partners} the United States ^{major new} will encircle the earth with a satellite observation system -- ^{in polar orbit --} ~~over the poles and in deep space~~ -- that will ^{increase} ~~provide a quantum leap in~~ our knowledge ^{of} ~~about~~ global environmental conditions. Knowledge that we must acquire -- and put to use ^{we call on the nations of the world to join us in this singularly historic enterprise to preserve our common heritage and future on this planet.} ~~if we are to preserve this common legacy.~~]]

As always, questions of war and peace are of utmost concern to the United Nations.

We must move forward to limit -- and eliminate -- weapons of mass destruction. [Five years ago, I presented a U.S. draft treaty outlawing chemical weapons at the UN Conference on]

INSERT TO BE PROVIDED

[Disarmament in Geneva. It's time we took the decisive steps necessary to rid ourselves of this chemical threat. The world has lived too long in the shadow of these truly terrible weapons.]

[The key is a system of extensive on-site inspections -- a monitoring system that will convince all signatories of any disarmament treaty that no nation is concealing chemical weapons or the means to manufacture them. Only then can all nations put their confidence -- and trust their national security -- to such a treaty.]

Open and innovative measures like these are what will move disarmament forward -- and ease international tensions. That's the idea behind the Open Skies proposal I made this past spring. Any country willing to open its territory to regular surveillance overflights -- like any country ready to accept on-site inspections -- demonstrates that nations of peaceful intent have nothing to hide.

And of course, the U.S. continues to negotiate with the Soviet Union reductions in the level of all armaments -- conventional and nuclear. [POSSIBLE ARMS CONTROL INSERT]

We have not entered an era of perpetual peace. The threats to peace that nations face may today be changing -- but they have not vanished. In fact, in a number of regions around the world, a dangerous combination is now emerging: Regimes armed with old and unappeasable animosities -- and modern weapons of mass destruction.

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This development will raise the stakes whenever war breaks out. Regional conflict may well threaten world peace as never before.

The challenge of preserving peace is a personal one for all of you here in this hall. [Mr. Secretary General, I know you

have made it your own.] The United Nations can be a mediator -- *or it can express the support of the world community for the processes of* ~~(a forum where parties in conflict come in search of peaceful~~ *diplomacy.* ~~(solutions))~~

For the sake of peace, *these diplomatic efforts must be* ~~(the UN must redouble the already~~ *redoubled.* ~~urgent efforts now underway in the Middle East, in Southern~~

~~Africa and Southeast Asia. Let the issue of peace in these regions stand at the top of the UN agenda. [[Pause]]~~

INSERT →
(attached)

Other, less conventional threats are no less dangerous to international peace and stability. Illegal drugs are a menace to social order and a source of human misery wherever they gain a foothold. The nations who suffer this scourge must join forces in the fight. And we are. And let me salute the commitment and extraordinary courage of one country in particular -- Colombia -- where the people and their President, Virgilio Barco, are working with us to put the drug cartels out of business, and bring the drug lords to justice.

Finally, we must join forces to combat the threat of terrorism. Every nation -- and the United Nations -- must send the outlaws of the world a clear message: Hostage taking and the terror of random violence are methods that cannot win the world's approval. Terrorism of any kind is repugnant to all values a

In some of these conflicts we don't really want direct UN role

UNGA SPEECH: INSERT IN MIDDLE OF PAGE 10

In the Middle East, Israel's May 14 initiative on elections leading to negotiations -- a proposal that the United States wholeheartedly supports -- provides hope that the cycle of violence between Israelis and Palestinians can give way to negotiations on a comprehensive peace settlement. The United States, Egypt, and others are working hard to translate this into reality. There has been progress. Outstanding obstacles can be overcome through creativity, statesmanship, and political will to make the elections and negotiations initiative work.

There is also a promising Arab League effort underway to bring peace and national reconciliation to Lebanon. This effort, the best hope to end Lebanon's tragedy and restore its sovereignty, deserves support from the UN and all its members.

[Let me also use this opportunity to say something about Iran. We have no interest in perpetuating past hostilities. We simply call upon Iran to act according to acceptable international norms. The United States would welcome this development and is prepared to deal with the Islamic Republic of Iran on a basis of mutual respect and non-interference.]

In Cambodia, there must be an end to war. The people of Cambodia deserve to have a comprehensive settlement which, through the leadership of Prince Sihanouk, gives them real self-determination, security, peace, and prosperity.

UNGA SPEECH: INSERT ON PAGE 10 --- CONTINUED

In Africa, the United States is proud of the role it has played in setting the stage for ending the conflict in Angola and bringing independence to Namibia. And the election of a new government in South Africa which has pledged itself to move toward a genuinely integrated and non-racial society is a most hopeful development.

civilized world holds in common. **And make no mistake: Terrorism is a means that no end -- no matter how just -- can sanctify.**

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Whatever the challenge, the trend towards freedom we now see sweeping the world greatly raises the chances of our success. Freedom's moment is a time of hope for all the world. **Because freedom -- once set in motion -- takes on a momentum of its own.**

As I said the day I assumed the Presidency: "We don't have to talk late into the night about which form of government is better." We know that free government -- democracy -- is best.

I believe that is the hard-won truth of our time -- the unassailable fact that stands at the end of a century that has known great struggle and human suffering.

And this is true not because all our differences must give way to democracy -- but because democracy makes room for all our differences.

At the very heart of the democratic ideal is respect -- for freedom of belief, freedom of thought and action in all its diversity. The world has experienced enough of the ideologies that have promised to remake man in some new and better image. We've seen the colossal tragedies and dashed hopes. We know now that freedom and democracy hold the answers. What men and nations want is the freedom to live by their own lights, and a chance to prosper in peace.

UNGA SPEECH: INSERT ON PAGE 11

Much that matters to the American people -- indeed, to all peoples -- can be achieved only if the family of nations works together. The United Nations is the preeminent international institution. It is uniquely endowed with the collective capacity to address the global agenda before us. Whether the issue is terrorism in the skies or drugs on the streets, the United Nations can reach across borders and find common bonds. I am therefore committed to working closely with the United Nations system -- be it the Security Council in pursuit of peacekeeping, or the U.N.'s technical and specialized agencies battling nuclear proliferation, hunger, refugee tragedy, childhood disease and early death.

Democracy satisfies these universal desires. It is the one way we can live amongst ourselves -- at peace with our neighbors, at home with our differences. [[Pause]]

And it can begin here in the United Nations. I remember sitting in this hall. I remember the mutual respect among all of us proudly serving as representatives. I remember the almost endless speeches, Security Council sessions. The receptions and receiving lines. The formal meetings of this Assembly -- and the informal discussions in the delegates' lounge.

And I remember something more -- something beyond the frantic pace and sometimes frustrating experiences of daily life here: the heartbeat of the United Nations -- the quiet conviction that most if not all of us truly wanted to help make the world more peaceful. More free.

Today, the world of freedom we sought then lies within reach. I ask each of you here in this hall: can we not bring a unity of purpose to the United Nations? Can we not make this new world of freedom the common destiny we seek?

I believe we can. I know we must. [[Pause]]

My solemn wish today is that here -- among the United Nations -- that spirit will take hold, and that all men and all nations will make freedom's moment their own.

Thank you, God bless you, and may God bless the work of the United Nations.

#

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

September 21, 1989

MEMORANDUM FOR CHRISS WINSTON

FROM: ROGER B. PORTER *RBP*

SUBJECT: Presidential Remarks: UN General Assembly

The draft speech does an excellent job of defining in a positive, constructive manner the fundamental international themes most important to the United States. It also sets the stage for the President's remarks at the IMF/World Bank annual meetings next Wednesday. I have the following specific comments:

- Trade (page 6, final paragraph). We should not imply that trade barriers are the only obstacles to growth that developing country governments have created for themselves. Also, Uruguay Round negotiations are scheduled to be completed at the end of 1990; by the end of this year we will only have tabled our initial negotiating positions.
- Debt (page 7, paragraphs 2 and 3). The Brady Plan is aimed at debt reduction, not merely at helping cope with debt. It also includes provisions for economic reform in debtor countries. Finally, the debt debate should include not only discussion of what developed countries can do, but discussion of what debtor countries can do for themselves.
- Environment (page 8, paragraph 2). We recommend that the speech include a few sentences on reforestation, a key Presidential theme. During the Economic Summit, the G7 countries committed to work together to protect the global environment, and Time magazine just had a cover story on the loss of the rain forests. Deforestation is a major environmental concern and closely tied to global warming. {Mission to Planet Earth}
- Mission to Planet Earth (page 8, paragraph 3). The third paragraph on page 8 is an "announcement" of Mission to Planet Earth. A couple of comments here. First, the President talked about Mission to Planet Earth in his July 20 speech at the Air and Space Museum this past summer, calling it "a critical part of our space program." Therefore, he really is not announcing anything new. The President may want to take this opportunity to emphasize the international cooperation

Ralph Brescia
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Peggy Zimmerman
453-1083

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aspect of this initiative, given the audience. We suggest changing the paragraph to read:

That is why I have proposed the environmental initiative called Mission to Planet Earth. This truly cooperative international effort would develop an earth observing system which will provide a quantum leap in our knowledge about global environmental conditions. Knowledge that we must acquire -- and put to use -- if we are to preserve this common legacy. What better way to celebrate the International Space Year in 1992 than with international cooperation on Mission to Planet Earth.

Mission to Planet Earth main part of

Attached is a mark-up of the draft speech containing suggested language to address the points noted above. If you have questions, please call Steve Farrar (x2315) on trade and debt issues and Nancy Maloley (x6554) on the environment and Brad Mitchell (x2998) on Mission to Planet Earth.

Attachment

c: James W. Cicconi

*US initiatives →
space ~~missions~~ ^{agencies}
around the world*

*Congressional initiatives
UN fought w/idea of
declaring
NASA fought State*

CLOSE HOLD

Document No.

074447SS

SENSITIVE

WHITE HOUSE STAFFING MEMORANDUM

DATE: 9/20/89

ACTION/CONCURRENCE/COMMENT DUE BY:

9/21/89 2:00 PM

SUBJECT: PRESIDENTIAL REMARKS: UN GENERAL ASSEMBLY

	ACTION FYI			ACTION FYI	
VICE PRESIDENT	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	MCCLURE	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
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DARMAN	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	STUDDERT	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
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REMARKS:

Please forward any comments directly to Chriss Winston, Rm. 122, x2930, no later than 2:00 PM, Thursday, September 21, with a copy to my office. Thank you.

RESPONSE:

CLOSE HOLD

SENSITIVE

James W. Cicconi
Assistant to the President
and Deputy to the Chief of Staff
Ext. 2702

McGroarty/Dooley
September 20, 1989
6:00 pm
[UN]

89 SEP 20 P6:34

PRESIDENTIAL REMARKS: GENERAL ASSEMBLY OF THE UNITED NATIONS
NEW YORK CITY
SEPTEMBER 25, 1989
11:00 AM

Mr. President, Mr. Secretary-General, distinguished delegates of the United Nations: I am honored to speak to you today as you open the 44th Session of the General Assembly.

And I feel a great personal pleasure as well. This is a homecoming for me. The memories of my time here are still with me today -- the human moments -- the humorous moments -- that are part of even the highest undertaking.

Let me share one story -- from one of the many sessions of the Security Council. I was 45 minutes late getting to the meeting -- 45 minutes filled by the first speaker to take the floor. When I walked in and took my seat, the speaker paused and said with great courtesy: "I welcome the Permanent Representative of the United States, and now -- for his benefit -- I will start my speech again -- from the beginning." [[Pause]] At that moment, differences of alliance and ideology didn't matter. The universal groan that went up around the table -- from every member present -- and the laughter that followed -- united us all. [[Pause]]

[Today, I would like to begin by recognizing the seven delegates who served with me 18 years ago -- and who still serve

world. A man of unquestioned bravery and unswerving dedication to the UN ideal: Lt. Col. William Richard Higgins. [[Pause]]

I call on the General Assembly to condemn the murder of this soldier of peace -- and to call on those responsible to return his remains to his family. And let us all right now -- right here -- rededicate ourselves and our nations to the cause that Colonel Higgins served so selflessly.

The founders of this historic institution believed that it was here at the UN that the nations of the world might come to find common ground. And the United Nations can play a key role in the central development of our time. For today, there is an idea at work around the globe -- an idea of undeniable force. That idea is: Freedom.

The advance of freedom is evident everywhere. In Central Europe: In Hungary -- where state and society are now in the midst of a movement towards political pluralism and a free market economy. Where the barrier that once enforced an unnatural division between Hungary and its neighbors to the West has been torn down -- replaced by new hope for the future. New hope in freedom.

Because where there is hope of freedom at home -- no one must flee to find it elsewhere.

We see the trend toward freedom at work in Poland -- where, for the first time in the history of communist rule, the Party has relinquished its monopoly on power, in deference to the will

of the people. And in the Soviet Union -- where the world hears the voices of people no longer afraid to speak out, to assert the right to rule themselves.

But freedom's rise is not confined to a single continent -- or to the developed world alone. In Latin America, one by one, dictatorships are giving way to democracy. This year alone, fourteen free elections will be held across Latin America -- proof that the day of the dictator is over.

Freedom is alive on the continent of Africa -- where more and more nations see in the system of free enterprise salvation for economies crippled by excessive state control.

East and West -- North and South: on every continent, we can see a new world of freedom on the horizon.

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The world in this century has seen great change. Two world wars. The dissolution of the colonial system -- and the birth of dozens of new nations. And a battle in the war of ideas as well -- between the ideologies of right and left. One of these ideologies -- fascism -- defeated almost a half century ago, is today universally despised. The other -- communism -- has, for

most of this century, captivated the minds of some of the world's most powerful rulers -- and enslaved tens of millions of men and women around the globe.

Today, that grip is loosening each passing day. We are witnessing the collapse of communist ideology -- the demise of the totalitarian idea of the all-powerful State.

There are many reasons for this collapse. But in the end, one fact alone explains what we see today: Its advocates saw the triumph of the totalitarian ideal written in the laws of history. They failed to see the love of freedom written in the human heart.

From where we stand -- on the threshold of the final decade of this century -- the trend is clear enough. If, for those who write the history of our times, the 20th century is remembered as the century of the State -- the 21st must be an era of emancipation -- the age of the Individual. A day when freedom is seen the world over to be the universal birthright of every man and woman -- of every race and walk of life.

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[[Pause]]

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In the decade ahead, others can follow their lead. But -- for many nations -- barriers stand in the way. In the case of

some countries, these are obstacles of their own making: *unnecessary restrictions and regulations that burden their own economies and make foreign trade excessive tariffs and other restrictions on trade.* We and our

partners in the General Agreement on Trade and Tariffs are working now to complete the Uruguay Round. By ~~years~~ ^{the} ~~end~~ ^{next year,}, we hope to have consensus on a system that promotes open, free and fair trade -- a system that works to the benefit of all.

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important
clarification
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INSERT (page 8)

We are all painfully aware of the tragedy of deforestation around the world and its impacts on the global warming phenomenon. In the United States, the public and private sectors are working together to plant more trees, and it is my personal hope others in the world will see this as an environmental and moral priority.

The United Nations is already at work. On the question of global warming.... In the effort to prevent oil spills and other disasters from fouling our seas and the air we breathe.

The United States will do its part. We've committed ourselves to banning the release of all CFCs into the atmosphere by the year 2000. We've introduced a comprehensive set of amendments to our Clean Air Act that will have a far-reaching impact on the quality of the environment in North America.

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This development will raise the stakes whenever war breaks out. Regional conflict may well threaten world peace as never before.

The challenge of preserving peace is a personal one for all of you here in this hall. [Mr. Secretary General, I know you have made it your own.] The United Nations can be a mediator -- a forum where parties in conflict come in search of peaceful solutions.

For the sake of peace, the UN must redouble the already urgent efforts now underway in the Middle East, in Southern Africa and Southeast Asia. Let the issue of peace in these regions stand at the top of the UN agenda. [[Pause]]

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Democracy satisfies these universal desires. It is the one way we can live amongst ourselves -- at peace with our neighbors, at home with our differences. [[Pause]]

And it can begin here in the United Nations. I remember sitting in this hall. I remember the mutual respect among all of us proudly serving as representatives. I remember the almost endless speeches, Security Council sessions. The receptions and receiving lines. The formal meetings of this Assembly -- and the informal discussions in the delegates' lounge.

And I remember something more -- something beyond the frantic pace and sometimes frustrating experiences of daily life here: the heartbeat of the United Nations -- the quiet conviction that most if not all of us truly wanted to help make the world more peaceful. More free.

Today, the world of freedom we sought then lies within reach. I ask each of you here in this hall: can we not bring a unity of purpose to the United Nations? Can we not make this new world of freedom the common destiny we seek?

I believe we can. I know we must. [[Pause]]

My solemn wish today is that here -- among the United Nations -- that spirit will take hold, and that all men and all nations will make freedom's moment their own.

Thank you, God bless you, and may God bless the work of the United Nations.

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THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

47-4000

am Under Sec Gen for Pol
- + GA appra
Ronald Spiers
news conf yesterday 963-5070

8 perm reps
UN Protocol
Office of Protocol 963-7172

a new era is beginning

Byelo
Ukraine / Byelo Russia, ref for - Stalin
Nioka White 47-6925



Mitch Warner -
963-5071

Peter Rodman - NSC
x6907

Open Skies - Soviets
have just agreed to
attend intl conference
on it
Canadians?


"Celebrate the Centennial"
Vacation In Washington State In 1989

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

89 SEP 21 P3: 36

September 21, 1989

Memorandum to Chriss Winston

From: Jim Pinkerton 
Subject: UN General Assembly

pg. 3, para .1, line 1 This graf on Lt. Col. Higgins is particularly appropriate and well done.

4,5,1-7 This graf aptly serves to qualify the earlier assertions in the speech about the trend toward democracy with phrases such as "the trend...is not yet universal," "Some...stand against the tide," "some rulers will deny..." etc. We suggest adding another qualifying phrase to the effect that there will be setbacks to the trend.

The present language suggests only that some will try to stand against the tides of freedom, and not that from time to time dictatorships will succeed in re-establishing themselves and democracies will be overturned by dictatorships. This is particularly true in Latin America, which we boast of in the second graf as having fourteen free elections this year alone. The fragility of the new democracies there is reason alone to be cautious in our language.

5,1,2 We suggest that "hundreds of millions" (instead of "tens") is the more accurate figure.

5,4,4 Instead of "century of the State," we suggest "century of the centralized State," as conveying the more precise meaning, since we are not attacking the idea of the state per se, (especially when the immediate audience represents states per se).

5,4,5 The "age of the Individual," by itself may convey a too atomistic idea of freedom. Therefore, we suggest "the age of the individual and the community."

6,1,4 Instead of "free government," we suggest some phrase that gets across more accurately the idea that certain types of government encourage freedom, not, as here, that the governments themselves are free, e.g., "governments that enhance freedom."

(more)

2-2-2

7,4,3 "The free market and its fruits are not the special preserve of a few. They belong equally to all."

This line, and the line from the preceding graf about "not world where a few nations live in comfort, while others live in want," connote a certain presumption that the developed countries have an obligation to redistribute their wealth to the developing countries. We suggest that the better message is that prosperity -- such as the developed countries have -- is not obtained by it having been given, but from it have been achieved by the effort of the developed countries. In other words, these lines do not sufficiently imply the virtues of self-reliance through free markets and democratic government in creating prosperity.

Accordingly, we suggest using instead some language such as the following: The fruits of the free market can spread, not just to a privileged few, but to all. True prosperity -- which comes from freedom -- is not something which can be bestowed, but must be achieved. What can be bestowed is the means of prosperity -- the knowledge to attain prosperity. That knowledge is one of the few commodities which grows larger the more it is given away.

8,1 The environmental theme in this draft lacks the reforestation theme which we believe is necessary to make the speech resonate with the American public. We are all for Mission to Planet Earth initiative, but when it comes to sending a message on the environment, the mention of these high-tech initiatives will, by themselves, not effectively strike a chord in the same way that trees, with all their symbolic and cultural significance, will. Accordingly, Nancy Maloley has drafted some language on reforestation that will be found in the comments from Roger Porter. We enthusiastically concur with her suggested insert.

11,5,1 "And this is true not because all our differences must give way to democracy -- but because democracy makes room for all our differences."

The meaning of this sentence is unclear. We should not be mistaken for saying that the differences that the U.S. has with some of the more tyrannical countries that will be represented in the audience are expunged by our being a democracy. At the very least the sentence is confusing. If we wish to say that democracies are more tolerant of their differences with other democracies then that needs to be put more plainly.

###

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Document No.

074447SS

SENSITIVE

WHITE HOUSE STAFFING MEMORANDUM

DATE: 9/20/89

ACTION/CONCURRENCE/COMMENT DUE BY:

9/21/89 2:00 PM

SUBJECT: PRESIDENTIAL REMARKS: UN GENERAL ASSEMBLY

	ACTION FYI			ACTION FYI	
VICE PRESIDENT	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	MCCLURE	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
SUNUNU	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	NEWMAN	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
SCOWCROFT	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	PORTER	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
DARMAN	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	STUDDERT	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
BATES	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	UNTERMAYER	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
BREEDEN	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	ROGERS	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>
CARD	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	WINSTON	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>
CICCONI	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	PINKERTON	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
DEMAREST	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	BOSKIN	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
FITZWATER	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>		<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
GRAY	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>		<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
HAGIN	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>		<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>

REMARKS:

Please forward any comments directly to Chriss Winston, Rm. 122, x2930, no later than 2:00 PM, Thursday, September 21, with a copy to my office. Thank you.

RESPONSE:

CLOSE HOLD

SENSITIVE

James W. Geerl
Assistant to the President
and Deputy to the Chief of Staff
Ext. 2702

McGroarty/Dooley
September 20, 1989
6:00 pm
[UN]

09 SEP 20 P6:34

PRESIDENTIAL REMARKS: GENERAL ASSEMBLY OF THE UNITED NATIONS
NEW YORK CITY
SEPTEMBER 25, 1989
11:00 AM

Mr. President, Mr. Secretary-General, distinguished delegates of the United Nations: I am honored to speak to you today as you open the 44th Session of the General Assembly.

And I feel a great personal pleasure as well. This is a homecoming for me. The memories of my time here are still with me today -- the human moments -- the humorous moments -- that are part of even the highest undertaking.

Let me share one story -- from one of the many sessions of the Security Council. I was 45 minutes late getting to the meeting -- ^{and those were} 45 minutes ^{all} filled by the first speaker to take the floor. When I walked in and took my seat, the speaker paused and said with great courtesy: "I welcome the Permanent Representative of the United States, and now -- for his benefit -- I will start my speech again -- from the beginning." [[Pause]] At that moment, differences of alliance and ideology didn't matter. The universal groan that went up around the table -- from every member present -- and the laughter that followed -- united us all. [[Pause]]

[Today, I would like to begin by recognizing the seven delegates who served with me 18 years ago -- and who still serve

today. Mr. Secretary General. Undersecretary General Abdulrahim Abby Farah. Ambassadors Roberto Martinez-Ordonez. Manglyn Dugersuren. Blaise Rabetaflika. Zenon Rossides. John Dube. It's an honor to be back with you in this historic hall.]

All of us here today know first-hand the dedication -- the sincere desire for peace -- inspired by the high, humane principles enshrined in the UN Charter.

The United Nations was established forty-four years ago upon the ashes of war -- amidst great hopes. And the United Nations can do great things. No, the UN isn't perfect. It's not a panacea for the world's problems. But it is ~~and must remain~~ a vital forum where the nations of the world seek to replace conflict with consensus -- *and it must remain a forum of peace.*

And the UN is moving closer to that ideal. In recent years -- certainly since my time here -- the war of words that has often echoed in this chamber is giving way to a new mood. We've seen a ^{welcome} shift -- from polemics to peacekeeping. ~~The result: the emergence of the United Nations as a force for peace.~~

The world has recognized the real valor of the ^{United Nations} peacekeeping forces -- the valor that brought them the Nobel Prize for Peace one year ago. They are on duty at this very moment: in South Asia and in Africa, in the Middle East and the Mediterranean.

Over the years, more than 700 Peacekeepers have given their lives in service to the United Nations. Today, I want to remember one of these soldiers of peace. An American -- on a mission of peace under the UN flag -- on a mission for all the

of the people. } And in the Soviet Union -- where the world hears the voices of people no longer afraid to speak out, to assert the right to rule themselves.

But freedom's ^{push} ~~rise~~ is not confined to a single continent -- or to the developed world alone. In Latin America, one by one, dictatorships are giving way to democracy. This year alone, fourteen free elections will be held across Latin America -- proof that the day of the dictator is over.

Freedom is alive on the continent of Africa -- where more and more nations see in the system of free enterprise salvation for economies crippled by excessive state control.

East and West -- North and South: ^{on every} ~~on every~~ continent, ^{we} ~~we~~ can see a new world of freedom, ~~on the horizon~~.

