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OA/ID Number: 13731
Folder ID Number: 13731-007

Folder Title:
UNGA [United Nations General Assembly] Speech 10/1/90 [OA 6896] [1]

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United Nations

United States Department of State
Bureau of Public Affairs

November 1988

Bob
Sharon Lewis
Correspondence
4600

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.

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[1]Elected 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 arbitrative 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 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.

[2]The 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.

The Security Council

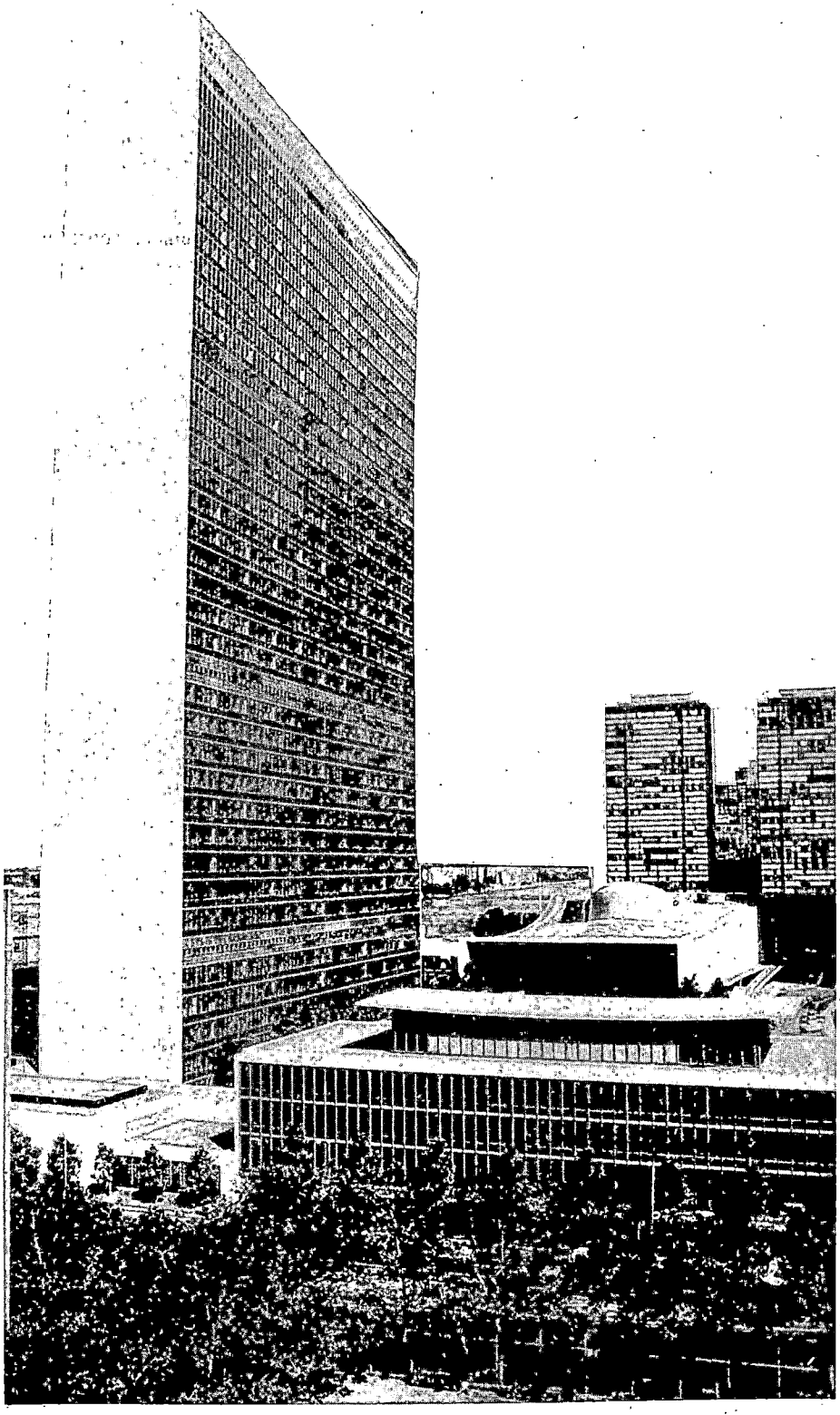
Under the UN Charter, the Security Council has "primary responsibility for the maintenance of international peace and security," and all UN members "agree to accept and carry out the decisions of the Security Council in accordance with the present Charter."

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

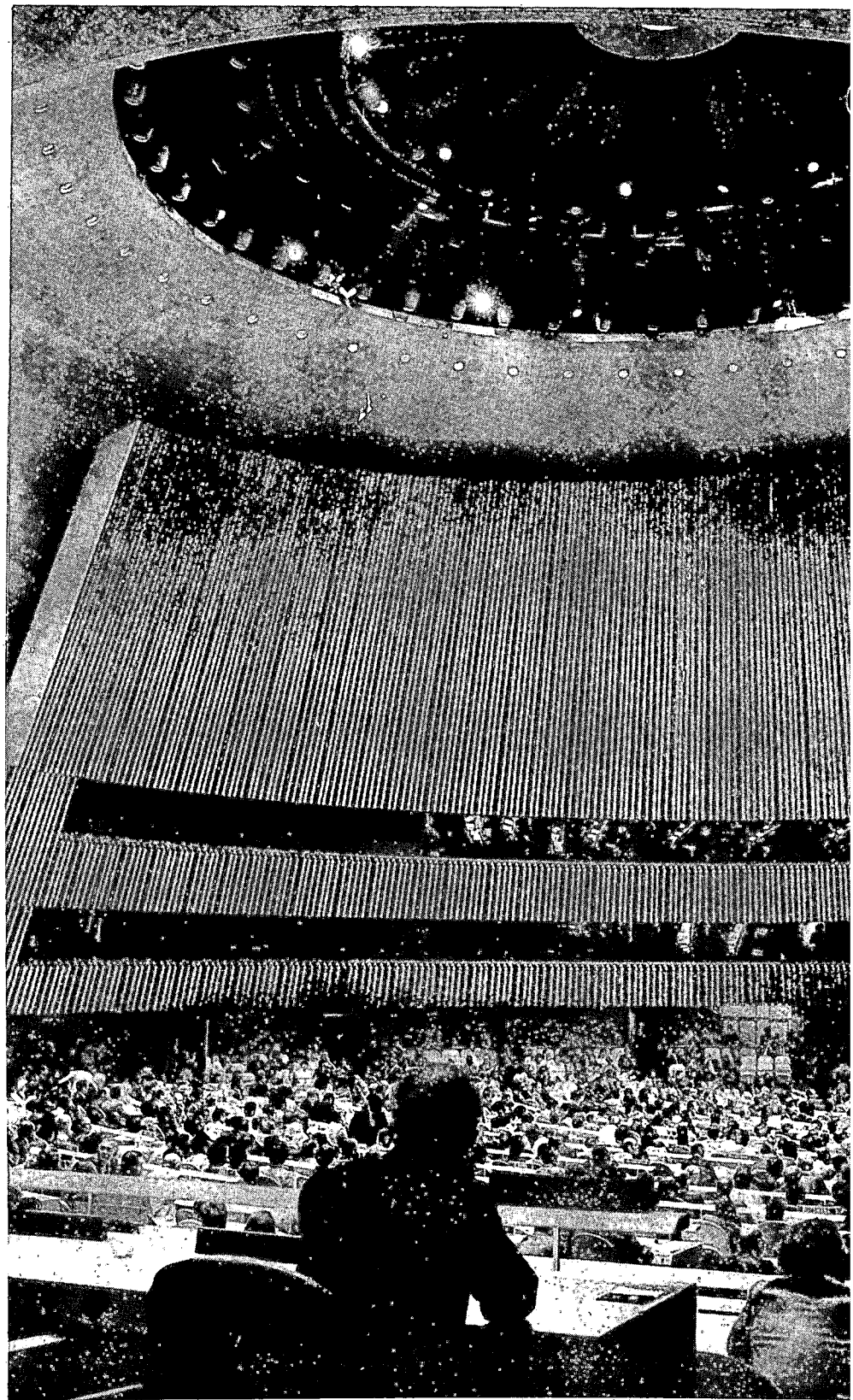
shipping. The IMO has a special responsibility for safety at sea and protection of the marine environment through prevention of pollution of the sea caused by ships and other craft.

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)

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 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.

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.

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.

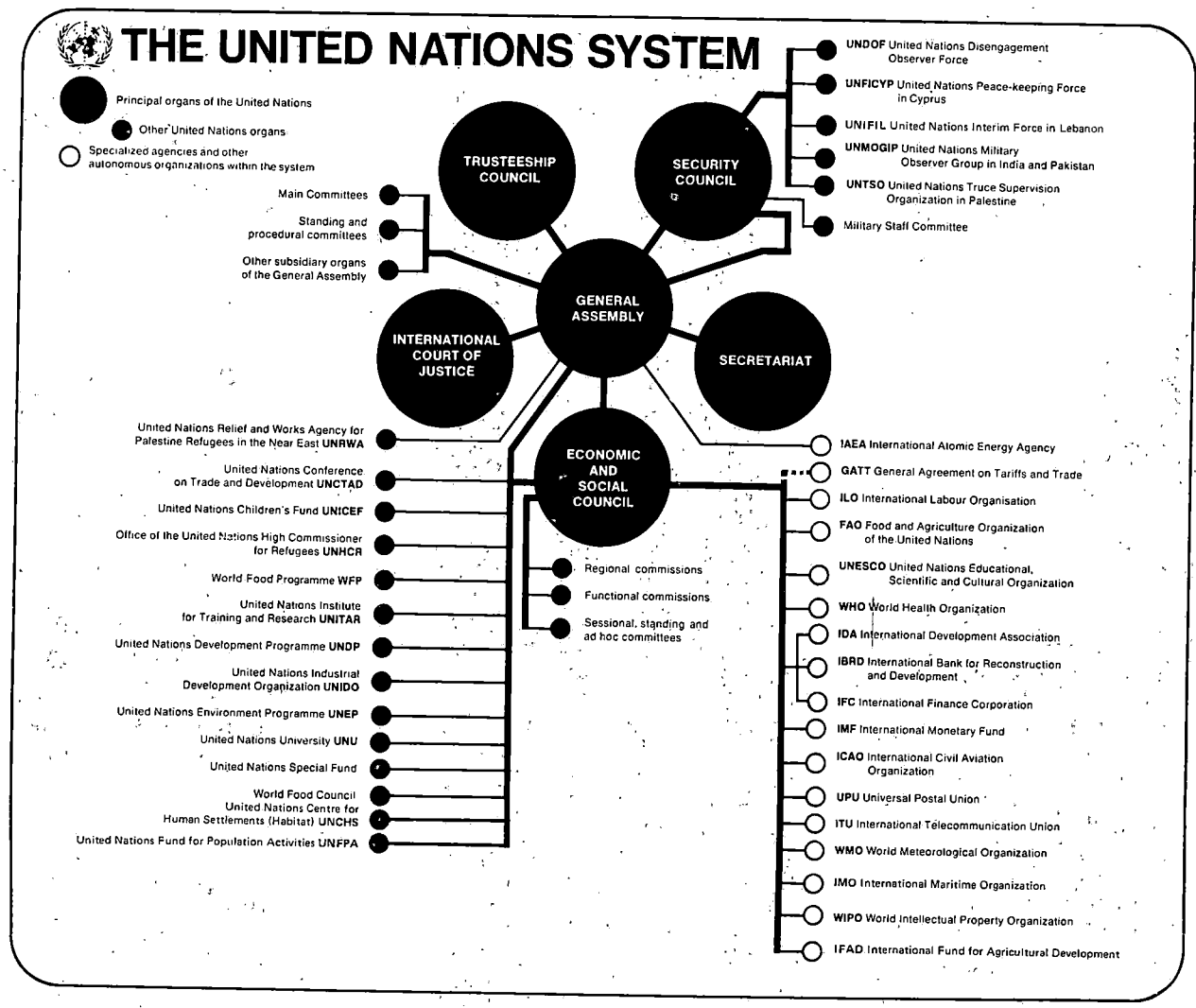
The original assumption that the United Nations would have its own armed forces did not work out. However, through contributions of troops and equipment by various nations, UN peacekeeping forces have been able to limit or prevent conflict in a number of situations. With steady experience in the operation 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.

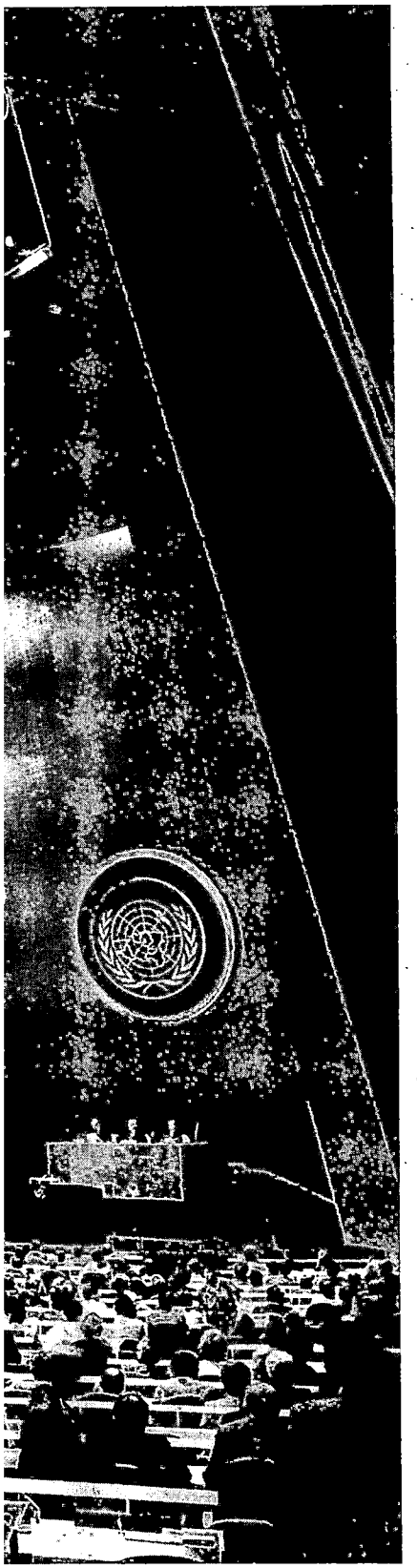
The United Nations also has served to reduce the danger of wider conflict and to open the way to negotiated settlements through its service as a center of debate and negotiation, as well as through factfinding missions, mediators, and truce observers. On the other hand, there have been many violent international 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-





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.

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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 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 catalysing 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

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)

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

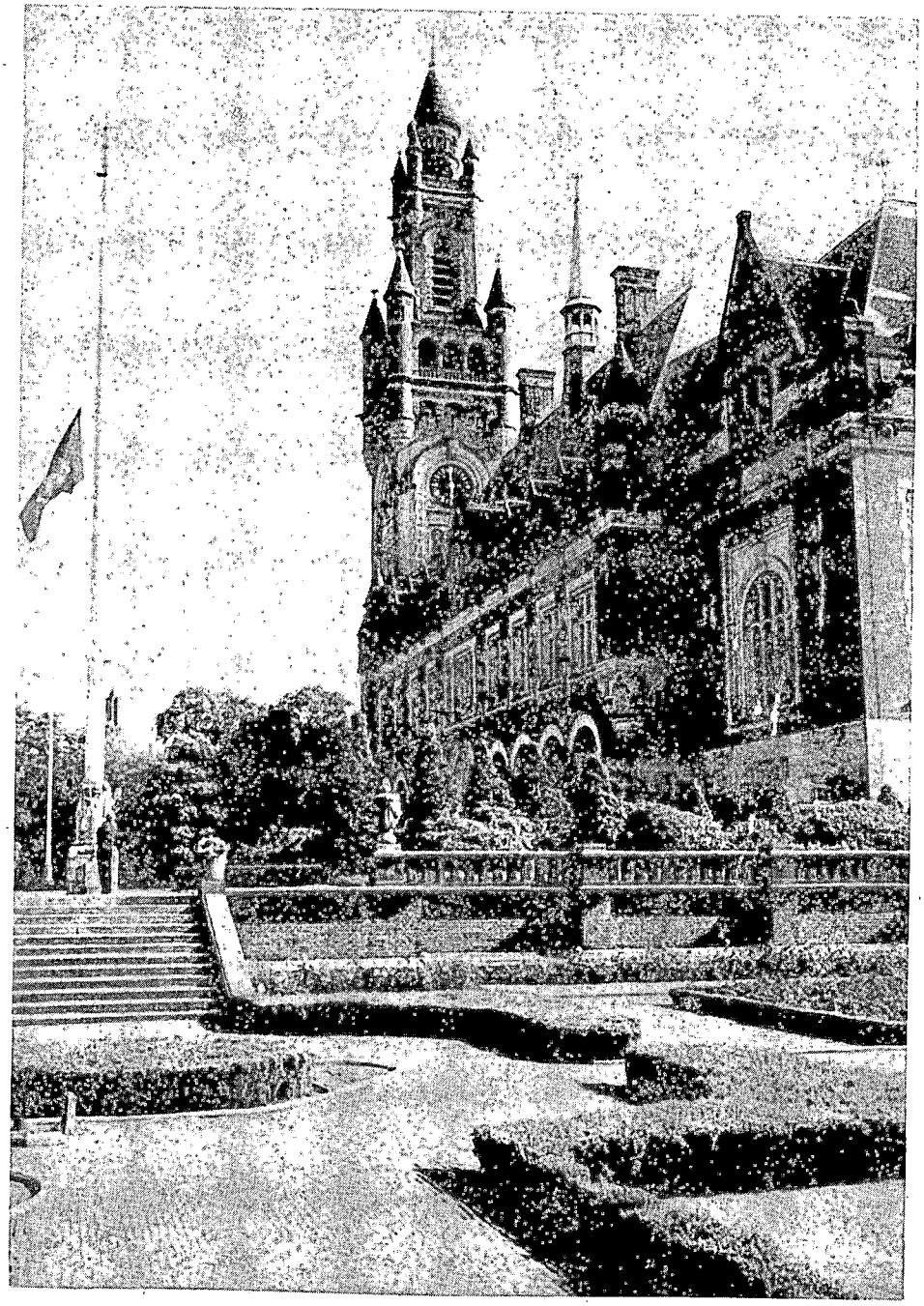
Some conferences held in the UN system are regular annual meetings; others are convened specifically to address a single topic. Most of the specialized agencies hold periodic assemblies of the representatives of member governments for the agencies' regular business and attention to specific problems. 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)

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 Disengagement 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 Transition 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

"Everyone's United Nations . . . (1986) will be in Library Thurs Sept 7.

"U.S. Participation in the U.N." (not available from library) There is a copy in the clerk's office. It must be used there. (Rm. 5) Talk to Doug Chirdon January Edition



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 suggested 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 Subcommission 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 Subcommission 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 Covention 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 toward 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.

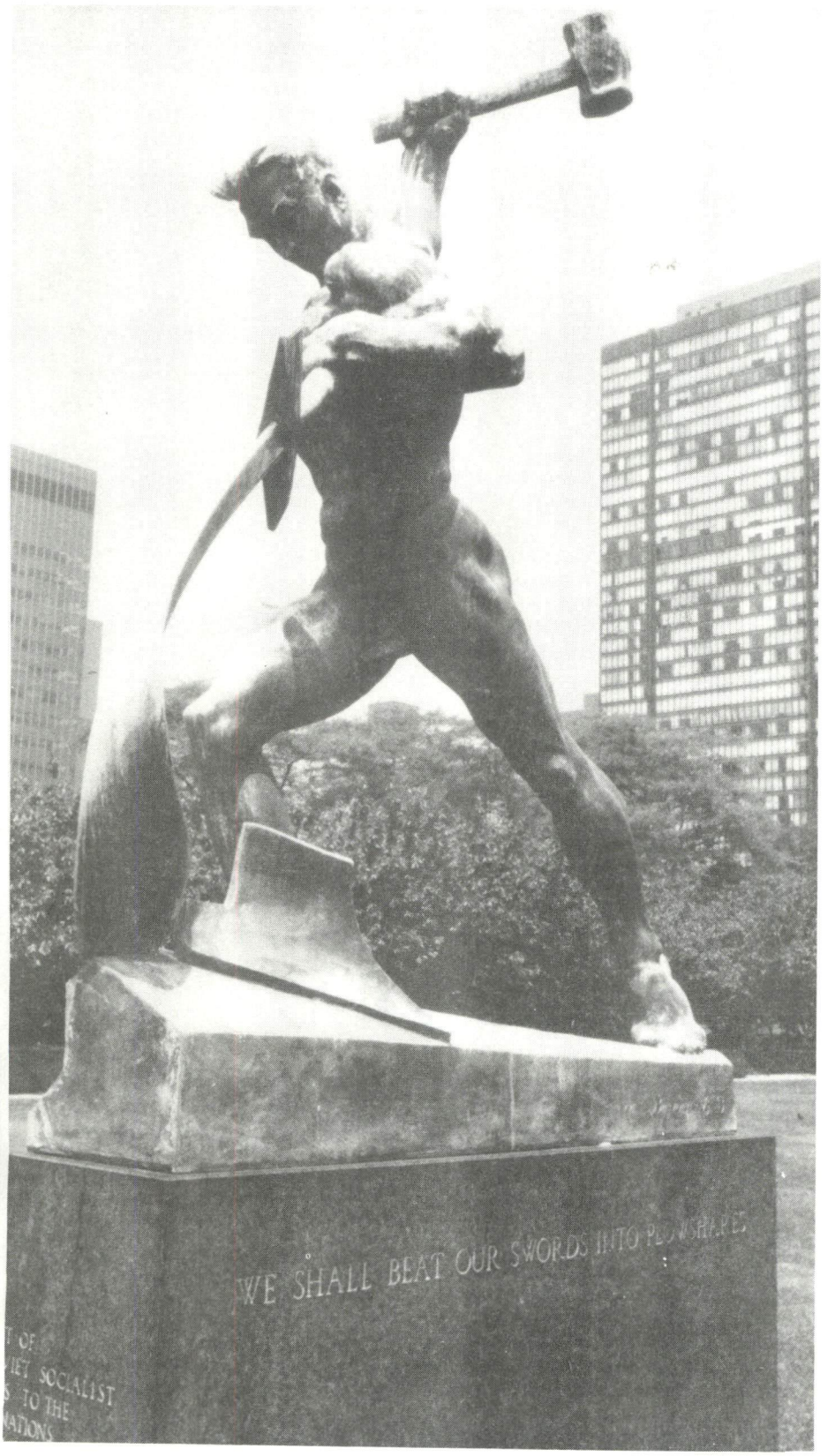
Participation in the United Nations: Benefits

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.

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



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, equipments, 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

1989

*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 Nations[1]

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

[1]Countries 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.

[2]By 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 peacekeeping 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 peacekeeping 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 Plenipotentiary. 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.

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.

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.

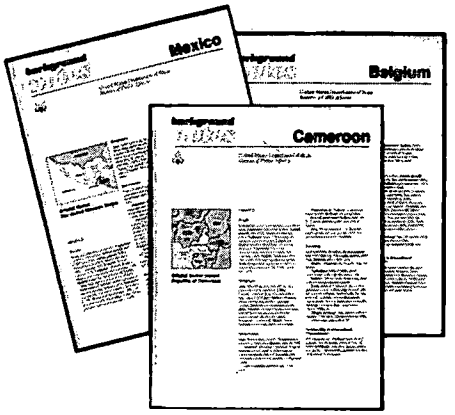
U.S. delegates to the regular sessions of the General Assembly each year include two Members of the U.S. Congress—one Republican and one Democrat, selected in alternate years from the Senate and House. Delegations also include prominent Americans from various fields outside the government.

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

Published by the United States Department of State · Bureau of Public Affairs · Office of Public Communication · Editorial Division · Washington, D.C. · November 1988
Editor: Juanita Adams

Department of State Publication 8933
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MEMORANDUM FOR BOB SIMON

FROM: Tom Houston, DoD Public Affairs

SUBJECT: Monday's speech

Susan Livingstone, the Assistant Secretary of the Army for Installations and Logistics, requests that you delete the following sentence from the draft of the President's speech for Monday to the UN: "Today, U.S. chemicals are being destroyed even as we meet." She requests that you use the following language: "We have been destroying chemical munitions at our new facility on Johnston Island since June 30 and we are going to continue to destroy them until we have reached the limits that I agreed with President Gorbachev."

The bottom line remains as I described to you earlier in our telephone conversation: We have successfully destroyed chemical munitions at the facility and we are prepared to destroy much more in the future. Mrs. Livingston simply is reluctant to suggest that we are operational at the time of the speech.

Please call me at 697-5131 if you need additional information.

Thanks

Tom Houston

delete from speech

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

NOT SENT TO POTUS

September 28, 1990

MEMORANDUM FOR THE PRESIDENT

THROUGH: CHRISS WINSTON CW

FROM: EDWARD E. McNALLY EMN

SUBJECT: ADDRESS TO THE U.N. GENERAL ASSEMBLY

I. SUMMARY

On Monday, October 1, at 11:40 a.m., you will address the 45th U.N. General Assembly. This draft was prepared with guidance from General Scowcroft, Ambassador Pickering, the State Department, Richard Haass, Nancy Dyke and other NSC staff.

II. DISCUSSION

This address (20 minutes, on teleprompter) builds on your remarks in Helsinki, to the Joint Session of Congress, and at the World Bank, calling for the world to move beyond containment and the cold war to the "new partnership of nations" you have proposed.

The remarks praise the U.N.'s unprecedented success and unity in recent months, and call for a central U.N. role in building the new partnership over the coming years. The draft includes particular praise for the U.N.'s continuing solidarity in response to the aggression in the Gulf, and renews last year's call for abolishing chemical weapons.

The draft also includes two new proposals: a U.N. Electoral Commission to monitor and ensure fair elections in the emerging democracies, and U.N. membership for the Republic of Korea.