Of course, freedom's work remains unfinished. The trend we see ~~underway in the world~~ is not yet universal. Some regimes ^{still} stand against the tide. Some rulers ^{still} ~~will~~ deny ~~if they can~~ -- the ^{right} ~~power~~ of people to govern themselves. ^{But now, the power of prejudice as} ~~But~~ ^{despotism} ~~Never~~ before have ^{is} ~~these~~ regimes stood so isolated and alone -- so out of step with the steady advance of freedom. ~~Never before have the forces of prejudice and sheer power faced such a challenge.~~

The world in this century has seen great change. Two world wars. The dissolution of the colonial system -- and the birth of dozens of new nations. And a battle in the war of ideas as well -- between the ideologies of right and left. One of these ideologies -- fascism -- defeated almost a half century ago, is today universally despised. The other -- communism -- has, for

most of this century, ^{were} captivated the ~~minds~~ of some of the world's ^{great nations} ~~most powerful rulers~~ -- and enslaved tens of millions of men and women around the globe.

Today, that grip is loosening each passing day. We are witnessing the collapse of ^{an ideological} ~~communist ideology~~ -- the demise of the ~~totalitarian idea~~ of the ^{omnipotent} ~~all-powerful~~ State. ^{the omniscient} ~~State.~~

There are many reasons for this collapse. But in the end, one fact alone explains what we see today: ^{The totalitarian} ~~the~~ advocates saw the triumph of the ~~totalitarian~~ ideal written in the laws of history. They failed to see the love of freedom written in the human heart.

From where we stand -- on the threshold of the final decade of this century -- the trend is clear enough. If, for those who write the history of our times, the 20th century is remembered as the century of the State -- the 21st must be an era of emancipation -- the age of the Individual. ^{There will come} A day when freedom is seen the world over to be the universal birthright of every man and woman -- of every race and walk of life. 3

Make no mistake: Nothing can stand in the way of this ^{freedom's} ~~freedom's~~ ^{march} ~~advance~~. Even under the worst of circumstances, at the darkest of times, freedom has always remained alive -- a distant dream, perhaps, but always alive.

Today, that dream is no longer distant. Today, is freedom's moment. For the first time, for millions around the world -- a new world of freedom is within reach. ✓

6

You see
Today, the possibility ^{now} exists for the creation of a true community of nations -- built on shared interests and ideals. A true community -- not one dominated by a single nation. A world where free government, and free markets meet the rising desire we see all around us for people to control their own destiny.

~~[PAUSE]~~

It is time we worked together to deliver that destiny into the hands of men and women everywhere. [PAUSE]

Our challenge is to strengthen the foundations of freedom -- and encourage its advance, ^{and face our most} Today, ~~I want to speak to this distinguished assembly about the urgent challenges we face:~~ ^{the challenges of the 21st century} ensuring -- on a global scale -- economic health, environmental well-being, and ~~answering~~ the great questions of war and peace.

First, global economic growth. During this decade, a number of developing nations have moved into the ranks of the world's ~~most~~ advanced economies -- all of them -- each and every one - - powered by the engine of free enterprise.

In the decade ahead, others can ^{join their ranks.} ~~follow their lead.~~ But -- for many nations -- barriers stand in the way. In the case of some countries, these are obstacles of their own making: excessive tariffs and other restrictions on trade. We and our partners in the General Agreement on Trade and Tariffs are working now to complete the Uruguay Round. By year's end, we hope to have consensus on a system that promotes open, free and fair trade -- a system that works to the benefit of all.

The United States buys over one half of all ^{countries} the manufactured exports ^{from all the} developing ~~countries~~ ^{countries}. It's open markets ^{in the developed world} ^{raise the key to growth} for the developing world. It's time for ~~one~~ ^{developed} the other advanced economies to follow suit.

But other barriers to growth exist, and those too require effective action. Too many developing countries struggle today under a burden of debt that makes growth all but impossible. The developing nations of the world deserve ^{more. They deserve} the opportunity ~~to build~~ to build ~~better lives for their people,~~ to achieve a measure of control over their own economic fates, and build better lives for their people

The approach the U.S. has put forward -- the Brady plan -- will help these nations cope with debt -- and create conditions for the free market reforms that will fuel growth.

In just two days I will be speaking to the International Monetary Fund. I'll discuss there in more detail the next steps the U.S. and other developed nations can take in dealing with the debt problem. But I can say now: the new world of freedom is not a world where a few nations live in comfort, while others live in want.

I believe we'll learn in the century ahead that ^{many} the nations of the world have barely begun to tap their true potential for development. The free market and its fruits are not the special preserve of a few. ^{are a harvest everyone can share.} ~~They belong equally to all.~~

Beyond the challenge of global growth lies another issue of global magnitude: the environment. No line drawn on a map can stop the advance of pollution. Threats to our environment have become an international problem. We must develop an international approach to current environmental issues -- one that seeks common solutions to common problems.

The United Nations is already at work. On the question of global warming.... In the effort to prevent oil spills and other disasters from fouling our seas and the air we breathe.

And I will ~~not~~ say to you now —

The United States will do its part. We've committed ~~ourselves to~~ ^{well} banning the release of all CFCs into the atmosphere

by the year 2000. We've introduced a comprehensive set of amendments to our Clean Air Act that will have a far-reaching ^{enormous clean air for} ~~impact on the quality of the environment in North America.~~ ^{our ~~most~~ citizens in a single generation.}

And we have begun to explore ways to work with other nations -- the major industrialized democracies, with Poland and in Hungary --- to make common cause for the sake of our environment.

~~And~~ We know that preserving the environment ~~is an ongoing effort.~~ It demands long-term commitment -- and a great increase in our understanding. [[That is why today, I want to announce an environmental initiative called Mission to Planet Earth. By the year {xxxx}, the United States will encircle the earth with a satellite observation system -- over the poles and in deep space -- that will provide a quantum leap in our knowledge about global environmental conditions. Knowledge that we must acquire -- and put to use -- if we are to preserve this common legacy.]]

*Global economic growth — ^{*****} the stewardship of our planet — both*

critical issues — but As always, questions of war and peace are of ~~great~~ ^{most} concern ~~to~~ ^{must be paramount} the United Nations.

We must move forward to limit -- and eliminate -- weapons of mass destruction. Five years ago, I presented a U.S. draft treaty outlawing chemical weapons at the UN Conference on

Disarmament in Geneva. It's time we took the decisive steps necessary to rid ourselves of this chemical threat. The world has lived too long in the shadow of these truly terrible weapons.

The key is a system of extensive on-site inspections -- a monitoring system that will convince all signatories of any disarmament treaty that no nation is concealing chemical weapons or the means to manufacture them. Only then can all nations put their confidence -- and trust their national security -- to such a treaty.

Open and innovative measures like these are what will move disarmament forward -- and ease international tensions. That's the idea behind the Open Skies proposal I made this past spring. Any country willing to open its territory to regular surveillance overflights -- like any country ready to accept on-site inspections -- demonstrates that nations of peaceful intent have nothing to hide.

And of course, the U.S. continues to negotiate with the Soviet Union reductions in the level of all armaments -- conventional and nuclear. [POSSIBLE ARMS CONTROL INSERT]

We have not entered an era of perpetual peace. The threats to peace that nations face may today be changing -- but they have not vanished. In fact, in a number of regions around the world, a dangerous combination is now emerging: Regimes armed with old and unappeasable animosities -- and modern weapons of mass destruction.

This development will raise the stakes whenever war breaks out. Regional conflict may well threaten world peace as never before.

The challenge of preserving peace is a personal one for all of you here in this hall. [Mr. Secretary General, I know you have made it your own.] The United Nations can be a mediator -- a forum where parties in conflict come in search of peaceful solutions.

For the sake of peace, the UN must redouble the already urgent efforts now underway in the Middle East, in Southern Africa and Southeast Asia. Let the issue of peace in these regions stand at the top of the UN agenda. [[Pause]]

Other, less conventional threats are no less dangerous to international peace and stability. Illegal drugs are a menace to social order and a source of human misery wherever they gain a foothold. The nations who suffer this scourge must join forces in the fight. And we are. And let me salute the commitment and extraordinary courage of one country in particular -- Colombia -- where the people and their President, Virgilio Barco, are working with us to put the drug cartels out of business, and bring the drug lords to justice.

Finally, we must join forces to combat the threat of terrorism. Every nation -- and the United Nations -- must send the outlaws of the world a clear message: Hostage taking and the terror of random violence are methods that cannot win the world's approval. Terrorism of any kind is repugnant to all values a

civilized world holds in common. And make no mistake: Terrorism is a means that no end -- no matter how just -- can sanctify.

Whatever the challenge, ~~the trend towards~~ freedom ^{is now} ~~we now see~~ sweeping ~~the world~~ greatly raises the chances of our success. Freedom's moment is a time of hope for all the world. Because freedom -- once set in motion -- takes on a momentum of its own.

As I said the day I assumed the Presidency: "We don't have to talk late into the night about which form of government is better." We know that free government -- democracy -- is best.

I believe that is the hard-won truth of our time -- that unassailable fact ^{that still} ~~that~~ stands ^{at} ~~at~~ the end of a century ^{of} ~~that~~ has known great struggle and human suffering.

And this is true not because all our differences must give way to democracy -- but because democracy makes room for all our differences.

At the very heart of the democratic ideal is respect -- for freedom of belief, freedom of thought and action in all its diversity. The world has experienced enough of the ideologies that have promised to remake man in some new and better image. We've seen the colossal tragedies and dashed hopes. We know now that freedom and democracy hold the answers. What men and nations want is the freedom to live by their own lights, and a chance to prosper in peace.

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And it can begin here in the United Nations. I remember sitting in this hall. I remember the mutual respect among all of us proudly serving as representatives. I remember the almost endless speeches, Security Council sessions. The receptions and receiving lines. The formal meetings of this Assembly -- and the informal discussions in the delegates' lounge.

And I remember something more -- something beyond the frantic pace and sometimes frustrating experiences of daily life here: the heartbeat of the United Nations -- the quiet conviction that most if not all of us truly wanted to help make the world more peaceful. More free.

Today, the world of freedom we sought then lies within reach. I ask each of you here in this hall: can we not bring a unity of purpose to the United Nations? Can we not make this new world of freedom the common destiny we seek?

I believe we can. I know we must. [[Pause]]

My solemn wish today is that here -- among the United Nations -- that spirit will take hold, and that all men and all nations will make freedom's moment their own.

Thank you, God bless you, and may God bless the work of the United Nations.

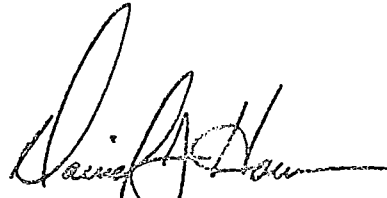
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EXECUTIVE OFFICE OF THE PRESIDENT
OFFICE OF MANAGEMENT AND BUDGET
WASHINGTON, D.C. 20503

NOTICE:

Enclosed are comments from staff members of the Office of Management and Budget (OMB). Such comments do not necessarily represent the official position of the Director of OMB or of the Office of Management and Budget. If you wish to have the Director's personal comments, please let me know -- and contact me if you have any questions.



David J. Haun
Executive Assistant
to the Director

89 SEP 21 P 2: 25

CLOSE HOLD

Document No.

074447SS

SENSITIVE

WHITE HOUSE STAFFING MEMORANDUM

DATE: 9/20/89

ACTION/CONCURRENCE/COMMENT DUE BY:

9/21/89 2:00 PM

SUBJECT: PRESIDENTIAL REMARKS: UN GENERAL ASSEMBLY

	ACTION FYI			ACTION FYI	
VICE PRESIDENT	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	MCCLURE	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
SUNUNU	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	NEWMAN	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
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HAGIN	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>		<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>

REMARKS:

Please forward any comments directly to Chriss Winston, Rm. 122, x2930, no later than 2:00 PM, Thursday, September 21, with a copy to my office. Thank you.

RESPONSE:

See comments - pages 6 + 8

CLOSE HOLD

SENSITIVE

James W. McCord
Assistant to the President
and Deputy to the Chief of Staff
Ext. 2702

McGroarty/Dooley
September 20, 1989
6:00 pm
[UN]

89 SEP 20 P6:34

PRESIDENTIAL REMARKS: GENERAL ASSEMBLY OF THE UNITED NATIONS
NEW YORK CITY
SEPTEMBER 25, 1989
11:00 AM

Mr. President, Mr. Secretary-General, distinguished delegates of the United Nations: I am honored to speak to you today as you open the 44th Session of the General Assembly.

And I feel a great personal pleasure as well. This is a homecoming for me. The memories of my time here are still with me today -- the human moments -- the humorous moments -- that are part of even the highest undertaking.

Let me share one story -- from one of the many sessions of the Security Council. I was 45 minutes late getting to the meeting -- 45 minutes filled by the first speaker to take the floor. When I walked in and took my seat, the speaker paused and said with great courtesy: "I welcome the Permanent Representative of the United States, and now -- for his benefit -- I will start my speech again -- from the beginning." [[Pause]] At that moment, differences of alliance and ideology didn't matter. The universal groan that went up around the table -- from every member present -- and the laughter that followed -- united us all. [[Pause]]

[Today, I would like to begin by recognizing the seven delegates who served with me 18 years ago -- and who still serve

today. Mr. Secretary General. Undersecretary General Abdulrahim Abby Farah. Ambassadors Roberto Martinez-Ordonez. Manglyn Dugersuren. Blaise Rabetaflika. Zenon Rossides. John Dube. It's an honor to be back with you in this historic hall.]

All of us here today know first-hand the dedication -- the sincere desire for peace -- inspired by the high, humane principles enshrined in the UN Charter.

The United Nations was established forty-four years ago upon the ashes of war -- amidst great hopes. And the United Nations can do great things. No, the UN isn't perfect. It's not a panacea for the world's problems. But it is -- and must remain -- a vital forum where the nations of the world seek to replace conflict with consensus.

And the UN is moving closer to that ideal. In recent years -- certainly since my time here -- the war of words that has often echoed in this chamber is giving way to a new mood. We've seen a shift -- from polemics to peacekeeping. The result: the emergence of the United Nations as a force for peace.

The world has recognized the real valor of the peacekeeping forces -- the valor that brought them the Nobel Prize for Peace one year ago. They are on duty at this very moment: in South Asia and in Africa, in the Middle East and the Mediterranean.

Over the years, more than 700 Peacekeepers have given their lives in service to the United Nations. Today, I want to remember one of these soldiers of peace. An American -- on a mission of peace under the UN flag -- on a mission for all the

world. A man of unquestioned bravery and unswerving dedication to the UN ideal: Lt. Col. William Richard Higgins. [[Pause]]

I call on the General Assembly to condemn the murder of this soldier of peace -- and to call on those responsible to return his remains to his family. And let us all right now -- right here -- rededicate ourselves and our nations to the cause that Colonel Higgins served so selflessly.

The founders of this historic institution believed that it was here at the UN that the nations of the world might come to find common ground. And the United Nations can play a key role in the central development of our time. For today, there is an idea at work around the globe -- an idea of undeniable force. That idea is: Freedom.

The advance of freedom is evident everywhere. In Central Europe: In Hungary -- where state and society are now in the midst of a movement towards political pluralism and a free market economy. Where the barrier that once enforced an unnatural division between Hungary and its neighbors to the West has been torn down -- replaced by new hope for the future. New hope in freedom.

Because where there is hope of freedom at home -- no one must flee to find it elsewhere.

We see the trend toward freedom at work in Poland -- where, for the first time in the history of communist rule, the Party has relinquished its monopoly on power, in deference to the will

of the people. And in the Soviet Union -- where the world hears the voices of people no longer afraid to speak out, to assert the right to rule themselves.

But freedom's rise is not confined to a single continent -- or to the developed world alone. In Latin America, one by one, dictatorships are giving way to democracy. This year alone, fourteen free elections will be held across Latin America -- proof that the day of the dictator is over.

Freedom is alive on the continent of Africa -- where more and more nations see in the system of free enterprise salvation for economies crippled by excessive state control.

East and West -- North and South: on every continent, we can see a new world of freedom on the horizon.

Of course, freedom's work remains unfinished. The trend we see underway in the world is not yet universal. Some regimes stand against the tide. Some rulers will deny -- if they can -- the power of people to govern themselves. But never before have these regimes stood so isolated and alone -- so out of step with the steady advance of freedom. Never before have the forces of prejudice and sheer power faced such a challenge.

The world in this century has seen great change. Two world wars. The dissolution of the colonial system -- and the birth of dozens of new nations. And a battle in the war of ideas as well -- between the ideologies of right and left. One of these ideologies -- fascism -- defeated almost a half century ago, is today universally despised. The other -- communism -- has, for

most of this century, captivated the minds of some of the world's most powerful rulers -- and enslaved tens of millions of men and women around the globe.

Today, that grip is loosening each passing day. We are witnessing the collapse of communist ideology -- the demise of the totalitarian idea of the all-powerful State.

There are many reasons for this collapse. But in the end, one fact alone explains what we see today: Its advocates saw the triumph of the totalitarian ideal written in the laws of history. They failed to see the love of freedom written in the human heart.

From where we stand -- on the threshold of the final decade of this century -- the trend is clear enough. If, for those who write the history of our times, the 20th century is remembered as the century of the State -- the 21st must be an era of emancipation -- the age of the Individual. A day when freedom is seen the world over to be the universal birthright of every man and woman -- of every race and walk of life.

Make no mistake: Nothing can stand in the way of this advance. Even under the worst of circumstances, at the darkest of times, freedom has always remained alive -- a distant dream, perhaps, but always alive.

Today, that dream is no longer distant. Today is freedom's moment. For the first time, for millions around the world -- a new world of freedom is within reach.

Today, the possibility exists for the creation of a true community of nations -- built on shared interests and ideals. A true community -- not one dominated by a single nation. -- A world where free government and free markets meet the rising desire we see all around us for people to control their own destiny.

[[Pause]]

It is time we worked together to deliver that destiny into the hands of men and women everywhere.

Our challenge is to strengthen the foundations of freedom -- and encourage its advance. Today, I want to speak to this distinguished assembly about the urgent challenges we face: ensuring -- on a global scale -- economic health, environmental well-being, and answering the great questions of war and peace.

First, global economic growth. During this decade, a number of developing nations have moved into the ranks of the world's most advanced economies -- all of them -- each and every one -- powered by the engine of free enterprise.

In the decade ahead, others can follow their lead. But -- for many nations -- barriers stand in the way. In the case of some countries, these are obstacles of their own making: excessive tariffs and other restrictions on trade. We and our partners in the General Agreement on Trade and Tariffs are working now to complete the Uruguay Round. By year's end, we hope to have consensus on a system that promotes open, free and fair trade -- a system that works to the benefit of all.

lat
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*The end of next year,
(Uruguay Round deadline is end of 1990)*

But other barriers to growth exist, and those too require effective action. Too many developing countries struggle today under a burden of debt that makes growth all but impossible. The developing nations of the world deserve the opportunity to build better lives for their people, to achieve a measure of control over their own economic fates.

The approach the U.S. has put forward -- the Brady plan -- will help these nations cope with debt -- and create conditions for the free market reforms that will fuel growth.

In just two days I will be speaking to the International Monetary Fund. I'll discuss there in more detail the next steps the U.S. and other developed nations can take in dealing with the debt problem. But I can say now: the new world of freedom is not a world where a few nations live in comfort, while others live in want.

I believe we'll learn in the century ahead that the nations of the world have barely begun to tap their true potential for development. The free market and its fruits are not the special preserve of a few. They belong equally to all.

Beyond the challenge of global growth lies another issue of global magnitude: the environment. No line drawn on a map can stop the advance of pollution. Threats to our environment have become an international problem. We must develop an international approach to current environmental issues -- one that seeks common solutions to common problems.

Tracy
4/8/44

The United Nations is already at work. On the question of global warming.... In the effort to prevent oil spills and other disasters from fouling our seas and the air we breathe.

joining
in a world-
wide
phase-out

The United States will do its part. We've committed ourselves to ~~limiting the release~~ of all CFCs into the atmosphere by the year 2000. We've introduced a comprehensive set of amendments to our Clean Air Act that will have a far-reaching impact on the quality of the environment in North America.

chlorofluor-
carbons

We've banned the import of ivory to protect elephants and rhinoceros from vicious poachers. And we have begun to explore ways to work with other nations -- the major industrialized democracies, with Poland and in Hungary -- to make common cause for the sake of our environment.

And we know that preserving the environment is an ongoing effort. It demands long-term commitment -- and a great increase in our understanding. That is why today, I want to ~~announce~~ ^{ask all nations to join us in} an

environmental initiative called Mission to Planet Earth. ~~By the year 2000, the United States~~ ^{Together, we can} will encircle the earth with a satellite observation system -- over the poles and in deep space

~~that~~ ^{which} will provide a quantum leap in our knowledge about global environmental conditions. Knowledge that we must acquire -- and put to use -- if we are to preserve this common legacy. ~~Let~~ ^{supplemented by ground based measurements} all nations work together to save this planet. *****

As always, questions of war and peace are of utmost concern to the United Nations.

We must move forward to limit -- and eliminate -- weapons of mass destruction. Five years ago, I presented a U.S. draft treaty outlawing chemical weapons at the UN Conference on



Disarmament in Geneva. It's time we took the decisive steps necessary to rid ourselves of this chemical threat. The world has lived too long in the shadow of these truly terrible weapons.

The key is a system of extensive on-site inspections -- a monitoring system that will convince all signatories of any disarmament treaty that no nation is concealing chemical weapons or the means to manufacture them. Only then can all nations put their confidence -- and trust their national security -- to such a treaty.

Open and innovative measures like these are what will move disarmament forward -- and ease international tensions. That's the idea behind the Open Skies proposal I made this past spring. Any country willing to open its territory to regular surveillance overflights -- like any country ready to accept on-site inspections -- demonstrates that nations of peaceful intent have nothing to hide.

And of course, the U.S. continues to negotiate with the Soviet Union reductions in the level of all armaments -- conventional and nuclear. [POSSIBLE ARMS CONTROL INSERT]

We have not entered an era of perpetual peace. The threats to peace that nations face may today be changing -- but they have not vanished. In fact, in a number of regions around the world, a dangerous combination is now emerging: Regimes armed with old and unappeasable animosities -- and modern weapons of mass destruction.

This development will raise the stakes whenever war breaks out. Regional conflict may well threaten world peace as never before.

The challenge of preserving peace is a personal one for all of you here in this hall. [Mr. Secretary General, I know you have made it your own.] The United Nations can be a mediator -- a forum where parties in conflict come in search of peaceful solutions.

For the sake of peace, the UN must redouble the already urgent efforts now underway in the Middle East, in Southern Africa and Southeast Asia. Let the issue of peace in these regions stand at the top of the UN agenda. [[Pause]]

Other, less conventional threats are no less dangerous to international peace and stability. Illegal drugs are a menace to social order and a source of human misery wherever they gain a foothold. The nations who suffer this scourge must join forces in the fight. And we are. And let me salute the commitment and extraordinary courage of one country in particular -- Colombia -- where the people and their President, Virgilio Barco, are working with us to put the drug cartels out of business, and bring the drug lords to justice.

Finally, we must join forces to combat the threat of terrorism. Every nation -- and the United Nations -- must send the outlaws of the world a clear message: Hostage taking and the terror of random violence are methods that cannot win the world's approval. Terrorism of any kind is repugnant to all values a

civilized world holds in common. And make no mistake: Terrorism is a means that no end -- no matter how just -- can sanctify.

Whatever the challenge, the trend towards freedom we now see sweeping the world greatly raises the chances of our success. Freedom's moment is a time of hope for all the world. Because freedom -- once set in motion -- takes on a momentum of its own.

As I said the day I assumed the Presidency: "We don't have to talk late into the night about which form of government is better." We know that free government -- democracy -- is best.

I believe that is the hard-won truth of our time -- the unassailable fact that stands at the end of a century that has known great struggle and human suffering.

And this is true not because all our differences must give way to democracy -- but because democracy makes room for all our differences.

At the very heart of the democratic ideal is respect -- for freedom of belief, freedom of thought and action in all its diversity. The world has experienced enough of the ideologies that have promised to remake man in some new and better image. We've seen the colossal tragedies and dashed hopes. We know now that freedom and democracy hold the answers. What men and nations want is the freedom to live by their own lights, and a chance to prosper in peace.

Democracy satisfies these universal desires. It is the one way we can live amongst ourselves -- at peace with our neighbors, at home with our differences. [[Pause]]

And it can begin here in the United Nations. I remember sitting in this hall. I remember the mutual respect among all of us proudly serving as representatives. I remember the almost endless speeches, Security Council sessions. The receptions and receiving lines. The formal meetings of this Assembly -- and the informal discussions in the delegates' lounge.

And I remember something more -- something beyond the frantic pace and sometimes frustrating experiences of daily life here: the heartbeat of the United Nations -- the quiet conviction that most if not all of us truly wanted to help make the world more peaceful. More free.

Today, the world of freedom we sought then lies within reach. I ask each of you here in this hall: can we not bring a unity of purpose to the United Nations? Can we not make this new world of freedom the common destiny we seek?

I believe we can. I know we must. [[Pause]]

My solemn wish today is that here -- among the United Nations -- that spirit will take hold, and that all men and all nations will make freedom's moment their own.

Thank you, God bless you, and may God bless the work of the United Nations.

#

background notes

United Nations



United States Department of State
Bureau of Public Affairs

November 1988



Official Name:
United Nations

PROFILE

Established: By charter signed in San Francisco, Calif., on June 26, 1945; effective October 24, 1945.

Purposes: To maintain international peace and security; to develop friendly relations among nations; to achieve international cooperation in solving economic, social, cultural, and humanitarian problems and in promoting respect for human rights and fundamental freedoms; to be a center for harmonizing the actions of nations in attaining these common ends.

Members: 159.

Official languages: Arabic, Chinese, English, French, Russian, Spanish.

Principal organs: General Assembly, Security Council, Economic and Social Council, Trusteeship Council, International Court of Justice, Secretariat.

Budget: *UN assessment budget (calendar year 1988)*—\$851.5 million. *US share*—\$193.2 million. The total UN system budget (including the UN and specialized agencies and programs, but not the World Bank) was about \$5.6 billion in calendar year 1987. The US share was approximately \$1.24 billion.

Secretariat

Chief Administrative Officer: Secretary General of the United Nations, appointed to a 5-yr. term by the General Assembly on the recommendation of the Security Council. Secretary General (1982–present): Javier Perez de Cuellar (Peru).

Staff: A worldwide staff of 23,000 from some 150 countries, including more than 2,800 US citizens. The staff is appointed by the Secretary General according to UN regulations.

General Assembly

Membership: All UN members. **President:** Elected at the beginning of each General Assembly session.

Main committees: *First*—political and security, primarily disarmament; Special Political Committee. *Second*—Economic and Financial. *Third*—Social, Humanitarian, and Cultural. *Fourth*—Trusteeship. *Fifth*—Administrative and Budgetary. *Sixth*—Legal. Many other committees address specific issues, including peacekeeping, outer space, crime prevention, status of women, and UN Charter reform.

Security Council

Membership: 5 permanent members (China, France, USSR, UK, US), each with the right to veto, and 10 nonpermanent members elected by the General Assembly for 2-year terms. Five nonpermanent members are elected from Africa and Asia combined; one from Eastern Europe; two from Latin America; and two from Western Europe and other areas. Nonpermanent members are not eligible for immediate reelection. The 1987 nonpermanent members are Argentina, Bulgaria, Congo, Federal Republic of Germany, Ghana, Italy, Japan, United Arab Emirates, Venezuela, and Zambia.¹ **President:** Rotates monthly in English alphabetical order of members.

Economic and Social Council

Membership: 54; 18 elected each year by the General Assembly for 3-year terms. **President:** Elected each year.

Trusteeship Council

Membership: US, China, France, USSR, UK. **President:** Elected each year.

International Court of Justice

Membership: 15, elected for 9-year terms by the General Assembly and the Security Council from nominees of national groups under provisions of the International Court of Justice Statute.

¹Elected to replace Bulgaria, the Congo, United Arab Emirates, Venezuela, and Ghana, when their terms expired at the end of 1987, were Yugoslavia, Senegal, Algeria, Brazil, and Nepal, respectively. The five new Security Council members' terms will expire in 1989.



Preamble to Charter of the United Nations

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 rights of men and women of nations large and small, and

TO ESTABLISH conditions under which justice and respect for the obligations arising from treaties and other sources of international law can be maintained, and

TO PROMOTE social progress and better standards of life in larger freedom.

And for these ends

TO PRACTICE tolerance and live together in peace with one another as good neighbors, and

TO UNITE our strength to maintain international peace and security, and

TO ENSURE by the acceptance of principles and the institution of methods, that armed force shall not be used, save in the common interest, and

TO EMPLOY international machinery for the promotion of the economic and social advancement of all peoples,

Have resolved to combine our efforts to accomplish these aims.

Accordingly, our respective Governments, through representatives assembled in the city of San Francisco, who have exhibited their full powers found to be in good and due form, have agreed to the present Charter of the United Nations and do hereby establish an international organization to be known as the United Nations.

Background

The immediate antecedent of the United Nations was the League of Nations, created under U.S. leadership (although the United States never became a member) following World War I. The League existed from 1919 until its reduced organization and functions were replaced by the United Nations in 1945.

The roots of the United Nations organization go back more than 100 years. Since the early 19th century, national governments have discussed and acted on common issues and problems through intergovernmental parliamentary bodies. This process led to conferences such as The Hague Conferences of 1899 and 1907, which pointed the way to developing legal and arbitral alternatives to war.

The idea for the United Nations found expression in declarations signed at conferences in Moscow and Tehran in October and December 1943. In the summer of 1944, informal conversations were held by representatives of the Soviet Union, the United Kingdom, and the United States at Dumbarton Oaks, a mansion in Washington, D.C. Later, discussions among the United Kingdom, the United States, and China resulted in proposals concerning the purposes and principles of an international organization, its membership and principal organs, arrangements to maintain international peace and security, and arrangements for international economic and social cooperation. These proposals were discussed and debated by governments and private citizens all over the world.

On March 5, 1945, invitations to a conference to be held in San Francisco in April were issued by the United States on behalf of itself, the United Kingdom, the Soviet Union, and China to 42 other governments that had signed the January 1, 1942 "Declaration by United Nations" and that had declared war on Germany or Japan no later than March 1, 1945. The conference added Argentina, Denmark, and the two Russian republics of Belorussia and the Ukraine, bringing the total to 50.

United Nations on June 26, 1945.² Poland, which was not represented at the conference but for which a place among the original signatories had been reserved, added its name later, bringing the original signatories to a total of 51. The United Nations came into existence 4 months later, on October 24, 1945, when the Charter had been ratified by the five permanent members of the Security Council—China, France, the Soviet Union, the United Kingdom, and the United States—and by a majority of the other signatories.

Membership. UN membership is open to all "peace-loving states" that accept the obligations of the UN Charter and, in the judgment of the organization, are able and willing to fulfill these obligations. As of 1987, there were 159 members. Admission to membership is determined by the General Assembly upon the recommendation of the Security Council.

New York Headquarters. The headquarters site in New York is owned by the United Nations and is international territory. Under special agreement with the United States, certain privileges and immunities have been granted, but generally the laws of New York City, New York State, and the United States apply.

The presence of the United Nations in New York indirectly contributes an estimated \$700 million per year to the economy of New York, as estimated in 1980 by the New York City Commission for the United Nations. It greatly offsets the estimated \$15 million annual cost to the city. More than 4,000 Americans are employed in New York in UN-related jobs. The commission concluded that the United Nations is a "year-round convention aiding hotels, restaurants, taxi drivers, and a myriad of other local enterprises."

About 5,000 meetings are held in the headquarters each year. UN radio programs are broadcast in some 24 languages and reach all continents. Sales

²The U.S. Delegation to the San Francisco Conference to Organize the United Nations was led by Edward R. Stettinius, Jr., U.S. Secretary of State. It included former Secretary of State Cordell Hull, senators and congressmen, representatives of cabinet-level departments and other government agencies, as well as technical experts and assistants. The delegation had a total of 200 U.S. citizens. In addition, representatives of the major U.S. nongovernmental organizations, including veteran's groups, labor unions, women's organizations, and civic organizations, were present in San Francisco and expressed their views.

of UN postage stamps—usable only for letters and articles mailed at the headquarters—total about \$12.7 million annually. About 300 correspondents and 110 photographers are permanently accredited to the United Nations, and an additional 750 hold temporary accreditation at any given time. The United Nations answers about 50,000 public requests for information each year. Estimates show that some 30 million visitors have taken guided tours of the headquarters since it opened.

The Security Council

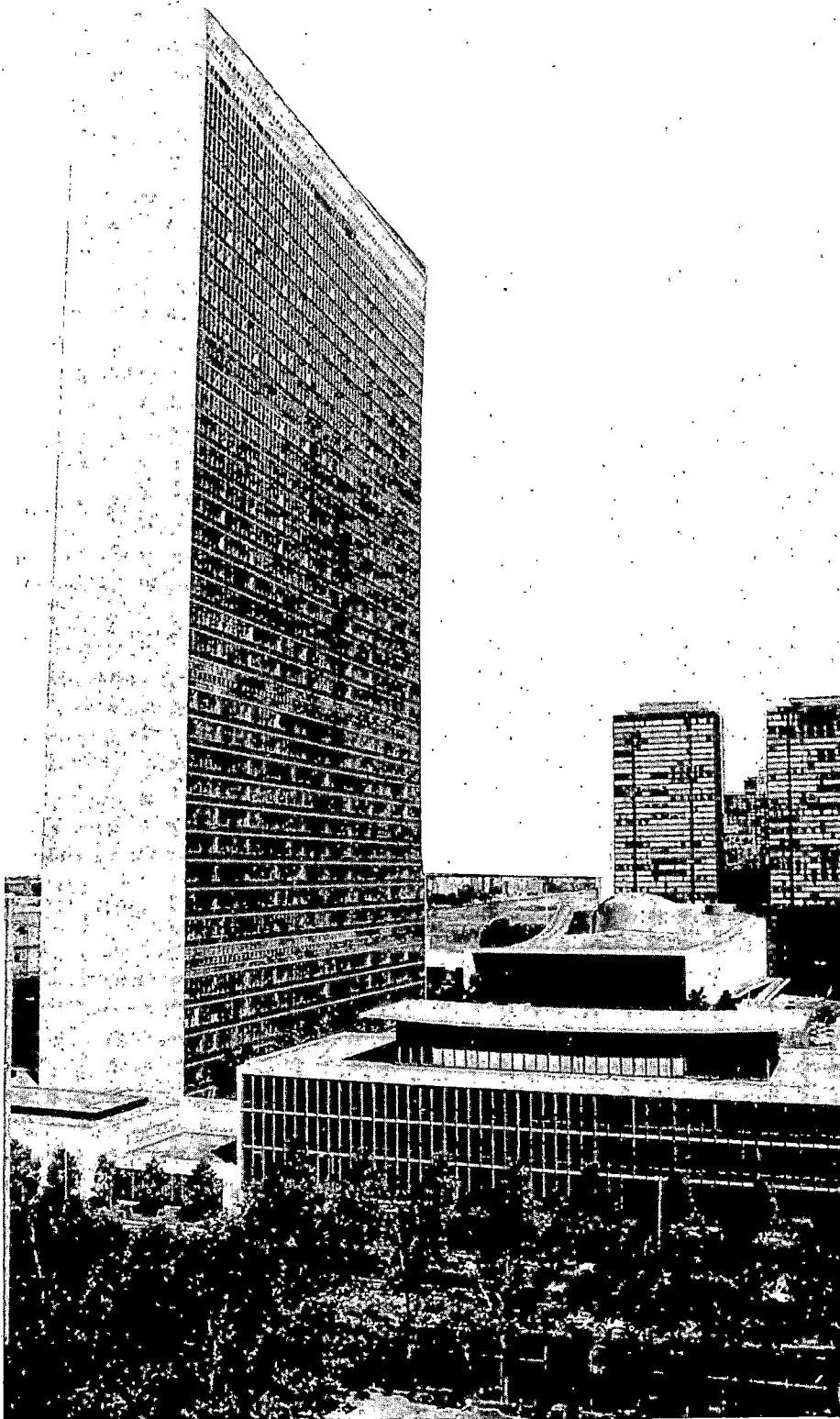
Under the UN Charter, the Security Council has "primary responsibility for the maintenance of international peace and security," and all UN members "agree to accept and carry out the decisions of the Security Council in accordance with the present Charter."

Other organs of the United Nations make recommendations to member governments. The Security Council, however, has the power to make decisions, which member governments are obligated to carry out under the Charter. A representative of each Security Council member must always be present at UN Headquarters so that the Council can meet at any time.

Decisions in the Security Council on all substantive matters—for example, a decision calling for direct measures related to the settlement of a dispute—require the affirmative votes of nine members, including the support of all five permanent members. A negative vote—veto—by a permanent member prevents adoption of a proposal that has received the required number of affirmative votes. It was agreed early in UN history that abstention is not regarded as a veto. A permanent member usually abstains when it does not wish to vote in favor of a decision or to block it with a veto.

Through May 1988, a total of 224 vetoes had been cast on proposals as a whole—114 by the Soviet Union, 3 by China, 16 by France, 30 by the United Kingdom, and 6 by the United States. Of the 3 vetoes by China, 2 were cast by the People's Republic of China after being seated in 1971. Decisions on questions of procedure, e.g., adoption of the agenda, require the affirmative votes of any nine members and are not subject to a veto.

A state that is a member of the United Nations but not of the Security Council may participate in Security



A general view of UN Headquarters as seen from the south. Estimates show that some 2.7 million visitors have toured the headquarters since the early 1950s.

(UN photo by Milton Grant)

Council discussions in which the Council agrees that the country's interests are particularly affected. In recent years, the Council has interpreted this criterion loosely, enabling many countries to take part in its discussions. Nonmembers are routinely invited to take part, under conditions laid down by the Council, when they are parties to disputes being considered by the Council.

Although the UN Charter gives the Security Council primary responsibility for international peace and security, it recommends that parties attempt to seek agreement before taking recourse to UN procedures. The Charter enjoins states first to make every effort to settle their disputes peacefully, either bilaterally or through regional organizations.

Under chapter six of the Charter, "Pacific Settlement of Disputes," the Security Council "may investigate any dispute, or any situation which might lead to international friction or give rise to a dispute." The Council may "recommend appropriate procedures or methods of adjustment" if it determines that the situation might endanger international peace and security. These recommendations are not binding on UN members.

Under chapter seven, the Council has broader power to decide upon measures to be taken in situations involving "threats to the peace, breaches of the peace, or acts of aggression." In such situations, the Council is not limited to recommendations but may take action, including the use of armed force, "to maintain or restore international peace and security." This was the basis of UN armed action in Korea in 1950. The 1977 application of an embargo on the sale of military equipment to South Africa was the first use of this power against a member nation.

Under article 43, the signatories undertook to make armed forces available to the Council "on its call and in accordance with a special agreement or agreements" between the Council and UN member states. Because of disagreements among the permanent members of the Council, however, efforts to implement such arrangements were dropped early in UN history. Nevertheless, military forces have been made available to the United Nations by its members on an ad hoc basis when specifically authorized by the Security Council, e.g., in Cyprus, the Sinai, and Lebanon.

The General Assembly

The General Assembly is made up of all 159 UN members. Each member may designate five representatives. Member countries are seated in English alphabetical order. Each year, seating begins at a different point in the alphabet determined through a drawing.

The Assembly meets in regular session once a year under a president elected from among the representatives. The regular session usually begins on the third Tuesday in September and ends in mid-December. Special sessions can be convened at the request of the Security Council, of a majority of UN members, or, if the majority concurs, of a single member.

There have been 14 special sessions of the General Assembly. The 10th special session, in May and June 1978, constituted the largest intergovernmental conference on disarmament in history. A followup session on disarmament, the 12th special session, took place in June and July 1982. A special session, the 11th, on North-South economic issues occurred 2 years earlier, in August and September 1980. In May and June 1986, the 13th special session, on the critical economic situation in Africa, was held. The Assembly's 14th special session, in September 1986, dealt with Namibia.

Voting in the General Assembly on important questions—recommendations on peace and security; election of members to organs; admission, suspension, and expulsion of members; trusteeship questions; budgetary matters—is by a two-thirds majority of those present and voting “yes” or “no.” Abstentions are not counted. Other questions are decided by a simple majority vote. Each member country has one vote.

Apart from approval of budgetary matters, including adoption of a scale of assessment, Assembly resolutions are only recommendatory and are not binding on the members. The General Assembly may make recommendations on any questions or matters within the scope of the United Nations except matters of peace and security under Security Council consideration.

As the only organ of the United Nations in which all members are represented, the Assembly has been the forum in which members have launched major initiatives on international questions of peace, economic progress, and human rights. It may initiate studies and make recommendations to promote international political cooperation; develop and codify international law; realize human rights and fundamental

freedoms; and further international economic, social, cultural, educational, and health programs.

The Assembly may take action if the Security Council is unable—usually due to disagreement among the five permanent members—to exercise its primary responsibility for the maintenance of international peace in a case involving an apparent threat to the peace, breach of peace, or act of aggression. The “Uniting for Peace” resolutions, adopted in 1950, empower the Assembly, if not already in session, to convene in emergency special session on 24-hour notice, and to recommend collective measures—including the use of armed force in the case of a breach of the peace or act of aggression. Two-thirds of the members must approve any such recommendation. Emergency special sessions under this procedure have been held on nine occasions. The eighth emergency special session, in September 1981, considered the situation in Namibia. The situation in the occupied Arab territories, following Israel's unilateral extension of its laws, jurisdiction, and administration to the Golan Heights, was the subject of the ninth emergency session in January and February 1982.

In recent years, the Assembly has become a forum for the North-South dialogue—the discussion of issues between industrialized nations and developing countries. These issues have come to the fore due to the phenomenal growth and changing makeup of the UN membership and the fact that the Assembly is the only UN body comprising all members. Smaller countries that achieved independence after the UN's creation have caused a massive shift in the Assembly. In 1945, the United Nations had 51 members, most of them Western oriented. Of its present 159 members, more than two-thirds of them are developing countries.

There are many differences in wealth, size, and outlook among the developing countries. Nevertheless, this large group (some 120 countries in the General Assembly), known as “the Third World,” the “nonaligned,” and the “Group of 77,” generally votes and acts in concert. Because of their numbers, they tend to determine the agenda of the Assembly, the character of its debates, and the nature of its decisions. For many developing countries, the United Nations is particularly important. It is the collective source of much of their diplomatic influence and the basic outlet for their foreign relations initiatives. Increasingly, they seek

inclusion in the councils of power; and the United Nations provides such a policy forum.

The United Nations has devoted significant attention to the problems of the developing countries, in response to their growing political importance in multilateral arenas. The General Assembly has guided, and in many cases created, special programs to help developing nations acquire the skills, knowledge, and organization they need for more productive economies. These programs complement the work of the various specialized agencies in the UN system. Through its economic committee, the Assembly remains concerned with the question of economic development.

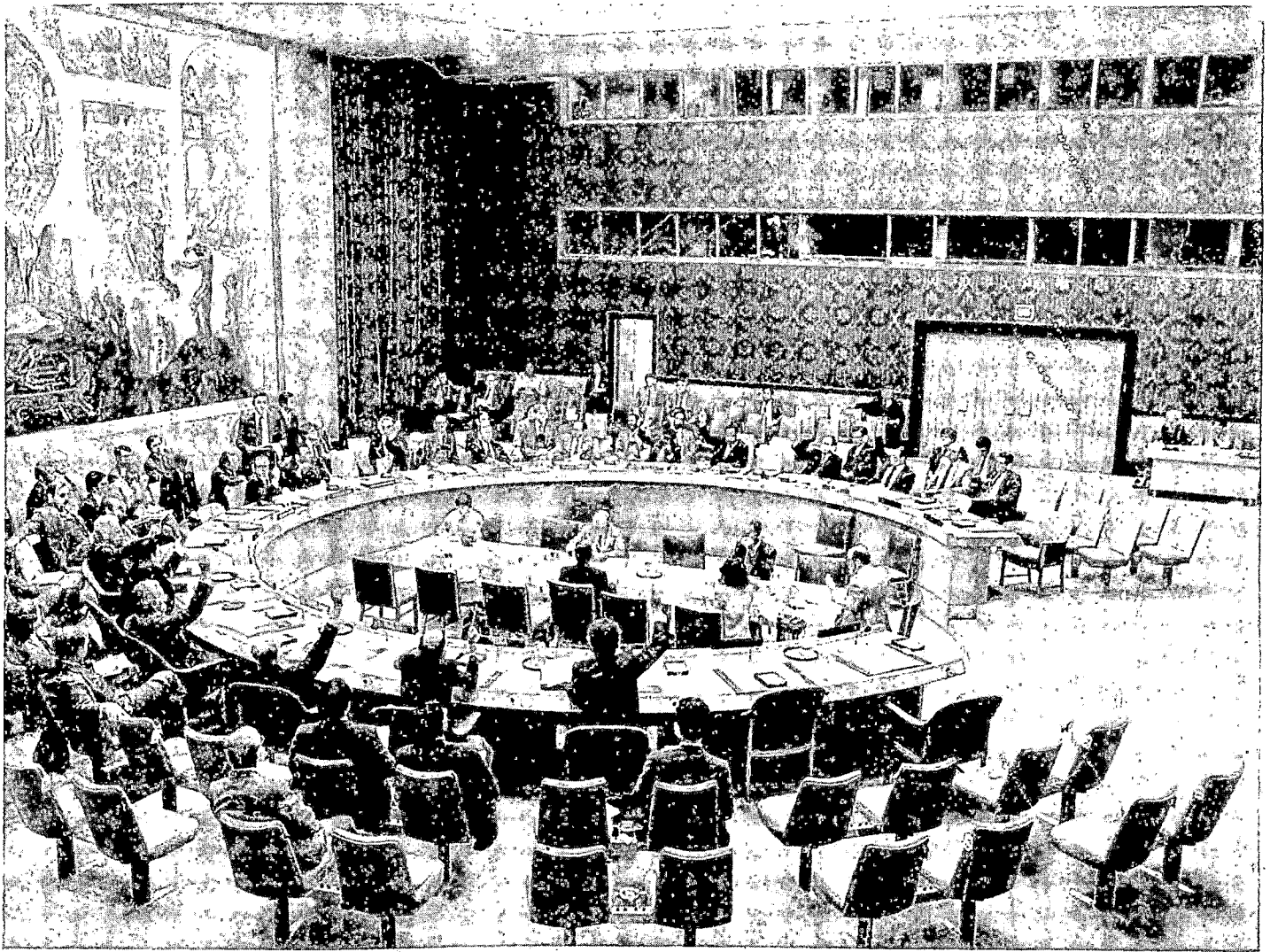
The Economic and Social Council

The Economic and Social Council (ECOSOC) assists the General Assembly in promoting international economic and social cooperation and development. ECOSOC has 54 members, 18 of whom are selected each year by the General Assembly for a 3-year term. A retiring member is eligible for immediate reelection—the United States, France, the United Kingdom, and the Soviet Union have been members since the United Nations was founded. ECOSOC holds two major sessions each year: a spring meeting, usually in New York and a summer meeting, usually in Geneva. The president is elected for a 1-year term. Voting is by simple majority.

ECOSOC undertakes studies and makes recommendations on development, world trade, industrialization, natural resources, human rights, the status of women, population, narcotics, social welfare, science and technology, crime prevention, and other issues.

A number of standing committees and functional commissions assist ECOSOC. It also has regional economic commissions that seek to strengthen economic development of countries within their regions, which include:

- The Economic Commission for Africa (ECA), Addis Ababa;
- The Economic and Social Commission for Asia and the Pacific (ESCAP), Bangkok;
- The Economic Commission for Europe (ECE), Geneva;
- The Economic Commission for Latin America and the Caribbean (ECLAC), Santiago; and
- The Economic and Social Commission for Western Asia (ESCWA), Baghdad.



The Security Council's primary purpose is to maintain international peace and security. It has the power to make decisions, which member governments are obligated to carry out under the Charter. (UN photo by Milton Grant)

ECOSOC also provides consultative status to nongovernmental organizations active within its fields of competence. These organizations may send observers to public meetings of the Council and its subsidiary bodies and submit statements related to the Council's work.

Trusteeship Council

The UN trusteeship system was established to help ensure that territories were administered in the best interests both of the inhabitants and of international peace and security. The Trusteeship Council operates under the authority of the General Assembly, or, in the case of strategic trusts, the Security Council. It assists those bodies in carrying out their responsibilities under the UN Charter.

A UN member administering a trust territory is pledged to promote the political, economic, and educational advancement of the territory's people. It also promotes "progressive development towards self-government of independence as may be appropriate to the particular circumstances of each territory and its people and the freely expressed wishes of the peoples concerned."

As recently as 1957, 11 territories—most of them former mandates of the League of Nations or territories taken from enemy states at the end of World War II—were part of the UN trusteeship system. All but one have attained self-government or independence, either as separate nations or by joining neighboring independent countries.

The only one remaining is the Trust Territory of the Pacific Islands (Micronesia), designated as a strategic area and administered by the United States under a 1947 agreement with the Security Council. On May 28, 1986, the Trusteeship Council adopted a resolution stating that the United States, as Administering Authority, had satisfactorily discharged its obligations under the terms of the Trusteeship Agreement and that arrangements for termination of the Trusteeship should be made by September 30, 1986.