McNally/Simon
September 28, 1990
Draft Six (B:UN)

PRESIDENTIAL REMARKS: UNITED NATIONS GENERAL ASSEMBLY
NEW YORK CITY
MONDAY, OCTOBER 1, 1990, 11:40 A.M.

Mr. President. Mr. Secretary-General. Distinguished delegates to the United Nations:

It is a great privilege to greet you today as we begin what marks a new and historic Session of the General Assembly. My congratulations to the Honorable Guido de Marco on your election as President of the General Assembly. On a personal note, I want to say that, having witnessed the unprecedented unity and cooperation of the past two months, I have never been prouder to have once served within your ranks, and never been prouder that the U.S. is host to the U.N. \\\

45 years ago, while the fires of an epic war still raged across two oceans and two continents, a small group of men and women began a search for hope amid the ruins. They gathered in San Francisco, stepping back from the haze and the horror to try to shape a new structure that might support an ancient dream.

Intensely idealistic, and yet tempered by war, they sought to build a new kind of bridge, a bridge between nations, a bridge that might help carry humankind from its darkest hour to its brightest day. \\\

The founding of the United Nations embodied our deepest hopes for a peaceful world. And during the past year, we have come closer than ever before to realizing those hopes. **We've seen a century sundered by barbed threats and barbed wire give**

way to a new era of peace, cooperation, and freedom.

The Revolution of '89 swept the world almost with a life of its own, carried by a new breeze of freedom that transformed the political climate from Central Europe to Central America, and touched almost every corner of the globe.

That breeze has been sustained by a now almost universal recognition of a simple, fundamental truth: **The human spirit can't be locked up forever.** The truth is, people everywhere are motivated in much the same ways. And people everywhere want much the same things: The chance to live a life of purpose -- the chance to <u>choose</u> a life -- in which they and their children can learn, grow healthy, worship freely, and prosper through the work of their hands, their hearts and their minds.

We're not talking about the power of <u>nations</u>, but the power of <u>individuals</u>. The power to choose, the power to risk, the power to <u>succeed</u>. \\\\

This is a new and different world. Not since 1945 have we seen the real possibility of using the United Nations as it was designed -- as a center for international collective security.

The changes in the Soviet Union have been critical to the emergence of a stronger U.N. **The U.S.-Soviet relationship is finally beyond containment and confrontation, and now we seek to fulfill the promise of mutually shared <u>understanding</u>.** \\\

The long twilight struggle that for 45 years has divided Europe, our two nations, and much of the world has to come to an end. Much has changed over the last two years. The Soviet Union

has taken many dramatic and important steps to again join the community of nations.

**When the Soviet Union agreed with us, here in the United Nations, to condemn the aggression of Iraq, there could be no doubt that at long last, we can put four decades of history behind us. **

**No longer will the machinery of the United Nations be frozen by the Cold War. At long last, we can build <u>new</u> bridges, and tear down <u>old</u> walls. At long last: <u>The Cold War is over</u>. **

Two days from now, the world will be watching when the Cold War is formally buried in Berlin. And in this time of testing, a fundamental question must be asked. A question not for any one nation -- but for the <u>United Nations</u>. And the question is this: Can we work together in a new partnership of nations? Can the collective strength of the world community, expressed by the United Nations, unite to deter and defeat aggression?

Because the Cold War's battle of ideas is not the last epic battle of this century. **Two months ago, in the waning weeks of one of history's most hopeful summers, the vast, still beauty of the peaceful Kuwaiti desert was fouled by the stench of diesel and the roar of steel tanks. Once again the sound of distant thunder echoed across a cloudless sky. And once again the world awoke to face the guns of August. **

<u>But this time</u>, <u>the world was ready</u>. The U.N. Security Council's resolute response to Iraq's unprovoked aggression has been without precedent. Since the invasion on August 2nd, the

Council has passed nine major resolutions setting the terms for a solution of the crisis.

The Iraqi regime has yet to face the facts. But as I said last month: The annexation of Kuwait will not be permitted to stand. This is not simply the view of the United States. It is the view of every Kuwaiti, the Arab league, and the United Nations. **Iraq's leaders should listen: it is Iraq against the world.** \\\

Let me take this opportunity to make the policy of my government clear. The United States supports the use of sanctions to persuade Iraq's leaders to withdraw immediately and without condition from Kuwait. We also support the provision of food for humanitarian purposes, so long as distribution can be properly monitored. We have no quarrel with the people of Iraq; we do not wish for them to suffer.

We have dispatched military forces to the region to enforce sanctions; to deter and if need be <u>defend</u> against further aggression. We seek no advantage for ourselves. Nor do we seek to maintain our military forces in Saudi Arabia for one day longer than is necessary. U.S. forces were sent at the request of the Saudi Government; U.S. forces will depart the same way.

Let me also emphasize that we hope military forces will never have to be used. We seek a peaceful outcome -- a <u>diplomatic</u> outcome. And one more thing -- in the aftermath of Iraq's unconditional departure from Kuwait, I truly believe that there may be <u>opportunities</u>: for Iraq and Kuwait to settle their

differences permanently; for the states of the Gulf themselves to build new arrangements for stability; and for all the states and peoples of the region to settle the conflict that divides the Arabs from Israel. **But, first, we must demonstrate that aggression will not be tolerated or rewarded.**

Through the U.N. Security Council, Iraq has been judged by a jury of its peers -- the very nations of the Earth. Today, the regime stands isolated and out of step with the times, separated from the civilized world not by space, but by centuries.

Iraq's unprovoked aggression is a throw-back to another era, a dark relic from a dark time. It has plundered Kuwait, terrorized innocent civilians, and held even diplomats hostage. Iraq and its leaders must be held liable for these crimes of abuse and destruction. But this outrageous disregard for basic human rights does not come as a total surprise. Thousands of Iraqis have been executed on political and religious grounds, and even more though a genocidal, poison gas war waged against Iraq's own Kurdish villagers.

As a world community, we must act -- not only to deter the use of inhuman weapons like mustard and nerve gas -- but to eliminate the weapons entirely. That is why, one year ago, I came to the General Assembly with new proposals to banish these terrible weapons from the face of the Earth.

I promised the United States would destroy over 98 percent of its stockpile in the first eight years of a chemical weapons ban treaty, and 100 percent -- all of them -- in 10 years, if all

chemical weapons-capable nations sign the treaty.

We've stood by those promises. In June, the U.S. and the Soviet Union signed a landmark agreement to halt production, and to destroy the vast majority of our stockpiles. Today, U.S. chemical weapons are being destroyed, even as we meet.

But time is running out. This is not a merely bilateral concern. The Gulf crisis proves how important it is to act together -- and to act now -- to conclude an absolute, worldwide ban on these weapons. We must also redouble our efforts to stem the spread of nuclear weapons, biological weapons, and the ballistic missiles that can rain destruction upon distant peoples.

The United Nations can help bring about a new day, a day when these kinds of terrible weapons -- and the terrible despots who would use them -- are both a thing of the past. It is in our hands to leave these dark machines behind, in the dark ages where they belong, and to press forward to cap a historic movement towards a new world order and a long era of peace.

We have a vision of a new partnership of nations that transcends the Cold War. A partnership based on consultation, cooperation and collective action, especially through international and regional organizations. A partnership united by principle and the Rule of Law, and supported by an equitable sharing of both cost and commitment. A partnership whose goals are to increase democracy, increase prosperity, increase the peace -- and reduce arms.

And as we look to the future, the calendar offers up a

convenient milestone, a signpost by which to measure our progress as a community of nations. \\\

The Year 2000 marks a turning point, beginning not only the turn of the decade, not only the turn of the century, but also the turn of the millennium. \\\

And 10 years from now, as the 55th Session of the General Assembly begins, you will again find many of us in this Hall, our hair a bit more gray, perhaps a bit less spring in our walk. But you will not find us with any less hope or idealism, or any less confidence in the ultimate triumph of humankind. \\\

I see a world of open borders, open trade, and -- most importantly -- open minds. A world that celebrates the common heritage that belongs to all the world's people, taking pride not just in hometown or homeland but in humanity itself. \\\

I see a world touched by a spirit like that of the Olympics: Based not on competition that's driven by fear, but sought out of joy and exhilaration and a true quest for excellence. \\\

I see a world where democracy continues to win new friends and convert old foes, and where the Americas can provide a model for the future for all humankind -- the world's first completely democratic hemisphere. \\\

And I see a world building on the emerging new model of European unity. Not just Europe, but the whole world -- "whole and free." \\\\

This is precisely why the present aggression in the Gulf is a menace not only to one region's security, but to the entire

world's vision of our future. **It threatens to turn our dream of a new international order into a grim nightmare of anarchy, in which the law of the jungle supplants the law of nations.**

That is why the United Nations reacted with such historic unity and resolve. **And that is why this challenge is a test we cannot afford to fail.** \\\ I am confident we will prevail. Success, too, will have lasting consequences -- reinforcing civilized standards of international conduct, setting a new precedent in international cooperation, brightening the prospects for our vision of the future.

There are 10 more years until the century is out.

10 more years to put the struggles of the 20th century permanently behind us.

10 more years to help launch a new partnership of nations.

And throughout those 10 years -- and beginning now -- the U.N. has a new and vital role in building towards that partnership. Last year's General Assembly showed how we can make greater progress towards a more pragmatic and successful U.N. **And, for the first time, the U.N. Security Council is beginning to work as it was designed to work.**

We have shown that the U.N. can count on the collective strength of the international community. We have shown that the U.N. can rise to the challenge of aggression, as its founders hoped it would. And now in this time of testing, we must also show that the U.N. is the place to build international support and consensus for meeting the other challenges we face.

The world remains a dangerous place. And our security and well-being often depends, in part, on events occurring far away. We need serious international cooperative efforts to make headway on threats to the environment, on terrorism, on managing the debt burden, on fighting the scourge of international drug trafficking, and on peace-keeping efforts around the world.

But the world also remains a hopeful place. Calls for democracy and human rights are being reborn everywhere. These calls are an expression of support for the values enshrined in the U.N. Charter. They encourage our hopes for a more stable, more peaceful, more prosperous world.

Free elections are the foundation of democratic government, and can produce dramatic successes, as we have seen in Namibia and Nicaragua. **And the time has come to structure the U.N. role in such efforts more formally. And so today, I propose that the United Nations establish a Special Coordinator for Electoral Assistance, to be assisted by a U.N. Electoral Commission comprised of distinguished experts from around the world.**

As with free elections, we also believe that universal U.N. membership for all States is central to the future of this Organization, and to the new partnership we've discussed. **In support of this principle, and in conjunction with U.N. efforts to reduce regional tensions, the United States fully supports U.N. membership for the Republic of Korea.** We do so without prejudice to the ultimate objective of reunification of the Korean peninsula, and without opposition to simultaneous

membership for the Democratic People's Republic of Korea.

Building on these and other initiatives, we must join together in a new compact -- all of us -- to bring the United Nations into the 21st Century. And I call today for a major, long-term effort to do this. We should build on the success of our distinguished Secretary-General, my long-time friend and colleague, Javier Perez de Cuellar. We should strive for greater effectiveness and efficiency of the U.N.

The United States is committed to playing its part. We offer our continuing leadership, helping to maintain global security, promoting democracy and prosperity. My Administration is fully committed to supporting the United Nations, and to paying what we are obliged to pay by our commitment to the Charter. International peace and security -- and international freedom and prosperity -- require no less. \\\\

The world must know and understand: From this hour, from this day, from this hall -- we step forth with a new sense of purpose, a new sense of possibilities. We stand together, prepared to swim upstream, to march uphill, to tackle the tough challenges as they come -- not only as the United Nations -- but as the nations of the world united. \\\\

Let it be said of the final decade of the 20th Century: This was a time when humankind came into its own. When we emerged from the grit and the smoke of the industrial age to bring about a revolution of the spirit and of the mind, and began

a journey into a new day, a new age, and a new partnership of nations. \\\

The U.N. is now fulfilling its promise as the world's parliament of peace. I congratulate you. I support you. And I wish you Godspeed in the challenges ahead.

Thank you.

# # #

McNally/Simon
September 26, 1990
Draft Four (B:UN)

PRESIDENTIAL REMARKS: UNITED NATIONS GENERAL ASSEMBLY
NEW YORK CITY
MONDAY, OCTOBER 1, 1990
11:40 am

Mr. President. Mr. Secretary-General. Distinguished delegates of the United Nations:

It is a great privilege to greet you today as we begin what marks a new and historic Session of the General Assembly. And on a personal note, I want to say that, having witnessed the unprecedented unity and cooperation of the past two months, I have never been prouder to have once served within your ranks, and never been prouder that the U.S. is host to the U.N. \\\

Background Notes: UN

45 years ago, while the fires of an epic war still raged across two oceans and two continents, a small group of men and women began a search for hope amid the ruins. They gathered in San Francisco, stepping back from the haze and the horror to try to shape a new structure that might support an ancient dream.

Intensely idealistic, and yet tempered by war, they sought to build a new kind of bridge, a bridge between nations, a bridge that might help carry humankind from its darkest hour to its brightest day. \\\

The founding of the United Nations embodied our deepest hopes for a peaceful world. And during the past year, we have come closer than ever before to realizing those hopes. **We've seen a century sundered by barbed threats and barbed wire give way to a new era of peace, cooperation, and freedom.**

The Revolution of '89 swept the world almost with a life of

its own, a new breeze of freedom that transformed the political climate from Central Europe to Central America, and touched almost every corner of the globe.

That breeze has been sustained by a now almost universal recognition of a simple, fundamental truth: **The human spirit can't be locked up forever.** The truth is, people everywhere are motivated in much the same ways. And people everywhere want much the same things: The chance to live a life -- the chance to choose a life -- in which they and their children can learn, grow healthy, worship freely, and prosper through the work of their hands, their hearts and their heads.

We're not talking about the power of nations, but the power of individuals. The power to choose, the power to risk, the power to succeed. \\\\

This is a new and different world. Not since 1945 have we seen the real possibility of using the United Nations as it was designed -- as a center for international collective security.

The changes in the Soviet Union's attitude toward foreign policy and the United Nations have been critical. **Working together, the United States and the Soviet Union have moved from the peril of mutually assured destruction, to the promise of mutually shared understanding.** \\\

It is fitting that it is here, at the United Nations, that we should declare an end to the Cold War, the long twilight struggle that for 45 years has divided Europe, our two nations, and much of the world. For we meet, as Lincoln said of Gettys-

Bartlett's p. 523

burg, on a great battlefield of that war -- the battlefield of ideas.

It was here at the United Nations that some of the most divisive, ideological battles of the past four decades were fought. And, as at Gettysburg -- the battlefield that marks America's own most costly and divisive war -- it is time to bury the past and move on to a time of healing. Time to bury not each other -- but the Cold War itself.

When the Soviet Union joined with us, here in the United Nations, to condemn the aggression of a former ally, then I knew, at long last, we can put 45 years of history behind us.

No longer will the machinery of the United Nations be frozen by the Cold War. At long last, we can build new bridges, and tear down old walls. At long last: The Cold War is over.

Two days from now, ~~many of you will be there~~ the world will be watching when the Cold War is formally buried in Berlin. And in this time of testing, a fundamental question must be asked. A question not for any one nation -- but for the United Nations. And the question is this: Can we work together in a new partnership of nations? Can the collective strength of the world community, expressed by the United Nations, unite to deter aggression?

Because the Cold War's battle of ideas is not the last epic battle of this century.

Two months ago, in the waning weeks of one of the world's most hopeful summers, the vast, still beauty of the peaceful Kuwaiti desert was fouled by the stench of diesel and the roar of

iron tanks. Once again the sound of distant thunder echoed across a cloudless sky. And once again the world awoke to face the guns of August. \\\

But this time, the world was ready. The U.N. Security Council's response to Iraq's unprovoked aggression has been nothing less than historic. Since the invasion on August 2nd, the Council has passed eight major resolutions setting the terms for a solution of the crisis.

Sandra Charles NSC

address to Congress 9-11-90

The Iraqi regime has yet to face the facts. But as I said last month: The annexation of Kuwait will not be permitted to stand. What the regime is up against is not only the law of nations -- but also the law of mathematics. The numbers are against them. Today it is not Iraq versus Kuwait, but Iraq against the world. And you know what they say: When it's you against the world -- bet on the world.

Through the U.N. Security Council, Iraq has been judged by a jury of its peers -- the very nations of the Earth. Today, the regime stands isolated and out of step with the times, separated from the civilized world not by ~~space~~ distance (or) miles, but by centuries.

Iraq's unprovoked aggression is a throw-back to another era, a dark relic from a dark time. It has plundered Kuwait, terrorized innocent civilians, and held even diplomats hostage. In the past 10 years, Iraq's leadership has initiated wars of aggression against not one but two of their neighbors, in violation of international treaties. Thousands of Iraqis have been executed on political and religious grounds, and a genocidal, poison gas

Charlie Glatz 647-1423 State Dept Human Rights

war waged against Iraq's own Kurdish villagers.

Today, on the anniversary of the convictions at Nuremberg, the lessons of another era provide names for these barbarous acts: "War Crimes." "Crimes Against Peace." And "Crimes Against Humanity."

All three are punishable crimes under the principles adopted by the Allies in 1945, and unanimously reaffirmed by the United Nations in ~~1950~~ 1946 and codified by the International Law Commission in 1950. And the bottom line is this: Heads of state can be held responsible for crimes against world law -- and crimes against world law are liable to punishment. The stakes are high, the cause is just -- and here at the U.N. -- the authority is real.

But the U.N. can do more than just deter the use of inhuman weapons like mustard and nerve gas. The weapons themselves must be eliminated. That is why, one year ago, I came to the General Assembly with new proposals to banish these terrible weapons from the face of the Earth.

I promised the United States would destroy over 98 percent of its stockpile in the first eight years of a chemical weapons ban treaty, and 100 percent -- all of them -- in 10 years, if all chemical weapons-capable nations sign the treaty.

We've stood by those promises. In June, the U.S. and the Soviet Union signed a landmark agreement to halt production, and to destroy the vast majority of our stockpiles. Today, U.S. chemical weapons are being destroyed, even as we meet.

But time is running out. This is not a merely bilateral concern. The Gulf crisis proves how important it is to act <u>together</u> **-- and to act** <u>now</u> **-- to conclude an absolute, worldwide ban on these weapons.**

The United Nations can help bring about a new day, a day when these kinds of terrible weapons -- and the terrible despots who would use them -- are both a thing of the past.

Thanks to U.N. solidarity, Iraq is cut off by land, sea, and now air -- and becoming more isolated, and more alone, all the time. **And I can see a time when this regime may be little more than a footnote, the catalyst that helped cap a historic movement towards a new world order and a long era of peace.**

We have a vision of **a new partnership of nations** that transcends the Cold War. A partnership based on consultation, cooperation and collective action, especially through international and regional organizations. A partnership united by principle and the Rule of Law, and supported by an equitable sharing of both cost and commitment. A partnership whose goals are to increase democracy, increase prosperity, increase the peace -- and <u>reduce</u> arms.

And as we look to the future, the calendar offers up a convenient milestone, a signpost by which to measure our progress as a community of nations.

The Year 2000 marks a turning point, beginning not only the turn of the <u>decade</u>, not only the turn of the <u>century</u>, but also the turn of the <u>millennium</u>.

And 10 years from now, as the 55th Session of the General Assembly begins, you will again find many of us in this Hall, our hair a bit more gray, perhaps a bit less spring in our walk. But you will not find us with any less hope or idealism, or any less confidence in the ultimate triumph of humankind. \\\

I see a world of open borders, open trade, and -- most importantly -- open minds. A world that celebrates the common heritage that belongs to all the world's people, taking pride not just in hometown or homeland but in humanity itself. \\\

I see a world touched by a spirit like that of the Olympics: Based not on competition that's driven by fear, but sought out of joy and exhilaration and a true quest for excellence. \\\

I see a world where democracy continues to win new friends and convert old foes, and where the Americas can provide a model for the future for all humankind -- the world's first completely democratic hemisphere. \\\

And I see a world building on the emerging new model of European unity. Not just Europe, but the whole world -- "whole and free." \\\\

This is precisely why the present aggression in the Gulf is a menace not only to one region's security, but to the entire world's vision of our future. **It threatens to turn our dream of a new international order into a grim nightmare of anarchy, in which the law of the jungle supplants the law of nations.**

That is why the United Nations reacted with such historic unity and resolve. And that is why this challenge is a test we

cannot afford to fail.

The opportunity is truly historic. At the confluence of the Tigris and Euphrates -- where civilization began -- civilization can begin anew.

I am confident we will prevail. Success, too, will have lasting consequences -- reinforcing civilized standards of international conduct, setting a new precedent in international cooperation, brightening the prospects for our vision of the future.

There are 10 more years until the century is out.

10 more years to put the struggles of the 20th century permanently behind us.

10 more years to help launch a new partnership of nations.

And during those 10 years -- and beginning now -- we can and must build towards that new partnership by turning to the many other issues on today's common agenda. The scourge of drug abuse must be vanquished, led by international cooperation such as the Cartegena Summit earlier this year. The needs of refugees must be met, providing relief for the suffering of all victims of disasters, whether natural or man-made. State-sponsored terrorism must be stopped. **And all the world's hostages -- wherever they are -- must be freed.** \\\

POTUS schedule 2-15-90

We seek a world not only of shared peace, but also shared prosperity. We will work together to eliminate the protectionism that endangers the world trading system, building on the efforts of the Houston Summit and the ongoing talks of the Uruguay Round

of GATT. We will battle also the growing debt problem, seeking new cooperation and new ideas, like the Enterprise for the Americas Initiative we launched earlier this year.

A thousand years ago, as the first Millennium approached, some feared destruction of the Earth by act of God or nature. Today, as we approach the Year 2000, many fear destruction of our planet not by act of God, but by act of Man; not by act of nature, but by acts against nature. I've said it before: **Environmental destruction knows no borders. And one of our first priorities has to be protecting the environment -- but without endangering economic growth.**

The crisis in the Gulf also serves to remind us of other unresolved regional conflicts that require U.N. mediation. One promising model is Cambodia. This troubled land has suffered a generation of war and upheaval, including the nightmare of the killing fields under the Khmer Rouge. Now for the first time we are on the brink of a settlement we hope can bring real peace. We salute the Cambodian parties for their acceptance of the U.N. framework, and we salute our Perm Five colleagues for their partnership in this unique and promising new peace initiative.

In all these endeavors, as with the partnership of nations which we hope will evolve, the role of the U.N. must be strengthened and perfected. And so let me today suggest two new proposals -- two principles, really -- that we believe will help strengthen the U.N.

First, the U.N. is being called on increasingly to support

new elections in the world's emerging democracies. Free elections are the foundation of representative government, and can produce dramatic successes, as we have seen in Namibia and Nicaragua. And there are many other situations in which the U.N.'s services in holding elections are being requested or considered.

The time has come to structure the United Nations response to such requests more formally. And so today, I propose that the United Nations establish a Special Coordinator for Electoral Assistance, to be assisted by a U.N. Electoral Commission comprised of distinguished experts from around the world.

Second, we have long been advocates of the principle of universality. **In support of this principle, and in conjunction with U.N. efforts to reduce regional tensions, the United States fully supports U.N. membership for the Republic of Korea.** We do so without prejudice to the ultimate objective of reunification of the Korean peninsula, and without opposition to simultaneous membership for the Democratic People's Republic of Korea.

Building on these and other initiatives, we must join together in a new compact -- all of us -- to bring the United Nations into the 21st Century. And I call today for a major, long-term effort to do this. It would be built around the search for a new Secretary-General, instituting programs of change and revision as he or she assumes office. It should be based on a major legacy that will be left to us all for promoting the efficiency and effectiveness of the U.N. -- the serious studies

of my old friend and colleague, **Javier Perez de Cuellar.** \\\

The United States is committed to playing its part. We offer our continuing leadership, helping to maintain global security, promoting democracy and prosperity. My Administration is fully committed to supporting the United Nations, and to paying what we are obliged to pay by our commitment to the Charter. International peace and security -- and international freedom and prosperity -- require not a penny less. \\\\

The world must know and understand: From this hour, from this day, from this hall -- we step forth with a new sense of purpose, a new sense of possibilities. We stand together, prepared to swim upstream, to march uphill, to tackle the tough challenges as they come -- not only as the United Nations -- but as the nations of the world united. \\\\

Let it be said of the final decade of the 20th Century: This was a time when humankind came into its own. When we emerged from the grit and the smoke of the industrial age to bring about a revolution of the spirit and of the mind, and began a journey into a new day, a new age, and a new partnership of nations.

The U.N. is now fulfilling its promise as the world's parliament of peace. I congratulate you. I support you. And I wish you Godspeed in the challenges ahead.

Thank you.

# # #

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Public Papers of the Presidents

Address Before the 44th Session of the United Nations General Assembly

25 Weekly Comp. Pres. Doc. 1435

September 25, 1989

LENGTH: 3398 words

The President. Mr. President, Mr. Secretary-General, and 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.

I feel a great personal pleasure on this occasion, for this is a homecoming for Barbara and 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.

With your permission, let me share one story from one of the many sessions of the Security Council. I was the Permanent Representative of the United States. I was 45 minutes late getting to the meeting and all 45 minutes were filled by the first speaker to take the floor. And 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 all over again from the beginning." [Laughter] That's a true story. And at that moment, differences of alliance, ideology, didn't matter. The universal groan that went up around that table from every member present, and then the laughter that followed, united us all.

Today, I would like to begin by recognizing -- again, a personal privilege -- the current Permanent Representatives with whom I served: Ambassador Dugersuren[Mongolia], Roberto Martinez Ordonez[Honduras], Blaise Rabetafika [Madagascar], Permanent Observer John Dube [Monaco]. And 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 then the Permanent Representative for your country when we served together. Under Secretary Abby Farah, you were a Permanent Representative back then, too. Ambassador Aguilar [Venezuela] was then here, and is now back. And off we go. And it's an honor to be back with you in this historic hall, and I apologize if I have forgotten any of you old enough to have served in 1971 and 1972.