Following approval and ratification by each government and by the United States, the Compacts of Free Association for the Republic of Marshall Islands and the Federated States of Micronesia took effect on October 21, 1986, and November 3, 1986, respectively. These two entities are now sovereign, self-governing states in free

association with the United States, which is responsible for their defense and security. The Covenant with the Commonwealth of the Northern Mariana Islands took full effect on November 3, 1986 with a proclamation by President Reagan. The United States notified the UN Secretary General on October 23, 1986 of the implementation of the new status agreements. The Compact of Free Association with Palau, the sole remaining entity in the Trust Territory, has been ratified by both the U.S. Congress and the people of Palau. The United States and Palau are in the process of finalizing steps required to implement the compact. Once that process is completed, the Trusteeship Council will have fulfilled the role assigned to it by the UN Charter.

Membership of the Trusteeship Council consists of the United States—the only country now administering a trust territory—and the other permanent members of the Security Council—China (which does not participate), France, the United Kingdom, and the Soviet Union.

International Court of Justice

The International Court of Justice is the principal judicial organ of the United Nations. The Court was established under the Charter in 1945 as the successor to the Permanent Court of International Justice. The Court's main functions are to decide contentious cases submitted to it by states and to give advisory opinions on legal questions submitted to it by the General Assembly or Security Council, or by such specialized agencies as may be authorized to do so by the General Assembly in accordance with the UN Charter.

The seat of the Court is at The Hague, Netherlands. It is composed of 15 judges elected by the General Assembly and the Security Council from a list of persons nominated by the national groups in the Permanent Court of Arbitration. Electors are mandated to bear in mind the qualifications of the candidates and the need for the Court as a whole to represent the main cultural groups and principal legal systems. No two judges may be nationals of the same country. Judges serve for 9 years and may be reelected. One-third of the Court (five judges) is elected every 3 years.

Questions before the Court are decided by a majority of judges present. Nine judges constitute a quorum. In

case of a tie, the president of the Court casts the deciding vote. In certain circumstances, parties may be entitled to choose a judge for a specific case.

Only states may be parties in cases before the International Court of Justice. This does not preclude private interests from being the subject of proceedings if one state brings the case against another. Jurisdiction of the Court is based on the consent of the parties. Consent may be given in several ways: states may specify, generally in a treaty, that any dispute concerning the meaning of the treaty may be referred to the Court; or, after a specific dispute arises, they may agree to take it before the Court for resolution. In addition, a state may, in relation to any other state accepting the same obligation, accept the Court's compulsory jurisdiction in certain categories of disputes, such as those concerning the interpretation of a treaty or a question of international law. The United States accepted the Court's compulsory jurisdiction in 1946. In 1986, the United States withdrew its acceptance following the Court's decision in the Nicaragua case.

In the event of a dispute concerning the Court's jurisdiction, the matter is settled by the Court. Judgments in contentious cases are binding upon the parties. The Security Council can be called upon by a party to determine measures to be taken to give effect to a judgment if the other party fails to perform its obligations under that judgment.

On a number of occasions since 1950, the Court has dealt with issues regarding control by South Africa over Namibia (South-West Africa). In the most recent advisory opinion (1971), the Court advised that since the continuing presence of South Africa in Namibia is illegal, South Africa is obliged to withdraw its administration and end its occupation of the territory.

Other recent cases include:

- A complaint by Pakistan in 1973 that India was planning to turn over to Bangladesh for trial 195 Pakistani prisoners of war;

- Challenges by Australia and New Zealand in 1973 to further French atmospheric nuclear weapons tests in the South Pacific Ocean;

- Complaints by the United Kingdom and the Federal Republic of Germany about the decision of Iceland to extend its exclusive fisheries zone from 19 kilometers (12 mi.) to 80 kilometers (50 mi.) around its coast;

- Questions raised by the General Assembly about the status of the Spanish Sahara (now Western Sahara);

- A dispute between Greece and Turkey over the boundary of the continental shelf in the Aegean Sea;

- A complaint by the United States in 1980 that Iran was detaining American diplomats in Tehran in violation of international law;

- A dispute between Tunisia and Libyan Arab Jamahiriya over the delimitation of the continental shelf between them;

- A dispute over the course of the maritime boundary dividing the United States and Canada in the Gulf of Maine area; and

- A complaint against the United States concerning military and paramilitary activities brought by Nicaragua.

The UN Family

In addition to the six principal UN organs, the UN family includes nearly 30 major programs or agencies. Some were in existence before the UN was created and are related to it by agreement. Others were established by the General Assembly. Each specialized agency provides expertise in a specific area.

The International Civil Aviation Organization (ICAO) develops the principles and techniques of international air navigation and air transport to ensure the safe and orderly growth of civil aviation. ICAO standards and recommended practices, covering airport and aircraft security, have a direct impact on the U.S. aviation industry and on the safety of individual travelers.

The International Fund for Agricultural Development (IFAD) is a specialized agency primarily devoted to lending to low-income farmers in poor countries where there is a food shortage. It is a cooperative effort of industrialized, oil-exporting, and developing nations. Most of IFAD's loans involve cofinancing with other international financial institutions.

The International Labor Organization (ILO) seeks to improve working and living conditions and promote basic human rights by developing international conventions and recommendations for minimum standards regarding wages, hours of work, conditions of employment and social security.

The International Maritime Organization (IMO) promotes cooperation among governments and industry on technical matters affecting international

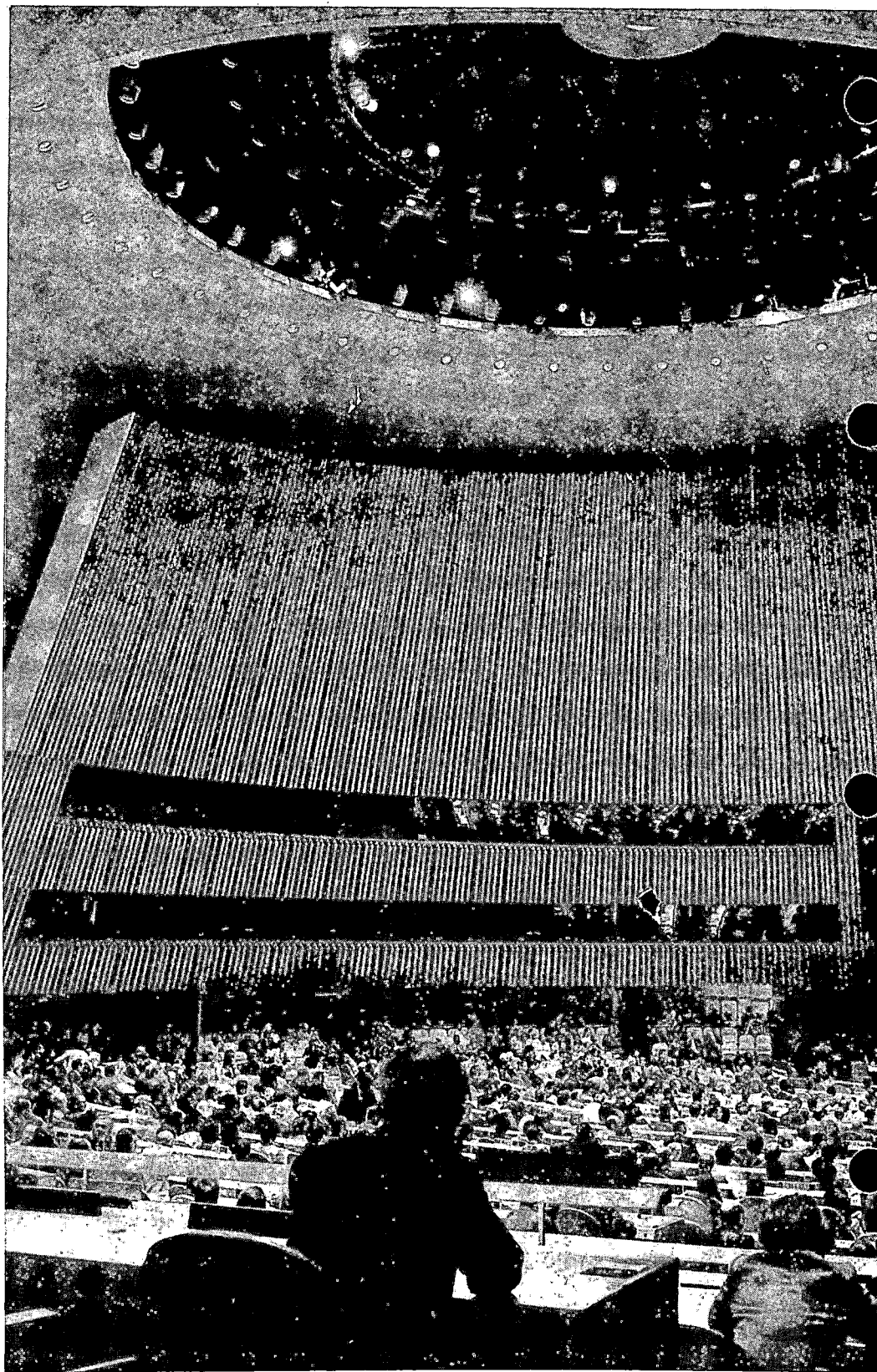
shipping. The IMO has a special responsibility for safety at sea and protection of the marine environment through prevention of pollution of the sea caused by ships and other craft.

The UN/FAO World Food Program (WFP) is sponsored jointly by the United Nations and the Food and Agriculture Organization (FAO). It began operations in 1963 using food aid for social and economic development and for emergency relief. As the principal vehicle for multilateral food aid within the UN system, WFP distributes commodities supplied by donor countries to support development projects designed to produce social and economic progress and to provide emergency food assistance in the event of natural and manmade disasters. Development projects makeup approximately 75% of the total WFP program and emergency projects the remaining 25%.

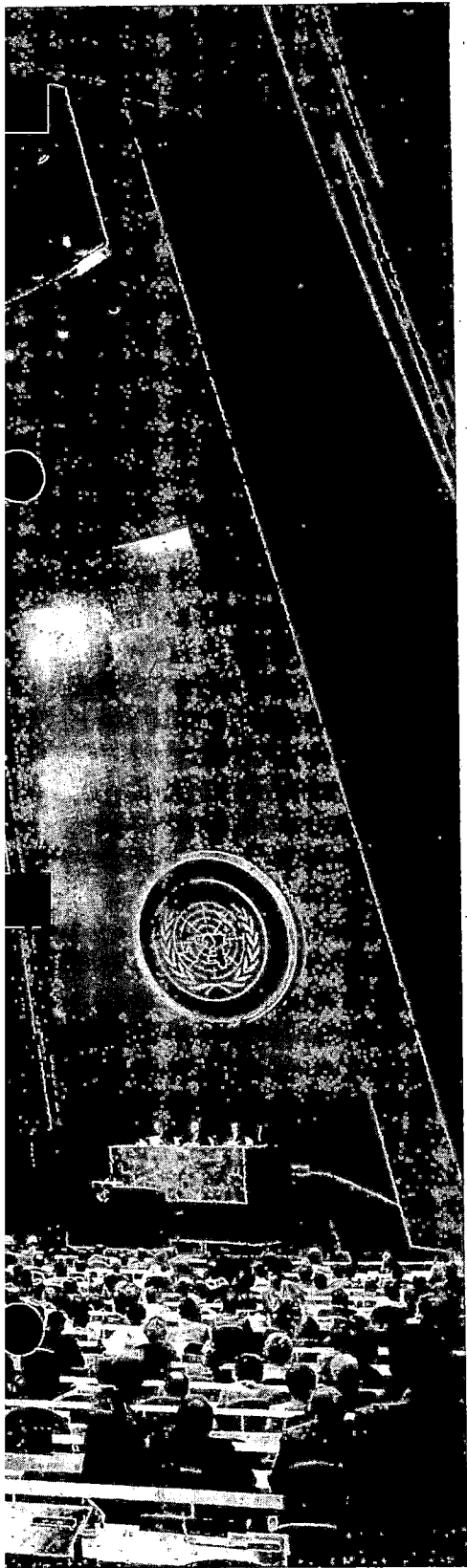
The World Health Organization (WHO) is nearing success in development of vaccines against malaria and schistosomiasis. Considering the millions of people now afflicted with these diseases, these steps will be revolutionary. WHO previously succeeded in eradicating smallpox. WHO also is taking the lead in coordinating research into the causes, cures, and potential vaccines against AIDS. Overall, the agency is working toward the goal of "health for all by the year 2000," by seeking a level of health for all the world's people that will enable them to lead productive lives. Part of the effort is a campaign to make available to all the world's children by 1990 immunizations against the six major childhood diseases.

The World Meteorological Organization (WMO) has established a World Weather Watch to improve the collection and dissemination of data necessary for more accurate weather prediction. It promotes standardization of meteorological observations and provides information about long-term climate changes that can affect agriculture and other economic activity. Its voluntary cooperation program enables donors to provide equipment, training, and other assistance to developing countries so that they can participate more effectively in WMO functions.

The UN Industrial Development Organization (UNIDO) became a separate specialized agency of the UN system on January 1, 1986. UNIDO strives



The General Assembly, the main deliberative organ, is made up of all 159 UN members and meets in regular session once a year. (UN photo by Milton Grant)



to promote industrial activities in developing nations, focusing its efforts on rural development and small- and medium-scale enterprises. UNIDO has a mandate to work with the private sector in fostering industrial development.

The Universal Postal Union (UPU) is responsible for facilitating the regular and orderly transfer of international mail by national postal systems. The 168 member countries agree to accept mail from the postal authority of any other members, to deliver it to the designated recipient, or to provide free transit to another country of destination. UPU sets rates for mail terminal dues payments and establishes standards and regulations for international postage.

The International Atomic Energy Agency (IAEA) is not a specialized agency but an independent intergovernmental organization under the aegis of the UN. It was established in 1957 to promote safe and peaceful use of atomic energy throughout the world, and ensuring, so far as it is able, that the assistance provided by it or under its supervision is not used to further any military purpose. To meet this objective, the Agency seeks to encourage and assist research, development, and practical application of atomic energy for peaceful uses, and to establish and administer safeguards over nuclear materials.

Programs created by the United Nations also work to fill many important economic and social needs.

Programs created by the United Nations also work to fill many important economic and social needs.

The UN Development Program (UNDP) is the largest multilateral source of grant technical assistance in the world. Voluntarily funded, it maintains 116 field offices to fulfill its role as the central funding and coordinating mechanism for technical assistance within the UN system. Its country and intercountry programs in some 150 nations and territories focus on training, institution-building, and preinvestment activity, with the greater proportion of resources going to the least developed countries. Total expenditures for UNDP during 1987 exceeded \$930 million.

The UN Children's Fund (UNICEF) is universally recognized for its humanitarian and developmental assistance to children and mothers in 118 developing countries. A voluntarily funded agency with a current annual budget of almost a half billion dollars, UNICEF relies on contributions from the governments of industrialized countries and private donors. UNICEF programs in the broad fields of maternal

International Court of Justice Officials

Nine-year terms expire on February 5 of the year shown in parenthesis. The president is elected by the Court for a 3-year term.

President of the Court—Nagendra Singh, India (1991)

Vice President—Keba Mbaya, Senegal (1991)

Other Members of the Court

Mohamed Shahabuddeen, Bahamas (1997)

Roberto Ago, Italy (1997)

Stephen Schwebel, USA (1997)

Nikolai K. Tarasov, USSR (1997)

Mohammed Bedjaoui, Algeria (1997)

Jose Maria Ruda, Argentina (1991)

Sir Robert Jennings, UK (1991)

Taslim Olawale Elias, Nigeria (1994)

Manfred Lachs, Poland (1994)

Shigeru Oda, Japan (1994)

Jens Evensen, Norway (1994)

Ni Zhrengya, China (1994)

Lashair, France (1991)

and child health and nutrition, social welfare services, education, and water supply and sanitation are designed to maximize local self-reliance and community participation. In 1983, UNICEF introduced the "Child Survival and Development Revolution," which makes available on a global basis high-impact, low-cost, new or improved developments in the health science field, with special emphasis on oral rehydration therapy and immunization of children against the six major childhood diseases. UNICEF was awarded the Nobel Peace Prize in 1965 and celebrated its 40th Anniversary in 1986.

The UN Environmental Program (UNEP) is responsible for catalyzing and coordinating UN environmental activities, calling attention to global and regional environmental problems and stimulating programs to address the problems. It assists developing nations in implementing environmentally sound development policies, and it has produced a worldwide environmental monitoring system to standardize international data. UNEP has developed guidelines, treaties, and conventions on such environmental issues as the international transport of potentially harmful chemicals, transboundary air pollution, and contamination of international waterways.

The Office of the UN High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR) provides refugees—people outside of their country of nationality because of

well-founded fear of persecution—with legal protection and material assistance at the request of a government or of the United Nations. UNHCR was awarded the Nobel Peace Prize in 1954 and 1982.

International Conferences

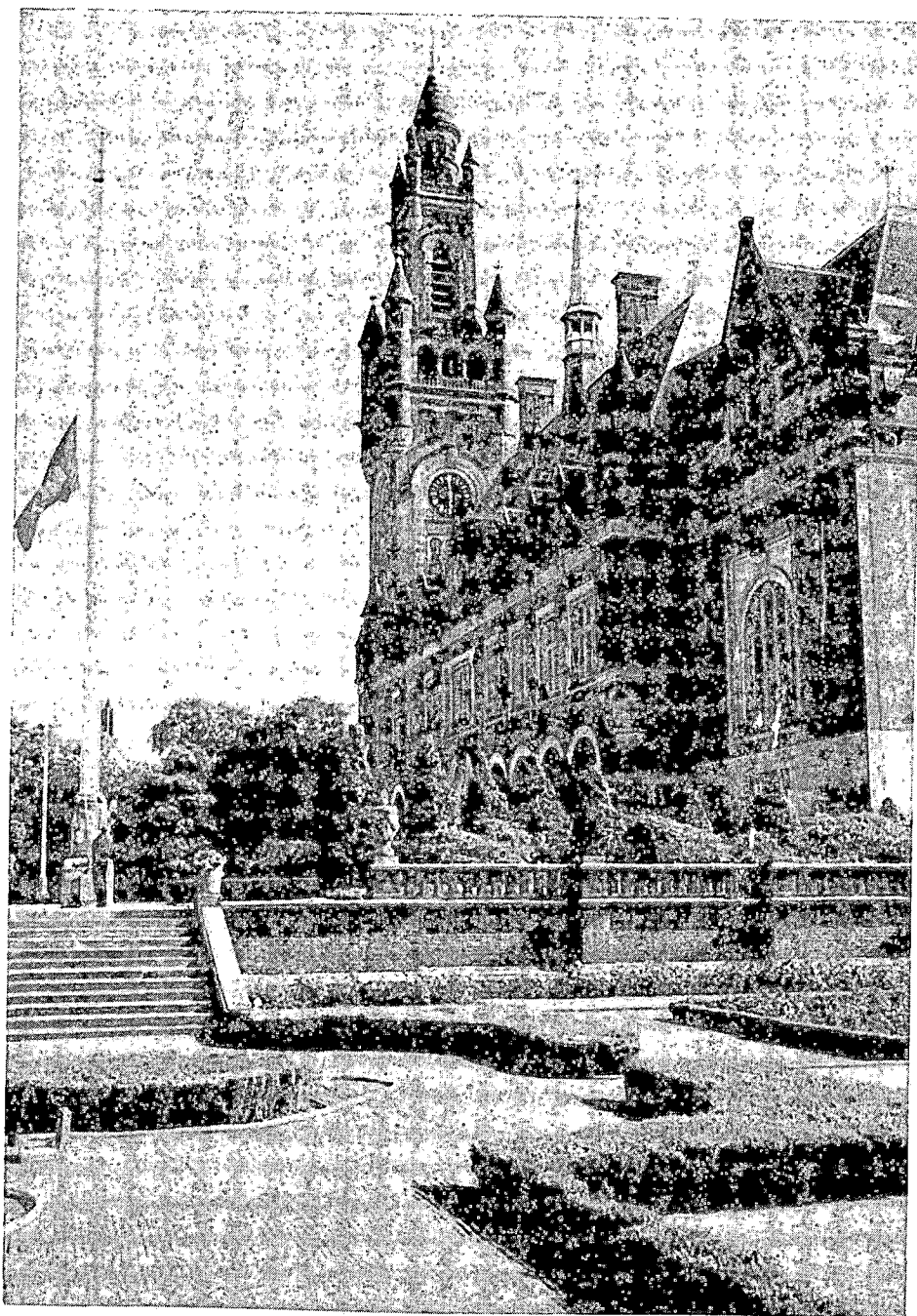
Some conferences held in the UN system are regular annual meetings; others are convened specifically to address a single topic. Most of the specialized agencies hold periodic assemblies of the representatives of member governments for the agencies' regular business and attention to specific problems. Subgroups of these agencies often meet to discuss specific problems and to make recommendations to the larger representative body for action.

For example, the International Maritime Organization (IMO) focuses specific attention on efficient navigation, pollution control, and tanker safety. The International Civil Aviation Organization (ICAO) recommends uniform regulations and standard safety measures as well as simpler procedures at international borders. The IMO and ICAO develop measures to prevent unlawful acts against passengers and crews traveling by sea or air.

The First Session of the World Administrative Radio Conference on the Use of the Geostationary-Satellite Orbit and the Planning of Space Services Utilizing It (known as the Space WARC) was held in Geneva between August 8 and September 15, 1985. At this meeting, it was agreed that international regulation of satellite communications would have two elements: a limited amount of planning to provide the guarantee of access sought by developing countries and flexible regulatory procedures for the portions of the radio spectrum where most communications satellites currently operate.

The World Conference to Review and Appraise the Achievements of the UN Decade for Women: Equality, Development and Peace, which was held in Nairobi, Kenya, July 15–26, 1985, concluded successfully with the adoption by consensus of the Nairobi Forward Looking Strategies for the Advancement of Women. One hundred and fifty-seven countries were represented at the Conference.

The UN General Assembly Special Session on the Critical Economic Situation in Africa met in New York from May 27 to June 1, 1986. In its final declaration, the Africans affirmed their commitment to economic reform, and the international community agreed to support Africa's efforts.



The seat of the International Court of Justice is located in the Peace Palace, The Hague, Netherlands. (UN photo)

The U.S. delegations often include not only executive branch officials but also Members of Congress, technical experts, and representatives of relevant segments of the U.S. private sector.

The United Nations also draws attention to specific issues by designating international "decades," "years," and "days," some of which include:

- Decade for Women: Equality, Development and Peace (1976-85);
- Second Disarmament Decade (1980s);
- Third UN Development Decade (1981-90);
- International Year of Peace (1986);
- World Health Day (April 7);
- World Environment Day (June 5);
- United Nations Day (October 24, date of entry into force of the UN Charter in 1945); and
- Human Rights Day, annually celebrated on December 10, the date of the adoption of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights by the General Assembly in 1948.

Financing the System

The UN system is financed in two ways: assessed contributions from member states and voluntary contributions from member states.

The regular budgets of the United Nations and its specialized agencies are funded by assessments. In the case of the United Nations, the General Assembly approves the regular budget and determines the assessment for each member. The assessment is broadly based on the relative capacity of each country to pay, as measured by national income statistics, although there are some variations.

The Assembly has established the principle that no member should pay more than 25% of the regular budget. The United States is the only nation affected by this limitation. If the standard criterion of "capacity to pay" were applied in the same manner to the United States as to other major industrial powers, the United States would be assessed at about 28%. A total of 78 member states pays the minimum assessment of 0.01%.

Under the scale of assessments adopted for the 3-year period 1986-88, other major contributors to the regular UN budget are the Soviet Union (11.82%), Japan (10.84%), the Federal Republic of Germany (8.26%), France (6.37%), and the United Kingdom (4.86%). For 1988/89, assessment against members is \$860 million per

year; net U.S. share is \$240 million.

The 41st UN General Assembly agreed on the need to institute far-reaching reform measures designed to restore and strengthen the capability of the United Nations to serve the interests of the member states. The use of consensus in determining the budget level and program priorities, as adopted in Resolution 41/213, represents the necessary and important first step in rebuilding broad-based support for the role of the United Nations in today's world. An acceptable program budget approval mechanism has been found that contains what we believe are essential elements including:

- A budget ceiling;
- An indication of program priorities;
- A contingency fund that will protect the integrity of the budget from constant add-ons; and
- Most important, a consensus decisionmaking process.

As a result of what was achieved, member states, through good-faith negotiation, will now act by consensus on important program budget issues that previously proved so divisive. This is essential to the long-term operational viability of the United Nations and will help restore a sense of negotiation and cooperation in UN deliberations even beyond budgetary issues.

UN peacekeeping operations have been financed by a combination of assessments, voluntary contributions, and the sale of UN bonds. The UN Force in Cyprus (UNFICYP) has been financed solely by voluntary contributions. Some member nations, in addition to providing monetary support, have supplied troops, equipment, or services without subsequent reimbursement. The United States has airlifted personnel from nations contributing troops to a number of peacekeeping operations.

Special UN programs not included in the regular budget—such as UNICEF and the UNDP—are financed by voluntary contributions from member governments. Some private-sector funds also are provided. Some nations use the UN system extensively to contribute to developmental assistance programs in other nations.

In calendar year 1985, expenditures by the United Nations; the specialized agencies; the IAEA; and the special programs such as UNDP, UNICEF, the UNEP, WFP, and the UNHCR totaled about \$5 billion.

The United States contributes varying percentages of the costs of the

The Secretariat

The Secretariat is headed by the Secretary General, assisted by a staff of about 12,000 international civil servants worldwide. It provides studies, information, and facilities needed by UN bodies for their meetings. It also carries out tasks as directed by the Security Council, the General Assembly, the Economic and Social Council, and other authorized UN bodies. The Charter provides that the staff be chosen by application of the "highest standards of efficiency, competence, and integrity," with due regard for the importance of recruiting the staff on as wide a geographical basis as possible.

The Charter also provides that the Secretary General and staff shall not seek or receive instructions from any government or authority other than the United Nations. Each UN member is enjoined to respect the international character of the Secretariat and not seek to influence its staff. The Secretary General alone is responsible for the staff selection.

The Secretary General's duties include using his good offices in resolving international disputes, administering peacekeeping operations, organizing international conferences, gathering information on the implementation of Security Council decisions, and consulting with member governments regarding various international relations initiatives. The Secretary General may bring to the attention of the Security Council any matter that in his or her opinion may threaten international peace and security.

In 1977, the General Assembly created a new position in the Secretariat—a director general for development and economic cooperation. The incumbent, second only to the Secretary General, works to obtain better efficiency and coordination of the many economic and developmental programs operating within the UN system.

different agencies and programs in the UN system. In FY 1985, its combined assessed and voluntary contributions amounted to \$1.03 billion, or about 20% of the total.

Maintaining the Peace

The UN Charter gives the Security Council the power to:

- Investigate any situation threatening international peace;
- Recommend procedures for peaceful solution of a dispute;
- Call upon other member nations to completely or partially interrupt economic relations as well as sea, air,

postal, and radio communications, or to sever diplomatic relations; and

- Enforce its decisions militarily, if necessary.

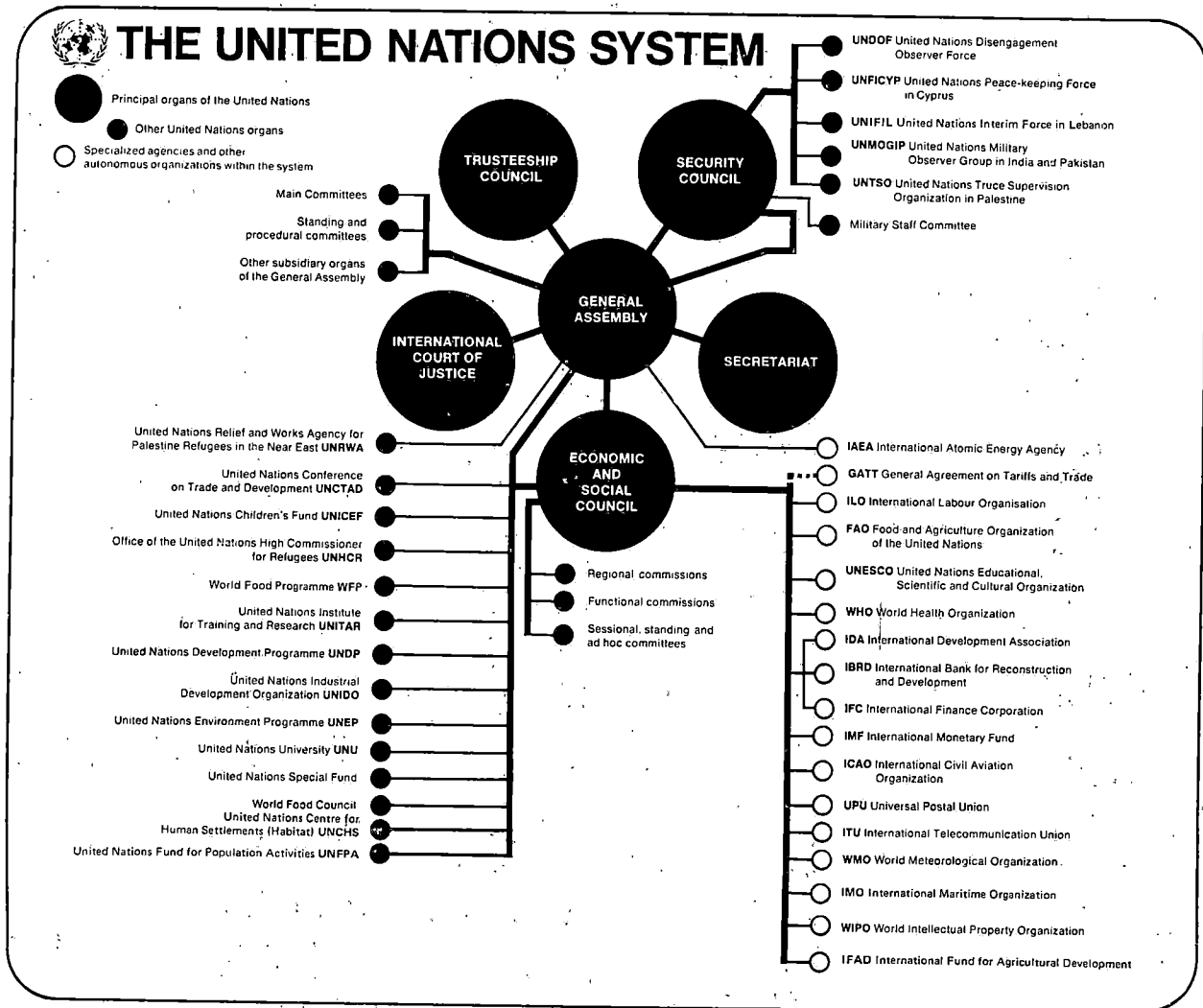
The original assumption that the United Nations would have its own armed forces did not work out. However, through contributions of troops and equipment by various nations, UN peacekeeping forces have been able to limit or prevent conflict in a number of situations. With steady experience in the operation of such forces over a number of years, this UN activity has become more readily acceptable, although disagreement among the permanent members has led to difficulties in some efforts to institute new peacekeeping forces.

The United Nations also has served to reduce the danger of wider conflict and to open the way to negotiated settlements through its service as a center of debate and negotiation, as well as through factfinding missions, mediators, and truce observers. On the other hand, there have been many violent international outbreaks since the United Nations was created. Some have never been discussed by the Security Council, and others proved to be beyond the capacity of the United Nations to affect. Continuing efforts by the United States and other nations have sought to enhance the effectiveness of the Security Council in dealing with international conflicts.

The most extensive use of UN troops was in Korea, where, in 1950, the Security Council mobilized forces under U.S. leadership for the defense of South Korea against an attack from the north. UN forces reached a peak strength of 500,000.

In the Congo (now Zaire), the UN peacekeeping operation in 1960-64 helped the Congolese Government restore order following its independence. At its peak, the UN force totaled more than 20,000 officers and troops.

In 1964, UNICYP was created to prevent the recurrence of fighting between Greek and Turkish Cypriots. Since Turkish troops landed on Cyprus in 1974, UNICYP also has helped main-



tain the cease-fire between the Cyprus National Guard and the armed forces of Turkey. Other UN efforts have sought a peaceful settlement of the Cyprus dispute.

In the search for a peaceful solution in the Middle East, the United Nations has been involved in various ways over the past 40 years. Its efforts have ranged from employment of the "good offices" of UN officials in helping to resolve differences to the actual deployment of UN troops. The fighting that broke out when the State of Israel was established in 1948 was halted by a UN cease-fire. UN mediators helped bring about armistice agreements between Israel and Egypt, Lebanon, Jordan, and Syria. These agreements provided for implementation by mixed armistice commissions and the UN Truce Supervision Organization (UNTSO). The UN Relief and Works Agency (UNWRA) was established to assist Arab refugees from the conflict.

In 1956, the Suez crisis was resolved by the withdrawal of Israeli, British, and French forces from Egyptian territory in compliance with a UN resolution and by the establishment of the UN Emergency Force (UNEF) to preserve the peace. A UN "presence" in Jordan and observer groups in Lebanon and Yemen also have helped to diminish potential threats to international peace and security in the area. UNEF policed the Gaza and Sinai lines between Israel and the United Arab Republic from 1957 to 1967, when it was withdrawn at Egyptian request. In the June 1967 war, the Security Council achieved a cease-fire and installed UN observers on the cease-fire lines between Israel and Syria.

Following the outbreak of hostilities in 1973, a new UN Emergency Force was created to interpose itself between the forces of Israel and Egypt. In 1974, in a meeting chaired by the UNEF commander, the two countries signed an agreement on disengagement, which UNEF then supervised. Under the 1974 agreement, as well as under a second disengagement agreement in 1976, UNEF manned the zones of disengagement and inspected the zones of limited arms and forces as agreed to by the parties. UNEF was dissolved in 1979 when the Egyptian-Israeli peace treaty rendered its mandate no longer necessary.

After Israel and Syria reached agreement on disengaging their forces on the Golan Heights in 1974, the Security Council established a UN Disen-

agement Observer Force (UNDOF). The mandate of UNDOF also has been extended periodically by the Council.

The UN Interim Force in Lebanon (UNIFIL) was created in early 1978 following an Israeli reprisal attack on Palestine Liberation Organization (PLO) bases in southern Lebanon. UNIFIL, at first with 4,000 troops and then with more, was established to permit an Israeli withdrawal and restore order under the control of Lebanese authorities. UNIFIL helped to preserve a fragile cease-fire along the Israeli-Lebanese border until Israel's invasion of June 1982 drastically transformed conditions in southern Lebanon. UNIFIL still performs its duties to the extent possible and plays a significant role in efforts to bring stability to southern Lebanon. Its mandate has been extended periodically by the Security Council on an interim basis, with humanitarian and other temporary tasks added to its functions. At the end of 1987, UNIFIL had a strength of some 5,800.

UNTSO, originally created to help implement the armistice agreements ending the first Arab-Israeli war, has since performed a variety of chores in Middle East conflict zones. Its unarmed observers assist UNDOF and UNIFIL. A team of UNTSO observers has been in Beirut since 1982, monitoring the situation after the Israeli invasion. At the end of 1987, it had an authorized force of 298 military observers throughout the Middle East, of whom the United States provided 36.

The United Nations also has been active in establishing terms for the achievement of independence of Namibia (South West Africa) from South African control. Numerous meetings of the General Assembly and the Security Council—including an International Conference on Namibia in Vienna in July 1986 and a special session of the General Assembly on Namibia in September 1986—have focused on the same issue.

Since early 1977, a small "contact group" consisting of the then-five Western members of the Security Council—the United States, the United Kingdom, France, Canada, and the Federal Republic of Germany—has been involved in facilitating negotiations on the Namibia dispute. The group has been largely dormant since 1985. In July 1978, initial agreement was reached, and the Security Council asked the Secretary General to draw up a plan to ensure the early independence of Namibia through free elections under UN auspices. Although South Africa objected to portions of the Secretary

General's plan, the Council, in September 1978, endorsed the plan as UN Security Council Resolution 435 and authorized creation of a UN Transitional Assistance Group (UNTAG), with civilian and military components. This plan remains the internationally accepted basis for Namibian independence; however, implementation of the plan has been delayed. Although most differences among the parties have been overcome through extended negotiations, there remains the issue of Cuban troop withdrawal, which has been explicitly or implicitly recognized by all parties as a factor that must be taken into consideration in the context of independence for Namibia. The Security Council remains seized of the issue.

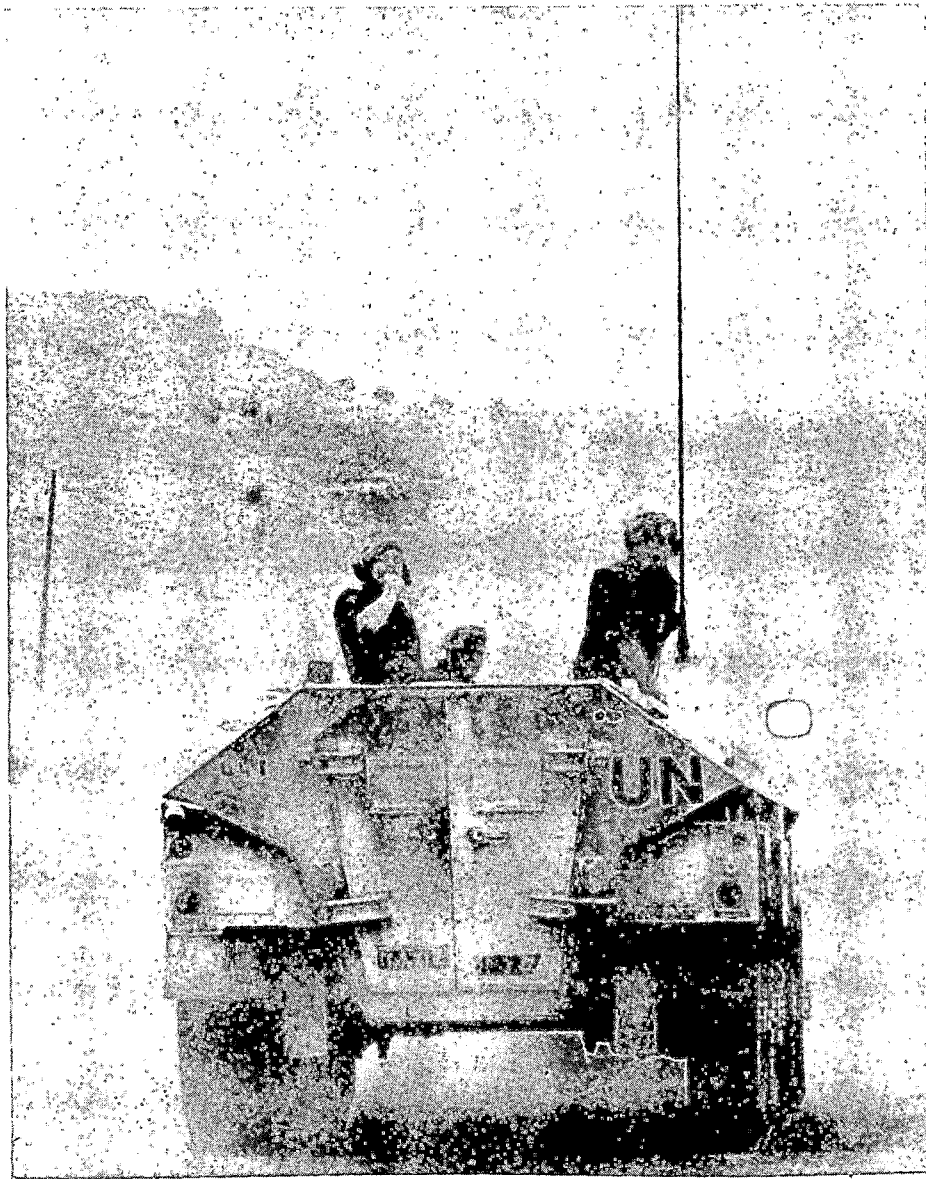
Arms Control and Disarmament

The UN Charter adopted in 1945 gave no immediate priority to disarmament, but it envisaged a system of regulation that would ensure "the least diversion for armaments of the world's human and economic resources."

The advent of nuclear weapons came only weeks after the signing of the Charter and provided immediate impetus to concepts of arms limitation and disarmament. In fact, the first resolution of the first meeting of the General Assembly (January 24, 1946) was entitled "The Establishment of a Commission to Deal with the Problems Raised by the Discovery of Atomic Energy," and called upon the Commission to make specific proposals for "the elimination from national armaments of atomic weapons and of all other major weapons adaptable to mass destruction."

Since the early years of the United Nations, great-power disagreement has hampered efforts within the UN system to promote arms control and disarmament. However, the United Nations has continued to develop organizational machinery to address disarmament issues effectively on a multilateral basis. The principal forums are the First Committee of the UN General Assembly, the UN Disarmament Commission, and the Geneva-based Conference on Disarmament.

In mid-October of each year, the First Committee of the General Assembly convenes to consider arms control and disarmament matters. The Committee, composed of all UN member states, holds general debates, considers specific aspects of arms control issues on its agenda, adopts resolutions on



The UN Charter gives the Security Council power to enforce decisions militarily. In a number of situations, UN peacekeeping forces have been able to limit or prevent conflict. (UN photo by J.K. Isaac)

these issues, and forwards them to the plenary of the General Assembly for further action.

During its 1987 session, the First Committee adopted a total of 68 resolutions and two "decisions," all related in some way to the goal of disarmament. Items on its annual agenda that have become the subjects of its resolutions include conclusion of a nuclear-test ban, outer-space arms control, efforts to ban chemical weapons, nuclear and conventional disarmament, nuclear-weapon-free zones, reduction of military budgets, and measures to strengthen international security. In recent years, the Committee has witnessed a steady growth in the number of resolutions it considers and adopts, many of which are duplicates or overlap.

President Reagan addressed the General Assembly on September 21, 1987, at the opening of its 42d annual session. He reaffirmed the U.S. commitment to negotiating with the Soviets a "truly historic treaty that will eliminate an entire class of U.S. and Soviet nuclear weapons." The President, said the UN Charter "touches on all the dimensions of human aspiration . . . the yearning for democracy and freedom, for global peace, and for prosperity." He spoke of a "worldwide movement to democracy leading us into the future," "of new businesses, new economic growth, new technologies . . . emerging from the workshops of ordinary people with extraordinary dreams." He sug-

gested that, despite the differences among some member nations, there is "one common hope that brought us all to make this common pilgrimage—the hope that mankind will one day beat its swords into plowshares, the hope of peace."

The UN Disarmament Commission (UNDC) is a subsidiary body of the General Assembly created to study particular aspects of arms control and disarmament referred to it by the General Assembly. Composed of the entire UN membership, the Disarmament Commission meets each May in New York for 3 or 4 weeks. In contrast to the General Assembly, it does not vote on resolutions and operates under the consensus principle. Unlike the Conference on Disarmament, it has no negotiating authority, nor is it empowered to establish negotiating bodies.

The UNDC considered six substantive agenda items at its 1986 session: nuclear/conventional disarmament, reduction of military budgets, South Africa's nuclear capability, and the role of the United Nations in disarmament, naval armaments, and confidence-building measures.

The Conference on Disarmament, known until 1984 as the Committee on Disarmament, is the sole forum established by the international community for the negotiation of multilateral arms control and disarmament agreements. Evolving from earlier multilateral forums dating back to 1959, it has 40 members representing all areas of the world, including the five nuclear-weapon states (China, France, Soviet Union, United Kingdom, United States). Its chairmanship rotates on a monthly basis among all members. The Conference is an autonomous body and is not formally a UN organization. However, it is linked to the UN system through a personal representative of the Secretary General who serves as the Secretary General of the Conference. The United Nations provides administrative support for the Conference. Resolutions adopted by the General Assembly often request the Conference to consider specific disarmament matters. In turn, the Conference reports annually on its activities to the General Assembly.

The Conference on Disarmament meets each year in two 12-week sessions. Issues are discussed in plenary meetings and considered in greater depth in ad hoc committees. In some instances, these committees conduct negotiations to elaborate multilateral conventions on specific arms control issues. The most active negotiation at present is in the ad hoc committee on chemical weapons, which is seeking to

draft an international convention to ban the development, production, stockpiling, and use of such weapons. Other items on the agenda include outer-space arms control, a comprehensive nuclear-test ban, nuclear disarmament, the prevention of nuclear war, new weapons of mass destruction, radiological weapons, and a comprehensive program of disarmament.

The General Assembly has held two special sessions devoted entirely to disarmament. The First Special Session on Disarmament (SSOD I) in 1978 was an initiative of the nonaligned countries to spur progress in all aspects of arms control. The general atmosphere at the session was constructive. The extensive conference document—referred to as the Final Document—included a declaration on disarmament and a program of action, and was adopted by consensus.

At the Second Special Session on Disarmament (SSOD II), held in 1982, the assembled members reaffirmed their commitment to the Final Document of SSOD I. However, the member states could not agree on a substantive document going beyond SSOD I. The Second Special Session was highlighted by the participation of 18 heads of state or government, including President Reagan. In the face of a strong Soviet campaign to promote proposals on the non-first-use of nuclear weapons, Western leaders made clear their commitment to the prevention of war of any sort—nuclear or conventional—and reaffirmed the value of deterrence.

The General Assembly held a Third Special Session on Disarmament (SSOD III) from May 31–June 25, 1988.

Human Rights

The pursuit of human rights was one of the central reasons for creation of the United Nations. World War II atrocities, including the execution of millions of Jews, led to a ready consensus that the new organization must work to prevent any similar tragedies in the future.

An early objective was the creation of a framework of legal obligations as the basis for consideration of and action on complaints about human rights violations. The UN Charter obliges all member nations to promote “universal respect for, and observance of, human rights” and to take “joint and separate action” to that end.

The Universal Declaration of Human Rights, though not legally binding, was adopted by the General Assembly in 1948 as an early indicator of the goals that should be assumed by the international community. Treaties and conventions followed, many of them drawing upon the Universal Declaration. These included:

- The International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights;
- The International Covenant on Economic, Social, and Cultural Rights; and
- The International Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Racial Discrimination.

Although each of these treaties has been signed by the United States, consent to their ratification has not been given by the Senate.

The Senate has granted its advice and consent to the Convention on the Prevention and Punishment of the Crime of Genocide; ratification is subject to the passage of appropriate implementing legislation by the U.S. Congress.

In addition to the preparation of legal documents, various organs of the UN system undertake consideration of human rights issues. The General Assembly regularly takes up human rights questions originating in the Assembly or referred to it by subordinate bodies.

The UN Human Rights Commission, under ECOSOC, is charged specifically with promoting human rights. To carry out this mandate, the Commission can draft international instruments, conduct expert studies, or investigate situations in countries where human rights violations are believed to occur. Investigations can be proposed by any member government and are decided upon by vote of the entire Commission. The 43 Commission members (including the United States) are elected by ECOSOC on the basis of equitable geographic distribution.

The Commission has a Subcommittee on Prevention of Discrimination and Protection of Minorities, composed of experts serving as individuals rather than as government representatives. Under procedures set up by ECOSOC, the Subcommittee may make a confidential review of private communications sent to the United Nations containing complaints about human rights. Situations that appear to reveal a consistent pattern of gross human rights violations may be referred to the Commission in closed session. That body may then make a thorough study of the situation or may undertake an investigation with the consent of the accused government.

Further Information

These titles are provided as a general indication of the material published on the United Nations. The Department of State does not endorse unofficial publications.

“Basic Facts About the UN.” United Nations Department of Public Information, New York, 1985.

“Everyone’s United Nations: A Handbook on the Work of the United Nations.” United Nations Department of Public Information, New York, 1986.

Claude, Jr., Inis L., *Swords Into Plowshares: The Problems and Progress of International Organizations*. Random House, New York, 1984.

Available from the Superintendent of Documents, US Government Printing Office, Washington, DC 20402:

“United States Contributions to International Organizations,” an annual report by the Secretary of State to the Congress.

“U.S. Participation in the UN,” an annual report by the President to the Congress.

Additional information concerning the United Nations can be obtained from the UN Association of the United States of America at 485 Fifth Avenue, New York, NY 10017, or 1010 Vermont Avenue, NW, Suite 904, Washington, DC 20005.

A Human Rights Committee was formed in 1977 under the Covenant on Civil and Political Rights, which entered into force in March 1976. Its 18 members, who serve in their personal capacities, are nationals of the countries that have ratified or acceded to the covenant. The Committee receives reports on measures adopted and progress made in participating countries and may comment on those reports directly to those countries or to ECOSOC. The Committee also may consider complaints from one country that another is not fulfilling the obligations of the covenant, provided that both nations have accepted the competence of the Committee to perform this role. Further, under the optional protocol to this covenant, the Committee may consider complaints submitted by private individuals against governments that are parties to the protocol.

The Committee on the Elimination of Racial Discrimination (CERD) was established in 1969, the year of entry into force of the International Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Racial Discrimination. Like the Human Rights Committee, its 18 members are

experts, serving in their personal capacities, elected by countries that are parties to the convention. The jurisdictional mandate also is similar.

Other UN agencies also act on human rights concerns. The International Labor Organization (ILO) was one of the first agencies to set high standards and reporting requirements on human rights situations in the labor field. A special UNESCO committee examines human rights complaints from individuals, groups, and nongovernmental organizations within the fields of education, science, culture, and communication. This procedure permits initiation of a probe based on a single complaint rather than on the establishment of a "consistent pattern of gross violations," as required by the Human Rights Commission. The Organization of American States (OAS) has written an American Convention on Human Rights that gives jurisdiction to an Inter-American Human Rights Commission and creates a new court on human rights. The convention entered into force in July 1978. The United States has signed but not ratified the convention.