But the United Nations was established 44 years ago upon the ashes of war and amidst great hopes. And the United Nations can do great things. No, the United Nations is not perfect. It's not a panacea for 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 U.N. 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

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welcome shift from polemics to peacekeeping. U.N. 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 those soldiers of peace -- an American, on a mission of peace under the United Nations flag -- on a mission really for all the world. A man of unquestioned bravery, unswerving dedication to the United Nations ideal, Lieutenant Colonel William Richard Higgins. And I call on the General Assembly to condemn the murder of this soldier of peace and call on those responsible to have the decency 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's an idea at work around the globe, an idea of undeniable force. And that 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, a new hope in freedom. 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 indeed 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, 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 that was written in the human heart.

Two hundred years ago today, the United States, our 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 century must be an era of emancipation, the age of the individual.

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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 a unversal birthright of every man and woman, of every race and walk of life. Even under the worst 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 that we worked together to deliver that destiny into the hands of men and women everywhere. 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, 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 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 2 days, I will be speaking to the International Monetary Fund and the World Bank, and I'll discuss there in more detail the steps that 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 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 that 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 international problems. 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

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disasters from fouling our seas and the air we breathe.

And I will tell you now the United States will do its part. We have committed ourselves to the worldwide phaseout of all chlorofluorocarbons by the year 2000. We've proposed amending our own 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've begun to explore ways to work with other nations, with the major industrialized democracies, and in Poland and in Hungary, to make common cause for the sake of our environment. The environment belongs to all of us. In this 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 United Nations Conference on Disarmament in Geneva, I presented a United States 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 simply unacceptable. For the sake of mankind, we must halt and reverse this threat.

Today I want to announce steps that the United States 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 10 years from the day it is signed. This initiative contains three major elements.

First, in the first 8 years of a chemical weapons treaty, the U.S. is ready to destroy nearly all -- 98 percent -- of our chemical weapons stockpile, provided the Soviet Union joins the ban. And I think they will. Second, we are ready to destroy all of our chemical weapons -- 100 percent -- every one -- within 10 years, once all nations capable of building chemical weapons sign that total ban treaty. And third, the United States is ready to begin now. We will eliminate more than 80 percent 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 believe that 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. So let us act together beginning today to rid the Earth of this scourge.

We are serious about achieving conventional arms reductions as well. And 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.

a World (Earth) whole and free

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And the United States is convinced that open and innovative measures can move disarmament forward and also ease international tensions. And 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 proposal 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 toward the new world we seek.

Let me make this comment on our meetings with the distinguished Foreign Minister of the Soviet Union, Mr. Shevardnadze, over the past few days. I am very pleased by the progress 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. And I look forward to meeting Mr. Gorbachev there.

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 United States and the U.S.S.R. Serious differences remain. We know that. 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 into an era of perpetual peace. The threats to peace that nations face may today be changing, but they've not vanished. In fact, 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 right here in this hall. Mr. Secretary General, with great respect, 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 U.N. must redouble its support for the peace efforts now underway in regions of conflict all over the world. And let me assure you the United States is determined to take an active role in settling regional conflicts. Sometimes our role in regional disputes is and will be highly public. And 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 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 we are working with the people and their President, Virgilio Barco, to put the drug cartels out of business, bring the drug lords to justice.

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

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Whatever the challenge, freedom greatly raises the chances of our success. Freedom's moment is a time for hope for all of the world. Because freedom, once set in motion, takes on a momentum of its own. As I said the day I assumed the Presidency of our country: "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. And 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, of 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.

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, and it pictures President Abraham Lincoln and his generals meeting near the end of a war that remains the bloodiest in the history of my country. Outside at that moment a battle rages, in this picture. And yet what we see in the distance is a rainbow -- a symbol of hope, of the passing of the storm. That painting is called The Peacemakers. For me, it is a constant reminder that our struggle, the struggle for peace, is a struggle blessed by hope.

I do remember sitting in this hall. I remember the mutual respect among all o fus proudly serving as Representatives. Yes, I remember the almost endless speeches -- and I don't want this to be one of them --[laughter] -- the Security Council sessions, the receptions, those long receiving lines, the formal meetings of this Assembly and the informal discussions in the Delegates Lounge over here. 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 -- all of us -- 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.

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. Thank you very much.

Note: The President spoke at 11:45 a.m. in the General Assembly Hall at the United Nations in New York City.

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THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

September 24, 1990

MEMORANDUM FOR THE CHIEF OF STAFF

ANDREW CARD
JAMES CICCONI
DAVID DEMAREST
MARLIN FITZWATER
BOYDEN GRAY
EDE HOLIDAY
FRED MCCLURE
BONNIE NEWMAN
ROGER PORTER
SIG ROGICH
BRENT SCOWCROFT
CHASE UNTERMEYER
SUSAN PORTER ROSE
ED ROGERS
JOE HAGIN
DAVID CARNEY
CHRISS WINSTON
BOBBIE KILBERG
SICHAN SIV
PATTY PRESOCK
LINDA CASEY
BRUCE CAUGHMAN
WILLIAM KRISTOL
ROSE ZAMARIA
PAUL BATEMAN
RICHARD TREFRY
DAVID VALDEZ
BILLY DALE
JOHN HERRICK
LAURIE FIRESTONE
PEGGY SWIFT
KIM BRADY
TOM HUFFORD
DEB ANDERSON
TONY BENEDI
USSS/PPD OPS
WHCA AUDIO VISUAL
WHCA OPERATIONS
WHTV
MEDICAL UNIT
PRESIDENTIAL DOCUMENTS

THROUGH: SIG ROGICH
ASSISTANT TO THE PRESIDENT FOR
PUBLIC EVENTS AND INITIATIVES

FROM: JOHN G. KELLER, JR. JGK
DEPUTY ASSISTANT TO THE PRESIDENT AND
DIRECTOR OF PRESIDENTIAL ADVANCE

SUBJECT: **TRIP OF THE PRESIDENT TO NEW YORK, NEW YORK, ON SATURDAY, SEPTEMBER 29 - OCTOBER 1, 1990**

For your use and planning purposes, the attached is a preliminary outline schedule for the Trip of the President to New York, New York, September 29 - October 1, 1990. Please keep in mind the following information has not been finally approved and is subject to change.

Attachments

PRELIMINARY OUTLINE SCHEDULE

Saturday, September 29, 1990

GUEST AND STAFF INSTRUCTIONS:

11:15 am	Baggage Call. Please place all baggage outside Room 89 1/2, OEOB, at this time.
1:10 pm	Vans depart West Basement en route Andrews Air Force Base.
1:10 pm	Those Guests and Staff with own transportation and baggage, should arrive Distinguished Visitor's Lounge, Andrews Air Force Base.
1:30 pm	Those Guests and Staff with own transportation and without baggage, should arrive Distinguished Visitor's Lounge, Andrews Air Force Base.

2:00 pm — MARINE ONE departs Ft. McNair Landing Zone en route Andrews Air Force Base.

(Flying Time: 10 Minutes)

2:10 pm — MARINE ONE arrives Andrews Air Force Base.

2:15 pm (E.D.T.) — AIR FORCE ONE departs Andrews Air Force Base en route Newark, New Jersey.

(Flying Time: 50 Minutes)
(Interchange: No)
(Time Change: None)

3:05 pm (E.D.T.) AIR FORCE ONE arrives Newark International Airport, Newark, New Jersey.

3:10 pm MARINE ONE departs Newark International Airport en route Downtown Heliport.

(Flying Time: 15 Minutes)

3:25 pm MARINE ONE arrives Downtown Heliport.

3:30 pm MOTORCADE departs Downtown Heliport en route Waldorf Astoria Hotel.

(Drive Time: 15 Minutes)

3:45 pm MOTORCADE arrives Waldorf Astoria Hotel.

* BILATERAL MEETING WITH PRESIDENT GARVIRIA OF COLUMBIA
(4:15 pm - 4:45 pm)
-Photo Opportunity

* BILATERAL MEETING WITH PRIME MINISTER SALIM AL-HUSS OF LEBANON
(5:00 pm - 5:15 pm)
-Photo Opportunity

* BILATERAL MEETING WITH PRESIDENT CHAMORRO OF NICARAGUA
(5:30 pm - 5:45 pm)
-Photo Opportunity

* BILATERAL MEETING WITH PRIME MINISTER MAZOWIECKI OF POLAND
(6:00 pm - 6:30 pm)
-Photo Opportunity

* BILATERAL MEETING WITH PRIME MINISTER KAIFU OF JAPAN
(6:45 pm - 7:45 pm)
-Photo Opportunity

* BILATERAL MEETING WITH PRESIDENT CHRISTIANI OF EL SALVADOR
(12:00 - 12:30 pm)
-Photo Opportunity

* BILATERAL MEETING WITH PRESIDENT SALINAS OF MEXICO
(12:45 pm - 1:15 pm)
-Photo Opportunity

* PRIVATE TIME: 1 HOUR 20 MINUTES
(1:20 pm - 2:40 pm)

* BILATERAL MEETING WITH PRIME MINISTER GONZALEZ OF SPAIN
(2:45 pm - 3:15 pm)
-Photo Opportunity

* BILATERAL MEETING WITH PRESIDENT ERSHAD OF BANGLADESH
(3:30 pm - 4:00 pm)
-Photo Opportunity

* BILATERAL MEETING WITH PRESIDENT COLLOR OF BRAZIL
(4:15 pm - 4:45 pm)
-Photo Opportunity

* BILATERAL MEETING WITH PRESIDENT PEREZ OF VENEZUELA
(5:00 pm - 5:30 pm)
-Photo Opportunity

* BILATERAL MEETING WITH PRESIDENT HAVEL OF CZECHOSLOVAKIA
(5:45 pm - 6:00 pm)
-Photo Opportunity

* PRIVATE TIME: 1 HOUR 20 MINUTES
(6:05 pm - 7:25 pm)

* WORKING DINNER WITH PRIME MINISTER THATCHER OF THE UNITED KINGDOM
(7:30 pm - 9:00 pm)
- Photo Opportunity

RON New York, New York

Monday, October 1, 1990

* BILATERAL MEETING WITH PRESIDENT MENEM OF ARGENTINA
(7:45 am - 8:15 am)
-Photo Opportunity

* BILATERAL MEETING WITH PRESIDENT LACALLE OF URUGUAY
(8:30 am - 9:00 am)
-Photo Opportunity

* MEETING WITH OAU SECRETARY GENERAL SALIM AND OAU CHAIRMAN MUSEVENI
(9:15 am - 9:30 am)
-Photo Opportunity

* COFFEE WITH AFRICAN HEADS OF STATE
(9:30 am - 10:10 am)
-Photo Opportunity

10:40 am MOTORCADE departs Waldorf Astoria Hotel en route United Nations Building.

(Drive Time: 10 Minutes)

10:50 am MOTORCADE arrives United Nations Secretariat Building.

* MEETING WITH SECRETARY GENERAL JAVIER PEREZ DE CUELLAR
(10:55 am - 11:25 am)
- Photo Opportunity

* COURTESY CALL ON UNGA PRESIDENT GUIDO DE MARCO
(11:30 am - 11:35 am)
-Photo Opportunity

* ADDRESS UNGA
(11:40 am - 11:55 am)
-Open Press (Live Television Coverage)

* DELEGATE RECEPTION
(12:00 pm - 12:40 pm)
-Closed Press

12:45 pm — MOTORCADE departs United Nations Building en route Waldorf Astoria Hotel.

(Drive Time: 10 Minutes)

12:55 pm — MOTORCADE arrives Waldorf Astoria Hotel.

* BILATERAL MEETING WITH MINISTER SHEVARDNADZE OF USSR
(1:00 pm - 1:30 pm)
-Photo Opportunity

* PRIVATE TIME: 1 HOUR 5 MINUTES
(1:35 pm - 2:40 pm)

2:45 pm — MOTORCADE departs Waldorf Astoria Hotel en route Jacob Javits Center.

(Drive Time: 15 Minutes)

3:00 pm — MOTORCADE arrives Jacob Javits Center.

* ADDRESS CSCE MINISTERIAL CONFERENCE
(3:05 pm - 3:30 pm)
-Press TBD

3:35 pm — MOTORCADE departs Jacob Javits Center en route Downtown Heliport.

(Drive Time: 15 Minutes)

3:50 pm — MOTORCADE arrives Downtown Heliport.

3:55 pm	MARINE ONE departs Downtown Heliport en route Newark International Airport. (Flying Time: 15 Minutes)
4:10 pm	MARINE ONE arrives Newark International Airport.
4:15 pm (E.D.T.)	AIR FORCE ONE departs Newark, New Jersey en route Andrews Air Force Base. (Flying Time: 55 Minutes) (Interchange: No) (Time Change: None)
5:10 pm (E.D.T.)	AIR FORCE ONE arrives Andrews Air Force Base.
5:15 pm	MARINE ONE departs Andrews Air Force Base en route White House. (Flying Time: 10 Minutes)
5:25 pm	MARINE ONE arrives White House.

Landau, Bavaria; naval officer-teacher-writer Alfred Thayer Mahan 1840, West Point, N.Y.

Quotation of the day:

"We seem to be approaching an age of gross."—Spiro T. Agnew, September 27, 1969

——SEPTEMBER 28——

Zodiac sign for the day: Libra, the scales.
Zodiac birthstone for the day: Sapphire.

The day in history:

1920—Grand Jury in Chicago indicted eight members of Chicago White Sox for "throwing" 1919 World Series to Cincinnati in "Black Sox" scandal.
1939—Nazi Germany and U.S.S.R. partitioned Poland.
1970—President Abdel Gamal Nasser of Egypt died of natural causes.

The day's birthdays:

Socialist Friedrich Engels 1820, Bremen, Germany; statesman Georges Clemenceau 1841, Mouilleron-en-Pareds, France; writer Prosper Mérimée 1803, Paris; corporate executive William S. Paley 1901, Chicago; entertainer Ed Sullivan 1902, New York.

Quotation of the day:

"At least we didn't shoot each other."—Nikita Khrushchev, after interview by Eleanor Roosevelt, September 28, 1957

——SEPTEMBER 29——

Zodiac sign for the day: Libra, the scales.
Zodiac birthstone for the day: Sapphire.

The day in history:

1789—U.S. established a Regular Army (of 700 men).
1829—Scotland Yard police headquarters in London was established.
1892—First night football game played at Mansfield, Penna.
1938—British Prime Minister Chamberlain, French Premier Daladier, Italian Premier Mussolini and German Reichsfuehrer Hitler met in Munich and agreed to give part of Czechoslovakia to Nazi Germany. Agreement was announced following day. (See September 30.)

The day's birthdays:

Lord Clive of India 1725, Styche, England; cowboy actor-singer

Gene Autry 1907, Tioga, Texas; naval hero Horatio Nelson 1758, Norfolk, England.

Quotation of the day:

". . . principally I hate and detest that animal called man; although I heartily love John, Peter, Thomas and so forth."—Johathan Swift, September 29, 1725
"Not by speeches and majority decisions will the greatest problems of our time be decided . . . but by iron and blood."—Otto von Bismarck, September 29, 1862

——SEPTEMBER 30——

Zodiac sign for the day: Libra, the scales.
Zodiac birthstone for the day: Sapphire.

The day in history:

1846—Dentist William Morton used ether as anesthetic for first time, Boston.
1927—Babe Ruth hit his 60th home run of the baseball season for the New York Yankees.
1935—George Gershwin's *Porgy and Bess,* folk opera based on Du Bose Heyward's play, had world premiere in Boston.
1936—First round-the-world aviation passenger race began at Lakehurst, N.J., involving newspaper reporters H.R. Ekins, Dorothy Kilgallen and Leo Kieran.
1938—Munich Pact to partition Czechoslovakia was announced to shocked world. (see September 29)
1946—International War Crimes Tribunal found 22 Nazis guilty in Nuremberg, Germany. Eleven were sentenced October 1 to death.
1966—British Bechuanaland became free nation of Botswana.

The day's birthdays:

Writer Truman Capote 1924, New Orleans; actress Deborah Kerr, Helensburgh, Scotland.

Quotation of the day:

". . . this is the second time in our history that there has come back from Germany to Downing Street peace with honor. I believe it is peace for out time."—Prime Minister Neville Chamberlain, September 30, 1938

not peace for our time — —
but peace for all time.

1938–Nazi Germany began occupying Czechoslovakia's Sudetenland, under Munich Pact.
1940–Pennsylvania Turnpike, pioneer toll thruway in U.S., opened.
1940–U.S. Army organized its first parachute battalion, at Fort Benning, Ga.
1943–U.S. troops captured Naples, Italy, in World War II.
1949–Communists set up People's Republic of China in Peking under Mao Tse-Tung.
1960–Nigeria became self-governing in British Commonwealth.
1961–Roger Maris hit his 61st home run of the season for the New York Yankees, a major league baseball record.
1963–Nigeria became a republic.

The day's birthdays:

Composer Paul Dukas 1865, Paris; pianist Vladimir Horowitz 1904, Kiev, Russia; writer Faith Baldwin 1893, New Rochelle, N.Y.; actress-singer Julie Andrews, Walton-on-Thames, England; comedian Stanley Holloway 1890, London; lawyer-statesman Rufus Choate 1799, Ipswich, Mass.

Quotation of the day:

"I cannot forcast to you the action of Russia. It is a riddle wrapped in a mystery inside an enigma."–Winston Churchill, October 1, 1939

——OCTOBER 2——

Zodiac sign for the day: Libra, the scales.
Zodiac birthstone for the day: Sapphire.

The day in history:

1780–British Major John Andre executed as spy by Continental Army for dealings with Benedict Arnold in American Revolutionary War.
1870–Rome voted in plebiscite to join Italy.
1918–"Lost Battalion" of U.S. Army, trapped in Argonne Forest in World War I, held out against Germans until saved on October 8.
1958–Guinea Independence Day marks independence from France.

The day's birthdays:

England's King Richard III 1452, Fotheringhay, England; comedian Groucho Marx 1895, New York City; France's Marshal Ferdinand Foch 1851, Tarbes, France; writer Graham Greene 1904, Berkhampstead, England; India's Mahatma Gandhi 1869, Porbandar, India.

Quotation of the day:

"Courts and camps are the only places to learn the world in."–Lord Chesterfield, October 2, 1747

——OCTOBER 3——

Zodiac sign for the day: Libra, the scales.
Zodiac birthstone for the day: Sapphire.

The day in history:

1789–President Washington proclaimed first national Thanksgiving Day to be observed November 26, for adoption of Constitution. (see 1863 entry below)
1863–President Lincoln designated last Thursday in November as Thanksgiving Day.
1922–Mrs. Rebecca L. Felton of Georgia, appointed to a brief term in U.S. Senate, became first woman Senator.
1935–Italy invaded Ethiopia.

The day's birthdays:

Actress Eleanora Duse 1859, Lombardy, Italy; writer Thomas Wolfe 1900, Asheville, N.C.; playwright Gore Vidal 1925, West Point, N.Y.; U.S. Army Surgeon General Dr. William C. Gorgas 1854, Mobile, Ala.

Quotation of the day:

"We have only laid the foundations of peace. The superstructure is not even begun."–Neville Chamberlain, October 3, 1938

——OCTOBER 4——

St. Francis of Assisi–founder of Franciscan order, born in Assisi, d. at Porziuncula, 1226 A.D.

Zodiac sign for the day: Libra, the scales.
Zodiac birthstone for the day: Sapphire.

The day in history:

1931–"Dick Tracy" comic strip first published by *New York News.*
1957–Space era began as U.S.S.R. orbited first *Sputnik* around the earth.
1958–British Overseas Airways Corporation began first jet airplane service across the Atlantic.
1965–Pope Paul VI became first Pontiff to visit U.S. when he arrived in New York and addressed United Nations.



Full Moon - Travel Moon
Palolo worms surface and mate in the South Pacific
1st Monday - Court Day in Maysville, Kentucky
Child Health Day (U.S.)
2nd Monday - Columbus Day Observance (U.S.)
3rd Monday - Court Day in Mt. Sterling, Kentucky
4th Monday - Veterans' Day Observance (U.S.)
1st Sunday - Feast of the Rosary of the Blessed Virgin Mary
2nd weekend - Peanut Festival at Holdenville, Oklahoma
3rd week - National Macaroni Week (U.S.)
4th week - National Pretzel Week

October 1st

Korean Armed Forces Day
Feast of St. Bavo
Feast of St. Gregory the Enlightener
Feast of St. Nicetius of Trier
Feast of St. Remi (or Remigus)
Feast of St. Romanus the Melodist

4008 BC Beginning of the Mundane Era
3761 Beginning of the Jewish Mundane Era
2051 Beginning of the Era of Abraham
331 Alexander the Great defeated Darius and the Persians at Gaugamela
110 Beginning of the Sidonian Era
1136 AD Siege of LaSap, France
1207 King Henry III of England born
1273 Rudolph of Hapsburg elected King of Germany
1404 Pope Boniface IX died
1410 Jobst chosen King of Germany
1528 Papal legates arrived in England to discuss King Henry VIII's divorce from Catherine of Aragon
1685 Charles VI, Holy Roman Emperor, born
1730 Richard Stockton, signer of the Declaration of Independence, born
1754 Paul I, Emperor of Russia, born
1800 A secret treaty with Spain gave Louisiana to France
1851 Construction of Chicago, Rock Island and Pacific Railway began
1868 Phra Paramindr Maha Chulalongkorn born, and became King of Siam immediately, under a Regency
7 Cavalry companies began a campaign against hostile Plains Indians, leaving Ft. Hacker, Kansas, guided by "Buffalo Bill" Cody
1869 Austria issued the first postcard
1872 First daily weather charts made
1873 Sir Edwin Landseer, English artist, died
1884 First U.S. theatrical school, ancestor of the American Academy of Dramatic Arts, formed
1885 Special delivery mail service began
1890 Yosemite National Park established
1893 Faith Baldwin, author, born
1896 Rural Free Delivery mail service begun, in West Virginia
1904 Vladimir Horowitz, pianist, born
1907 Plaza Hotel, New York City, opened
1908 "Model T" Ford introduced
1910 Dynamite explosion at the Los Angeles Times building, blamed on a labor dispute
1915 Gulf coast of the U.S. hit by a hurricane
1925 Texas Technology College opened
1928 Newark, New Jersey, airport established
Air service began between U.S. and Mexico
1938 Germans began occupation of Sudetenland, Czechoslovakia
1940 Pennsylvania Turnpike opened to traffic
Solar eclipse
1946 Nuremberg War Trials sentenced 11 Nazi criminals to hanging
1949 Mao Tse-Tung declared his Communist Government in China (National Foundation Day)
1961 Former British and French Cameroon colonies formed the Federal Republic of Cameroons, Africa (Reunification Day)

October.



OCTOBER 1 — MONDAY

274th Day — Remaining, 91

BRAZIL: FESTIVAL OF PENHA. Oct 1-31. Rio de Janeiro. Pilgrimages, especially on Saturdays during Oct, to the Church of Our Lady of Penha, which is built on top of a rock, requiring a climb of 365 steps (representing the days of the year), or ride in car on inclined plane (for children, invalids and aged), for those troubled and sick who seek hope or cure.

BUFFALO ROUND-UP. Oct 1-3. Custer, SD. To round up, brand and separate 1500 buffalo before auction in Nov. Info from: Craig Pugsley, Custer State Park, HCR 83, Box 70, Custer, SD 57730.

CARTER, JIMMY: BIRTHDAY. Oct 1. James Earl Carter, Jr, 39th president of the US was born at Plains, GA, Oct 1, 1924. His term of office: Jan 20, 1977-Jan 20, 1981. In a 1976 speech, Carter said: "The first step in providing economic equality for women is to ensure a stable economy in which every person who wants to work can work."

CHILD HEALTH DAY. Oct 1. Presidential Proclamation. "Always 1st Monday of October. Proc. has been issued since 1928. In 1959 Congress changed celebration day from May 1 to the 1st Monday in October (Pub Res No. 46 of May 18, 1928, and PL86-352 of Sept 22, 1959)."

CONSUMER INFORMATION MONTH. Oct 1-31. To promote awareness of reliable information sources that will help consumers acquire quality products and services and/or resolve related problems. Related resources available. Sponsor: Consumers Index to Product Evaluations and Info Sources, Pierian Press, PO Box 1808, Ann Arbor, MI 48106.

CYPRUS: INDEPENDENCE DAY. Oct 1. National holiday.

ENERGY MANAGEMENT IS A FAMILY AFFAIR—IMPROVE YOUR HOME. Oct 1-Mar 31, 1991. Replace energy-consuming units with new efficient home conveniences and remodel to prevent heating and cooling loss. Info from: Home Improvement Time, J.A. Stewart, Sr, Program Admin, Old Steubenville Pike, Oakdale, PA 15071.

FALL FOLIAGE FESTIVAL. Oct 1-6. West Danville, VT. Five towns welcome visitors during Vermont's famous fall foliage season. Info from: Fall Festival Committee, Box 38, West Danville, VT 05873.

FIREPUP'S BIRTHDAY. Oct 1. Firepup spends his time teaching fire safety awareness to children in a fun-filled and non-threatening manner. Sponsor: Natl Fire Safety Council, Inc, PO Box 378, Michigan Center, MI 49254-0378.

FOND DU LAC'S FALL FLYWAY AND SPECTACLE OF THE GEESE. Oct 1-Nov 30. Horicon Marsh, Fond du Lac, WI. Witness more than 200,000 geese on their trip from Canada to their winter grounds. Naturalist guides and wildlife art. Sponsor: FDL Convention and Visitors Bureau. Info from: Mary Burnett, Dir of Tourism Sales, FDL Convention Bureau, 207 N Main St, Fond du Lac, WI 54935.

GHOSTBUS TOUR. Oct 1-31. Camden, SC. Motorcoach tours of historic Camden and the Quaker cemetery includes tour guides dressed as ghosts. Info from: HisToury Inc, PO Box 1746, Camden, SC 29020.

GINKGO FESTIVAL. Oct 1-31. Monroe, MI. To guess when the leaves will fall from the historic Dorsch ginkgo tree. Related events include Ginkgo Dinner and leaf drop date-guessing contest (to the nearest hour.) Sponsor: Friends of Dorsch Library, Tresea Williams Krupar, Head Librarian, 18 E First St, Monroe, MI 48161.

HARRISON, CAROLINE LAVINIA SCOTT: BIRTH ANNIVERSARY. Oct 1. First wife of Benjamin Harrison, 23rd president of the US, born at Oxford, OH, Oct 1, 1832. Died Oct 25, 1892.

HISPANIC HERITAGE FESTIVAL. Oct 1-31. Dade County, Miami, FL. Commemorates the discovery of America by Christopher Columbus and the Hispanic contribution to the economic and cultural development of Florida. Info from: Eloy Vazquez, Hispanic Heritage Council, Inc, 4011 W Flagler St, #505, Miami, FL 33134.

INTERNATIONAL MICROWAVE MONTH. Oct 1-31. To acknowledge the ease and convenience of microwave cooking, and to recognize it as the key to today's kitchen as well as to kitchens of the future. Sponsor: Campbell Microwave Inst, Campbell Soup Co, Campbell Pl, Camden, NJ 08101.

JAPAN: NEWSPAPER WEEK. Oct 1-7. During this week newspapers make an extensive effort to acquaint the general public with their functions and attempts to carry out the role of a newspaper in a free society. Annually, the first week in Oct.

KOREA: ARMED FORCES DAY. Oct 1. National holiday marked by many colorful military parades, aerial acrobatics and honor guard ceremonies, held around the reviewing plaza at Yoido, an island in the Han River.

LAWRENCE, JAMES: BIRTH ANNIVERSARY. Oct 1. Brilliant American naval officer, whose last battle was a defeat, but whose dying words became a most honored naval motto. Lawrence, born at Burlington, NJ, on Oct 1, 1781, was commander of the USS *Hornet*, and later captain of the *Chesapeake* when she engaged in a naval duel with HMS *Shannonon*, off Boston, on June 1, 1813. The *Chesapeake* was captured and towed to Halifax as a British prize. Lawrence was mortally wounded by a musket ball during the engagement and uttered his famous last words, "Don't give up the ship," as he was being carried off the ship's deck.

LUPUS AWARENESS MONTH. Oct 1-31. To promote public awareness of lupus symptoms to aid in early diagnosis and treatment of this disease. Sponsor: Lupus Foundation of America, Donna DeAngelis, Dir, Resource and Program Development, 1717 Massachusetts Ave, NW, Ste 203, Washington, DC 20036.



NATIONAL ADOPT-A-DOG MONTH™. Oct 1-31. To promote adoption of homeless puppies and dogs from animal shelters nationwide. Sponsor: Meaty Bone Dog Biscuits, Jerky Treats Dog Snacks, and Tuffy's Dog Food. Info from: Adopt-a-Dog Month™ Info Desk, 211 E Ontario St, Ste 1300, Chicago, IL 60611.

NATIONAL APPLE JACK MONTH. Oct 1-31. A month during which Apple Jack will be honored as America's oldest native distilled spirit, established in the early 1700s. Sponsor: Laird's Apple Jack. Info from: Ted Worner, LMP Communications, Warner Lane, Tarrytown, NY 10591.

NATIONAL CAR CARE MONTH. Oct 1-31. To educate motorists about the importance of maintaining their cars in an effort to improve air quality, highway safety and fuel conservation. Sponsor: Car Care Council, One Grande Lake Dr, Port Clinton, OH 43452.

NATIONAL CLOCK MONTH. Oct 1-31. To promote the importance and increased use of clocks by US consumers. Sponsor: Clock Mfrs and Marketing Assn, 710 E Ogden Ave, Ste 113, Naperville, IL 60563.

NATIONAL COSMETOLOGY MONTH. Oct 1-31. Encourages better personal appearance in order to increase self-awareness, self-worth and self-development. Theme: "A New You. What better time than now!" Sponsor: Natl Cosmetology Assn, G.W. Bright, III, PR Dir, 3510 Olive St, St. Louis, MO 63103.

NATIONAL EMPLOY THE HANDICAPPED WEEK. Oct 1-7. Presidential proclamation for 1990 not issued at press time. Proc 5524, of Sept 10, 1986, named week beginning Oct 5, 1986. Corresponding period for 1990 would be Oct 1-7. Always issued for a week beginning during first week of Oct since 1945. (Title changed by PL 91-442 of Oct 8, 1970.)

NATIONAL FAMILY SEXUALITY EDUCATION MONTH. Oct 1-31. To support parents as the first and primary sexuality educators of their children by providing information for parents and young people. Sponsor: Planned Parenthood Federation of America, Trish Knightly, Dir of Ed, 810 Seventh Ave, New York, NY 10019.



NATIONAL KITCHEN AND BATH MONTH. Oct 1-31. To facilitate the exchange of information about the two most frequently remodeled rooms in the house. Activities include kitchen/bath tours, remodeling seminars and kitchen/bath dealer open houses. Sponsor: Natl Kitchen and Bath Assn. Info from: NKBA, Tracy Tynan, 124 Main St, Hackettstown, NJ 07840.

NATIONAL LIVER AWARENESS MONTH. Oct 1-31. To increase understanding of the importance of liver functions, promote healthful practices and encourage research into the causes and cures of liver disease. Annually, the full month of October. Sponsor: American Liver Foundation, Fran Weiss, Dir PR, 1425 Pompton Ave, Cedar Grove, NJ 07009.

October 1990

S	M	T	W	T	F	S
	1	2	3	4	5	6
7	8	9	10	11	12	13
14	15	16	17	18	19	20
21	22	23	24	25	26	27
28	29	30	31			

NATIONAL PIZZA MONTH. Oct 1-31. To promote the good fun and nutrition of pizza—"America's Number One Fun Food." Sponsor: Natl Assn of Pizza Operators, Gerry Durnell, Exec Dir, Box 114, Santa Claus, IN 47579.

NATIONAL POPCORN POPPIN' MONTH. Oct 1-31. To celebrate the wholesome, economical, natural food value of popcorn, America's native snack. Sponsor: The Popcorn Inst, 111 E Wacker Dr, Ste 600, Chicago, IL 60601.

NATIONAL ROLLER SKATING MONTH. Oct 1-31. To call attention to the recreational pleasure and health benefits derived from such a popular and characteristically North American sport. Sponsor: Roller Skating Rink Operators Assn, Box 81846, Lincoln, NE 68501.

NATIONAL SARCASTICS MONTH. Oct 1-31. To help people everywhere understand the positive and negative aspects of sarcasm. Info from: Natl Sarcastics Month, Virginia Tooper, Dir of Barbs, Box 1495, Pleasanton, CA 94566.

NATIONAL SUDDEN INFANT DEATH SYNDROME AWARENESS MONTH. Oct 1-31. To create awareness of Sudden Infant Death Syndrome (also called crib death), which is the number one killer of babies under the age of one year. Sponsor: Natl SIDS Foundation, Mitchell Stoller, 8200 Professional Pl, Ste 104, Landover, MD 20785.

NIGERIA: INDEPENDENCE DAY. Oct 1. National holiday. Became independent on this day, 1960, and a republic on this day, 1963.

NORWAY: PAGEANTRY IN OSLO. Oct 1. The Storting (Norway's Parliament) convenes on first weekday in Oct, when it decides date for the ceremonial opening of the Storting—usually the following weekday—and the parliamentary session is then opened by King Olav V in the presence of Corps Diplomatique, preceded and followed by a military procession between the Royal Palace and the Storting.

PEOPLE'S REPUBLIC OF CHINA: NATIONAL DAY. Oct 1-2. Commemorates the founding of Communist China, Oct 1, 1949. Info from: China Natl Tourist Office, 60 E 42nd St, Ste 465, New York, NY 10165.

PIZZA FESTIVAL MONTH. Oct 1-31. To call attention to the healthful benefits of pizza and inform the public of its history. Annually, the month of October. Sponsor: Richard R. Falk Assoc, Richard Falk, 147 W 42nd St, New York, NY 10036.

POLAND: INTERNATIONAL CHOPIN PIANO COMPETITION. Oct 1-20. Warsaw, Poland. 12th annual competition. Info from: Polish National Tourist Office, 333 N Michigan Ave, Chicago, IL 60601.

REHNQUIST, WILLIAM HUBBS: BIRTHDAY. Oct 1. Chief Justice of the Supreme Court of the United States, nominated by President Nixon on Oct 21, 1971 (sworn in, Jan 7, 1972). Chief Justice Rehnquist was born at Milwaukee, WI, on Oct 1, 1924.

SPINAL HEALTH MONTH. Oct 1-31. To increase public awareness of the importance of spinal health. Sponsor: American Chiropractic Assn, 1701 Clarendon Blvd, Arlington, VA 22209.

STOCKTON, RICHARD: BIRTH ANNIVERSARY. Oct 1. Lawyer and signer of the Declaration of Independence, born Princeton, NJ, Oct 1, 1730. Died there, Feb 8, 1781.

SUPREME COURT 1990-1991 TERM BEGINS. Oct 1. Traditionally, the Supreme Court's annual term begins on the first Monday in October and continues with seven two-week sessions of oral arguments. Between the sessions are six recesses during which the opinions are written by the Justices. Ordinarily, all cases are decided by the following June or July.

TUVALU: NATIONAL HOLIDAY. Oct 1.

UNICORN QUESTING SEASON. Oct 1-31. The unicorn questing season takes place in October, with the first week reserved for bow and arrow hunters. Licenses and information

can be obtained from W.T. Rabe, archivist, and all sightings should be reported to Unicorn Questers Headquarters. The season will close with the Unicorn Banquet and Quest Ball, Oct 28-30, at the Grand Hotel, Mackinac Island, MI. Info from: W.T. Rabe, 1204 Davitt, Sault Ste. Marie, MI 49783.

UNITED NATIONS: UNIVERSAL CHILDREN'S DAY. Oct 1. First Monday in Oct is designated by United Nations General Assembly as Universal Children's Day. First observance was in 1953. A time to honor children with special ceremonies and festivals and to make children's needs known to governments. Also observed on different days and in different ways in more than 120 nations.

UNITED NATIONS: WORLD HABITAT DAY. Oct 1. The United Nations General Assembly, by a resolution of Dec 17, 1985, has designated the first Monday of October each year as "World Habitat Day." The first observance of this day, Oct 5, 1986, marked the 10th anniversary of the first international conference on the subject. (Habitat: United Nations Conference on Human Settlements, Vancouver, Canada, 1976). Info from: United Nations, Dept of Public Info, New York, NY 10017.

UNITED STATES 1990 FEDERAL FISCAL YEAR BEGINS. Oct 1, 1990–Sept 30, 1991.

UNIVERSAL CHILDREN'S WEEK. Oct 1-7. To disseminate throughout the world information on the needs of children and to distribute copies of the Declaration of the Rights of the Child during the first seven days of Oct. Sponsor: Intl Soc of Friendship and Good Will, Dr. Stanley Drake, Pres, Box 2637, Gastonia, NC 28053-2637.

WORLD VEGETARIAN DAY. Oct 1. Celebration of vegetarianism's benefits to humans, animals and our planet. Sponsor: North American Vegetarian Society, Box 72, Dolgeville, NY 13329.

YOSEMITE CENTENNIAL. Oct 1. Yosemite National Park, CA. 100th anniversary of the establishment of Yosemite National Park. Sponsor: Natl Park Service, Yosemite Natl Pk, CA 95389.

ZOOFEST '90. Oct 1-31. A celebration of animals, autumn and the arts. Sponsor: North Carolina Zoological Park, Rte 4, Box 83, Asheboro, NC 27203.

BIRTHDAYS TODAY

Julie Andrews (Julia Wells), actress, singer, born at Walton-on-Thames, England, Oct 1, 1935.
Tom Bosley, actor, born at Chicago, IL, Oct 1, 1927.
Jimmy Carter (James Earl Carter, Jr), 39th US president, born at Plains, GA, Oct 1, 1924.
Vladimir Horowitz, musician, born at Kiev, USSR, Oct 1, 1904.
Walter Matthau, actor, born at New York, NY, Oct 1, 1920.
George Peppard, actor, born at Detroit, MI, Oct 1, 1928.
Randy Quaid, actor, comedian, born at Houston, TX, Oct 1, 1950.
William Hubbs Rehnquist, Chief Justice of the US Supreme Court, born at Milwaukee, WI, Oct 1, 1924.
Stella Stevens, actress, born at Hot Coffee, MS, Oct 1, 1936.

OCTOBER 2 — TUESDAY

275th Day — Remaining, 90

CHARLIE BROWN AND SNOOPY: BIRTHDAY. Oct 2. The "Peanuts" gang, created by Charles M. Schulz, celebrates 40 years of happiness. Syndicated by United Feature Syndicate, the first "Peanuts" comic strip was published on Oct 2, 1950. It now appears in 2,200 newspapers and is translated into 26 languages in 68 countries. Charlie Brown, the "well-meaning loser who, despite continuing defeats, nurtures an eternal hope to overcome adversity," along with Snoopy, Linus, Lucy and friends celebrate their 40th birthday in print. Info from: United Feature Syndicate, Nancy Nicolelis, PR Dir, 200 Park Ave, New York, NY 10166.

GANDHI, MOHANDAS KARAMCHAND (MAHATMA): BIRTH ANNIVERSARY. Oct 2. Indian political and spiritual leader who achieved world honor and fame for his advocacy of nonviolent resistance as a weapon against tyranny was born Oct 2, 1869, at Porbandar, India. He was assassinated in the garden of his home at New Delhi, on Jan 30, 1948. On the anniversary of Gandhi's birth (Gandhi Jayanti) thousands gather at the park on the Jumna River in Delhi where Gandhi's body was cremated. Hymns are sung, verses from the Gita, the Koran and the Bible are recited, and cotton thread is spun on small spinning wheels (one of Gandhi's favorite activites). Other observances are held at his birthplace and throughout India.

HULL, CORDELL: BIRTH ANNIVERSARY. Oct 2. American statesman who served in both houses of the Congress and as secretary of state, was born Oct 2, 1871, at Pickett County, TN. Noted for his contributions to the "Good Neighbor" policies of the US with regard to countries of the Americas, and to the establishment of the United Nations, Hull died at Bethesda, MD, July 23, 1955.

KENTUCKY APPLE FESTIVAL. Oct 2-6. Paintsville, KY. Apple blossom beauty pageants, apple auction, country music show, arts and crafts, flea market, antique car show, Corvette show, Apple Bowl, Terrapin Trot, and amusement rides. Info from: Kentucky Apple Festival, Inc, Ray Tosti, Chmn, PO Box 879, Paintsville, KY 41240.

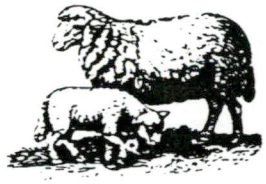
LESOTHO: NATIONAL SPORTS DAY. Oct 2. Lesotho, Southern Africa. Info from: Lesotho, Dept of Info, PO Box 353, MASERU 100, Lesotho, Southern Africa.

MUSLIM FESTIVAL: BIRTH OF PROPHET MUHAMMAD. Oct 2. Mulid al-Nabi (Birth of the Prophet Muhammad) is observed on Muslim calendar date, Rabi al-Awal 12, 1411. Gregorian calendar date of observance may vary by one day.

PHILEAS FOGG'S WAGER DAY. Oct 2. Anniversary, from Jules Verne's *Around the World in Eighty Days*, of the famous wager of Oct 2, 1872, upon which the book is based: "I will bet twenty thousand pounds against any one who wishes, that I will make the tour of the world in eighty days or less." Then, consulting a pocket almanac, Phileas Fogg said: "As today is Wednesday, the second of October, I shall be due in London, in this very room of the Reform Club, on Saturday, the twenty-first of December, at a quarter before nine PM; or else the twenty thousand pounds . . . will belong to you." See also: "Phileas Fogg Wins a Wager Day" (Dec 21).

SPACE MILESTONE: RECORD TIME IN SPACE. Oct 2. On Oct 2, 1984, three Soviet cosmonauts returned to Earth after setting a record of 237 days in space—at *Salyut 7* space station, since Feb 9.

WORLD FARM ANIMALS DAY. Oct 2. To memorialize the needless suffering and death of billions of farm animals each year through mock funerals, memorial services, vigils and similar activities. Sponsor: Farm Animal Reform Movement, Box 70123, Washington, DC 20088.



BIRTHDAYS TODAY

Clay S. Felker, publisher, born at St. Louis, MO, Oct 2, 1928.
Moses Gunn, actor, born at St. Louis, MO, Oct 2, 1929.
George McFarland, actor, born at Fort Worth, TX, Oct 2, 1928.
Don McLean, singer, songwriter, born at New Rochelle, NY, Oct 2, 1945.
Rex Reed, movie critic, born at Fort Worth, TX, Oct 2, 1939.
Sting (Gordon Sumner), musician, songwriter, born at London, England, Oct 2, 1951.

October 1

Holidays

Botswana	**Botswana Day** (continued) Continuation of the celebration of Botswana Day, September 30.
People's Republic of China	**National Day**
Korea	**Armed Forces Day**
Nigeria	**National Holiday** Celebrates Nigeria's achievement of independent status within the British Commonwealth, 1960, and establishment of the Republic, 1963.

Birthdates

1207 **Henry III** of England, 1216–72. [d. November 16, 1272]

1685 **Charles VI,** Holy Roman Emperor. [d. October 20, 1740]

1746 **John Peter Gabriel Muhlenberg,** American Revolutionary clergyman, general, congressman; commanded first American light infantry brigade, 1777; member of first U.S. Congress, 1788–1801. [d. October 1, 1807]

1754 **Paul I,** Emperor of Russia, 1796–1801; successor to Catherine the Great; assassinated. [d. March 23, 1801]

1781 **James Lawrence,** U.S. naval captain; commander of the *Hornet,* which defeated the British *Peacock* in the War of 1812, and of the *Chesapeake,* which was defeated by the British outside of Boston Harbor, 1813; issued the rallying cry, "Don't give up the ship." [d. June 1, 1813]

1799 **Rufus Choate,** U.S. lawyer, statesman; leading trial lawyer of his time; Massachusetts state attorney general, 1853–54. [d. July 13, 1859]

1847 **Annie Besant,** British theosophist, reformer, Indian political leader; President, **Theosophical Society,** 1907–33; organized Indian Home Rule League; President, Indian National Congress, 1917. [d. September 20, 1933]

1885 **Louis Untermeyer,** U.S. poet, editor; compiled popular poetry anthologies. [d. December 18, 1977]

1893 **Faith (Cuthrell) Baldwin,** U.S. author; known for popular romantic novels. [d. March 19, 1978]

1904 **Vladimir Horowitz,** U.S. pianist, born in Russia; internationally recognized for his virtuosity.

Otto Robert Frisch, British physicist, born in Austria; responsible for significant work on uranium atom, which led to development of the **atomic bomb.**

1910 **Bonnie Parker,** U.S. outlaw; with Clyde Barrow (March 24) carried out a two-year crime spree in the U.S. Southwest that resulted in 12 murders and numerous robberies; died in an ambush by Texas Rangers. [d. May 23, 1934]

1914 **Daniel J. Boorstin,** U.S. historian, author, librarian; Director of National Museum of History and Technology, 1969–73; Pulitzer Prize for history, 1974; Librarian of Congress, 1975–.

1920 **Walter Matthau,** U.S. actor; starred in *The Odd Couple* and *The Sunshine Boys.*

1921 **James (Allen) Whitmore,** U.S. actor; noted for his impersonations of such famous figures as Will Rogers, Harry Truman.

1924 **Jimmy (James Earl) Carter,** 39th president of U.S.; first president from the deep South since the Civil War.

William Rehnquist, U.S. jurist, lawyer; Associate Justice, U.S. Supreme Court, 1972–.

San Marino **Captain Regents' Day**

U.S. **Agricultural Fair Day**
The basis for this celebration is in the first agricultural fair in the U.S., at Pittsfield, Massachusetts, and the formation of the first permanent agricultural association, 1810.

Religious Calendar

The Saints

St. Remigius, Bishop of Rheims. Apostle of France. Also called **Remi, Remigus.** [d. c. 530]

St. Romanus the Melodist, Byzantine hymn-writer. [d. 6th century]

St. Bavo, hermit and penitent; patron of Ghent and Haarlem. Also called **Allowin.** [d. c. 655]

St. Francis of Pesaro, hermit. Also called **Cecco.** [d. c. 1350]

The Canterbury Martyrs of 1588 and others.

St. Melorus, martyr. Also called **Melar, Mylor.** [death date unknown]

Theresa of the Child Jesus (St. Teresa of Lisieux), virgin; patron of all foreign missions. [d. 1897] Feast formerly October 3. Obligatory Memorial.

The Beatified

Blessed Nicholas of Forca Palena, hermit. [d. 1449]

1928 **Laurence Harvey, (Larushka Mischa Skikne)** British actor, born in Lithuania. [d. November 25, 1973]

1930 **Richard (St. John) Harris,** British actor.

1935 **Julie Andrews (Julia Elizabeth Wells),** British singer and actress.

1936 **Edward Villella,** U.S. ballet dancer; principal dancer with New York City Ballet and other major dance companies, from 1957.

Historical Events

1810 First **agricultural fair** in the U.S. is held at Pittsfield, Massachusetts.

1869 First **postcards** are introduced in Austria by the government.

1890 **McKinley Tariff Act** is passed by Congress, significantly raising import tariffs.

1896 First **Rural Free Delivery** of U.S. mail begins.

1908 Henry Ford's **Model T** automobile is introduced at a price of $850.

1914 Turkey closes the **Dardanelles** to the Allies (**World War I**).

1918 **Damascus** is seized by the British and Arabs (**World War I**).

1923 **Southern Rhodesia** becomes a self-governing colony within the British Commonwealth.

1928 U.S.S.R. inaugurates its first **Five-Year Plan.**

1936 General **Francisco Franco Bahamonde** is appointed Chief of the Spanish State by the insurgents (**Spanish Civil War**).

1943 U.S. troops enter **Naples,** burned by the departing Germans (**World War II**).

1946 International Military Tribunal in **Nuremberg** sentences 12 Nazi leaders to death.

1957 First meeting of the **International Atomic Energy Agency** in Vienna, Austria.

1960 **Nigeria** becomes an independent member of the British Commonwealth.

1961 **Roger Maris** of New York Yankees breaks **Babe Ruth's** record by hitting 61st home run in one season.

1966 **Albert Speer,** minister for armaments and war production in Nazi German government, and **Baldur von Schirach,** leader of Hitler Youth, are released from Spandau War Crimes Prison in Berlin after 20 years' imprisonment.

1974 **Watergate** coverup trial opens in Washington, D.C.

1979 **Pope John Paul II** arrives in U.S. on visit.

Suite 42A
Mrs. Douglas MacArthur only resident on that floor

GB associates at UN

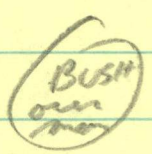
Jane Kenney (ACTION Dir.) 634-9380
Alene Smith former sec. 813-752-6370
Amb? Bob Oakley (State Dept.) Pakistan 364-8359
Amb. Chris Phillips 333-4996
Pete Roussel 337-0887 713-668-2793
Joe Glennon former dir. of security at USUN 713-621-1279 sister 407-736-1523
Rosemary Spencer Protocol E. 38th St. 212-689-3497 212-415-4131 Peggy 365 44-1401

1st day - shook hands with everyone in mission - like a family

"This has been the 2 most interesting years of my life." looked up at mission on last day

last amb.
opening of new bird house at Bronx Zoo.

Bush for Pres. banner — pol. section



Goodbye party
marched around

loudest, spirit, House in patio hot dog cart

Jerry Aprile Aguilr
Jerome

Carolyn - admin

the less well-developed areas of the world.

We believe that all nations should be able to develop a healthy economic life of their own. We believe that all peoples should be able to reap the benefits of their own labor and of their own natural resources.

There are immense possibilities in many parts of the world for industrial development and agricultural modernization.

These possibilities can be realized only by the cooperation of members of the United Nations, helping each other on a basis of equal rights.

In the field of social reconstruction and advancement the completion of the Charter for a World Health Organization is an important step forward.

The Assembly now has before it for adoption the constitution of another specialized agency in this field—the International Refugee Organization. It is essential that this Organization be created in time to take over from UNRRA as early as possible in the new year the tasks of caring for and repatriating or resettling the refugees and displaced persons of Europe. There will be similar tasks, of great magnitude, in the Far East.

The United States considers this a matter of great urgency in the cause of restoring peace and in the cause of humanity itself.

I intend to urge the Congress of the United States to authorize this country to do its full part, both in financial support of the International Refugee Organization and in joining with other nations to receive those refugees who do not wish to return to their former homes for reasons of political or religious belief.

The United States believes a concerted effort must be made to break down the barriers to a free flow of information among the nations of the world.

We regard freedom of expression and freedom to receive information—the right of the people to know—as among the most important of those human rights and fundamental freedoms to which we are pledged under the United Nations Charter.

The United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization, which is meeting in November, is a recognition of this fact. That Organization is built upon the premise that since wars begin in the minds of men, the defense of peace must be constructed in the minds of men, and that a free exchange of ideas and knowledge among peoples is necessary to this task. The United States therefore attaches great importance to all activities designed to break down barriers to mutual understanding and to wider tolerance.

The United States will support the United Nations with all the resources that we possess.

The use of force or the threat of force anywhere in the world to break the peace is of direct concern to the American people.

The course of history has made us one of the stronger nations of the world. It has therefore placed upon us special responsibilities to conserve our strength and to use it rightly in a world so interdependent as our world today.