The United Nations is expanding its work on behalf of women, not only to ensure their rights as individuals but also to stress the need for them to use their talents and abilities for progress on social issues. These efforts are reflected in the agendas of the Commission on the Status of Women, ECOSOC, General Assembly, Human Rights Commission, and UNDP Governing Council, and in discussions of the rights and problems of elderly women at the World Assembly on Aging. UN efforts led to the celebration of International Women's Year in 1975 and to the declaration of a UN Decade for Women, 1976-85.

Although the UN system has created a legal framework for action on human rights, efforts to implement the established standards have been uneven. Some observers have suggested that UN forums have been characterized by "selective morality" as criticism has been focused primarily on the state of human rights in Chile, El Salvador, Guatemala, South Africa, and the Israeli-occupied territories simply because such criticism was acceptable to the majority of UN members, while criticism of other nations' abuses was not. The 1982 and 1983 sessions of the Human Rights Commission marked a departure in this regard, by taking public action on an East European country, Poland, for the first time in the Commission's history. At its 1988 session, the Commission took a major step to-

UN Secretaries General

Trygve Lie	Norway	February 1, 1946-April 10, 1953
Dag Hammarskjold	Sweden	April 10, 1953-September 18, 1961
U Thant (Initially appointed acting Secretary General; formally appointed Secretary General November 30, 1962.)	Burma	November 3, 1961-December 31, 1971
Kurt Waldheim	Austria	January 1, 1972-December 31, 1981
Javier Perez de Cuellar	Peru	January 1, 1982-present

ward investigating the human rights situation in China, primarily as a result of efforts on the part of the United States. A U.S. initiative to inscribe Cuba in the Commission's 1989 agenda prompted negotiations, which resulted in an agreement to send an investigatory team to Cuba under Commission auspices and according to UN rules and regulations regarding special rapporteurs. It is unfortunate that ECOSOC recently elected Cuba to the Human Rights Commission, demonstrating the contravening ambivalence of the United Nations toward evenhanded treatment of human rights violations everywhere in the world.

Another reason for slow progress on human rights has been a debate about priorities—whether precedence should be given to violations of the integrity of the person—genocide, torture, illegal detention, or execution without trial; to civil or political liberties—freedom of speech, association, press, or movement within or outside one's country; or to economic problems—inadequate food, shelter, and health care. The Reagan Administration is on record as questioning the notion that economic, social, and cultural rights occupy a place in the constellation of human rights comparable to civil and political rights. The idea of economic and social rights is easily abused by repressive governments, which claim that they promote human rights even though they deny their citizens the basic rights of the integrity of person, as well as civil and political rights. This justification for repression has, in fact, been extensively used. No category of rights should be allowed to become an excuse for the denial of other rights. For these reasons, the Administration does not use the term economic and social rights.

There exists, however, a profound and necessary connection between human rights and economic development. The engine of economic growth is personal liberty. Societies that protect civil and political rights are far more likely to experience economic development than societies that do not.

Despite this debate over categories of rights and despite the great national and regional sensitivities to human rights criticism, there have been strenuous efforts, led by Western countries, to broaden concern about human rights in the UN context. Recent Human Rights Commission sessions have, in fact, included an increasingly broad range of human rights issues, and it is hoped that this trend will expand.

Participation in the United Nations: Benefits

One of the benefits of the UN system is the opportunity it provides for government officials to meet, share ideas, and consult on international problems. This helps them to understand the views of other governments while avoiding confrontations that might otherwise result from misunderstandings of national intentions and interests.

Each year in September, the General Assembly's annual regular session brings together not only the official representatives of all member countries but also, in many cases, the foreign ministers and chiefs of state. The U.S. Secretary of State traditionally spends 2 or 3 weeks at the General Assembly each year consulting with other governments on both bilateral questions and on issues coming before the United Nations. In September 1987, President Reagan addressed the 42d Session of the General Assembly and met with a number of world leaders in New York. This was the seventh time the President had addressed the UN General Assembly in as many years.



A statue in the north garden of the UN Headquarters reads "We Shall Beat Our Swords Into Plowshares" and symbolizes man's desire for peace.

(UN photo by John Isaac)

Similarly, at other conferences and meetings in the UN system, delegates of many nations—including people from the private sector—have the opportunity to share the perspectives of each other's countries on important issues. Participants in these meetings have the opportunity to strengthen personal ties and thus ties between governments. The UN forum in which these participants meet has the potential to reduce tensions and thus also the chances for conflict among nations.

The United Nations and its affiliated international organizations are especially important to member nations of the Third World who conduct much of their foreign policy there and rely heavily on these forums to advance their national interests and interact with other nations, including the United States. Thus, the United States cannot afford to rely solely on its bilateral relations with Third World countries for advancing U.S. foreign policy objectives but must also make the most of its participation in the UN system to influence the opinions and policies of Third World governments and their peoples.

General Benefits. Participation in the United Nations and its affiliated programs and agencies helps the United States in many ways: it provides important mechanisms for the advancement of U.S. foreign policy objectives; it can serve as a powerful platform for the advancement of Western values and ideals; it facilitates large-scale humanitarian operations and multilateral efforts to deal with global problems, such as famine and pestilence; and it can serve the cause of peace.

In foreign policy, the United Nations clearly accomplishes tasks that neither the United States nor any nation could accomplish alone. These tasks include coordinated efforts to reduce regional and global environmental problems; to control human and animal diseases that threaten to reach epidemic proportions; to monitor, report, and predict global weather patterns; and, most important, to establish conditions conducive for the peaceful resolution of disputes between nations. In particular, UN peacekeeping forces often have provided a "buffer," helpful to the maintenance of cease-fires in the Middle East and Cyprus by establishing an atmosphere in which conflicts can be contained and peace negotiations can take place. If not contained, security problems such as these could lead to a confrontation between the major powers with all its inherent dangers. The United States hopes that involving the United Nations will reduce the dan-

ger of open conflict and promote a more stable international order.

The major powers also may find it necessary to seek the good offices of the United Nations, and particularly of the Secretary General, should a confrontation occur between them. History warns that events can get out of control, drawing large nations and small into a vortex from which they cannot escape. The United Nations can provide an internationally acceptable setting in which nations can move away from rigid negotiating positions and begin to seek solutions to their problems.

Achievement of U.S. international goals in human rights depends on U.S. ability to mobilize world opinion on behalf of human rights issues. If only one nation urges an end to genocide, torture, terrorism, illegal detention, or political persecutions, the offending nation can procrastinate without penalty. But if the United Nations takes a strong stand on behalf of human rights, pressures for reform are more effective and the likelihood of corrective action correspondingly greater.

UN programs also can serve U.S. objectives for the developing world by promoting economic development. Concerned about global poverty, the United States attempts through various means to help developing nations meet basic human needs—clean water, food, shelter, and health care—and other development goals. This objective is pursued in various channels—on a bilateral basis, through regional approaches, and by actively employing the UN system to persuade other countries to share the burden of global development. Since 1981, the United States and other major Western donors have encouraged the UN system to promote private sector approaches to development in the Third World and to loosen the bonds of government-controlled markets and commodity pricing arrangements. Today, UN technical assistance and financing systems are responding better to supply needed experience, skills, equipment, resources, and support programs that encourage self-reliance in developing country societies, that encourage change in government policies that are not conducive to development, and that allow Third World populations to better cope with circumstances beyond their control.

UN programs also meet humanitarian needs, reflecting the international community's collective concern for basic welfare of groups—children in the developing world; refugees in the

Middle East, Africa, and Asia; and victims of natural disaster anywhere—disadvantaged by circumstances beyond their control. Even private charitable agencies must rely on the multiple capacities of the United Nations and its family of international organizations to develop the infrastructure and political climate without which those in need would be outside the reach of our compassion.

Providing opportunities for dialogue between the industrialized countries and the developing nations is another important role played by the United Nations, which is particularly important to the United States because many developing nations regard the UN system as the most important arena for their foreign relations. Moreover, these nations constitute more than two-thirds of the UN's membership and purchase over one-third of U.S. exports.

In the specialized UN agencies dealing with trade, commodities, and investment, the United States seeks to expand the world economy in a way compatible with its own free economic system and values. In the Economic and Social Council, the regional commissions, and the UN Conference on Trade and Development, the United States has promoted an open international trading and investment system and has insisted on maintaining a strong role for the private sector in meeting the development needs of all countries.

The United Nations and its family of international organizations is a success story for the West. It embodies in its Charter the same liberal-democratic values and principles that are found in the Constitution of the United States and makes them applicable to every member nation of the United Nations. The UN system can be viewed as a vehicle for putting those values and principles into practice on a global scale.

Direct Benefits. Beyond benefits gained for U.S. foreign policy interests, the United States also gains economic, social, and humanitarian benefits. Large parts of U.S. financial assistance to the United Nations and its related agencies are returned to U.S. companies through equipment and supply sales and consulting services. U.S. support of the UN Development Program encourages the growth of self-reliance and helps to expand the markets for U.S. goods and services.

FAO's efforts to eliminate the Mediterranean fruit fly from the Caribbean and Central America directly benefit the U.S. citrus industry. Likewise,

U.S. cattle raisers have a direct stake in FAO efforts to eliminate the bont tick, the carrier of a threatening cattle disease, from the Caribbean. FAO's voluntary, nonbinding Code of Conduct on the Distribution and Use of Pesticides benefits the U.S. pesticide industry by encouraging other countries to adopt pesticide safety standards comparable to those in force in the United States and thereby limit competition from producers who reduce their costs by failing to observe adequate labeling and safety standards.

In 1985, UNICEF spent a total of \$106.7 million on goods and services in the United States. UNICEF also furthers U.S. humanitarian interests in the developing world by mobilizing assistance from public and private sources throughout the world for programs benefiting children and mothers.

As the world's most advanced nation, the United States has extensive needs for immediate and reliable worldwide communication, and therefore relies on the International Telecommunication Union (ITU) to maintain and extend international cooperation between member states and to promote the development of efficient technical facilities with a view to improving international telecommunication services. As the largest producer and supplier of telecommunications equipment, the United States benefits from the technical assistance extended to developing countries from agencies such as the ITU.

U.S. maritime interests benefit directly from the International Maritime Organization's work on standardization, safety of life at sea measures, and ocean antipollution programs. Other U.S. environmental interests are supported by the UN Environmental Program, which serves as a catalyst in bringing international attention to global and regional environmental problems and helping developing countries conceive sound environmental programs.

The World Meteorological Organization provides weather information to persons from all spheres of U.S. life—farmers, mariners, aviators, and travelers. Its work has significant economic and social impact on the United States.

Standards and recommended practices developed by the International Civil Aviation Organization (ICAO) directly affect U.S. commercial air travel and favorably influence the U.S. economic community, which supplies the greatest share of aircraft and equipment to both developed and developing countries. ICAO develops the principles and techniques of international air navigation and fosters the planning and de-

velopment of international air transport to ensure the safe and orderly growth of civil aviation. It also promotes standards for the control of noise and pollution from aircraft. U.S. travelers by air and sea benefit from improved safety and security standards developed by ICAO and IMO.

The United States also benefits significantly from the International Atomic Energy Agency (IAEA), which serves major U.S. national security and nonproliferation interests. IAEA is charged under its statute with two primary objectives: through its program of technical cooperation, it encourages the peaceful uses of nuclear energy, especially in the fields of medicine, agriculture, and basic industry, and its program of international safeguards, inhibits the use of nuclear material for nonpeaceful purposes, thus helping to prevent the spread of nuclear weapons. IAEA also plays an active role in promoting international cooperation in nuclear safety; it expanded its work in this area in response to the tragic accident at Chernobyl in April 1986.

Given the high importance placed by the United States on control of drug abuse and drug trafficking, the United Nations provides a valuable forum to discuss and coordinate relevant international actions. The United Nations also serves important U.S. interests through the development and enforcement of international conventions, such as those designed to control drug abuse. In this regard, it is presently drafting, with strong U.S. support, a new instrument to combat drug trafficking and to complement the two existing drug control treaties.

U.S. Policy Toward the United Nations

"On December 19, the United Nations General Assembly took an historic step to adopt sweeping reforms of its organization and methods of operation. These reforms are designed to strengthen the organization's effectiveness and efficiency in carrying out its important political, economic and social objectives. Our success in reaching this agreement reflects the recognition by all member states of the need to restore and strengthen that capability in order for the United Nations to fulfill the promise of its founding principles, and continue to act as a force for international peace, freedom and progress."

President Reagan in a White House Statement, December 22, 1986

Even before he took office, President Reagan expressed his determination to reassert U.S. authority in the United Nations and reform it. Since January 1981, he has sought to make increased use of the diplomatic machinery available through the UN system and to strengthen U.S. support for a more effective and efficient system. The U.S. Government recognizes the value of the United Nations for the conduct of U.S. foreign relations and for the direct benefits it provides the United States and its people.

The United States was a major force in the creation of the United Nations in 1945. The Senate, by a vote of 89-2, gave its consent to the ratification of the UN Charter on July 28, 1945. In December 1945, the Senate and the House of Representatives, by unanimous votes, requested that the United Nations make its headquarters in the United States. Since the founding days, the United States has been a major participant; however, with the changing political makeup of the world following World War II, particularly with the dismantling of the major European empires, this has entailed changes in the United Nations as well as U.S. approaches to UN issues.

Since the early 1980s, the United States has sought to reassert its leadership in multilateral affairs, strengthen its influence in the United Nations and its related agencies, promote fiscal responsibility in the budgetary process, increase the number of U.S. nationals

on staffs of international organizations, and augment private sector involvement in UN programs and activities, with major results in several of these areas.

The reassertion of U.S. leadership culminated in the United Nations taking action to approve a package of sweeping reforms in UN administrative and financial procedures on December 19, 1986. When implemented, these reforms will enable the United Nations to perform its functions more effectively and efficiently and will give the major donors to the United Nations, including the United States, a greater voice in determining how the UN spends its money. The United States, through these structural reforms, has been able to consolidate its leverage and strengthen its influence within the UN system. The most immediate concern for U.S. policy is to make sure that these reform measures are vigorously implemented throughout the UN system in such a way as to revitalize the United Nations and make it true to the principles expressed in its Charter.

The United States, in order to achieve its objectives at the United Nations, has developed a number of closely related strategies. The first strategy recognizes that the UN system offers an excellent opportunity to reach the people of the developing world through an astute public diplomacy campaign that explains U.S. views on important issues while spotlighting unacceptable Soviet bloc behavior. Through speeches, frequent rights

US Representatives to the United Nations*

Edward R. Stettinius, Jr.	March 1946-June 1946
Hershel V. Johnson (acting)	June 1946-January 1947
Warren R. Austin	January 1947-January 1953
Henry Cabot Lodge, Jr.	January 1953-September 1960
James J. Wadsworth	September 1960-January 1961
Adlai E. Stevenson	January 1961-July 1965
Arthur J. Goldberg	July 1965-June 1968
George W. Ball	June 1968-September 1968
James Russell Wiggins	October 1968-January 1969
Charles W. Yost	January 1969-February 1971
George Bush	February 1971-January 1973
John A. Scali	February 1973-June 1975
Daniel P. Moynihan	June 1975-February 1976
William W. Scranton	March 1976-January 1977
Andrew Young	January 1977-April 1979
Donald McHenry	April 1979-February 1981
Jeane J. Kirkpatrick	January 1981-April 1985
Vernon Walters	May 1985-present

*The U.S. Representative to the United Nations is the Chief of the U.S. Mission to the UN in New York and holds the rank and status of Ambassador Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary.

The 159 Members of the United Nations¹

Afghanistan (1946)	France	Oman (1971)
Albania (1955)	Gabon (1960)	Pakistan (1947)
Algeria (1962)	The Gambia (1965)	Panama
Angola (1976)	German Democratic Republic (1973)	Papua New Guinea (1975)
Antigua and Barbuda (1981)	Germany, Federal Republic of (1973)	Paraguay
Argentina	Ghana (1957)	Peru
Australia	Greece	Philippines
Austria (1955)	Grenada (1974)	Poland
Bahamas (1973)	Guatemala	Portugal (1955)
Bahrain (1971)	Guinea (1958)	Qatar (1971)
Bangladesh (1974)	Guinea-Bissau (1974)	Romania (1955)
Barbados (1966)	Guyana (1966)	Rwanda (1962)
Belgium	Haiti	St. Kitts and Nevis (1983)
Belize (1981)	Honduras	St. Lucia (1979)
Benin (1960)	Hungary (1955)	St. Vincent and the Grenadines (1980)
Bhutan (1971)	Iceland (1946)	Samoa (1976)
Bolivia	India	Sao Tome and Principe (1975)
Botswana (1966)	Indonesia (1950)	Saudi Arabia
Brazil	Iran	Senegal (1960)
Brunei Darussalam (1984)	Iraq	Seychelles (1976)
Bulgaria (1955)	Ireland (1955)	Sierra Leone (1961)
Burkina Faso—formerly Upper Volta (1960)	Israel (1949)	Singapore (1965)
Burma (1948)	Italy (1955)	Solomon Islands (1978)
Burundi (1962)	Jamaica (1962)	Somalia (1960)
Belorussian SSR	Japan (1956)	South Africa
Cambodia (1955)	Jordan (1955)	Spain (1955)
Canada	Kenya (1963)	Sri Lanka (1955)
Cape Verde (1975)	Kuwait (1963)	Sudan (1956)
Central African Republic (1960)	Lao People's Democratic Republic (1955)	Suriname (1975)
Chad (1960)	Lebanon	Swaziland (1968)
Chile	Lesotho (1966)	Sweden (1946)
China ²	Liberia	Syria
Colombia	Libyan Arab Jamahiriya (1955)	Thailand (1946)
Comoros (1975)	Luxembourg	Togo (1960)
Congo (1960)	Madagascar (1960)	Trinidad and Tobago (1962)
Costa Rica	Malawi (1964)	Tunisia (1956)
Côte d'Ivoire (1960)	Malaysia (1957)	Turkey
Cuba	Maldives (1965)	Uganda (1962)
Cyprus (1960)	Mali (1960)	Ukrainian SSR
Czechoslovakia	Malta (1964)	USSR
Democratic Yemen (1967)	Mauritania (1961)	United Arab Emirates (1971)
Denmark	Mauritius (1968)	United Kingdom
Djibouti (1977)	Mexico	United Republic of Cameroon (1960)
Dominica (1978)	Mongolia (1961)	United Republic of Tanzania (1961)
Dominican Republic	Morocco (1956)	United States of America
Ecuador	Mozambique (1975)	Uruguay
Egypt	Nepal (1955)	Vanuatu (1981)
El Salvador	Netherlands	Venezuela
Equatorial Guinea (1968)	New Zealand	Vietnam (1977)
Ethiopia	Nicaragua	Yemen (1947)
Fiji (1970)	Niger (1960)	Yugoslavia
Finland (1955)	Nigeria (1960)	Zaire (1960)
	Norway	Zambia (1964)
		Zimbabwe (1980)

¹Countries are listed with names as registered by the United Nations. Year in parentheses indicates date of admission; countries with no date were original members in 1945.

²By Resolution 2758 (XXVI) of Oct. 25, 1971, the General Assembly decided "to restore all its rights to the People's Republic of China and to recognize the representative of its Government as the only legitimate representative of China to the United Nations."

of reply, and resolutions, the United States has gained increased understanding for its policies on such issues as the role of the entrepreneur, the right to private property, and human rights.

The United States has partially succeeded in eroding bloc voting in the United Nations and moderating the rhetoric and unreasonable demands of bloc members. If left unchecked, slavish bloc voting tends to place policy decisions in the hands of the most radical members of the bloc and intensifies the immoderation of UN debates. The strategy developed to counter excessive bloc behavior appeals to the true interests of each bloc member as opposed to the often imaginary benefits of bloc solidarity in support of radical and impracticable demands. In addition, this strategy attempts to link U.S. bilateral and multilateral relations with other countries, thereby increasing the leverage that the United States is able to exercise.

In another component of its UN strategy, the United States has begun to counter Soviet bloc influence, voting, and initiatives in the deliberative bodies of the United Nations. Furthermore, the United States has focused on exposing poor Soviet performance in the development area, and creating barriers to Soviet abuses of the UN system, such as exploiting the United Nations for espionage purposes.

In addition to these components of its strategy, there are a number of policies that the United States has pursued consistently for many years. For example, the United States has remained a firm and unwavering advocate of the universality principle with respect to UN membership. Secretary of State George Shultz reiterated this position on several occasions, stating that the United States would cease participation in and support for any UN body that excluded Israel or denied Israel the full privileges of membership. This affirmation is supported by congressional legislation that outlines the same principle and calls for the same action by the United States if Israel is denied full membership privileges in any of the UN bodies, agencies, or their subsidiary components.

The United States has continued to seek UN support for its ongoing efforts to help bring about peaceful settlements in the Middle East, Cyprus, and southern Africa. In this regard, the United States supports UN peacekeep-

ing operations in Lebanon and the Golan Heights and stands ready to support the transitional assistance group for Namibia envisioned in Security Council Resolution 435.

Apart from approval of budgetary matters, General Assembly resolutions are recommendatory and not binding on the members. Binding decisions concerning action with respect to threats to the peace and acts of aggression can be made only by the Security Council. In that case, the UN Charter gives the United States and the four other permanent members the right of veto. The United States is thus the beneficiary of an important voting privilege.

The United States, over the years, has offered several proposals for enhancing UN effectiveness, which include:

- Strengthening the role of the Security Council in the settlement of disputes, particularly through more automatic referral to the Council on situations of international tension;
- Strengthening the UN's peace-keeping capability, including the development by member nations of trained national troop contingents for quick deployment;
- Better means of addressing disarmament and arms control questions;
- More effective machinery to address human rights issues;
- Exploring ways to supplement the financing of international programs with funds from international commerce, services, or resources;
- More objective reporting on UN activities by the UN Department of Public Information;
- Better coordination of the technical assistance programs in various UN agencies, including expanded efforts for evaluation, monitoring, and quality control;
- Improving the UN Secretariat, both in operations and quality of personnel; and,
- Better coordination of the participation in the UN system of various branches of the U.S. Government.

U.S. Representation

The U.S. Permanent Mission to the United Nations in New York is headed by the U.S. Representative to the United Nations, with the rank of Ambassador Extraordinary and Plenipo-

Visitors to the United Nations

UN Headquarters is open to the public every day of the year except Christmas and New Year's Day. The Public Entrance is at 46th Street and First Avenue and opens at 9 a.m.

Guided tours begin from the Main Lobby of the General Assembly Building and are given approximately every half hour from 9:15 a.m. to 4:45 p.m. daily. Tours last about 1 hour and include information on the aims, structure, and activities of the United Nations as well as an explanation of the art and architecture of the buildings. Tours in languages other than English may be arranged. Groups of 15 or more persons should make arrangements as far in advance as possible by writing to the Group Program Unit, Visitors' Service, Room GA-56, United Nations, New York 10017, or telephoning (212) 963-7713. Tickets for the tours are \$4.50 for adults, \$4 for senior citizens (over age 60), and \$2.50 for all students. Children under 5 are not permitted on tours.

Meetings of various UN organs are normally held Monday through Friday, with morning meetings usually beginning at 10:30 a.m. and afternoon meetings at 3 p.m. Tickets are free and may be obtained at the Information Desk in the General Assembly Building shortly before the time fixed for a meeting on a first-come, first-served basis.

In the Public Concourse of the General Assembly Building, visitors may purchase gifts and souvenirs, books and cards, UN stamps, and commemorative medals. Handicrafts from all over the world are for sale in the Gift Center and Souvenir Shop. The Coffee Shop in the Public Concourse is open 7 days a week from 9:30 a.m. to 5 p.m. The Delegates' Dining Room atop the Conference Building is open Monday through Friday. Visitors wishing to have lunch are admitted before 11:45 a.m. and after 2 p.m. as tables are available.

tentiary. The Mission serves as the channel of communication for the U.S. Government with the UN organs, agencies, and commissions at the UN Headquarters and with the other permanent missions accredited to the United Nations and the nonmember observer missions. The Mission has a professional staff made up largely of career Foreign Service officers, including specialists in political, economic, social, financial, legal, military issues, and public affairs.

The United States also maintains missions in Geneva, Montreal, Rome, and Vienna as well as offices in other cities where various UN agencies are based. All of these units report to the State Department and receive guidance on all questions of policy from the President through the Secretary of State. Relations with the United Nations and its family of agencies are coordinated by the Assistant Secretary of State for International Organization Affairs.

U.S. delegates to the regular sessions of the General Assembly each year include two Members of the U.S. Congress—one Republican and one

Democrat, selected in alternate years from the Senate and House. Delegations also include prominent Americans from various fields outside the government.

The U.S. Mission to the United Nations is located at 799 United Nations Plaza, New York, NY 10017 (tel. 212-415-4000). ■

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When I began today, I spoke to you about peacekeeping. I want to speak to you now about peacemaking. We must bring peace to the people who have never known its blessings.