The American people recognize these special responsibilities. We shall do our best to meet them, both in the making of the peace settlements and in the fulfillment of the long-range tasks of the United Nations.

The American people look upon the United Nations not as a temporary expedient but as a permanent partnership—a partnership among the peoples of the world for their common peace and common well-being.

It must be the determined purpose of all of us to see that the United Nations lives and grows in the minds and the hearts of all people.

May Almighty God, in His infinite wis-

237 Address in New York City at the Cornerstone Laying of the United Nations Building. *October* 24, 1949

President Romulo, Mr. Lie, Governor Dewey, Mayor O'Dwyer, distinguished representatives, and fellow guests:

We have come together today to lay the cornerstone of the permanent headquarters of the United Nations. These are the most important buildings in the world, for they are the center of man's hope for peace and a better life. This is the place where the nations of the world will work together to make that hope a reality.

This occasion is a source of special pride to the people of the United States. We are deeply conscious of the honor of having the permanent headquarters of the United Nations in this country. At the same time, we know how important it is that people of other nations should come to know at first hand the work of this world organization. We consider it appropriate, therefore, that the United Nations should hold meetings from time to time in other countries when that can be done. For the United Nations must draw its inspiration from the people of every land; it must be truly representative of and responsive to the peoples of the world whom it was created to serve.

This ceremony marks a new stage in the growth of the United Nations. It is fitting that it should take place on United Nations Day, the fourth anniversary of the day the charter entered into effect. During the 4 years of its existence, this organization has become a powerful force for promoting peace and friendship among the peoples of the world. The construction of this new headquarters is tangible proof of the steadfast faith of the members in the vitality and strength of the organization, and of our determination that it shall become more and more effective in the years ahead.

The charter embodies the hopes and ideals of men everywhere. Hopes and ideals are not static. They are dynamic, and they give life and vigor to the United Nations. We look forward to a continuing growth and evolution of the organization to meet the changing needs of the world's peoples. We hope that eventually every nation on earth will be a fully qualified and a loyal member of this organization.

We who are close to the United Nations sometimes forget that it is more than the procedures, the councils, and the debates, through which it operates. We tend to overlook the fact that the organization is the living embodiment of the principles of the charter—the renunciation of aggression and the joint determination to build a better life for the whole world.

But if we overlook this fact, we will fail to realize the strength and power of this great organization. We will fail to understand the true nature of this new force that has been created in the affairs of our time.

The United Nations is essentially an expression of the moral nature of man's aspirations. The charter clearly shows our determination that international problems must be settled on a basis acceptable to the conscience of mankind.

Because the United Nations is the dynamic expression of what all the peoples of the world desire, because it sets up a standard of right and justice for all nations, it is greater than any of its members. The compact that underlies the United Nations cannot be ignored—and it cannot be infringed or dissolved.

We in the United States, in the course of our own history, have learned what it means to set up an organization to give expression

to the common desire for peace and unity. Our Constitution expressed the will of the people that there should be a United States. And through toil and struggle the people made their will prevail.

In the same way, I think, the charter and the organization served by these buildings express the will of the people of the world that there shall be a United Nations.

This does not mean that all the member countries are of one mind on all issues. The controversies which divide us go very deep. We should understand that these buildings are not a monument to the unanimous agreement of nations on all things. But they signify one new and important fact. They signify that the peoples of the world are of one mind in their determination to solve their common problems by working together.

Our success in the United Nations will be measured not only in terms of our ability to meet and master political controversies. We have learned that political controversies grow out of social and economic problems. If the people of the world are to live together in peace, we must work together to establish the conditions that will provide a firm foundation for peace.

For this reason, our success will also be measured by the extent to which the rights of individual human beings are realized. And it will be measured by the extent of our economic and social progress.

These fundamental facts are recognized both in the language of the charter and in the activities in which the United Nations has been engaged during the past 4 years. The charter plainly makes respect for human rights by nations a matter of international concern. The member nations have learned from bitter experience that regard for human rights is indispensable to political, economic, and social progress. They have learned that disregard of human rights is the beginning of tyranny and, too often, the beginning of war.

For these reasons, the United Nations has devoted much of its time to fostering respect for human rights. The General Assembly has adopted the Universal Declaration of Human Rights and the Convention on Genocide. Other important measures in this field are under study.

I am confident that this great work will go steadily forward. The preparation of a Covenant on Human Rights by the Human Rights Commission is a task with which the United States is deeply concerned. We believe strongly that the attainment of basic civil and political rights for men and women everywhere—without regard to race, language, or religion—is essential to the peace we are seeking. We hope that the Covenant on Human Rights will contain effective provisions regarding freedom of information. The minds of men must be free from artificial and arbitrary restraints, in order that they may seek the truth and apply their intelligence to making a better world.

Another field in which the United Nations is undertaking to build the foundations of a peaceful world is that of economic development. Today, at least half of mankind lives in dire poverty. Hundreds of millions of men, women, and children lack adequate food, clothing, and shelter. We cannot achieve permanent peace and prosperity in the world until the standard of living in underdeveloped areas is raised.

It is for this reason that I have urged the launching of a vigorous and concerted effort to apply modern technology and capital investment to improve the lot of these peoples. These areas need a large expansion of investment and trade. In order for this to take place, they also need the application of scientific knowledge and technical skills to their basic problems—producing more food, im-

proving health and sanitation, making use of their natural resources, and educating their people.

To meet these needs, the United Nations and its agencies are preparing a detailed program for technical assistance to underdeveloped areas.

The Economic and Social Council last summer defined the basic principles which should underlie this program. The General Assembly is now completing and perfecting the initial plans. The fact that the Economic Committee of the Assembly voted unanimously for the resolution on technical assistance shows that this is a common cause which commands united support. Although differences may arise over details of the program, I fervently hope that the members of the United Nations will remain unanimous in their determination to raise the standards of living of the less fortunate members of the human family.

The United States intends to play its full part in this great enterprise. We are already carrying on a number of activities in this field. I shall urge the Congress, when it reconvenes in January, to give high priority to proposals which will make possible additional technical assistance and capital investment.

I should like to speak of one other problem which is of major concern to the United Nations. That is the control of atomic energy.

Ever since the first atomic weapon was developed, a major objective of United States policy has been a system of international control of atomic energy that would assure effective prohibition of atomic weapons, and at the same time would promote the peaceful use of atomic energy by all nations.

In November 1945, Prime Minister Attlee of the United Kingdom, Prime Minister Mackenzie King of Canada, and I agreed that the problem of international control of atomic energy should be referred to the United Nations. The establishment of the United Nations Atomic Energy Commission was one of the first acts of the first session of the General Assembly.

That commission worked for 3 years on the problem. It developed a plan of control which reflected valuable contributions by almost every country represented on the commission. This plan of control was overwhelmingly approved by the General Assembly on November 4, 1948.

This is a good plan. It is a plan that can work and, more important, it is a plan that can be effective in accomplishing its purpose. It is the only plan so far developed that would meet the technical requirements of control, and would make prohibition of atomic weapons effective, and at the same time promote the peaceful development of atomic energy on a cooperative basis.

We support this plan and will continue to support it unless or until a better and more effective plan is put forward. To assure that atomic energy will be devoted to man's welfare and not to his destruction is a continuing challenge to all nations and all peoples. The United States is now, and will remain, ready to do its full share in meeting this challenge.

Respect for human rights, promotion of economic development, and a system for control of weapons are requisites to the kind of world we seek. We cannot solve these problems overnight, but we must keep everlastingly working at them in order to reach our goal.

No single nation can always have its own way, for these are human problems, and the solution of human problems is to be found in negotiation and mutual adjustment.

The challenge of the 20th century is the challenge of human relations, and not of

impersonal natural forces. The real dangers confronting us today have their origins in outmoded habits of thought, in the inertia of human nature, and in preoccupation with supposed national interests to the detriment of the common good.

As members of the United Nations, we are convinced that patience, the spirit of reasonableness, and hard work will solve the most stubborn political problems. We are convinced that individual rights and social and economic progress can be advanced through international cooperation.

Our faith is in the betterment of human relations. Our vision is of a better world in which men and nations can live together, respecting one another's rights and cooperating in building a better life for all. Our efforts are made in the belief that men and nations can cooperate, and that there are no international problems which men of good will cannot solve or adjust.

Mr. President, Mr. Lie, the laying of this cornerstone is an act of faith—our unshakable faith that the United Nations will succeed in accomplishing the great tasks for which it was created.

But "faith without works is dead." We must make our devotion to the ideals of the charter as strong as the steel in this building. We must pursue the objectives of the charter with resolution as firm as the rock on which this building rests. We must conduct our affairs foursquare with the charter, in terms as true as this cornerstone.

If we do these things, the United Nations will endure and will bring the blessings of peace and well-being to all mankind.

NOTE: The President spoke at 12:30 p.m. from a stand erected on Forty-second Street, the southern boundary of the permanent headquarters of the United Nations, between Franklin D. Roosevelt Drive and First Avenue, New York City.

The President's opening words referred to Brig. Gen. Carlos P. Romulo, President of the General Assembly; Trygve Lie, Secretary General of the United Nations; Thomas E. Dewey, Governor of New York; and William O'Dwyer, Mayor of New York City. The address was carried over all radio and television networks.

238 Remarks at a Luncheon in New York City on United Nations Day. *October* 24, 1949

Mr. Chairman, Mr. Mayor, distinguished guests:

If I were to call the roll here, I would call the roll of the most distinguished people in the world.

This has been a great day for me. I appreciate, Mr. Mayor, the cordial welcome of the greatest city in the world, the mayor of the greatest city in the world, and this great organization of the world, the United Nations.

We have laid the cornerstone of the building that is to house the organization for the peace and welfare of the world.

I am sincerely hoping that the things which we anticipated for the United Nations at San Francisco and at Flushing Meadows—when they opened up there, I happened to be present in both instances—will eventually come to pass.

If you remember, I always like to think of the adoption of the Constitution of the United States in 1789. We had almost exactly the same sort of troubles then that we are having with the United Nations on a world basis today.

In fact, it took us 80 years to find out that we could live peaceably together, and we had

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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UNITED STATES DELEGATION
TO THE GENERAL ASSEMBLY

FOR RELEASE ON DELIVERY
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Press Release USUN-167(72)
December 19, 1972

STATEMENT BY AMBASSADOR GEORGE BUSH, UNITED STATES REPRESENTATIVE TO THE UNITED NATIONS, IN PLENARY, AT THE CONCLUSION OF THE 27TH SESSION OF THE GENERAL ASSEMBLY, DECEMBER 19, 1972.

Mr. President:

As Representative of the host country to the United Nations, I want at the conclusion of this session to offer a word of farewell. But first, Mr. President, I wish to thank you for the impartial, courteous, and capable administration of your high office which many of my colleagues have already noted. I would like also to record my appreciation of the devoted and competent work of those members of the Secretariat whose support of your efforts and of our deliberations has meant so much to us all. Among them I would congratulate the Secretary General and my old colleague Mr. Morse on the completion of their first year of distinguished service to this body.

Probably most delegations have shared my experience during the 27th General Assembly -- moments of satisfaction and moments of disappointment. Some have complained that the 27th General Assembly has been a dull session. If this is so, let us hope that it is because this Assembly has moved forward along the road that leads away from the sensational politics of confrontation and rhetoric towards the kind of mature diplomacy that seeks practical solutions to the problems of mankind.

As we close our session here today, my thoughts turn to the former President of the United States, who in October 1945 proclaimed the coming into force of the Charter of the United Nations. Harry S. Truman now lies gravely ill, and I would like to extend to him and his family our respect and affection for this gallant fighter in the cause of world peace.

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Mr. President, I say thank you and farewell to you as you depart, and I also say farewell to others whose imminent departure may deprive me of another opportunity to speak with them. My own direct experience here at the seat of the United Nations will shortly be coming to an end; for me it has been an enormously stimulating and personally rewarding time. Not the least of my privileges as the United States Representative has been the opportunity to work in the kind of distinguished company that inhabits this hall. I have been tremendously impressed by the high calibre of the diplomats and statesmen who assemble here from all parts of the world. I shall go away with the conviction that we must all work to make the United Nations a stronger and more effective instrument to meet the needs of mankind -- to fulfill the yearning of men and women everywhere for peace and for a better life for themselves and their children.

With these thoughts, Mr. President, Mr. Secretary General, Mr. Morse, I wish you and my fellow delegates rest from your labors and a peaceful and happy New Year.

* * * * * * *

are kind of damaging it because they have such an unpragmatic view . . .

Interview, New York/
San Francisco Examiner, 10-9:5.

Samuel De Palma
Assistant Secretary for International Organization Affairs, Department of State of the United States

The mood of frustration and disenchantment which has developed in recent years because of the United Nations' shortcomings in political and security matters is now aggravated by skepticism about its managerial effectiveness in economic and social areas. On the one hand, it is less and less used in political crises—except to score propaganda points and administer relief. On the other, the effectiveness of its acknowledged role as an instrument for organizing technical and economic cooperation and services to developing countries is also being questioned.

Before American Assembly/
The New York Times, 6-11:(4)3.

William L. Dickinson
United States Representative, R–Ala.

I think we need to realize what the UN is: It is a debating society. That Tower of Babel on the East River in New York is a fine forum to get together and to discuss world problems; but so far as its doing anything really worthwhile, like stopping the war in the Mideast, it has been of no avail.

May 18/Quote, 7-2:15.

1972

Arthur J. Goldberg
Former United States Ambassador/ Permanent Representative to the United Nations

Without vigorous support by the United States, the United Nations cannot long endure. Never, since its creation in 1945, has the United Nations been so downgraded as an important component of American foreign policy as it is today under the present (Nixon) Administration . . . It is neither seemly nor in our national interest for the United States, a principal architect of the United Nations, to undermine its foundations, and this we are now doing. Our nation derived its great influence in the world not only from great physical power but also from the fact that our basic law and our national outlook are premised on the equality and dignity of all men. The way to peace in this turbulent age is to keep that national vision and to extend it to the international sphere; to work with all our might for the strengthening of the UN as the structure of law and enduring peace. For though the United Nations alone cannot assure world peace, there can be no peace without it.

At seminar of American Assembly on the United States and the United Nations, Harriman, N.Y., April 13/
The New York Times, 4-14:15.

John V. Lindsay
Mayor of New York

The victories of (former UN Secretary General) U Thant were the battles that were not fought—the silent guns and tranquil borders. His were the quiet accomplishments of peace.

At ceremony awarding Mr. Thant the New York City Medal of Honor/
The Christian Science Monitor, 2-14:4.

Yahya Mahmassani
First Secretary, Lebanese Mission to the United Nations

Your first year at the United Nations, you watch and learn. It is all new and it is all terribly confusing. The second year, things start to come into focus and you start to produce and be constructive. The third year, you reach the peak of your productivity. You know the tricks and the ropes of diplomacy here. You feel a sense of accomplishment at the things that you are able to bring to fruition. The fourth year, things start going downhill. It is a story repeated over and over again—endlessly. Disappointment sets in, disillusionment. A resolution is passed and you find yourself thinking: one

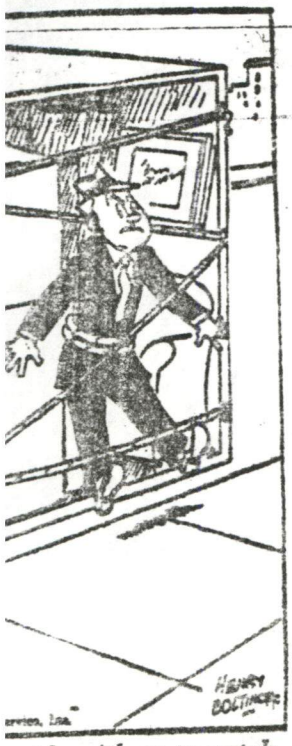
To show you how far the UN has come since the days since I was perm. rep. here, let me quote what one US critic said in 1972:

Document Originally
Attached to
Previous Page

Bush Presidential Library Photocopy

Bush Library Photocopy
George Bush Handwriting

May 18 p17A
1945
NEW YORK JOURNAL AMERICAN



ride with us to watch ure!"

Write for Advice On GI Rights Bill

If you have a husband or father, son, sister or brother in the armed forces, and do not fully understand how he or she will benefit from the $8,000,000,000 GI Bill of Rights, we call your attention to the department of the Service Editor of this newspaper.

He is prepared to give you free counsel concerning the new bill, as well as advice on such subjects as medical care, pensions, allotments and similar matters which may puzzle a service man or woman's family.

Simply write Service Editor, N. Y. Journal-American, 229 South st., New York 15, N. Y., enclosing a stamped, self-addressed envelope. Your name will not be published.

Restrictions on Output Of Trolleys Revoked

WASHINGTON, May 18 (INS).—The War Production Board has revoked restrictions on production of trolley cars, civilian planes, farm machinery and fire alarms.

The board said an order limiting the output and delivery of street cars, trolley coaches, buses and bus bodies has been cancelled. But ODT restrictions on the use of buses in place of trolleys are still in effect.

Serviceman's View:

Big Three Friction Menaces Peace

(John F. Kennedy, one-time Navy Lieutenant in command of a P-T boat, decorated for bravery in action, is covering the San Francisco United Nations Conference from a serviceman's viewpoint for the New York Journal-American. He is the son of former Ambassador Kennedy, and before the war author of the best seller "Why England Slept.")

By JOHN F. KENNEDY

SAN FRANCISCO, May 18.—There is growing discouragement among people concerning our chances of winning any lasting peace from this war.


LT. JOHN F. KENNEDY

There is talk of fighting the Russians in the next ten or fifteen years. We have indeed gone a long way since those hopeful days early in the war when we talked of union now and one world.

It is understandable that some people should feel this way. They have seen in the last two months a growing friction between the Big Three which has resulted in a sharp deterioration in their relationship.

SEES DISTRUST.

What these disagreements have demonstrated clearly is that there is a fundamental distrust between Great Britain and the United States on the one hand, and Russia on the other. It is this distrust—which is becoming deeper—that is causing grave concern and considerable discouragement.

Where then, is the hope? Will there not be years of distrust and suspicion finally exploding in the awful climax of war? What can prevent this?

The Big Three on whose shoulders rests the chief responsibility for keeping the peace, are all "have" nations. They are rich in land and people, and have little to gain by a ruinous war.

I think, therefore, that some of the prophecies of another war in the next decade are unnecessarily gloomy. If we remain strong and conduct ourselves with firmness and confidence, we may yet win the years of peace for which so much has been sacrifice.

Denmark May Ease Europe's Food Crisis

WASHINGTON, May 18 (INS).—Foreign Economic Administrator Crowley today declared liberation of Denmark may ease the demand for food on the United States.

"Denmark traditionally has been a producer and exporter of dairy products, bacon and other foodstuffs," he said. "If food production can be maintained and increased, exportable food surpluses may become available to the liberataed peoples."

Showgirl Divorces 'Dad'

LOS ANGELES, May 18 (AP).—Seventeen-year-old showgirl Doris Duane Riley thought she had found a combination daddy-sweetheart when she married Jerry Riley, 47, Hollywood publicity man, she told Judge Willis, but it just didn't pan out.

"I was always looking for some one to take the place of a father and a sweetheart," she told the court.

She said Riley used her as "a little flower to help him get publicity accounts and clients."

She got the divorce.

Embezzlement Lo Sought from Bo

TRENTON, May 18.—Th Jersey Court of Errors and A has been asked to susta $18,813 judgment rendered gen County Circuit Court i of the Hartford Accident demnity Co. against John vento, an alleged bookmak

The amount represents embezzlements by George paying teller of the Hack Trust Co.



Classified Want Ads

Forms for week-day issues close at 10 P. M. on the day preceding publication; Sunday edition closes at 10 P. M. on Friday

Harry S. Truman — Oct 23, 1946 - Opening Session of UN

Nov. 24, 1948 - UN Food + agriculture Org.

Oct. 24, 1950 UN general Assembly (NY)

X 12-8-53 Atoms for Peace

Dwight Eisenhower — June 20, 1955 (S.F.) 10th Anniversary

Sept. 22, 1960 General Ass UN

Oct. 14, 1960 - remarks to the UN.

John F Kennedy — Sept 25, 1961 (NY) Berlin Wall general Ass.

Dec. 11, 1961 Delegation of Women.

Sept. 20, 1963 18th general Ass.

Lyndon Johnson — Oct 23, 1964 19th UN Ass.

June 25, 1965 20th Ann

June 12, 1968 UN Endorsement.

Nixon — Sept 18, 1969 24th UN general

July 10, 1970 Dinner for UN

Oct 23, 1970 25th general UN

Oct 24, 1970 UN Dinner

Ford — 1974 UN. general Ass.

Ron Reagan

6-17-82 Special Session on disarmament

9-26-83 38th ann G. Assembly

Israel 9.24.84 39th general assembly

✓ 10.24.85 40th Ann. general Ass.

9.22.86 41st general Ass.

✓ 9.21.87 42nd general Ass

✓ 9.26.88 43rd general Ass.

manner that will enable the two countries to establish the basis for verification for effective limits on underground nuclear testing.

I believe such talks could work rapidly toward developing a new climate of policy understanding, one that is essential if crises are to be avoided and real arms control is to be negotiated. Of course, summit meetings have a useful role to play. But they need to be carefully prepared, and the benefit here is that meetings at the ministerial level would provide the kind of progress that is the best preparation for higher level talks between ourselves and the Soviet leaders. How much progress we will make and at what pace, I cannot say. But we have a moral obligation to try and try again.

Some may dismiss such proposals and my own optimism as simplistic American idealism, and they will point to the burdens of the modern world and to history. Well, yes, if we sit down and catalog year by year, generation by generation, the famines, the plagues, the wars, the invasions mankind has endured, the list will grow so long and the assault on humanity so terrific that it seems too much for the human spirit to bear.

But isn't this narrow and shortsighted and not at all how we think of history? Yes, the deeds of infamy or injustice are all recorded, but what shines out from the pages of history is the daring of the dreamers and the deeds of the builders and the doers. These things make up the stories we tell and pass on to our children. They comprise the most enduring and striking fact about human history—that through the heartbreak and tragedy man has always dared to perceive the outline of human progress, the steady growth in not just the material well-being, but the spiritual insight of mankind.

"There have been tyrants and murderers, and for a time they can seem invincible. But in the end, they always fail [fall].[1] Think on it . . . always. All through history, the way of truth and love has always won." That was the belief and the vision of Mahatma Gandhi. He described that, and it remains today a vision that is good and true.

"All is gift," is said to have been the favorite expression of another great spiritualist, a Spanish soldier who gave up the ways of war for that of love and peace. And if we're to make realities of the two great goals of the United Nations Charter—the dreams of peace and human dignity—we must take to heart these words of Ignatius Loyola; we must pause long enough to contemplate the gifts received from Him who made us: the gift of life, the gift of this world, the gift of each other—and the gift of the present.

It is this present, this time that now we must seize. I leave you with a reflection from Mahatma Gandhi, spoken with those in mind who said that the disputes and conflicts of the modern world are too great to overcome. It was spoken shortly after Gandhi's quest for independence had taken him to Britain.

"I am not conscious of a single experience throughout my 3 months' stay in England and Europe," he said, "that made me feel that after all East is East and West is West. On the contrary, I have been convinced more than ever that human nature is much the same, no matter under what clime it flourishes, and that if you approached people with trust and affection, you would have ten-fold trust and thousand-fold affection returned to you."

For the sake of a peaceful world, a world where human dignity and freedom is respected and enshrined, let us approach each other with ten-fold trust and thousand-fold affection. A new future awaits us. The time is here, the moment is now.

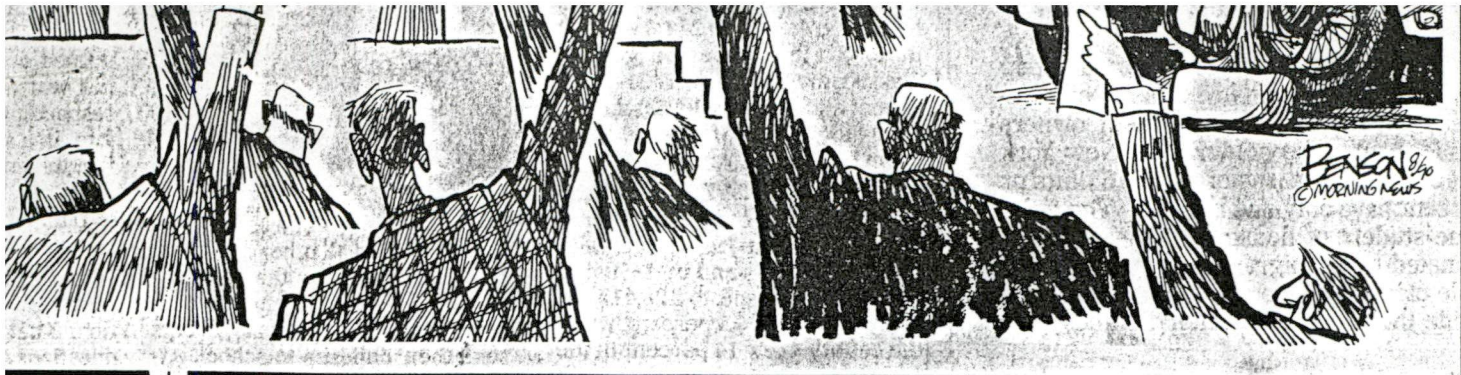
One of the Founding Fathers of our nation, Thomas Paine, spoke words that apply to all of us gathered here today. They apply directly to all sitting here in this room. He said, "We have it in our power to begin the world over again."

Thank you. God bless you.

Note: The President spoke at 10:31 a.m. in the General Assembly Hall of the United Nations Headquarters Building. He was introduced by Paul Lusaka, President of the 39th Session of the General Assembly.

Upon arrival at the United Nations, the President was greeted by Secretary-General Javier Perez de Cuellar de la Guerra.

[1] *White House correction.*



BRUCE FEIN

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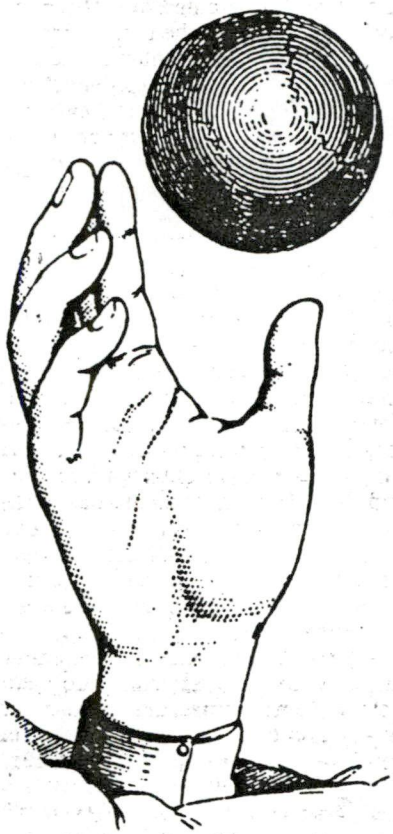
Indict Hussein for aggressive war?

International law precedents established at the Nuremberg and Tokyo war crimes trials make Iraqi President Saddam Hussein indictable for waging aggressive war against Kuwait. British Prime Minister Margaret Thatcher has suggested creating a special tribunal to try Mr. Hussein, and U.S. Secretary of State James Baker has voiced receptivity to the idea. A decent respect for elemental international tranquility militates in favor of indicting Mr. Hussein immediately.

After World War II, the allied victors — the United States, France, Great Britain, and the Soviet Union — agreed to an eight-member international military tribunal with jurisdiction to try leading Nazis for three offenses: crimes against peace, war crimes and crimes against humanity. Each allied nation enjoyed two seats, and decisions were made by majority vote.

Sixteen Nazi defendants were charged and 12 were convicted of "waging wars of aggression, which were also wars in violation of international treaties, agreements and assurances." The Nazi invasions of Poland, Norway, Greece and Yugoslavia, in addition to their warring against the allied nations, were all held to be aggressive wars in violation of international legal principles. The principles that denounced such belligerency were evidenced by the League of Nations Covenant (1919), the Locarno Pact (1925) and the Kellogg-Briand pact (1928). The Nuremberg judgment established the doctrine of individual criminal responsibility for aggressive war.

Bruce Fein is a lawyer and freelance writer specializing in legal issues.





The Tokyo International Military Tribunal for the Far East, created by U.S. Gen. Douglas MacArthur, convicted many Japanese leaders on numerous counts of waging aggressive war. Verdicts were rendered by majority votes, and the 11-member tribunal consisted of one justice each from Australia, Canada, China, France, Great Britain, India, the Netherlands, New Zealand, the Philippines, the Soviet Union and the United States.

The concept of aggressive war was left ambiguous in the Nuremberg and Tokyo decisions. The absence of any non-frivolous claim of national self-defense or provocation, however, was pivotal to the Nazi and Japanese guilty verdicts. Defining and applying a prohibition against aggressive war is concededly elusive, but no more so than many other legal constructs like obscenity.

The judgments at Nuremberg and Tokyo offered Mr. Hussein clear

see **FEIN**, *page G4*

would commit suicide in 1945. Nor did Josef Stalin in 1939 know or believe that Hitler would attack him in June 1941. Statesmen with extraordinary "inside" information resources frequently behave no differently from those with little access to "inside" information.

Those conservative commentators who sneer so knowingly at U.S. aid to an absolutist monarchy like Saudi Arabia or ask why we ought to honor the 1922 British-created national boundary between Iraq and Kuwait ought also to comment on whether the Allies should have fought against Nazi Germany with the Soviet Union as an ally. In October 1940, it was thought a good thing to come to the aid of a Greek dictator, John Metaxas, when his country was overrun by another dictator, Benito Mussolini. As Edmund Burke wrote: "Too often political choice is between the disagreeable and the intol-

Arnold Beichman, a research fellow at the Hoover Institution, is a columnist for The Washington Times.

shield of hostages and ask, again, if to do nothing against Iraqi aggression is morally supportable.

Prime Minister Winston Churchill successfully suppressed the true story of the Soviet massacre of Polish officers in the Katyn forest. The British ambassador to the Polish government-in-exile, Owen O'Malley, tried to get the true story about Katyn out to the world. He failed because of the Churchill-Roosevelt policy of appeasing Stalin. In his report, O'Malley wrote to Churchill: "What is morally indefensible is always politically inept."

What would those who oppose the U.S.-U.N. intervention in the Persian Gulf be saying now if President Bush had not moved and taken — even belatedly — leadership against Iraqi imperialism? What would the bombed Libya?

A powerful democracy like the United States must do what is morally defensible even if we cannot know in advance all possible outcomes. What is not in our "national interest" today may be in our national interest tomorrow or next year. We can, however, predict with some certainty what a world run by Saddam Hussein as the emperor of Arabia would be like. Look at the agonies of the tens of thousands of refugees squatting in Jordan as a foretaste of what would follow an Iraqi conquest of the Middle East. Look at the human shield of non-Iraqi hostages he has scattered around his strategic military holdings and ask, again, if to do nothing against Iraqi aggression against Kuwait is morally supportable.

It is not always easy in foreign policy to find nice, clean, just wars. Since men are imperfect, their wars tend to be imperfect, too. Arthur Koestler once wrote that World War II was a war against a total lie in the name of a half-truth. But better our half-truth than their total lie.

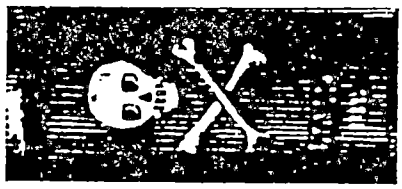
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From page G1

warning that he might be held criminally answerable for invading Kuwait. In 1963, Kuwait was admitted to the United Nations and recognized by Iraq as a distinct national sovereignty.

The Kuwaiti invasion eschewed any self-defense justification; Mr. Hussein has expressly defended his belligerency on the administrative unity of the current land mass of Iraq and Kuwait under the Ottoman Empire. What risible frivolity! Mr. Hussein's argument would justify Turkey in warring against all nations born from the collapse of the Ottoman empire, including Iraq. Moreover, Mr. Hussein's Kuwaiti war flouted Iraq's obligation under Section 2 of the U.N. Charter to desist from force against any nation, except in self-defense.

Although Mr. Hussein is clearly indictable for initiating a war of aggression against Kuwait, arguments against prosecution can be marshalled from Realpolitik. Many national leaders have waged aggressive wars and escaped criminal indictment, including Josef Stalin



(Poland, Finland, Estonia, Latvia, Lithuania), Leonid Brezhnev (Afghanistan), Emperor Hirohito (China, the United States, France, the Netherlands, Great Britain), and Moammar Gadhafi (Chad). But selective prosecution is an unconvincing defense. Many guilty potentates have been shielded because of the

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For almost half a century and longer, we have been fighting Soviet totalitarianism and we may have won the Cold War. Yes, let's face it, we were the "world's policeman." Should the West have acquiesced in the Soviet imperialist crusade? Should the United States have stayed out of Korea, out of Vietnam, out of Lebanon in 1958, out of Grenada, out of the Dominican Republic, not bombed Libya?

A powerful democracy like the United States must do what is morally defensible even if we cannot know in advance all possible outcomes. What is not in our "national interest" today may be in our national interest tomorrow or next year. We can, however, predict with some certainty what a world run by Saddam Hussein as the emperor of Arabia would be like. Look at the agonies of the tens of thousands of refugees squatting in Jordan as a foretaste of what would follow an Iraqi conquest of the Middle East. Look at the human shield of non-Iraqi hostages he has scattered around his strategic military holdings and ask, again, if to do nothing against Iraqi aggression against Kuwait is morally supportable.

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Democracy might be defined as the form of government under which nobody is innocent.

Everyone in a democracy shares power and therefore responsibility. The guilt for evil policies is also widely distributed among all who support such policies.

If this sounds like an overstatement, well, maybe it is. But I think it's closer to the truth than the complacent assumption that a democracy is automatically virtuous.

These thoughts are inspired by the bizarre proposal, now being lobbed around in some conservative circles, that the United States should use nuclear weapons against Iraq. As Dave Barry would say, we are not making this up.

A proposal surfaced in print in the Aug. 10 issue of The Washington Inquirer, a conservative weekly, in a lead article by Reed Irvine titled (we are not making this up, either) "How to Save Kuwait."

Mr. Irvine reports that the Inquirer's editor in chief, Wilson C. Lucom, sent President Bush a letter on Aug. 6 arguing that "if diplomatic efforts, sanctions, and international condemnation did not persuade Hussein to pull back, he should be

Joseph Sobran, a senior editor of National Review, is a nationally syndicated columnist.

world, including the democracies, would regard us with moral horror. And we would know they were right.

What is conservatism, anyway? It used to mean the disposition to resist the political passions of the moment and to sprinkle a little cool skepticism on the more fiery enthusiasms. But in some quarters it has come to mean the most rash and extreme militarism.

Since the Middle Ages, serious moral thinkers have tried to define the terms of civilized warfare, and one of the few things the West has generally agreed on is that civilians

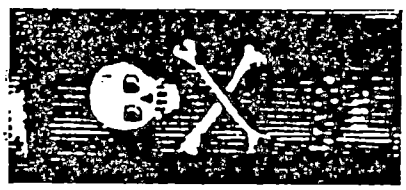
What Mr. Irvine and others are urging is mass murder.

should be spared. This rule has been broken countless times, like most moral rules, but that's no reason to abandon it.

"One death is a tragedy," Josef Stalin observed. "A million deaths is a statistic." Maybe if we singled out one Iraqi child by name, and threatened to kill her if Mr. Hussein doesn't withdraw from Iraq, it would be clearer to the advocates of what Mr. Irvine calls a "nuclear response" how monstrous a thing they are suggesting. Somehow it seems easier to kill a million.

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...ussein is clearly ...ting a war of ag- ...iwait, arguments ...n can be mar- ...olitik. Many na- ...e waged aggres- ...caped criminal ...ing Josef Stalin



(Poland, Finland, Estonia, Latvia, Lithuania), Leonid Brezhnev (Afghanistan), Emperor Hirohito (China, the United States, France, the Netherlands, Great Britain), and Moammar Gadhafi (Chad). But selective prosecution is an unconvincing defense. Many guilty potentates have been shielded because of the power of the nations they ruled; others have been ignored because their wars were insufficiently heinous or threatening to world order. But the fact that some war criminals escape justice does not reduce the culpability of those who are called to account. Tears were not shed by the international community over the Nazi and Japanese convictions for aggressive war because Stalin was not likewise condemned.

Saddam Hussein is distinguishable from other nefarious rulers by the enormity of his wickedness and designs. He invaded Iran without provocation in 1980. He has employed chemical weapons against his own people and Iranian civilians. He is seeking to acquire a nuclear bomb to intimidate and terrorize other nations. He is flouting international law by detaining hundreds of thousands of foreigners in Iraq and Kuwait and placing many in military or civilian installations to deter a military attack. He ruthlessly suppresses freedom in Iraq, assassinates Iraqi dissidents abroad, harbors terrorists and has executed a foreign journalist for the crime of observing a military installation. He has sounded a clarion call for a jihad against Saudi Arabia and Egypt.

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14TH STORY of Level 1 printed in FULL format.

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August 31, 1990, Friday, AM cycle

LENGTH: 834 words

HEADLINE: U.S. BUILDS " WAR CRIMES" FILE IN LATEST TURN OF SCREW ON IRAQ

BYLINE: By Jim Wolf

DATELINE: WASHINGTON

KEYWORD:
GULF-AMERICAN

BODY:

The United States disclosed Friday it is keeping track of possible Iraqi war crimes, leaving open the question of whether it might try to seize Saddam Hussein for a Nuremberg-type trial if he pushed things far enough.

In what seemed a clear effort to pump up the pressure on the Iraqi president with suggestions of dire consequences for his invasion of Kuwait, Washington also expressed outrage at his failure to carry through on a promise to free all foreign women and children held in Iraq or Kuwait.

"The Iraqis insist on stringing this out and putting all of these innocent people through this cruel ordeal," said State Department spokeswoman Margaret Tutwiler.

"Every time we think that we have figured their demands out (for releasing captive Americans), they change them."

President Bush pressed the diplomatic end of the Gulf crisis pressure game, phoning key foreign leaders to promote his proposal that wealthy nations that rely heavily on Gulf oil, such as West Germany and Japan, pay more of the cost of the U.S.-led effort to force Iraq out of Kuwait and defend Saudi Arabia from invasion.

The most dramatic turn of the screw, however, was the terse statement the State Department had prepared in response to news reports the United States was secretly building a " war crimes" file against Saddam.

"We are of course very concerned about Iraq's violations of international law including the taking of hostages and the use of civilians as a shield against military operations," Tutwiler said when asked about this issue at a news briefing.

"It is the normal polacy of the United States government to maintain files on possible violations of the law of war involving American citizens," she said.

She stopped short of saying whether the United States was actually preparing a criminal case against Saddam.

But she added: "We have not ruled out any actions in response to Iraqi-whether government or individual--violations of international law, and this

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subject is under review by our government."

The unspoken menace in the U.S. disclosure it was even building a war crimes file was that it would have to overthrow and capture Saddam in order to bring him before the sort of tribunal whose prototype prosecuted Nazi war criminals at Nuremberg after World War II.

Only last December, U.S. forces carried out a similar quest when they invaded Panama, deposed strongman Manuel Noriega and returned him to the United States in irons for trial on drug-running charges. He is in jail awaiting trial.

The Los Angeles Times, which broke the war crimes -file story, said potential allegations being tracked included use of chemical weapons, waging an illegal war of aggression, taking hostages, kidnapping diplomats, violating embassies and placing captives at military installations.

On the issue of freeing women and children held captive, Tutwiler said their release has been tangled in red tape that gets more complicated by the day.

By Friday, she said, Iraq had changed requirements for the exit permits that would be needed before the approximately 1,000 U.S. women and children could leave, calling for several new categories of permits.

The United States has requested Iraqi permission to have a charter plane land at Baghdad to airlift the women and children, but has not received a reply from Baghdad.

Bush pressed the drive for allied cost-sharing in the Gulf military buildup and naval blockade of Iraq from his vacation retreat in Kennebunkport, Maine.

Aides said he telephoned King Fahd of Saudi Arabia, Prime Minister Margaret Thatcher of Britain and President Francois Mitterrand of France.

"The president outlined his views on the need for burden sharing, which were shared by the other leaders," White House spokesman Marlin Fitzwater said. "All the leaders emphasized the need for continued cooperative efforts to maintain the international community's steadfast stand against the Iraqi aggression in Kuwait."

On Thursday Bush announced a drive to persuade wealthy allies to help finance part of the U.S. deployment in the Gulf and to help countries hurt by the trade embargo in the region.

Sen. Patrick Leahy, chairman of the Senate Appropriations subcommittee on foreign operations, was critical of the impression he said could be portrayed by the Bush plan.

"It makes no sense at all to give the impression to the rest of the world that we can get involved- but only if we can send you a bill," said the Vermont Democrat Thursday.

"This is not a rent-a-military. It's not a mercenary force," Leahy said on NBC's "Today" show. "It's not some kind of a Hertz or Avis operation," referring to car rental firms.

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September 8, 1990

There has been much talk lately of a new international order that is emerging to replace the Cold War. In my hundreds of conversations with world leaders since the Iraqi aggression I can report to you and to the American people that something good and positive can come out of this, because there is a desire around the world for a new and better system for the 21st century. Let me take a moment to share with you my vision of a community of international responsibility, united in its determination for peace, but mindful of its rights and duties.

First, it is a vision of a community. As Woodrow Wilson said, "There must be, not a balance of power, but a community of power; not organized rivalries, but organized peace."

Second, it is a vision of international responsibility. Because, as Franklin Roosevelt said, "When peace has been broken anywhere, the peace of all countries everywhere is in danger."

Finally, and most importantly, it is a vision of peace. A vision of peace through strength, to be sure, but also a vision of peace through law, of peace based on common interests and common aspirations, never more so than today, when the new breeze of freedom is blowing around the world. As John Kennedy said: "There is no single, simple key to this peace -- no grand or magic formula to be adopted by one or two powers. Genuine peace must be the product of many nations, the sum of many acts. It must be dynamic, not static, changing to meet the challenge of each new generation. For peace is a process -- a way of solving problems...So let us persevere."

(Tragically, John Kennedy never lived to see the end of the Cold War, but its end was hastened by the bipartisan policy of international leadership and cooperation that he envisioned. The long twilight struggle has given way to a new dawn of peaceful potential. But it is only a bright prospect if we fail to hold the torch high as a beacon for the rest of the world. I am proud to say that a new generation -- most of them not even born when JFK was alive -- has indeed picked up the torch, and today stands watch in the Persian Gulf.)

A Community of International Responsibility. There has never been as great an opportunity as there is today to secure a lasting and effective partnership of nations. The decline of the Cold War, the freer flow of information, trade, and ideas are all combining to create a world where aggression is thwarted by a coordinated, cooperative response of nations.

Some may ask: what about the American national interest? I say American interests are best served by a peaceful, harmonious community of international interest.

It is my hope that the United Nations can continue to play a vital role in this. The five Security Council Resolutions, the coordination on the embargo, all point to a day, not yet here, when all the nations of the world are truly united in their search for a just international order.

Dwight Eisenhower said "peace ... cannot be borne of fear alone; it must be rooted in the lives of nations. There must be justice, sensed and shared by all peoples, for without justice the world can know only a tense and unstable truce." The Community of Interational Responsibility we seek will protect the small and the weak and allow all peoples everywhere to fulfill their dreams in peace.

"new Partnership of Nations"

UNGA

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

Nixon UNGA

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

Ladies and gentlemen:

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

[1] See Item 361.

126 ¶ Address at the Tenth Anniversary Meeting of the United Nations, San Francisco, California. *June* 20, 1955

[Broadcast over radio and television at 3:00 p.m.]

President Van Kleffens, distinguished representatives of the member nations of this great organization, ladies and gentlemen:

This, my second appearance before the United Nations, gives me, as Chief Executive of the United States, the great privilege of joining with you in commemoration of an historic date—significant, momentous, for all mankind.

I am privileged to bring you a special message from the Congress of the United States. Last week the Congress unanimously adopted a resolution requesting me to express to all of you here, on behalf of the people of the United States, our deep desire for peace and our hope that all nations will join with us in a renewed effort for peace.

Later this week my close friend and associate, Secretary John Foster Dulles, speaking with my full confidence and concurrence, will address you on appropriate elements in the foreign policy of the United States. Because of this circumstance, it seems fitting that I, today, speak principally in terms of my country's unswerving loyalty to the United Nations and of the reasons for our tireless support of it.

A decade ago, in this city, in this building, the Charter of the United Nations was signed by its fifty founding members. Into a world, shattered and still at war but hopeful and eager for a new dawn, was born an international organization, fashioned to be the supreme instrument of world peace.

For this nation, I pay respectful tribute to you whose faith, and patience, and courage, and wisdom have brought it through ten tumultuous, frequently discouraging, sometimes terrifying—but often rewarding years. That there have been failures in attempts

to solve international difficulties by the principles of the Charter, none can deny. That there have been victories, only the willfully blind can fail to see. But clear it is that without the United Nations the failures would still have been written as failures into history. And, certainly, without this organization the victories could not have been achieved; instead, they might well have been recorded as human disasters. These, the world has been spared.

So, with the birthday congratulations I bring, I reaffirm to you the support of the Government of the United States in the purposes and aims of the United Nations, and in the hopes that inspired its founders.

Today, together, we face a second decade. We face it with the accumulated experience of the first ten years, as well as with the awful knowledge of nuclear weapons and the realization that a certain and enduring peace still eludes our persistent search.

But the summer of 1955, like that one of 1945, is another season of high hope for the world. There again stirs in the hearts of men a renewed devotion to the work for the elimination of war. Each of us here is witness that never in ten years has the will of many nations seemed so resolved to wage an honest and sustained campaign for a just and lasting peace. True, none of us can produce incontestable evidence to support this feeling. Nevertheless, all of us, I think, will testify that the heartfelt longings of countless millions for abundance and justice and peace seem to be commanding, everywhere, a response from their governments. These longings have strengthened the weak, encouraged the doubtful, heartened the tired, confirmed the believing. Almost it seems that men, with souls restored, are, with faith and courage, resuming the march toward the greatest human goal.

Within a month there will be a Four Power Conference of Heads of Government. Whether or not we shall then reach the initial decisions that will start dismantling the terrible apparatus of fear and mistrust and weapons erected since the end of World War II, I do not know.

The basis for success is simply put: it is that every individual at that meeting be loyal to the spirit of the United Nations and dedicated to the principles of its Charter.

I can solemnly pledge to you here—and to all the men and women of the world who may hear or read my words—that those who represent the United States will strive to be thus loyal, thus dedicated. For us of the United States, there is no alternative, because our devotion to the United Nations Charter is the outgrowth of a faith deeply rooted in our cultural, political, spiritual traditions.

Woven into the Charter is the belief of its authors:

That man—a physical, intellectual and spiritual being—has individual rights, divinely bestowed, limited only by the obligation to avoid infringement upon the equal rights of others;

That justice, decency and liberty, in an orderly society, are concepts which have raised men above the beasts of the field: to deny any person the opportunity to live under their shelter is a crime against all humanity.

Our Republic was born, grew, stands firm today in a similar belief!

The Charter assumes:

That every people has the inherent right to the kind of government under which it chooses to live and the right to select in full freedom the individuals who conduct that government.

Hence the Charter declares:

That on every nation in possession of foreign territories, there rests the responsibility to assist the peoples of those areas in the progressive development of free political institutions so that ultimately they can validly choose for themselves their permanent political status.

Our long history as a republic manifests a self-imposed compulsion to practice these same principles.

The Charter recognizes that only those who enjoy free access to historical and current facts and information, and through objective education learn to comprehend their meanings, can

successfully maintain and operate a system of self-government. Our Republic, likewise, maintains that access to knowledge and education is the right of all its citizens—and of all mankind.

Written under the shadow of war, the Charter is strong in the conviction that no nation has a right to employ force aggressively against any other. To do so, or to threaten to do so, is to defy every moral law that has guided man in his long journey from darkness toward the light. Those who wrote it clearly realized that global war has come to pose for civilization a threat of shattering destruction and a sodden existence by the survivors in a dark and broken world.

Likewise they recognized that the first responsibility of every nation is to provide for its own defense; and, in pursuance of this responsibility, it has the clear right to associate itself with other like-minded peoples for the promotion of their common security.

But they who wrote the Charter emphasized that in the formation of such associations, within the framework of the United Nations, it is incumbent upon the contracting parties to inform the world by solemn assurance, always supported by deeds, that the sole purpose is defense, devoid of aggressive aims.

We as a nation believe these truths that are expressed in the Charter. We strive to live by them. So:

We shall always maintain a government at home that recognizes and constantly seeks to sustain for the individual those rich economic, intellectual, and spiritual opportunities to which his human rights entitle him.

In our relations with all other nations, our attitude will reflect full recognition of their sovereign and equal status. We shall deal with common problems in a spirit of partnership.

Insofar as our technical, material, and intellectual capacities permit and wherever our aid, including the peaceful use of atomic energy, may be needed and desired, we shall continue to help others achieve constantly rising economic levels. Thereby, we trust that they will have increased opportunity to attain their own cultural and spiritual aspirations.

We shall work with all others—especially through this great organization, the United Nations—so that peaceful and reasonable negotiations may replace the clash of the battlefield. In this way we can in time make unnecessary the vast armaments that—even when maintained only for security—still terrify the world with their devastating potentiality and tax unbearably the creative energies of men.

As some success in disarmament is achieved, we hope that each of the so-called great powers will contribute to the United Nations, for promoting the technical and economic progress of the less productive areas, a portion of the resultant savings in military expenditures.

An abiding faith inspired the men and women who devised the great Charter under which you work. We of the United States share that faith. We hold fast to the hope that all nations in their intercourse with others will observe those amenities of deportment, customs and treatment of other nationals as are sanctioned by tradition, by logic, and by friendly purposes.

We and a majority of all nations, I believe, are united in another hope: that every government will abstain from itself attempting, or aiding others to attempt, the coercion, infiltration, or destruction of other governments in order to gain any political or material advantage or because of differences in philosophies, religions, or ideologies.

We, with the rest of the world, know that a nation's vision of peace cannot be attained through any race in armaments. The munitions of peace are justice, honesty, mutual understanding, and respect for others.

So believing and so motivated, the United States will leave no stone unturned to work for peace. We shall reject no method however novel, that holds out any hope however faint, for a just and lasting peace.

May I recall to you the words of a great citizen of this country, Abraham Lincoln, which, though uttered in a different context, apply to the problem which the world now seeks to solve.

He said: ". . . The dogmas of the quiet past are inadequate to the stormy present. The occasion is piled high with difficulty, and we must rise with the occasion. As our case is new, so we must think anew and act anew. We must disenthrall ourselves, and then we shall save our country."

In such a body as this, it seems fitting that we should add to Lincoln's words: "Each for himself, our country and humanity."

The object of our second decade is still peace—but a peace of such new kind that all the world will think anew and act anew.

It cannot be a mere stilling of the guns—it must be a glorious way of life. In that life the atom, dedicated once as man's slayer, will become his most productive servant. It will be a peace to inspire confidence and faith so that all peoples will be released from the fear of war. Scientists will be liberated to work always for men, never against them. Who can doubt that in the next ten years world science can so beat down the ravages of disease and the pangs of poverty that humankind will experience a new expansion of living standards and of cultural and spiritual horizons. In this new kind of peace the artist, teacher and philosopher, workman, farmer, producer, and scientist will truly work together for the common welfare.