There's a painting that hangs on the wall of my office in the White House. It pictures President Lincoln and his generals,

PEGGY DOOLEY

(2:45 PM.
SAT SEPT 23) RESEARCH

13

meeting near the end of a war that remains the bloodiest in American history. Outside, at that moment, a battle rages. And yet what we see in the distance is a rainbow -- a symbol of hope, of the passing of the storm. [Pause] That painting is called The Peacemakers. [Pause]

415-4404

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Adam Shub

10/11/21

Peacekeeping Forces -

10/11/21

10/11/21

LIST OF FORMER PERMANENT REPRESENTATIVES WHO HAVE JOINED THE UN

Javier Perez de Cuellar
Secretary-General of the United Nations
(Peru)

Abdulrahim Abby Farah
Under-Secretary-General
Department for Special Political Questions,
Regional Co-operation, Decolonization and
Trusteeship
(Somalia)

Blue Mission Book

^N
**Ambassador Roberto Martinez-Ordonez
Permanent Representative
(Honduras) 212/752-3370

Blez
**Blaise Rabetafika
Permanent Representative
(Madagascar) 986-9491

UN Protocol - 963-7171

Dominique 6:00

Alain Diek

**Ambassador John Dubé
Permanent Representative *Observer*
(Observer-State Monaco)
759-5227

UN Info Ctr.

James Holger, Director

15-2045.

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

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

4066

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

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

For Peggy Dooley - Research
7:45 AM Sept 23

TRADE:

a

The United States buys over one half of all the manufactured exports produced by all the developing nations ^{to the industrialized} combined. Open ^{countries} markets are the key to continued growth in the developing world - and it's time for the other advanced economies to follow suit

→ GARY ELSON 522-7796
DAVID WALTERS
PETER ALGERIER

USTR

395-6850
office
668-3775
beeper

Peggy: here are names:

~~today~~ Mr. Secretary General. Undersecretary General Abdulrahim Abby Farah. Ambassadors Roberto Martinez-Ordonez. Manglyn Dugersuren. Blaise Rabetaflika. Zenon Rossides. John Dube.

UNITED NATIONS  NATIONS UNIES

To: Ms. Peggy Dooley
From: Mitch Werner
Date: 22 September 1989

Birendra Dayal (India)
Chef de Cabinet
Expe

highest ranking Am.

Secretariat Services

Div +
Dis Kemp / Int Econ
Coop
Office of USG for
Spec Pol Affs
(2)
SPIERS

FAX
202 456
6218
Ms. P. 954 Dooley

22 September, 1989

LIST OF FORMER PERMANENT REPRESENTATIVES WHO HAVE JOINED THE UN

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

Essafi, M'Hamed
Under-Secretary-General,
Disaster Relief Co-ordinator
(Tunisia)

Brazil
Austria - FM
US.

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

Ruda, José Maria
President of the International Court of Justice
(Argentina)

Farah, Abdulrahim, A.
Under-Secretary-General
Department for Special Political Questions,
Regional Co-operation, Decolonization and
Trusteeship

✓ Perez De Cuellar, Javier.
Secretary-General of the United Nations
(Peru)

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

Komatina, Miljan
Secretary of Conference on Disarmament
(Yugoslavia)

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

Linda Shenwick

Mitch Werner, RS's Exec. Officer

516/791-9173

finances - reassure
membership

Assoc. of Fmr Perm Reps ✓

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)

Mr. Chong (driver)
Mr. ~~Tennant~~ Tymour
212/453-1122

1316

Molly Williamson
Acting Dir UN Pol Affs
483-1003 State

For: P. Dooley
12 pp. in all

McGroarty/Dooley
September 23, 1989
4:30 pm
[UN]

PRESIDENTIAL REMARKS: GENERAL ASSEMBLY OF THE UNITED NATIONS
NEW YORK CITY
SEPTEMBER 25, 1989
11:00 AM

Mr. President, Mr. Secretary-General, distinguished delegates of the United Nations: I am honored to speak to you today as you open the 44th Session of the General Assembly.

And I feel a great personal pleasure as well. This is a homecoming for me. The memories of my time here in 1971 and 1972 are still with me today -- the human moments -- the humorous moments -- that are part of even the highest undertaking.

Let me share one story -- from one of the many sessions of the Security Council. I was 45 minutes late getting to the meeting -- and all 45 minutes were filled by the first speaker to take the floor. When I walked in and took my seat, the speaker paused and said with great courtesy: "I welcome the Permanent Representative of the United States, and now -- for his benefit -- I will start my speech again -- from the beginning." [[Pause]] At that moment, differences of alliance and ideology didn't matter. The universal groan that went up around the table -- from every member present -- and the laughter that followed -- united us all. [[Pause]]

[Today, I would like to begin by recognizing the delegates who served with me 18 years ago -- and who still serve today.

Mr. Secretary General. ~~Undersecretary General Abdulfahim Abby~~
~~FAIR~~ Ambassadors Roberto Martinez-Ordonez. Blaise
Rabetafika. John Dube. It's an honor to be back with you in
this historic hall.]

The United Nations was established forty-four years ago upon
the ashes of war -- and amidst great hopes. And the United
Nations can do great things. No, the UN isn't perfect. It's not
a panacea for the world's problems. But it is a vital forum
where the nations of the world seek to replace conflict with
consensus -- and it must remain a forum for peace.

The UN is moving closer to that ideal. And it's got the
support of the United States of America. In recent years --
certainly since my time here -- the war of words that has often
echoed in this chamber is giving way to a new mood. We've seen a
welcome shift -- from polemics to peacekeeping.

UN Peacekeeping forces are on duty right now -- and over the
years, more than 700 Peacekeepers have given their lives in
service to the United Nations. Today, I want to remember one of
these soldiers of peace. An American -- on a mission of peace
under the UN flag -- on a mission for all the world. A man of
unquestioned bravery and unswerving dedication to the UN ideal:
Lt. Col. William Richard Higgins. [[Pause]]

I call on the General Assembly to build on the Security
Council's efforts, and to condemn the murder of this soldier of
peace -- and call on those responsible to return his remains to
his family. And let us all right now -- right here -- rededicate

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ourselves and our nations to the cause that Colonel Higgins served so selflessly.

The founders of this historic institution believed that it was here that the nations of the world might come to agree that law -- not force -- shall govern. And the United Nations can play a fundamental role in the central issue of our time. For today, there is an idea at work around the globe -- an idea of undeniable force. That idea is: Freedom.

Freedom's advance is evident everywhere. In Central Europe: In Hungary -- where state and society are now in the midst of a movement towards political pluralism and a free market economy. Where the barrier that once enforced an unnatural division between Hungary and its neighbors to the West has been torn down -- torn down -- replaced by a new hope for the future -- new hope in freedom.

Because where there is hope of freedom at home -- no one must flee to find it elsewhere.

We see freedom at work in Poland -- where, in deference to the will of the people, the Communist Party has relinquished its monopoly on power. And in the Soviet Union -- where the world hears the voices of people no longer afraid to speak out, or to assert the right to rule themselves.

But freedom's march is not confined to a single continent -- or to the developed world alone.

We see the rise of freedom in Latin America -- where, one by one, dictatorships are giving way to democracy.

We see it on the continent of Africa -- where more and more nations see in the system of free enterprise, salvation for economies crippled by excessive state control.

East and West -- North and South: on every continent, on every horizon, we can see the outlines of a new world of freedom.

Of course, freedom's work remains unfinished. The trend we see is not yet universal. Some regimes still stand against the tide. Some rulers still deny the right of the people to govern themselves. But now, the power of prejudice and despotism is challenged. Never before have these regimes stood so isolated and alone -- so out of step with the steady advance of freedom.

Today, we are witnessing an ideological collapse -- the demise of the totalitarian idea of the omniscient, all-powerful State.

There are many reasons for this collapse. But in the end, one fact alone explains what we see today: Advocates of the totalitarian idea saw its triumph written in the laws of history. They failed to see the love of freedom written in the human heart.

200 years ago today, the United States Congress proposed the Bill of Rights -- fundamental freedoms belonging to every individual. Rights no government can deny. Those same rights have been recognized in this congress of nations -- in the words

of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, "a common standard of achievement for all peoples and all nations."

From where we stand -- on the threshold of this new world of freedom -- the trend is clear enough. If, for those who write the history of our times, the 20th century is remembered as the century of the State -- the 21st must be an era of emancipation -- the age of the individual.

Make no mistake: Nothing can stand in the way of freedom's march. There will come a day when freedom is seen the world over to be the universal birthright of every man and woman -- of every race and walk of life. Even under the worst of circumstances, at the darkest of times, freedom has always remained alive -- a distant dream, perhaps, but always alive.

Today, that dream is no longer distant. For the first time, for millions around the world -- a new world of freedom is within reach. Today -- is freedom's moment.

You see, the possibility now exists for the creation of a true community of nations -- built on shared interests and ideals. A true community -- a world where free governments and free markets meet the rising desire of the people to control their own destiny.

It is time we worked together to deliver that destiny into the hands of men and women everywhere. [[Pause]]

Our challenge is to strengthen the foundations of freedom -- encourage its advance, and face our most urgent challenges. The

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global challenges of the 21st Century: economic health, environmental well-being, and the great questions of war and peace.

First, global economic growth. During this decade, a number of developing nations have moved into the ranks of the world's most advanced economies -- all of them -- each and every one -- powered by the engine of free enterprise.

In the decade ahead, others can join their ranks. But -- for many nations -- barriers stand in the way. In the case of some countries, these are obstacles of their own making: unneeded restrictions and regulations that act as dead weights on their own economies and obstacles to foreign trade.

But other barriers to growth exist, and those too require effective action. Too many developing countries struggle today under a burden of debt that makes growth all but impossible. The nations of the world deserve a better opportunity to achieve a measure of control over their own economic fate, and build better lives for their own people.

The approach the U.S. has put forward -- the Brady plan -- will help these nations reduce that debt -- and at the same time encourage the free market reforms that will fuel growth.

In just two days I will be speaking to the International Monetary Fund and World Bank. I'll discuss there in more detail the next steps our nations can take in dealing with the debt problem. But I can say now: the new world of freedom is not a

recap -

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world where a few nations live in comfort, while others live in want.

The power of commerce is a force for progress. Open markets are the key to continued growth in the developing world. Today, the United States buys over one half of the manufactured exports all the developing nations combined sell to the industrialized world. It's time for the other advanced economies to follow suit -- to create expanded opportunities for trade.

I believe we'll learn in the century ahead that many nations of the world have barely begun to tap their true potential for development. The free market and its fruits are not the special preserve of a few. They are a harvest everyone can share.

break? → Beyond the challenge of global growth lies another issue of global magnitude: the environment. No line drawn on a map can stop the advance of pollution. Threats to our environment have become an international problem. We must develop an international approach to urgent environmental issues -- one that seeks common solutions to common problems.

The United Nations is already at work. On the question of global warming.... In the effort to prevent oil spills and other disasters from fouling our seas and the air we breathe.

And I will tell you now: the United States will do its part. We've committed ourselves to the world-wide phase-out of all chloroflourocarbons by the year 2000. We've proposed amending our Clean Air Act to ensure clean air for our citizens within a single generation. We've banned the import of ivory to

✓ Grady

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protect the elephant and rhinoceros from the human predators who exterminate them for profit.

And we have begun to explore ways to work with other nations -- with the major industrialized democracies, in Poland and in Hungary -- to make common cause for the sake of our environment. The environment belongs to all of us. In our new world of freedom, the world's citizens must enjoy this common trust for generations to come.

Global economic growth -- the stewardship of our planet -- both are critical issues. But as always, questions of war and peace must be paramount to the United Nations.

[INSERT]

We are serious about conventional arms reductions as well. That's why we tabled new proposals just last Thursday at the CFE negotiations in Vienna -- proposals that demonstrate our commitment to easing military tensions in Europe, and moving the nations of that continent one step closer to their common destiny: a Europe whole and free.

And the United States is convinced that open and innovative measures can move disarmament forward -- and also ease international tensions. That's the idea behind the Open Skies proposal the Soviets have now indicated they will support. It's the idea behind the Open Lands agreement we have concluded -- permitting, for the first time ever, free travel for all Soviet and American diplomats throughout each other's countries.

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Openness is the enemy of mistrust -- and every step towards a more open world is a step towards the new world we seek.

[INSERT]

We have not entered an era of perpetual peace. The threats to peace that nations face may today be changing -- but they have not vanished. In fact, in a number of regions around the world, a dangerous combination is now emerging: Regimes armed with old and unappeasable animosities -- and modern weapons of mass destruction.

This development will raise the stakes whenever war breaks out. Regional conflict may well threaten world peace as never before.

The challenge of preserving peace is a personal one for all of you here in this hall. [Mr. Secretary General, I know you have made it your own.] The United Nations can be a mediator -- a forum where parties in conflict come in search of peaceful solutions.

For the sake of peace, the UN must redouble its support for the urgent efforts now underway in the Middle East, in Southern Africa and Southeast Asia. And let me assure you: the U.S. is determined to take an active role in settling regional conflicts. Sometimes, our role in regional disputes is and will be highly public. Sometimes, like many of you, we work quietly -- behind the scenes. But always -- we are working for positive change and lasting peace.

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Our world faces other, less conventional threats -- no less dangerous to international peace and stability. Illegal drugs are a menace to social order and a source of human misery wherever they gain a foothold. The nations who suffer this scourge must join forces in the fight. And we are. Let me salute the commitment and extraordinary courage of one country in particular -- Colombia -- where the people and their President, Virgilio Barco, are working with us to put the drug cartels out of business, and bring the drug lords to justice.

Finally, we must join forces to combat the threat of terrorism. Every nation -- and the United Nations -- must send the outlaws of the world a clear message: Hostage taking and the terror of random violence are methods that cannot win the world's approval. Terrorism of any kind is repugnant to all values a civilized world holds in common. And make no mistake: Terrorism is a means that no end -- no matter how just -- can sanctify.

Whatever the challenge, freedom greatly raises the chances of our success. Freedom's moment is a time of hope for all the world. Because freedom -- once set in motion -- takes on a momentum of its own.

X
As I said the day I assumed the Presidency: "We don't have to talk late into the night about which form of government is better." We know that free government -- democracy -- is best.

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I believe that is the hard-won truth of our time -- the unassailable fact that still stands at the end of a century of great struggle and human suffering.

And this is true not because all our differences must give way to democracy -- but because democracy makes room for all our differences. In democracy, diversity finds its common home.

At the very heart of the democratic ideal is respect -- for freedom of belief, freedom of thought and action in all its diversity. The world has experienced enough of the ideologies that have promised to remake man in some new and better image. We've seen the colossal tragedies and dashed hopes. We know now that freedom and democracy hold the answers. What men and nations want is the freedom to live by their own lights, and a chance to prosper in peace. [[Pause]]

When I began today, I spoke to you about **peacekeeping**. I want to speak to you now about **peacemaking**. We must bring peace to the people who have never known its blessings.

There's a painting that hangs on the wall of my office in the White House. It pictures President Lincoln and ~~his~~ ^{pieces of} generals, meeting near the end of a war that remains the bloodiest in American history. Outside, at that moment, a battle rages. And yet what we see in the distance is a rainbow -- a symbol of hope, of the passing of the storm. [Pause] That painting is called The Peacemakers. [Pause]

I remember sitting in this hall. I remember the mutual respect among all of us proudly serving as representatives. I

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remember the almost endless speeches, Security Council sessions. The receptions and receiving lines. The formal meetings of this Assembly -- and the informal discussions in the Delegates' Lounge.

And I remember something more. Something beyond the frantic pace and sometimes frustrating experiences of daily life here: the heartbeat of the United Nations -- the quiet conviction that we could make the world more peaceful. More free.

What we sought then, now lies within our reach. I ask each of you here in this hall: can we not bring a unity of purpose to the United Nations? Can we not make this new world of freedom the common destiny we seek?

I believe we can. I know we must. [[Pause]]

My solemn wish today is that here -- among the United Nations -- that spirit will take hold, and that all men and all nations will make freedom's moment their own.

Thank you, God bless you, and may God bless the work of the United Nations.

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2

from every member present -- and the laughter that followed -- united us all. [[Pause]]

Today, I would like to begin by recognizing the permanent representatives -- and especially the ones with whom I served, who still serve here today. Mr. Secretary General. Roberto Martinez-Ordonez [OR-DOE-NYEZ]. Blaise [BLEZ] Rabetafika. [RAH-BAY-TA-FEE-KA] John Dube. [DOO-BAY] It's an honor to be back with you in this historic hall.

The United Nations was established forty-four years ago upon the ashes of war -- and amidst great hopes. And the United Nations can do great things. No, the UN isn't perfect. It's not a panacea for the world's problems. But it is a vital forum where the nations of the world seek to replace conflict with consensus -- and it must remain a forum for peace.

The UN is moving closer to that ideal. And it has the support of the United States of America. In recent years -- certainly since my time here -- the war of words that has often echoed in this chamber is giving way to a new mood. We've seen a welcome shift -- from polemics to peacekeeping.

UN Peacekeeping forces are on duty right now -- and over the years, more than 700 Peacekeepers have given their lives in service to the United Nations. Today, I want to remember one of these soldiers of peace. An American -- on a mission of peace under the UN flag -- on a mission for all the world. A man of unquestioned bravery and unswerving dedication to the UN ideal: Lt. Col. William Richard Higgins. [[Pause]]

2

from every member present -- and the laughter that followed -- united us all. [[Pause]]

Today, I would like to begin by recognizing the permanent representatives and the delegates who served with me 18 years ago. I would like to mention four former Permanent Representatives with whom I served. They still serve here today. Mr. Secretary General. Roberto Martinez-Ordonez [OR-DOE-NYEZ]. Blaise [BLEZ] Rabetafika. [RAH-BAY-TA-FEE-KA] John Dube. [DOO-BAY] It's an honor to be back with you in this historic hall.

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Universal Declaration of Human Rights [1948]

Preamble

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

Now, therefore,

The General Assembly

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

Article 1

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

Article 2

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

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

Article 3

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

Article 4

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

Article 5

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

Article 6

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

Article 7

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

Article 8

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

Article 9

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

Article 10

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

Article 11

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

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

Article 12

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

Article 13

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

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

Article 14

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

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

Article 15

1. Everyone has the right to a nationality.

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

Article 16

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

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

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

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

Article 17

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

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

Article 18

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

Article 19

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

Article 20

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

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

Article 21

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

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

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

Article 22

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

Article 23

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

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

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

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

Article 24

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

Article 25

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

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

Article 26

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

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

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

Article 27

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

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

Article 28

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

Article 29

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

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

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

Article 30

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

REMARKS: GENERAL ASSEMBLY OF THE UNITED NATIONS
NEW YORK CITY
SEPTEMBER 25, 1989
11:00 AM

Peggy

MR. PRESIDENT, MR. SECRETARY-GENERAL,
DISTINGUISHED DELEGATES OF THE UNITED NATIONS: I AM
HONORED TO SPEAK TO YOU TODAY AS YOU OPEN THE 44TH
SESSION OF THE GENERAL ASSEMBLY.

I WOULD LIKE TO CONGRATULATE JOSEPH GARBA OF
NIGERIA -- A DISTINGUISHED DIPLOMAT -- ON HIS ELECTION
AS PRESIDENT OF THIS SESSION OF THE GENERAL ASSEMBLY,
AND I WISH HIM SUCCESS IN HIS PRESIDENCY. [[PAUSE]]

I FEEL A GREAT PERSONAL PLEASURE ON THIS OCCASION.
THIS IS A HOMECOMING FOR ME. THE MEMORIES OF MY TIME
HERE IN 1971 AND 1972 ARE STILL WITH ME TODAY -- THE
HUMAN MOMENTS -- THE HUMOROUS MOMENTS -- THAT ARE PART
OF EVEN THE HIGHEST UNDERTAKING.

LET ME SHARE ONE STORY -- FROM ONE OF THE MANY SESSIONS OF THE SECURITY COUNCIL. I WAS 45 MINUTES LATE GETTING TO THE MEETING -- AND ALL 45 MINUTES WERE FILLED BY THE FIRST SPEAKER TO TAKE THE FLOOR. WHEN I WALKED IN AND TOOK MY SEAT, THE SPEAKER PAUSED AND SAID WITH GREAT COURTESY: "I WELCOME THE PERMANENT REPRESENTATIVE OF THE UNITED STATES, AND NOW -- FOR HIS BENEFIT -- I WILL START MY SPEECH AGAIN -- FROM THE BEGINNING." [[PAUSE]] AT THAT MOMENT, DIFFERENCES OF ALLIANCE AND IDEOLOGY DIDN'T MATTER. THE UNIVERSAL GROAN THAT WENT UP AROUND THE TABLE -- FROM EVERY MEMBER PRESENT -- AND THE LAUGHTER THAT FOLLOWED -- UNITED US ALL. [[PAUSE]]

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 OBSERVOR 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 YOU IN THIS HISTORIC HALL.

THE UNITED NATIONS WAS ESTABLISHED FORTY-FOUR YEARS AGO UPON THE ASHES OF WAR -- AND AMIDST GREAT HOPES. AND THE UNITED NATIONS CAN DO GREAT THINGS. NO, THE UN ISN'T PERFECT. IT'S NOT A PANACEA FOR THE WORLD'S PROBLEMS. BUT IT IS A VITAL FORUM WHERE THE NATIONS OF THE WORLD SEEK TO REPLACE CONFLICT WITH CONSENSUS -- AND IT MUST REMAIN A FORUM FOR PEACE.

THE UN IS MOVING CLOSER TO THAT IDEAL. AND IT HAS THE SUPPORT OF THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA. IN RECENT YEARS -- CERTAINLY SINCE MY TIME HERE -- THE WAR OF WORDS THAT HAS OFTEN ECHOED IN THIS CHAMBER IS GIVING WAY TO A NEW MOOD. WE'VE SEEN A WELCOME SHIFT -- FROM POLEMICS TO PEACEKEEPING.

UN PEACEKEEPING FORCES ARE ON DUTY RIGHT NOW --
AND OVER THE YEARS, MORE THAN 700 PEACEKEEPERS HAVE
GIVEN THEIR LIVES IN SERVICE TO THE UNITED NATIONS.
TODAY, I WANT TO REMEMBER ONE OF THESE SOLDIERS OF
PEACE. AN AMERICAN -- ON A MISSION OF PEACE UNDER THE
UN FLAG -- ON A MISSION FOR ALL THE WORLD. A MAN OF
UNQUESTIONED BRAVERY AND UNSWERVING DEDICATION TO THE
UN IDEAL: LT. COL. WILLIAM RICHARD HIGGINS. [[PAUSE]]

I CALL ON THE GENERAL ASSEMBLY TO BUILD ON THE
SECURITY COUNCIL'S CONDEMNATION OF ALL ACTS OF HOSTAGE
TAKING, TO CONDEMN THE MURDER OF THIS SOLDIER OF PEACE
-- AND CALL ON THOSE RESPONSIBLE TO RETURN HIS REMAINS
TO HIS FAMILY. AND LET US ALL RIGHT NOW -- RIGHT HERE
-- REDEDICATE OURSELVES AND OUR NATIONS TO THE CAUSE
THAT COLONEL HIGGINS SERVED SO SELFLESSLY.

THE FOUNDERS OF THIS HISTORIC INSTITUTION BELIEVED THAT IT WAS HERE THAT THE NATIONS OF THE WORLD MIGHT COME TO AGREE THAT LAW -- NOT FORCE -- SHALL GOVERN. AND THE UNITED NATIONS CAN PLAY A FUNDAMENTAL ROLE IN THE CENTRAL ISSUE OF OUR TIME. FOR TODAY, THERE IS AN IDEA AT WORK AROUND THE GLOBE -- AN IDEA OF UNDENIABLE FORCE. THAT IDEA IS: FREEDOM.

FREEDOM'S ADVANCE IS EVIDENT EVERYWHERE. IN CENTRAL EUROPE: IN HUNGARY -- WHERE STATE AND SOCIETY ARE NOW IN THE MIDST OF A MOVEMENT TOWARDS POLITICAL PLURALISM AND A FREE MARKET ECONOMY. WHERE THE BARRIER THAT ONCE ENFORCED AN UNNATURAL DIVISION BETWEEN HUNGARY AND ITS NEIGHBORS TO THE WEST HAS BEEN TORN DOWN -- TORN DOWN -- REPLACED BY A NEW HOPE FOR THE FUTURE -- NEW HOPE IN FREEDOM.

BECAUSE WHERE THERE IS HOPE OF FREEDOM AT HOME -- NO ONE MUST FLEE TO FIND IT ELSEWHERE.

WE SEE FREEDOM AT WORK IN POLAND -- WHERE, IN DEFERENCE TO THE WILL OF THE PEOPLE, THE COMMUNIST PARTY HAS RELINQUISHED ITS MONOPOLY ON POWER. AND IN THE SOVIET UNION -- WHERE THE WORLD HEARS THE VOICES OF PEOPLE NO LONGER AFRAID TO SPEAK OUT, OR TO ASSERT THE RIGHT TO RULE THEMSELVES.

BUT FREEDOM'S MARCH IS NOT CONFINED TO A SINGLE CONTINENT -- OR TO THE DEVELOPED WORLD ALONE.