These hopes are not new. They are as old as history. But now as we meet on this tenth anniversary in the city where was born the United Nations, we must realize that at last they are steadily and surely attainable. This is new. Our part is to rededicate ourselves to the ideals of the United Nations Charter. May we here and now renew our determination to fulfill man's ancient dream, the dream which so inspired the founders of this organization.

Thus our duty will be nobly done, and future generations will behold the United Nations and stand up to call it blessed.

May I please express to your President my grateful thanks for his invitation to address this distinguished body. To each of you my gratitude for your courteous attention.

Thank you very much.

MEMORANDUM OF CALL

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OF (Organization) US - UN

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63-110 NSN 7540-00-634-4018
☆U.S. GPO: 1986—181-246/40015

STANDARD FORM 63 (Rev. 8-81)
Prescribed by GSA
FPMR (41 CFR) 101—11.6

Union of Soviet Socialist Republics

PERMANENT MISSION TO THE UNITED NATIONS

136 EAST 67TH STREET • NEW YORK, NEW YORK 10021

Press Release

CHECK AGAINST DELIVERY

S T A T E M E N T

BY EDUARD A. SHEVARDNADZE, MINISTER
FOR FOREIGN AFFAIRS OF THE USSR,
AT THE FORTY-FIFTH SESSION
OF THE GENERAL ASSEMBLY
OF THE UNITED NATIONS

25 September 1990

New York

2711

Mr. President,

Distinguished delegates,

Ladies and gentlemen,

From the vantage point of this forty-fifth session of the United Nations General Assembly one might look back in amazement at how strikingly different is the terrain we have covered in just one year from the familiar landscape of the preceding four decades.

Politically, this was not just a calendar year but a light year in the history of the world.

The cold war, with its accompanying stress, psychoses and anticipation of disaster, is no longer a part of our life. Gone is the strain of daily confrontation, propaganda bickering and reciprocal threats.

This was the year during which pieces of the Berlin wall were a popular souvenir. And now, an end has been put to the division of Europe and a final line drawn under the Second World War. The unification of the two German states is being completed. The "German question", this "great" and "classical" problem of world politics which only yesterday seemed intractable, has been resolved calmly and to mutual satisfaction.

Almost unnoticed, the military alliances have lost their enemies. They are beginning to build their relations on a new basis, moving away from confrontation which is being eroded by disarmament, lower defence spending, more wide-ranging confidence-building measures and the emergence of collective and cooperative security structures.

Unprecedented progress has been made in the peaceful resolution of regional conflicts by political means. In Southern Africa the United Nations plan for the independence of Namibia has been implemented. The situation around Nicaragua has been settled, and a dynamic search for peace is under way in Cambodia, Afghanistan and other hot spots of the globe. All this is being done with the most active participation of the United Nations.

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These positive changes in the world have been propelled by a new relationship between the Soviet Union and the United States, which is evolving from cooperation to partnership and interaction.

The political environment is clearly being defined by the global recognition of the supremacy of universal human values. Democratic forms are becoming established in running the affairs of states and in the conduct of international affairs.

The United Nations too is being reborn. We are pleased to note that President Mikhail Gorbachev's ideas concerning the role of the Organization in the changing world have been seen to reflect majority opinion and the real needs of the international community.

The central concepts of today's politics are cooperation, interaction and partnership in facing the global challenges of combatting economic backwardness, poverty and social inequality and protecting the environment.

Had this session taken place before last August, we would have had every reason to say that mankind had cleared a narrow and dangerous passage and had wide and glowing horizons ahead of it.

But now our field of vision has been obscured by the dark cloud of aggression against Kuwait. On that Black Thursday Iraq flagrantly violated the United Nations Charter, the principles of international law, the universally recognized norms of morality and the standards of civilized behaviour. Iraq has committed an unprovoked aggression, annexed a neighbouring sovereign state, seized thousands of hostages and resorted to unprecedented blackmail, threatening to use weapons of mass destruction.

There is also another dimension to Iraq's action. It has dealt a blow to all that mankind has recently achieved, all that we have been able to accomplish together, by adopting the new political thinking as our guide to the future.

An act of terrorism has been perpetrated against the emerging new world order. This is a major affront to mankind. Unless we find a way to respond to it and cope with the situation, our civilization will be thrown back by half a century.

The Security Council reacted rapidly and with determination, as required by the nature and dimensions of the threat. There is no doubt that it expressed the will of the international community.

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Iraqi actions are having and will have the gravest consequences for the people of Iraq and for millions of men, women and children in many countries of the world, for their hopes and their future. War may break out in the Gulf region any day, any moment.

From this rostrum we would like to appeal once again to the leaders of Iraq. We are doing it as their old friends and as a country that found the courage to condemn its wrongdoings against certain states in the past. We call upon them to hear reason, to obey the demands of the law and also of plain common sense, to take a responsible and humane attitude, above all vis-a-vis the Iraqi people, who surely yearn for peace, tranquility and good relations with their neighbours.

We also hope that at this time of grave trial Arab states will live up to the expectations of mankind and help to find a way out of the Persian Gulf crisis. This would make it possible to deal with other hotbeds of conflict in the Middle East, and to find an equitable solution to the Palestinian problem.

If the world has survived to this day it is because at tragic moments in its history the forces of evil were always opposed by the forces of good, arbitrary power by the rule of law, treachery and meanness by honour and decency, and violence by the strength of the spirit and the belief in justice.

Today is no time for rejoicing, but one cannot help being satisfied at the unprecedented unity of the Security Council and the clear attitude of the international public opinion in the face of Iraq's behaviour. This gives us confidence in the ability of the United Nations to deal with this grave international crisis. The positions taken by members of this Organization give the Security Council the mandate to go as far as the interests of world peace will require.

Some may find that Iraq is being judged by a different, higher standard than that applied to other countries even in quite recent past. My answer is this: It is good that we have reached this point. It is good that we have adopted a universal human yardstick of good and evil; that we are calling aggression by its proper name and consider it necessary to condemn and punish its perpetrator and to help the victim of injustice.

These days are a trying time, a test for our Organization. If it passes this test it will immeasurably enhance its prestige, gain new experience and new capabilities. There is no doubt that it will use them to restore peace and justice in other conflict situations and to ensure the implementation of its resolutions bearing on all regional problems.

An approach based on mankind's common interest does not permit any other kind of behaviour. From now on the world community intends to act by a common set of standards.

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International relations are being freed from the vestiges of the cold war which for many years had a negative effect on the international legal order. We are again becoming the united nations and are returning to our own global Constitution - the Charter of the United Nations, to those of its provisions that were forgotten for a while but have been proven to be indispensable for the most important of our tasks - the maintenance of international peace and security. The establishment of the principles of new thinking in world politics has enabled us to start implementing the effective measures of persuasion and enforcement provided in the Charter.

In the context of recent events we should remind those who regard aggression as an acceptable form of behaviour that the United Nations has the power to "suppress acts of aggression". There is ample evidence that this right can be exercised. It will be, if the illegal occupation of Kuwait continues. There is enough unity in this regard in the Security Council, and there is also the will and a high degree of consensus in the world community.

Of course, before - and I reiterate - before this all political, peaceful, non-military forms of pressure must be applied to the aggressor, obviously in combination with economic and other enforcement measures.

In a way, the Gulf crisis is not just a tragedy and an extremely dangerous threat to peace; it is also a serious challenge for all of us to review the ways and means of maintaining security, the methods of protecting law and order on our planet, the mechanisms for controlling the processes which affect the state of human civilization in the broadest meaning of this term, and the role of the United Nations in this.

As any other democratically operating organization, the United Nations can function effectively if it has a mandate from its members, if states agree on a voluntary and temporary basis to delegate to it a portion of their sovereign rights and to entrust it with performing certain tasks in the interests of the majority.

It cannot be otherwise in today's world. Only in this way can we make the period of peace lasting and irreversible and follow up on our initial success in bringing about a healthier climate in international relations.

Life poses new challenges. What will be needed in the first place is, in our view, a theoretical and conceptual reassessment of the political, technological, economic, environmental, humanitarian and cultural realities of the modern world and of its human dimension. The world is consolidating on the basis of universal human values. Partnership is replacing rivalry. It is becoming the basis for relations between many countries that used to regard each other as adversaries.

6/17

Partnership is not just a fashionable term. It came in evidence during the latest crisis and underlied the close and constructive interaction among the permanent members of the Security Council. But the decline of East-West rivalry as a real or perceived factor in international relations may bring to the arena of world politics new figures and new phenomena. One such phenomenon we will probably have to deal with is claims to regional hegemony.

Among the issues assuming a critical importance for the future of mankind are the non-proliferation of nuclear, chemical, bacteriological and missile technologies and, more generally, the disproportionate growth of the military sector in some economies and societies.

Even in the past the doctrines of the "balance of terror" and "nuclear deterrence" were questionable means of maintaining peace and security. In the new conditions they simply become irrelevant.

We need to define the criteria of defense sufficiency. The Iraqi aggression would seem to make it difficult even to discuss this. After all, what can be sufficient in the face of the irrational? On the other hand, the aggression has once again underscored the validity of the argument that no nation should have the exclusive prerogative or absolute freedom to determine its own level of armament. Any other approach would result in an unbridled arms race and all-out militarization. We must look toward different principles, toward an accommodation of reciprocal concerns and a balance of armaments at the lowest possible levels.

We in the Soviet Union have the unfortunate experience of building up a redundant defense capability. This was due more to an erroneous assessment of the situation and a desire to protect the country against any eventuality than to any evil intent or aggressiveness. At the time, we and our adversaries took an overly "arithmetical" approach to military parity. Of course, parity is needed for global stability, but it should not go beyond the limits of reasonable defense sufficiency.

We have drawn and continue to draw appropriate conclusions for ourselves. It is now common knowledge that militarization is wasteful for any country and can be ruinous when taken to extremes.

In the longer term, the world community will need to monitor the military power of states, arms supplies and transfers of military technology. Such an approach will be in everyone's interests and will strengthen stability and trust. Otherwise, we will continue to be confronted with armed conflicts and attempts to intimidate and blackmail. Above all it will be necessary to

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keep a close watch on those countries that make determined efforts to build up the offensive capabilities of their armed forces. Moreover, to have them explain why this is being done.

Of course, the United Nations itself will have to play the primary role in this. But the Organization will need effective support from regional security structures which are already becoming a reality in Europe and which we hope will emerge in Asia and the Pacific, in the Middle East, in Central America and elsewhere in the world.

We might consider the idea of introducing on a global and regional level the international registration of certain types of armaments that are produced or acquired. There is a need for transparency in this area.

We need to agree on principles governing the sale and supply of arms. Such attempts were made in the past, but unfortunately they were not carried through.

In our view, we must urgently request the Geneva Conference on Disarmament to address this issue and submit recommendations to the next session of the General Assembly.

Two years ago the Soviet delegation raised the issue of reactivating the work of the Security Council's Military Staff Committee. Recent developments have convinced us of the need to return to the original idea conceived by the founders of this Organization and of its Charter.

We know why the Military Staff Committee has never become a functioning body. During the cold war the Committee could not and did not have a role to play. Now, however, we see that without substantive recommendations from this body the Security Council is unable to carry out its functions under the Charter.

The architects of our Organization proceeded from the harsh realities of the Second World War and were right in assuming that for the Organization to be effective in keeping peace and preventing war, it must have the means to enforce its decisions and, if necessary, to suppress aggression, and have a mechanism for preparing and coordinating such actions.

The Soviet delegation believes that the Security Council must take the necessary organizational steps to be able to act in strict conformity with the provisions of the Charter.

It should begin by initiating steps to reactivate the work of the Military Staff Committee and study the practical aspects of assigning national military contingents to serve under the authority of the Council.

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The Soviet Union is prepared to conclude an appropriate agreement with the Security Council. We are sure that the other permanent members of the Council and states that might be approached by it will do the same.

If the Military Staff Committee worked properly, if appropriate agreements had been concluded between the Council and its permanent members, and if other organizational aspects of countering threats to peace had been worked out, there would be no need now for individual states to act unilaterally. After all, however justified they might be, such actions provoke a mixed response, create problems for those same states and may not be acceptable to all.

By contrast, there is no reason to object to steps taken by legitimate international "law-enforcement bodies" - the Security Council and its Military Staff Committee.

We should not underestimate even the psychological effect of the Security Council acquiring structures and forces to counter aggression.

I would like to emphasize that the use of force is only possible as a last resort. We must rely on non-military, political means and pursue our objectives in a peaceful manner. Today more than ever before it is these methods that are becoming effective.

The latest crisis has dramatically illustrated the importance of preventing the spread of weapons of mass destruction.

To be frank, the situation is beginning to cause alarm. Let us face it: cracks have appeared in the nuclear non-proliferation regime; IAEA is having difficulty expanding the zone of application of its safeguards. It is time to trigger off the emergency systems in order to save the situation. As a matter of utmost urgency, nuclear tests must be stopped. If testing is stopped, we have a chance to survive; otherwise the world will perish. We need to tell people about it frankly, without taking refuge in all sorts of specious arguments. Should we perhaps invite the Parliaments of all countries to express their attitude to nuclear explosions?

What else has to happen to set in motion the elimination of chemical weapons? The Soviet Union and the United States are setting an example by doing so on a bilateral basis. But what about the others? It is really odd that while there is no person, no politician who would publicly call for retaining toxic agents things are at a standstill.

Should we perhaps ask for a roll-call vote right in this room to see who votes against? If everyone is in favour, let us just work out a binding schedule for completing work on the Convention and set a timeframe for the destruction of chemical weapons. Similar problems, mostly concerning verification, arise with regard to biological weapons.

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Swift action is needed on all these issues, yet the debate at the Geneva Conference on Disarmament proceeds in a quiet and leisurely manner. Should this be tolerated? Even as dangerous developments are gaining critical momentum in the world, the negotiations continue at a pace that was set at the time of the cold war.

I think negotiators at the Palais des Nations in Geneva should pull up the blinds. Let them see what is going on outside and let people know what those disarmament pundits are reflecting upon.

I don't want to offend anyone. I know that eminent people work there. But what is to be done? The time has come to cry out.

I cannot fail to mention yet another aspect of security.

The world community should also consider the possibility of various "unconventional situations" arising from the mass taking of hostages and cases of blackmail involving particularly dangerous and destructive weapons.

These problems will have to be addressed at two levels - technical and legal. We could start out by setting up a group of experts for contingency planning under the Security Council.

The group could include experts on combatting terrorism, psychologists, nuclear physicists, chemists, physicians, disaster relief workers, experts on physical protection of facilities, etc.

Recommendations regarding the management of "unconventional situations" should be made known to a limited number of people. The Security Council may find it necessary upon recommendation of the Military Staff Committee to establish a rapid response force to be formed on a contract basis from units specially designated by different countries, including the five permanent members of the Security Council. This idea also deserves discussion.

But technical methods alone are not enough to deal with such things. In our view there is an urgent need to institute a new norm in international law which would declare the threat by any individual for purposes of blackmail of using weapons of mass destruction, hostage-taking or mass terror to be a crime against humanity. Such work is currently underway somewhere in the labyrinths of this Organization, but so far inconclusively.

What we need, however, is to create as soon as possible a moral and legal environment in which anyone guilty of grave crimes against humanity, of participating in atrocities, in taking hostages, acts of terrorism or torture, and those guilty of particular ruthlessness in the use of force, could not escape punishment and would not be absolved from personal responsibility even if they acted under orders.

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The principle of suppressing aggression and threats to peace should, in our view, be complemented with the principle of individual responsibility and commensurate punishment.

This is a difficult question from the legal standpoint. An advisory opinion of the International Court of Justice should be sought on this subject. Incidentally, we would be in favour of enhancing the role of that body and would welcome a more up-to-date interpretation of its competence.

The Gulf crisis is causing a major dislocation in the entire system of world economy. Its true magnitude is even difficult to assess now. It is clear that the consequences will be severe for the economies of the developing countries, particularly the poorest of them, those burdened by large foreign debt. Merely stating this is not enough. Action must be taken without delay. It is necessary to establish as soon as possible an international machinery, maybe a temporary one for the time being, for example under the auspices of the International Monetary Fund or the World Bank, to mitigate the negative consequences of this crisis for countries which are in a particularly vulnerable position.

We are of the view that sounding out the economic repercussions of the crisis should be primarily the function of the United Nations. The Organization should be the center of action in situations affecting the interests of many countries.

The Soviet Union as a major oil-producing and energy-exporting country will be prepared to cooperate in implementing measures under the auspices of the United Nations or of any other international body, aimed at stabilizing the economic situation in the world. This should not be a matter of individual steps of a mostly charitable nature to assist individual countries. What is needed is a global policy of stabilization and compensation.

History, particularly modern history, teaches all kinds of lessons. They should not be ignored or underestimated. One of them is that security can hardly be lasting unless it is supported by economic growth combined with spiritual health and by traditional cultural values combined with new technologies and a concern for the environment.

Hence the need for cooperation in the 1990s to be geared to the resolution of the entire set of global economic and environmental problems. A new, "poverty curtain", this time between North and South, must not be allowed to fall. If it does, the division of the world that will follow may prove fatal to our civilization. We have no time to lose. A global strategy for development and for solving universal problems is needed now. The United Nations, supported by its specialized agencies and by outside intellectual resources, should take the lead in formulating such a strategy.

11/711

An interdependent world calls for a new level of multilateral economic partnership. Cooperation on a bilateral basis and in selected areas is no longer enough.

The special session of the General Assembly on international economic cooperation has clearly shown that everybody would gain if each group of countries were to adjust its approaches and show willingness to forsake individual or group self-interest in economic cooperation, setting as its highest priority the interests of the common good, "a global self-interest" if you will, which would no longer be selfish.

We welcome the provisions of the Declaration of the special session which support the integration of the USSR and East European countries into the world economy. We hope that the United Nations will give concrete expression to its support for this process.

The Soviet contribution to these efforts will certainly be growing as we move ahead with perestroika at home, deepen our economic reform and switch over to a market economy. We have firmly opted for a closer association with GATT, the International Monetary Fund, the World Bank and the Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development, with a view to joining them as soon as necessary internal and external conditions are in place.

We also see a unique contribution that we can make to the development of international cooperation. For geographical and other reasons we are in a better position than others to serve as a link between Europe and Asia and to contribute to the establishment of a single Eurasian space in the economic, scientific, technological, environmental and other areas. This could be facilitated, for instance, by Soviet communication lines and equipment, including space communication systems.

Scientific and technological progress has become a major factor shaping the world's future. The global nature of its implications places in a new perspective the need to coordinate national policies in this area. The United Nations and its system of organizations can and must, in our view, assume a leading role in these efforts.

This is an area in which trust among states is of special importance. Without trust, barriers to international scientific and technological cooperation cannot be dismantled. We think that the international community should take a stand against monopolism in the field of science and technology. Without that, it will be difficult to deal effectively with underdevelopment and the numerous problems of the developing world.

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If we succeeded in really focusing the global development strategy on scientific and technological progress, we could substantially mitigate such alarming trends as the brain drain, the growing professional migration, and the rising cost and narrowing scope of research.

The United Nations would do well to take the lead in organizing a wide ranging discussion on the role of thought, science and technology in addressing the problems of today's world.

Much has been said lately on environmental issues. We even run the risk of "talking away" our future, for until now very little has been done at the global level while the destruction of the environment is outstripping our preparations to deal with the threat.

I hope that even as we continue to prepare for the 1992 Conference on the Environment and Development in Brazil, we will be able to start implementing specific environmental projects.

In our view, one of the priority measures would be to establish a United Nations center for emergency environmental assistance. We have submitted to the Secretary General a list of Soviet scientists and specialists whom, upon the center's request, we will be ready to send at our expense as part of international expert teams to areas of environmental disasters.

We are well aware that a healthy environment requires considerable investment both on the national and global levels. As we see it, the way to go is to reduce military expenditures and to promote conversion in the defense production sector. There is no alternative. The figures are well known. 800 billion dollars must be spent before the end of this century to avert environmental degradation. That sum is almost equal to what the world spends on the military each year.

The Chernobyl tragedy has highlighted the urgency of environmental protection problems.

We are grateful to the governments and various agencies which are joining in the hard work of dealing with the consequences of the disaster. On behalf of the Soviet people I also wish to express our gratitude to all international, governmental and public organizations and private citizens who have offered their help to the victims.

Our special thanks go to UNESCO and to those countries and organizations that reached out so movingly to Chernobyl's children, inviting them to come for rest and medical treatment and sharing with them the warmth of their hearts. The Secretary General's decision to designate a special representative for Chernobyl disaster relief has been greatly appreciated in our country.

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The multidimensional approach to security supported by our Organization brings into focus the interrelationship between the security of states and the well-being and freedom of the individual. The human being is coming to the fore and the human dimension is becoming a universal yardstick for any international initiative. For us and for the United Nations the security of the individual, or every citizen, and the protection of fundamental human rights are inseparable from the national security of states and international security as a whole.

I think the time has also come to look at regional conflicts from the standpoint of human rights. Those rights include the right to life and personal safety as well as the right to enjoy fundamental freedoms and to participate in the democratic process of government.

The main task for the international community is to create conditions in which people would be able to make a free choice. Disputes must be settled through the ballot box, not in the trenches of war.

Speaking about the future, we would also like to respond to those who are following with understandable concern the developments in our country. It is true that our domestic situation is not at all simple and still far from stable.

But, whatever the complexity of our situation, one has to see that it is evolving against the background of the emancipation, active political involvement and reaffirmation of their national identities by all of our country's nations. They are opening themselves to the world and the world is discovering them.

That this process is accompanied by certain difficulties and even losses should be no reason for excessive alarm, because the Soviet people and the democratic forces that are assuming responsibility for the future of our Union are aware of the Soviet Union's place in the world and of its responsibility for the maintenance of global stability. This awareness is shared by all nations in our multinational country, and they will all act responsibly, realizing that stability in the world will also mean peace in their own home.

In working for the renewal of our society we have seen how important it is to defend democratic principles at all levels, domestically and internationally.

If attempts to embark on the path of democracy were to end in failure or, worse still, in defeat, it would have grave consequences for the world's future, not to mention the risk of chaos and new dictatorships.

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To prevent that should be in everyone's interest.

Today the humane goal formulated by Kant two centuries ago has special relevance for all of us: "The greatest challenge for the human race, which nature compels it to meet, is to attain a universal civic society based on the rule of law".

The key to this lies in strengthening the existing instruments of humanitarian cooperation, in the universal observance of international covenants on human rights and in the improvement of international humanitarian monitoring procedures.

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As we meet for our Organization's 45th General Assembly, we are speaking not so much of its maturity but of the beginning of its rebirth, its restoration according to the blueprints of 1945. And, wiping off the grime left by cold war, we see a work of collective wisdom. The United Nations devised their organization as an instrument of action. We must see to it that from now on all of us gear our words to joint actions. This is what our time is all about. The philosophy of today is a philosophy of action.

This is the sixth time I speak from this rostrum and the sixth time I attend a session of the General Assembly. It has been a great, first-rate school.

Where else can one become so closely involved with the entire gamut of human problems and encounter such a constellation of personalities, intellectuals, professionals and scholars whose brilliant qualities are epitomized by the Secretary General of our Organization, Mr. Perez de Cuellar.

I consider myself very fortunate to have met and worked here with real political leaders and great men during the years when the United Nations returned to what it was meant to be - a center for harmonizing the activities of nations.

My friends, I thank you for this.

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DRAFT

Themes for UNGA Speech

October 1, 1990

[Objectives: A speech with a global scope, suited to this world forum; that reaffirms the strong U.S. commitment to play a world role; that explains why Iraq is a challenge to the world's vision of international order.]

Introductory

-- The past two years have seen extraordinary breakthroughs toward a new era of peace and freedom:
  - o the revolution of '89 in Eastern Europe;
  - o German unification;
  - o new advances toward the unity of Western Europe;
  - o change in the Soviet Union and the transformation of East-West relations;
  - o recognition of the principle of economic freedom and the power of the market.

-- This has brought us to a moment of breakthrough for the United Nations:
  - o Superpower cooperation brings the UN closer to what the founders envisioned.
  - o It is a more productive body, its deliberations more moderate.
  - o It has many recent achievements (peacekeeping and election monitoring; the 18th Special Session on International Economic Cooperation; ICJ reform; yesterday's World Summit for Children).

The Present Challenge

-- The world was thus on the threshold of a new era of international cooperation -- East-West, North-South. We had a vision of a new international order to replace the Cold War, based on multilateral collaboration; arms reductions; spreading democracy and prosperity; and a new role for international and regional organizations.

-- Iraq's aggression was thus a menace not only to its neighbors' security, but to the world's vision of its future. It threatened to turn our dream of a new international order into a grim nightmare of anarchy, in which the law of the jungle supplanted the law of nations.

-- That's why the world community reacted with such historic unity and resolve. [Tribute to UN]

-- But that's why this challenge is also a test that we cannot afford to fail.

-- [Updated insert on Iraq crisis.]

Hope for the Future

-- I am confident we will prevail.

-- Success too will have lasting consequences -- reinforcing civilized standards of international conduct, setting a new precedent in international cooperation, brightening the prospects for the future.

-- Then we can turn to the many other issues on our common agenda:

  o proliferation of high-tech weaponry;

- o unresolved regional conflicts (Middle East, Kashmir, Cambodia, Angola, Afghanistan);
- o drug trafficking (cite Cartagena);
- o state-sponsored terrorism (Libya), hostages in Lebanon;
- o protectionism that endangers the world trading system (cite Uruguay Round and Houston Summit);
- o debt problem (cite Enterprise for the Americas initiative);
- o dangers to environment (while protecting economic growth);
- o refugee needs, relief of victims of national and man-made disasters (cite Indochina refugees, Iranian earthquake).

-- The U.S. offers its continuing leadership, helping maintain global security, promoting democracy and prosperity.

-- Let us defeat aggression, in the name of mankind's future. Then we can shape that future, which beckons brighter than at any time in our generation.