WE SEE THE RISE OF FREEDOM IN LATIN AMERICA -- WHERE, ONE BY ONE, DICTATORSHIPS ARE GIVING WAY TO DEMOCRACY.

WE SEE IT ON THE CONTINENT OF AFRICA -- WHERE MORE AND MORE NATIONS SEE IN THE SYSTEM OF FREE ENTERPRISE, SALVATION FOR ECONOMIES CRIPPLED BY EXCESSIVE STATE CONTROL.

EAST AND WEST -- NORTH AND SOUTH: ON EVERY CONTINENT, ON EVERY HORIZON, WE CAN SEE THE OUTLINES OF A NEW WORLD OF FREEDOM.

OF COURSE, FREEDOM'S WORK REMAINS UNFINISHED. THE TREND WE SEE IS NOT YET UNIVERSAL. SOME REGIMES STILL STAND AGAINST THE TIDE. SOME RULERS STILL DENY THE RIGHT OF THE PEOPLE TO GOVERN THEMSELVES. BUT NOW, THE POWER OF PREJUDICE AND DESPOTISM IS CHALLENGED. NEVER BEFORE HAVE THESE REGIMES STOOD SO ISOLATED AND ALONE -- SO OUT OF STEP WITH THE STEADY ADVANCE OF FREEDOM.

TODAY, WE ARE WITNESSING AN IDEOLOGICAL COLLAPSE -- THE DEMISE OF THE TOTALITARIAN IDEA OF THE OMNISCIENT, ALL-POWERFUL STATE.

THERE ARE MANY REASONS FOR THIS COLLAPSE. BUT IN THE END, ONE FACT ALONE EXPLAINS WHAT WE SEE TODAY: ADVOCATES OF THE TOTALITARIAN IDEA SAW ITS TRIUMPH WRITTEN IN THE LAWS OF HISTORY. THEY FAILED TO SEE THE LOVE OF FREEDOM WRITTEN IN THE HUMAN HEART.

200 YEARS AGO TODAY, THE UNITED STATES CONGRESS PROPOSED THE BILL OF RIGHTS -- FUNDAMENTAL FREEDOMS BELONGING TO EVERY INDIVIDUAL. RIGHTS NO GOVERNMENT CAN DENY. THOSE SAME RIGHTS HAVE BEEN RECOGNIZED IN THIS CONGRESS OF NATIONS -- IN THE WORDS OF THE UNIVERSAL DECLARATION OF HUMAN RIGHTS, "A COMMON STANDARD OF ACHIEVEMENT FOR ALL PEOPLES AND ALL NATIONS."

FROM WHERE WE STAND -- ON THE THRESHOLD OF THIS NEW WORLD OF FREEDOM -- THE TREND IS CLEAR ENOUGH. IF, FOR THOSE WHO WRITE THE HISTORY OF OUR TIMES, THE 20TH CENTURY IS REMEMBERED AS THE CENTURY OF THE STATE -- THE 21ST MUST BE AN ERA OF EMANCIPATION -- THE AGE OF THE INDIVIDUAL.

MAKE NO MISTAKE: NOTHING CAN STAND IN THE WAY OF FREEDOM'S MARCH. THERE WILL COME A DAY WHEN FREEDOM IS SEEN THE WORLD OVER TO BE THE UNIVERSAL BIRTHRIGHT OF EVERY MAN AND WOMAN -- OF EVERY RACE AND WALK OF LIFE. EVEN UNDER THE WORST OF CIRCUMSTANCES, AT THE DARKEST OF TIMES, FREEDOM HAS ALWAYS REMAINED ALIVE -- A DISTANT DREAM, PERHAPS, BUT ALWAYS ALIVE.

TODAY, THAT DREAM IS NO LONGER DISTANT. FOR THE FIRST TIME, FOR MILLIONS AROUND THE WORLD -- A NEW WORLD OF FREEDOM IS WITHIN REACH. TODAY -- IS FREEDOM'S MOMENT.

YOU SEE, THE POSSIBILITY NOW EXISTS FOR THE CREATION OF A TRUE COMMUNITY OF NATIONS -- BUILT ON SHARED INTERESTS AND IDEALS. A TRUE COMMUNITY -- A WORLD WHERE FREE GOVERNMENTS AND FREE MARKETS MEET THE RISING DESIRE OF THE PEOPLE TO CONTROL THEIR OWN DESTINY: TO LIVE IN DIGNITY, AND TO EXERCISE FREELY THEIR FUNDAMENTAL HUMAN RIGHTS.

IT IS TIME WE WORKED TOGETHER TO DELIVER THAT DESTINY INTO THE HANDS OF MEN AND WOMEN EVERYWHERE.
[[PAUSE]]

OUR CHALLENGE IS TO STRENGTHEN THE FOUNDATIONS OF FREEDOM -- ENCOURAGE ITS ADVANCE, AND FACE OUR MOST URGENT CHALLENGES. THE GLOBAL CHALLENGES OF THE 21ST CENTURY: ECONOMIC HEALTH, ENVIRONMENTAL WELL-BEING, AND THE GREAT QUESTIONS OF WAR AND PEACE.

FIRST, GLOBAL ECONOMIC GROWTH. DURING THIS DECADE, A NUMBER OF DEVELOPING NATIONS HAVE MOVED INTO THE RANKS OF THE WORLD'S MOST ADVANCED ECONOMIES -- ALL OF THEM -- EACH AND EVERY ONE -- POWERED BY THE ENGINE OF FREE ENTERPRISE.

IN THE DECADE AHEAD, OTHERS CAN JOIN THEIR RANKS. BUT -- FOR MANY NATIONS -- BARRIERS STAND IN THE WAY. IN THE CASE OF SOME COUNTRIES, THESE ARE OBSTACLES OF THEIR OWN MAKING: UNNEEDED RESTRICTIONS AND REGULATIONS THAT ACT AS DEAD WEIGHTS ON THEIR OWN ECONOMIES AND OBSTACLES TO FOREIGN TRADE.

BUT OTHER BARRIERS TO GROWTH EXIST, AND THOSE TOO REQUIRE EFFECTIVE ACTION. TOO MANY DEVELOPING COUNTRIES STRUGGLE TODAY UNDER A BURDEN OF DEBT THAT MAKES GROWTH ALL BUT IMPOSSIBLE. THE NATIONS OF THE WORLD DESERVE A BETTER OPPORTUNITY TO ACHIEVE A MEASURE OF CONTROL OVER THEIR OWN ECONOMIC FATE, AND BUILD BETTER LIVES FOR THEIR OWN PEOPLE.

THE APPROACH THE U.S. HAS PUT FORWARD -- THE BRADY PLAN -- WILL HELP THESE NATIONS REDUCE THAT DEBT -- AND AT THE SAME TIME ENCOURAGE THE FREE MARKET REFORMS THAT WILL FUEL GROWTH.

IN JUST TWO DAYS I WILL BE SPEAKING TO THE INTERNATIONAL MONETARY FUND AND WORLD BANK. I'LL DISCUSS THERE IN MORE DETAIL STEPS OUR NATIONS CAN TAKE IN DEALING WITH THE DEBT PROBLEM. BUT I CAN SAY NOW: THE NEW WORLD OF FREEDOM IS NOT A WORLD WHERE A FEW NATIONS LIVE IN COMFORT, WHILE OTHERS LIVE IN WANT.

THE POWER OF COMMERCE IS A FORCE FOR PROGRESS. OPEN MARKETS ARE THE KEY TO CONTINUED GROWTH IN THE DEVELOPING WORLD. TODAY, THE UNITED STATES BUYS OVER ONE HALF OF THE MANUFACTURED EXPORTS THAT ALL THE DEVELOPING NATIONS COMBINED SELL TO THE INDUSTRIALIZED WORLD. IT'S TIME FOR THE OTHER ADVANCED ECONOMIES TO FOLLOW SUIT -- TO CREATE EXPANDED OPPORTUNITIES FOR TRADE.

I BELIEVE WE'LL LEARN IN THE CENTURY AHEAD THAT MANY NATIONS OF THE WORLD HAVE BARELY BEGUN TO TAP THEIR TRUE POTENTIAL FOR DEVELOPMENT. THE FREE MARKET AND ITS FRUITS ARE NOT THE SPECIAL PRESERVE OF A FEW. THEY ARE A HARVEST EVERYONE CAN SHARE.

BEYOND THE CHALLENGE OF GLOBAL GROWTH LIES ANOTHER ISSUE OF GLOBAL MAGNITUDE: THE ENVIRONMENT. NO LINE DRAWN ON A MAP CAN STOP THE ADVANCE OF POLLUTION. THREATS TO OUR ENVIRONMENT HAVE BECOME AN INTERNATIONAL PROBLEM. WE MUST DEVELOP AN INTERNATIONAL APPROACH TO URGENT ENVIRONMENTAL ISSUES -- ONE THAT SEEKS COMMON SOLUTIONS TO COMMON PROBLEMS.

THE UNITED NATIONS IS ALREADY AT WORK. ON THE QUESTION OF GLOBAL WARMING. IN THE EFFORT TO PREVENT OIL SPILLS AND OTHER DISASTERS FROM FOULING OUR SEAS AND THE AIR WE BREATHE.

AND I WILL TELL YOU NOW: THE UNITED STATES WILL DO ITS PART. WE'VE COMMITTED OURSELVES TO THE WORLD-WIDE PHASE-OUT OF ALL CHLOROFLOUROCARBONS BY THE YEAR 2000. WE'VE PROPOSED AMENDING OUR CLEAN AIR ACT TO ENSURE CLEAN AIR FOR OUR CITIZENS WITHIN A SINGLE GENERATION. WE'VE BANNED THE IMPORT OF IVORY TO PROTECT THE ELEPHANT AND RHINOCEROS FROM THE HUMAN PREDATORS WHO EXTERMINATE THEM FOR PROFIT.

AND WE HAVE BEGUN TO EXPLORE WAYS TO WORK WITH OTHER NATIONS -- WITH THE MAJOR INDUSTRIALIZED DEMOCRACIES, IN POLAND AND IN HUNGARY -- TO MAKE COMMON CAUSE FOR THE SAKE OF OUR ENVIRONMENT.

THE ENVIRONMENT BELONGS TO ALL OF US. IN OUR NEW WORLD OF FREEDOM, THE WORLD'S CITIZENS MUST ENJOY THIS COMMON TRUST FOR GENERATIONS TO COME.

GLOBAL ECONOMIC GROWTH -- THE STEWARDSHIP OF OUR PLANET -- BOTH ARE CRITICAL ISSUES. BUT AS ALWAYS, QUESTIONS OF WAR AND PEACE MUST BE PARAMOUNT TO THE UNITED NATIONS.

WE MUST MOVE FORWARD TO LIMIT -- AND ELIMINATE -- WEAPONS OF MASS DESTRUCTION. FIVE YEARS AGO, AT THE UN CONFERENCE ON DISARMAMENT IN GENEVA, I PRESENTED A U.S. DRAFT TREATY OUTLAWING CHEMICAL WEAPONS. SINCE THEN, PROGRESS HAS BEEN MADE -- BUT TIME IS RUNNING OUT. THE THREAT IS GROWING. MORE THAN 20 NATIONS NOW POSSESS CHEMICAL WEAPONS OR THE CAPABILITY TO PRODUCE THEM. AND THESE HORRIBLE WEAPONS ARE NOW FINDING THEIR WAY INTO REGIONAL CONFLICTS. THIS IS UNACCEPTABLE.

FOR THE SAKE OF MANKIND, WE MUST HALT AND REVERSE THIS THREAT. TODAY, I WANT TO ANNOUNCE STEPS THE U.S. IS READY TO TAKE -- STEPS TO RID THE WORLD OF THESE TRULY TERRIBLE WEAPONS --TOWARDS A TREATY THAT WILL BAN, ELIMINATE, ALL CHEMICAL WEAPONS FROM THE EARTH TEN YEARS FROM THE DAY IT IS SIGNED.

THIS INITIATIVE CONTAINS THREE MAJOR ELEMENTS:

FIRST, IN THE FIRST EIGHT YEARS OF A CHEMICAL WEAPONS TREATY, THE U.S. IS READY TO DESTROY NEARLY ALL -- 98% -- OF OUR CHEMICAL WEAPONS -- STOCKPILE -- PROVIDED THE SOVIET UNION JOINS THE BAN. I THINK THEY WILL.

SECOND, WE ARE READY TO DESTROY ALL OF OUR CHEMICAL WEAPONS -- 100%, EVERY ONE -- WITHIN TEN YEARS, ONCE ALL NATIONS CAPABLE OF BUILDING CHEMICAL WEAPONS SIGN THE TOTAL BAN TREATY.

AND THIRD, THE U.S. IS READY TO BEGIN NOW. WE'LL ELIMINATE MORE THAN 80% OF OUR STOCKPILE -- EVEN AS WE WORK TO COMPLETE A TREATY -- IF THE SOVIET UNION JOINS US IN CUTTING CHEMICAL WEAPONS TO AN EQUAL LEVEL, AND WE AGREE ON THE CONDITIONS -- INCLUDING INSPECTIONS -- UNDER WHICH STOCKPILES ARE DESTROYED.

WE KNOW THAT MONITORING A TOTAL BAN ON CHEMICAL WEAPONS WILL BE A CHALLENGE. BUT THE KNOWLEDGE WE'VE GAINED FROM OUR RECENT ARMS CONTROL EXPERIENCE -- AND OUR ACCELERATING RESEARCH IN THIS AREA -- MAKES ME CONFIDENT WE CAN ACHIEVE THE LEVEL OF VERIFICATION THAT GIVES US CONFIDENCE TO GO FORWARD WITH THE BAN.

THE WORLD HAS LIVED TOO LONG IN THE SHADOW OF CHEMICAL WARFARE. LET US ACT TOGETHER -- BEGINNING TODAY -- TO RID THE EARTH OF THIS SCOURGE. [PAUSE]

WE ARE SERIOUS ABOUT ACHIEVING CONVENTIONAL ARMS REDUCTIONS AS WELL. THAT'S WHY WE TABLED NEW PROPOSALS JUST LAST THURSDAY AT THE CONVENTIONAL FORCES IN EUROPE NEGOTIATIONS IN VIENNA -- PROPOSALS THAT DEMONSTRATE OUR COMMITMENT TO ACT RAPIDLY TO EASE MILITARY TENSIONS IN EUROPE, AND MOVE THE NATIONS OF THAT CONTINENT ONE STEP CLOSER TO THEIR COMMON DESTINY: A EUROPE WHOLE AND FREE.

AND THE UNITED STATES IS CONVINCED THAT OPEN AND INNOVATIVE MEASURES CAN MOVE DISARMAMENT FORWARD -- AND ALSO EASE INTERNATIONAL TENSIONS. THAT'S THE IDEA BEHIND THE OPEN SKIES PROPOSAL ABOUT WHICH THE SOVIETS HAVE NOW EXPRESSED A POSITIVE ATTITUDE. IT'S THE IDEA BEHIND THE OPEN LANDS AGREEMENT WE HAVE CONCLUDED -- PERMITTING, FOR THE FIRST TIME EVER, FREE TRAVEL FOR ALL SOVIET AND AMERICAN DIPLOMATS THROUGHOUT EACH OTHER'S COUNTRIES. OPENNESS IS THE ENEMY OF MISTRUST -- AND EVERY STEP TOWARDS A MORE OPEN WORLD IS A STEP TOWARDS THE NEW WORLD WE SEEK.

AND LET ME MAKE THIS COMMENT ON OUR MEETINGS WITH SOVIET FOREIGN MINISTER SHEVARDNADZE OVER THE PAST FEW DAYS. I AM VERY PLEASED BY THE PROGRESS WE MADE. THE SOVIET UNION REMOVED A NUMBER OF OBSTACLES TO PROGRESS ON CONVENTIONAL AND STRATEGIC ARMS REDUCTIONS. WE REACHED AGREEMENTS IN PRINCIPLE ON ISSUES FROM VERIFICATION TO NUCLEAR TESTING. AND OF COURSE, WE AGREED TO A SUMMIT IN THE SPRING OR EARLY SUMMER OF 1990.

EACH OF THESE ACHIEVEMENTS IS IMPORTANT IN ITS OWN RIGHT -- BUT THEY ARE MORE IMPORTANT STILL AS SIGNS OF A NEW ATTITUDE THAT PREVAILS BETWEEN THE U.S. AND USSR. SERIOUS DIFFERENCES REMAIN -- BUT THE WILLINGNESS TO DEAL CONSTRUCTIVELY AND CANDIDLY -- WITH THOSE DIFFERENCES IS NEWS THAT WE -- AND INDEED THE WORLD -- MUST WELCOME.

WE HAVE NOT ENTERED AN ERA OF PERPETUAL PEACE. THE THREATS TO PEACE THAT NATIONS FACE MAY TODAY BE CHANGING -- BUT THEY HAVE NOT VANISHED. IN FACT, IN A NUMBER OF REGIONS AROUND THE WORLD, A DANGEROUS COMBINATION IS NOW EMERGING: REGIMES ARMED WITH OLD AND UNAPPEASABLE ANIMOSITIES -- AND MODERN WEAPONS OF MASS DESTRUCTION.

THIS DEVELOPMENT WILL RAISE THE STAKES WHENEVER WAR BREAKS OUT. REGIONAL CONFLICT MAY WELL THREATEN WORLD PEACE AS NEVER BEFORE.

THE CHALLENGE OF PRESERVING PEACE IS A PERSONAL ONE FOR ALL OF YOU HERE IN THIS HALL. [MR. SECRETARY GENERAL, I KNOW YOU HAVE MADE IT YOUR OWN.] THE UNITED NATIONS CAN BE A MEDIATOR -- A FORUM WHERE PARTIES IN CONFLICT COME IN SEARCH OF PEACEFUL SOLUTIONS.

FOR THE SAKE OF PEACE, THE UN MUST REDOUBLE ITS SUPPORT FOR THE PEACE EFFORTS NOW UNDERWAY IN REGIONS OF CONFLICT ALL OVER THE WORLD. AND LET ME ASSURE YOU: THE U.S. IS DETERMINED TO TAKE AN ACTIVE ROLE IN SETTLING REGIONAL CONFLICTS. SOMETIMES, OUR ROLE IN REGIONAL DISPUTES IS AND WILL BE HIGHLY PUBLIC. SOMETIMES, LIKE MANY OF YOU, WE WORK QUIETLY -- BEHIND THE SCENES. BUT ALWAYS -- WE ARE WORKING FOR POSITIVE CHANGE AND LASTING PEACE.

OUR WORLD FACES OTHER, LESS CONVENTIONAL THREATS -- NO LESS DANGEROUS TO INTERNATIONAL PEACE AND STABILITY. ILLEGAL DRUGS ARE A MENACE TO SOCIAL ORDER AND A SOURCE OF HUMAN MISERY WHEREVER THEY GAIN A Foothold. THE NATIONS WHO SUFFER THIS SCOURGE MUST JOIN FORCES IN THE FIGHT. AND WE ARE. LET ME SALUTE THE COMMITMENT AND EXTRAORDINARY COURAGE OF ONE COUNTRY IN PARTICULAR -- COLOMBIA -- WHERE WE ARE WORKING WITH THE PEOPLE AND THEIR PRESIDENT, VIRGILIO BARCO, TO PUT THE DRUG CARTELS OUT OF BUSINESS, AND BRING THE DRUG LORDS TO JUSTICE.

FINALLY, WE MUST JOIN FORCES TO COMBAT THE THREAT OF TERRORISM. EVERY NATION -- AND THE UNITED NATIONS -- MUST SEND THE OUTLAWS OF THE WORLD A CLEAR MESSAGE: HOSTAGE TAKING AND THE TERROR OF RANDOM VIOLENCE ARE METHODS THAT CANNOT WIN THE WORLD'S APPROVAL. TERRORISM OF ANY KIND IS REPUGNANT TO ALL VALUES A CIVILIZED WORLD HOLDS IN COMMON. AND MAKE NO MISTAKE: TERRORISM IS A MEANS THAT NO END -- NO MATTER HOW JUST -- CAN SANCTIFY.

WHATEVER THE CHALLENGE, FREEDOM GREATLY RAISES THE CHANCES OF OUR SUCCESS. FREEDOM'S MOMENT IS A TIME OF HOPE FOR ALL THE WORLD. BECAUSE FREEDOM -- ONCE SET IN MOTION -- TAKES ON A MOMENTUM OF ITS OWN.

AS I SAID THE DAY I ASSUMED THE PRESIDENCY: "WE DON'T HAVE TO TALK LATE INTO THE NIGHT ABOUT WHICH FORM OF GOVERNMENT IS BETTER." WE KNOW THAT FREE GOVERNMENT -- DEMOCRACY -- IS BEST.

I BELIEVE THAT IS THE HARD-WON TRUTH OF OUR TIME -- THE UNASSAILABLE FACT THAT STILL STANDS AT THE END OF A CENTURY OF GREAT STRUGGLE AND HUMAN SUFFERING.

AND THIS IS TRUE NOT BECAUSE ALL OUR DIFFERENCES MUST GIVE WAY TO DEMOCRACY -- BUT BECAUSE DEMOCRACY MAKES ROOM FOR ALL OUR DIFFERENCES. IN DEMOCRACY, DIVERSITY FINDS ITS COMMON HOME.

AT THE VERY HEART OF THE DEMOCRATIC IDEAL IS RESPECT -- FOR FREEDOM OF BELIEF, FREEDOM OF THOUGHT AND ACTION IN ALL ITS DIVERSITY -- FOR HUMAN RIGHTS. THE WORLD HAS EXPERIENCED ENOUGH OF THE IDEOLOGIES THAT HAVE PROMISED TO REMAKE MAN IN SOME NEW AND BETTER IMAGE. WE'VE SEEN THE COLOSSAL TRAGEDIES AND DASHED HOPES. WE KNOW NOW THAT FREEDOM AND DEMOCRACY HOLD THE ANSWERS. WHAT MEN AND NATIONS WANT IS THE FREEDOM TO LIVE BY THEIR OWN LIGHTS, AND A CHANCE TO PROSPER IN PEACE. [[PAUSE]]

WHEN I BEGAN TODAY, I SPOKE TO YOU ABOUT PEACEKEEPING. I WANT TO SPEAK TO YOU NOW ABOUT PEACEMAKING. WE MUST BRING PEACE TO THE PEOPLE WHO HAVE NEVER KNOWN ITS BLESSINGS.

THERE'S A PAINTING THAT HANGS ON THE WALL OF MY OFFICE IN THE WHITE HOUSE. IT PICTURES PRESIDENT LINCOLN AND HIS GENERALS, MEETING NEAR THE END OF A WAR THAT REMAINS THE BLOODIEST IN AMERICAN HISTORY. OUTSIDE, AT THAT MOMENT, A BATTLE RAGES. AND YET WHAT WE SEE IN THE DISTANCE IS A RAINBOW -- A SYMBOL OF HOPE, OF THE PASSING OF THE STORM. [PAUSE] THAT PAINTING IS CALLED THE PEACEMAKERS. [PAUSE] FOR ME, IT IS A CONSTANT REMINDER THAT OUR STRUGGLE -- THE STRUGGLE FOR PEACE -- IS A STRUGGLE BLESSED BY HOPE. [[PAUSE]]

I DO REMEMBER SITTING IN THIS HALL. I REMEMBER THE MUTUAL RESPECT AMONG ALL OF US PROUDLY SERVING AS REPRESENTATIVES. I REMEMBER THE ALMOST ENDLESS SPEECHES, SECURITY COUNCIL SESSIONS. THE RECEPTIONS AND RECEIVING LINES. THE FORMAL MEETINGS OF THIS ASSEMBLY -- AND THE INFORMAL DISCUSSIONS IN THE DELEGATES' LOUNGE.

AND I REMEMBER SOMETHING MORE. SOMETHING BEYOND THE FRANTIC PACE AND SOMETIMES FRUSTRATING EXPERIENCES OF DAILY LIFE HERE: THE HEARTBEAT OF THE UNITED NATIONS -- THE QUIET CONVICTION THAT WE COULD MAKE THE WORLD MORE PEACEFUL. MORE FREE.

WHAT WE SOUGHT THEN, NOW LIES WITHIN OUR REACH. I ASK EACH OF YOU HERE IN THIS HALL: CAN WE NOT BRING A UNITY OF PURPOSE TO THE UNITED NATIONS? CAN WE NOT MAKE THIS NEW WORLD OF FREEDOM THE COMMON DESTINY WE SEEK?

I BELIEVE WE CAN. I KNOW WE MUST. [[PAUSE]]

MY SOLEMN WISH TODAY IS THAT HERE -- AMONG THE UNITED NATIONS -- THAT SPIRIT WILL TAKE HOLD, AND THAT ALL MEN AND ALL NATIONS WILL MAKE FREEDOM'S MOMENT THEIR OWN.

THANK YOU, GOD BLESS YOU, AND MAY GOD BLESS THE WORK OF THE UNITED NATIONS.

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