Themes for President Bush's Address to the UNGA

United UN Action Against Aggression

-- The United Nations was born in the ashes of a major world war. Its founding embodied our deepest hopes for a peaceful world. The founders were realists; they knew that it would take the collective strength of the world community, organized and expressed by the United Nations, to deter aggression. This collective strength of the world community was intended to stand between small states and more powerful neighbors.

-- There have been periods when the UN was not united enough to make the Charter an effective instrument for peace. The UN is now correcting its course. In the last month and a half we have seen impressive, unprecedented unanimity in support of the Charter against aggression. The Security Council, in particular, has proved that it can now execute the responsibility entrusted to it under the Charter, and that it can act against aggression quickly and effectively.

--The UN Security Council's response to the crisis in the Gulf has been nothing less than historic. Since the invasion occurred August 1, the Council swiftly passed seven major resolutions which have set the terms of reference for a solution to the crisis.

-- Small states in the developing world have been affected by Iraq's aggression even more than industrialized ones. While the dramatic increase in oil prices has been a burden on the whole world, small states have been very severely hit by this unforeseen but heavy burden. Industrialized states often have energy alternatives or at least a better ability to absorb the financial blow, but for many in the developing world this has been a bitter shock. We are attempting to assemble as much assistance as possible for those countries in severe economic difficulty as a result of the Iraqi invasion.

-- The effect of Iraqi aggression on developing nations is particularly evident in the plight of scores of thousands of innocent civilian foreigners trapped in the desert trying to flee Iraq. Their situation is desperate. The Jordanians and Turks are are doing the best they can to care for them, but the numbers involved are overwhelming. We and the rest of the world community are helping through the UN.

-- The most serious impact of Iraq's invasion on small states may be the heightened sense of vulnerability they feel knowing that even in 1990, after the world has learned countless lessons about the need to resolve differences peacefully, there are powerful states who attack the weak to take their money and steal their land, that even in 1990 there are some for whom the law of the jungle is the highest law.

-- Well, we here in the UN have taught the opposite lesson to small states. We have shown that they can count on the collective strength of the international community. We have shown that the United Nations can rise to the challenge of aggression as its founders hoped it would. and we are showing that the economically powerful can help to lessen the impact on the economically vulnerable of the measures we need to take.

Peacekeeping:

-- The world in the last few years has seen the increasing value of United Nations peacekeeping operations. Thanks to the UN, the Namibian delegation is here with us today. The role of the UN has been indispensable in resolving conflicts in many other parts of the world. We have great hopes that it will bring peace to the Western Sahara, and encourage the parties to cooperate fully with the Secretary General's efforts.

-- There are both limitations and opportunities for the UN in peacekeeping. As we saw in Namibia, there are certain factors in a situation which are essential to success--not every conflict situation is amenable to UN intervention. Certainly the UN cannot become involved without the full agreement of the parties, and their unreserved commitment to a peaceful situation.

-- Unfortunately, we still see conflicts in which these basic conditions for a UN role are not met.

Democracy/Elections:

-- We have entered a period of rebirth for democratic hopes and aspirations. Peoples around the world are demanding the right to democratic government and respect for human rights.

-- These calls for democracy are an expression of support for the values enshrined in the UN Charter. They encourage our hopes for more stable, more peaceful world. Authoritarian governments, history shows us, are more likely to aggress than democratic ones.

dreams, democracy

1 - the dream is dem - and the dream is alive)

1945, shadow of A-bombs, mankind's worst catastrophe, hope amid the ruins. many years, a dream delayed.

-- This wave of democracy is a positive development of fundamental importance, and we call upon the UN to encourage and support it. The key element in transition to democratic rule is a free and fair election. Electorates are demanding free elections, and increasingly governments want the legitimacy of international monitoring to prove that the elections they conduct have been free and fair.

-- The UN is being called upon increasingly to support electoral processes around the world. There have been some dramatic successes, as we have seen in Namibia and Nicaragua. There are many other situations in which the UN's services in holding elections are being requested or considered (Cambodia, Afghanistan, Western Sahara).

-- This suggests that UN support for electoral processes is becoming increasingly an essential part of conflict resolution, as useful as the more traditional measures we have seen used so well before. While election monitoring in non-conflict situations can be conducted by non-UN organizations or groups, bringing about free and fair elections in areas of dispute with international implications is a task uniquely suited to the UN.

-- We believe the time has come to structure the United Nations response to requests for such assistance more formally. We propose the establishment of a UN Special Coordinator for Electoral Assistance and the establishment of a UN Electoral Commission of eminent experts.

-- In addition we will suggest that the Security Council request the Secretary General to prepare a report setting out guidelines for future UN electoral missions.

-- Lastly, we suggest the establishment of the UN electoral assistance program, perhaps based in the UN Human Rights Centre in Geneva.

Cambodia

-- One bright spot on world's horizon is Cambodia. We salute the Cambodian parties for their acceptance of the Perm Five framework for a settlement to the conflict in taking the first step of creating a Supreme National Council.

-- Transnational Problems

-- Transnational problems are going to occupy more of our attention in the future. With human activities on our globe becoming more interdependent, our fates are becoming more interwoven. Our security and well-being depends in part on events occurring far away. We need serious international cooperative efforts to make headway on threats to the environment, on terrorism, on managing the burden of debt felt by many countries, and on fighting the scourge of international drug trafficking.

USG Commitment to the UN

-- We value the UN, and believe that its role in the modern world is vital and indispensible. We will support the UN to the full extent of our ability. We will become current in our assessments, and we will work for consensus within the UN on the key issues before us.

-- We call upon our fellow member states to do so as well. It is important that the UN continue to move away from the over-polarization and the obsession with ideological issues that has paralyzed the UN in the past. We call for pragmatism to replace polemic, and for reasoned, workable approaches to real problems to replace habitual ideological posturing. Many of the problems we face are difficult and demanding--they must be addressed on their merits, not as ideological pawns. Last year's General Assembly demonstrated that we have made greater progress towards a more pragmatic and successful UN. Let us work together in the coming months to be even more effective.

like what works.

-- We must continue to find ways to make the UN's operations more efficient. The UN has made considerable progress in achieving financial reform, but we need to continue our efforts in this important area.

Korean UN Membership

-- In accordance with the principle of universality and with the UN's efforts to reduce regional tensions, the United States fully supports the membership of the Republic of Korea in the United Nations, without prejudice to the ultimate objective of reunification of the Korean peninsula. We would not oppose simultaneous membership for the Democratic People's Republic of Korea.

drafted:
IO/UNP:FHDay 71891 w eur 103

cleared:
IO/UNP:MWilliamson
IO/UNP:WImbrie
S/P:JStremlau
P:Norland

2

Themes for the President's UNGA Address 9/19-7pm
October 1

-- The past year has been revolutionary in international affairs. Human aspirations for peace and security, freedom and prosperity have broken through all over the world. Peace broken out We expect to see it continue. This is a new and different world. A dynamic and vital United Nations has begun to show that it has a critical role to play.

-- Not since 1945 have we seen the real possibility of using the United Nations as it was designed -- as a center for international collective security. The changes in the Soviet Union's attitude toward the United Nations and foreign policy have been critical. The UN is now working as it was designed to work. If states are permitted to make significant gains through acts of unprovoked aggression, no state is safe and world security and stability is endangered.

-- For the first time since 1945, the Security Council has begun to work the way it was envisaged. It is a richer and more representative Security Council than 45 years ago, and the non-permanent Members of the Council play a critical role. Without their support no action is possible.

-- We are fortunate to have my old friend and colleague Javier Perez de Cuellar as Secretary General at the helm of the

yes - speech also congratulations to new UNGA President, Guido De Marco, upon his

Organization at this moment. His diplomatic skills, vision, wisdom and leadership have been instrumental in restoring the United Nations as an institution. We know that we can turn to him when serious work needs to be done and he expects and receives our support in his efforts.

-- Our key goal for the future must be to make the recourse to the use of force by nations and national movements in the international community ever more unlikely. We need also to work within the international community to address the human and social problems which confront the planet. The UN is increasingly a place to build international support and consensus on the issues facing us now.

-- The world still, regrettably, remains a dangerous place as Saddam Hussein is reminding us. We must remain clear and firm in our determination that the path of the future is cooperation, negotiation, freedom, democracy, and peaceful settlement. Aggression, subjugation, confrontation are all ideas which we are dedicated to oppose.

-- The UN thus has a central role in promoting international peace and security. In the past, even in the depths of the Cold War, we looked to the UN to play the role of peacemaker and peacekeeper. Within the last six weeks, the Security Council has developed and used its mandatory powers to enforce peace and security. We are determined to stay the course. We

want, as do all Members of the United Nations in this confrontation with Iraq, to find a peaceful settlement. That will require standing fast, working together, and doing all that we can to ensure that the resolutions of the Security Council are fulfilled as rapidly as possible

-- The worldwide response to the Iraqi invasion of Kuwait has been indeed heartening. The vast majority of States represented here saw it immediately for what it was -- a challenge to the newly emerging post cold war order in which the United Nations has a central role to play. Those few who did not see it that way right away have now begun also to adjust their policies and approaches. They could do no less because they are fully bound by the actions of the Security Council and by the imperatives of world peace and security.

-- Events in the Gulf have proved dramatically the importance of this Organization. We remember also that thousands of individuals are serving under the United Nations flag in all corners of the world, dealing with potential conflict, providing humanitarian services, encouraging and sponsoring economic development, and looking after and caring for our planetary environment, combatting illegal drugs. In the new world order which we hope to evolve, ~~this~~ these roles of the UN must be strengthened and perfected.

-- There are ahead of us serious needs to strengthen our capacities in this Organization to make and keep the peace. We

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have supported a doubling in the last three years of the peacekeeping missions of the United Nations. Some, such as in Namibia, have already been successfully completed. Some we look forward to starting soon such as in Cambodia and in the Western Sahara.

-- Nowhere has the Secretary General been more instrumental and more helpful than in the realm of quiet diplomacy. His important achievement in getting talks started between the Government of El Salvador and the opposing guerillas is a significant and new advance which we warmly support. Elsewhere around the world, in offering his services as a channel of communications in the Iraq/Kuwait crisis, as a mediator and peacemaker in Afghanistan, and as a sponsor of humanitarian support in Ethiopia he has added new dimensions to these possibilities.

-- Everywhere around the world democracy is winning new friends and converting old foes. What began several years ago as a promising ripple on the surface of world politics is today a surge tide. History will record that when Namibia and Nicaragua rode this tide they did so with the aid of a UN pilot to help design their electoral process and assure free and fair voting.

?

strong that one

Get a life.

that's not the rattling of a saber he hears, but the distant thunder of a new (passing storm) the marching feet and the beating hearts of a thousand of people who ... march of ... It is, the ... humanity ... history it

And Mr. Hussein, it is passing you by.

-- As other countries embark on a similar course, they too will seek UN assistance. We believe that the UN, in company with other international and regional organizations and qualified NGOs, has a pivotal role to play. The United States will therefore be offering a major initiative during the 45th General Assembly to strengthen the United Nations contribution to this historic process.

-- The United Nations also carries great responsibilities in addressing the major economic and social issues which can help us achieve greater stability and prosperity: drugs, the environment, health, education, human rights, terrorism, and economic development. We are eager to work with you to do so.

-- On reform -- at 45, the United Nations is like any middle aged person, somewhat heavy around the middle, slower to move, encumbered with its history, and focused in many different directions. With the new possibilities which lie before us, there is no more important time for us to be concerned about how to make this Organization not only more responsive to the world's needs, but more efficient and more effective in doing so. Reform has been an ongoing pre-occupation of the Organization. Now reform has become a major imperative.

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-- In over a year we will be choosing a new Secretary General. Let the world know that the United States is open minded and will support the best possible candidate for this important job. But let the world also know that we will look at those qualifications which point to an individual sincerely dedicated to, and competent and able in achieving major reforms in this organization.

OK

-- In the last three years, a good start has been made. The UN must reduce overlapping and duplication in all areas. The Secretariat needs to be restructured, streamlined, and made more responsive and flexible. Preoccupations with national quotas staffing positions must be replaced by a major preoccupation with finding the most efficient person for the job. We must join together in a new compact, all of us, to bring our Organization into the 21st century. At no time since the Organization was formed, have we had a better opportunity. I would like to call now for a major five year effort to do this. It would be built around the search for a new Secretary General, instituting programs of change and revision as he assumes his office. It should be based on the serious studies of his predecessor as a major legacy which he can leave to us all to promote the efficiency and the effectiveness of the UN. The United States is more than willing to play its part. We hope others will join us in this major effort to achieve a finer, more broadly respected, more widely successful United Nations to meet the new challenges that this rapidly changing world has now thrust upon us.

a brief summary of this would be good

-- In that connection, I want to report to you on a major issue of serious concern to me. Our calls for reform stand in stark contrast to our performance in dealing with our debts. As I told you last year, we are dedicated to changing that vision. I am happy to report that for the year 1989, the United States has for the first time in four years paid its full budget assessments for peacekeeping and the regular budget. We are dedicated to doing that in 1990. In the meantime, your successes here have helped us to convince the Congress that we must begin immediately a major program of repaying our arrearages. I had hoped to achieve full congressional support for paying back all the arrearages this year, with the money to be returned to the United Nations in increments over 5 years. What we have achieved is the first of the 5 year installments. (Alternative, we are well on the way to achieving the first of the 5 year installments.) Together we can solve many of the problems of the international community. Let the world know and understand that my administration is fully committed to ~~paying~~ supporting the United Nations + paying what we are obliged by our commitment to the Charter to pay, as soon as we can do so. International peace and security, international freedom and prosperity require no less.

We need to say we're paying but we point to arrea

-- Universal membership in this Organization for all States who wish to belong is a keystone of the Organization. We have traditionally supported it and our support remains unwavering.

9/9 Any successful challenge to the membership of the State of Israel will be taken as a challenge to our own membership and we would act accordingly. I want to emphasize as well that states which now are eager and ready to accept all the obligations of the membership of this Organization should not be artifically denied membership for political reasons, and here I speak of the Republic of Korea. We too are ready to see North Korea become a Member of this Organization. We believe dual membership would contribute to peace and stability on the Korean peninsula and promote the unification which all Koreans seek as we have seen in the recent cases of Germany and Yemen. Our support is firmly behind this effort.

-- In closing, I want to stress again that we live in a revolutionary era in world affairs. In a short space of time the world has emerged from a long night of wasteful, dangerous antagonism to stand tentatively in a new dawn, where mutual respect and cooperation may guide the conduct of states. We must make good on the promise of this dawn.

-- Whether it is in confronting the brutal arrogance of a Saddam Hussein, or building stable and equitable peace in several region ~~the Middle East~~, or meeting the challenges of global environment and development, this era demands a durable diplomacy, a consensus stretched wider, made of tougher fiber than we have often known in the past. My country stands ready to join you in this noble labor.

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

new nations
Liechtenstein
Namibia

new President DeMarco

U.S.G. Ronald Spiers

Meeting w/ Scowcroft 9-18-90

UN action on Mid East would have been impossible during Cold War

Now is a time of testing for Security Council to see if new world order is possible or whether cooperation on Iraq is one-shot deal.

Be nice to Soviets

last year we talked on chemical weapons, this year Saddam makes a great example

War crimes - bring Saddam before bar of justice

NYT editorial late Aug?

NEXIS - Nuremberg + Saddam

UNGA

NATIONAL SECURITY COUNCIL

15-Jul-1990 04:06 EDT

MEMORANDUM FOR:
JNET%"DYKE@VAXC"@WHSR"@MRGATE

FROM: VMSMail User _JNET%"WHSR
(_JNET%"WHSR@WHSR"@MRGATE)

SUBJECT:

Received: From WHSR(WHSR) by VAXC with Jnet id 8880
for DYKE@VAXC; Sun, 15 Jul 90 04:06 EST
Date: Sun, 15 Jul 90 00:25 EST
From: <WHSR@WHSR>
To: DYKE@VAXC
Original_To: JNET%"DYKE@VAXC"

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SIT: DYKE VAX

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INFO RUEHDT/USMISSION USUN NEW YORK 5857
RUFHMB/USMISSION US VIENNA 3537

<SUBJ>
SUBJECT: USG STATEMENT ON IMPLEMENTATION OF
DECLARATION OF UNGA 18TH SPECIAL SESSION

<TEXT>
BT
UNCLAS SECTION 01 OF 03 GENEVA 07453
US VIENNA FOR UNIVIE
E.O. 12356
TAGS: UR, SENV, ENRG, UN, ECOSOC

SUBJECT: USG STATEMENT ON IMPLEMENTATION OF DECLARATION OF UNGA 18TH SPECIAL SESSION
REFS: A) USMISSION GENEVA NO. 12, B) STATE 216638, C) STATE 218972
1. ECOSOC CABLE NO. 13
2. FOLLOWING IS COMPLETE TEXT OF STATEMENT MADE BY ALTERNATE US REPRESENTATIVE TO ECOSOC EDWARD MARKS TO ECONOMIC AND SOCIAL COUNCIL SUMMER SESSION ON ITEM 7(H), "IMPLEMENTATION OF THE DECLARATION ON INTERNATIONAL ECONOMIC COOPERATION, IN PARTICULAR THE REVITALIZATION OF ECONOMIC GROWTH AND DEVELOPMENT OF THE DEVELOPING COUNTRIES.".
(QUOTE)
MR. PRESIDENT,
- LAST APRIL, THE UNITED STATES AND OTHER INDUSTRIALIZED COUNTRIES JOINED DEVELOPING COUNTRIES IN ADOPTING THE DECLARATION ON INTERNATIONAL ECONOMIC COOPERATION DESIGNED TO HELP THE REVITALIZATION OF ECONOMIC GROWTH AND DEVELOPMENT IN THE DEVELOPING WORLD AND THE ENTRY INTO A MORE PRODUCTIVE DECADE. THE UNITED STATES JOINED THE CONSENSUS IN ADOPTING
UNCLASSIFIED
THE DECLARATION AS AN EXPRESSION OF OUR DESIRE FOR GLOBAL HARMONY AND OUR SUPPORT FOR THE ASPIRATIONS OF ALL, INCLUDING MOST SPECIFICALLY, THE DEVELOPING COUNTRIES.
- AT THE SPECIAL SESSION, THERE WAS A FUNDAMENTAL RETHINKING, REFLECTED IN THE DECLARATION, ON APPROACHES TO DEVELOPMENT. THERE WAS A TRUE CONVERGENCE OF VIEWS AROUND THE NEED FOR SOUND MACRO-ECONOMIC POLICIES, ENHANCED COMPETITION, AND GREATER FLEXIBILITY, CREATIVITY, INNOVATION, AND OPENNESS. WE BELIEVE THAT THIS MOMENTUM IN FAVOR OF ECONOMIC REFORMS OFFERS NEW HOPE FOR COUNTRIES' EFFORTS TO ACHIEVE SUSTAINED GROWTH AND DEVELOPMENT.
- THE DECLARATION WHICH EMERGED FROM THE SPECIAL SESSION NOTES THAT AN OPEN AND CREDIBLE MULTILATERAL TRADING SYSTEM IS ESSENTIAL FOR THE PROMOTION OF GROWTH AND DEVELOPMENT. IT ALSO RECOGNIZES THE IMPORTANCE OF A BALANCED OUTCOME OF THE URUGUAY ROUND WHICH WOULD ENABLE TRADE LIBERALIZATION AND INCREASED MARKET ACCESS FOR THE PRODUCTS OF DEVELOPING COUNTRIES. IN ADDITION, THE DECLARATION URGES CONTINUED ATTENTION TO A DURABLE AND BROAD SOLUTION OF THE EXTERNAL DEBT PROBLEM OF DEVELOPING COUNTRIES. THE DECLARATION GOES ON TO SAY THAT THE CURRENT THREAT TO THE ENVIRONMENT IS THE COMMON CONCERN OF ALL AND THAT INDUSTRIALIZED AND DEVELOPING COUNTRIES ALIKE SHOULD TAKE EFFECTIVE ACTIONS FOR THE PROTECTION OF THE ENVIRONMENT. THERE IS ALSO A RECOGNITION THAT ECONOMIC INTEGRATION IS IMPORTANT IN EXPANDING TRADE AND INVESTMENT IN DEVELOPING COUNTRIES. MR. PRESIDENT, I AM PLEASED TO INFORM THIS BODY THAT MY GOVERNMENT HAS BEGUN TO MOVE

FORWARD ON THESE ISSUES.
- THE INITIATIVE ANNOUNCED BY PRESIDENT BUSH ON JUNE 27, AIMED AT HELPING LATIN AMERICA AND THE CARIBBEAN, ADDRESSES MANY OF THE CONCERNS RAISED IN THE SPECIAL SESSION DECLARATION. THE THREE PILLARS OF THE PRESIDENT'S NEW INITIATIVE ARE TRADE, INVESTMENT, AND DEBT. TO EXPAND TRADE, PRESIDENT BUSH PROPOSES THE CREATION OF A HEMISPHERE-WIDE FREE TRADE ZONE; TO
UNCLASSIFIED
INCREASE INVESTMENT, THAT MEASURES BE ADOPTED TO ATTRACT A NEW FLOW OF CAPITAL INTO THE REGION; AND TO FURTHER EASE THE BURDEN OF DEBT, A NEW APPROACH TO DEBT IN THE REGION, WITH IMPORTANT BENEFITS FOR THE ENVIRONMENT.
- ON TRADE, THE GREAT ECONOMIC LESSON OF THIS CENTURY IS THAT PROTECTIONISM STIFLES PROGRESS AND FREE
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TAGS: UR, SENV, ENRG, UN, ECOSOC
SUBJECT: USG STATEMENT ON IMPLEMENTATION OF
MARKETS BREED PROSPERITY. TO THIS END, PRESIDENT BUSH HAS FORMULATED A THREE-POINT TRADE PLAN TO ENCOURAGE THE EMERGING TREND TOWARD FREE MARKET REFORM NOW GATHERING FORCE IN THE AMERICAS. FIRST, AS WE ENTER THE FINAL MONTHS OF THE CURRENT URUGUAY ROUND OF THE WORLD TRADE TALKS, THE UNITED STATES PLEDGES CLOSE COOPERATION WITH THE NATIONS OF THE AMERICAS. SECOND, THE UNITED STATES STANDS READY TO ENTER INTO FREE TRADE AGREEMENTS WITH OTHER MARKETS IN LATIN AMERICA AND THE CARIBBEAN, PARTICULARLY WITH GROUPS OF COUNTRIES THAT HAVE ASSOCIATED FOR PURPOSES OF TRADE LIBERALIZATION. THE FIRST STEP IN THIS PROCESS IS A FREE TRADE AGREEMENT WITH MEXICO. THIRD, THE UNITED STATES RECOGNIZES THAT SOME COUNTRIES ARE NOT YET READY TO TAKE A DRAMATIC STEP TO A FULL TRADE AGREEMENT AND IS PREPARED TO NEGOTIATE WITH ANY INTERESTED NATION IN THE REGION BILATERAL FRAMEWORK AGREEMENTS TO OPEN MARKETS AND DEVELOP CLOSER TRADE TIES. SUCH AGREEMENTS ALREADY EXIST WITH MEXICO AND BOLIVIA. IT IS NOTEWORTHY THAT, UNLIKE CERTAIN OTHER FREE TRADE AGREEMENTS, PRESIDENT BUSH'S PROPOSAL CALLS FOR A PARTNERSHIP INVOLVING DEVELOPING COUNTRIES, NOT A RICH MAN'S CLUB.
- THE SECOND PILLAR IS INCREASED INVESTMENT. THE KEY TO INCREASED INVESTMENT IS TO BE COMPETITIVE, THAT IS TO SAY, TURN AROUND THE CONDTIONS THAT HAVE DISCOURAGED BOTH FOREIGN AND DOMESTIC INVESTMENT. INVESTMENT REFORM IS ESSENTIAL TO MAKE IT EASIER TO START NEW BUSINESS VENTURES AND MAKE IT POSSIBLE FOR INTERNATIONAL INVESTORS TO PARTICIPATE AND PROFIT IN

LATIN AMERICAN MARKETS. IN ORDER TO CREATE INCENTIVES FOR INVESTMENT REFORM, THE UNITED STATES WILL WORK WITH THE INTER-AMERICAN DEVELOPMENT BANK TO CREATE A NEW LENDING PROGRAM FOR NATIONS THAT TAKE
UNCLASSIFIED
SIGNIFICANT STEPS TO REMOVE IMPEDIMENTS TO INTERNATIONAL INVESTMENT. THE WORLD BANK COULD ALSO CONTRIBUTE TO THIS EFFORT. SECOND, WE PROPOSE THE CREATION OF A NEW INVESTMENT FUND FOR THE AMERICAS. THIS FUND, ADMINISTERED BY THE INTER-AMERICAN DEVELOPMENT BANK, COULD PROVIDE UP TO DOLS 300 MILLION A YEAR IN GRANTS IN RESPONSE TO MARKET-ORIENTED INVESTMENT REFORMS AND PROGRESS IN PRIVATIZATION. THE UNITED STATES INTENDS TO CONTRIBUTE DOLS 100 MILLION TO THE FUND AND WE WILL SEEK MATCHING CONTRIBUTIONS FROM THE EUROPEANS AND JAPAN.

- THE THIRD PILLAR OF THE NEW US PROPOSAL AIMS AT EASING THE DEBT BURDEN OF A NUMBER OF LATIN AMERICAN AND CARIBBEAN COUNTRIES. AS ONE MEANS OF EXPANDING THE INTERNATIONALLY AGREED DEBT STRATEGY, THE UNITED STATES PROPOSES THAT THE INTER-AMERICAN DEVELOPMENT BANK ADD ITS EFFORTS AND RESOURCES TO THOSE OF THE INTERNATIONAL MONETARY FUND AND THE WORLD BANK TO SUPPORT COMMERCIAL BANK DEBT REDUCTION IN LATIN AMERICA AND THE CARIBBEAN. AS IN THE CASE OF THE IMF AND WORLD BANK, THESE IDB FUNDS SHOULD BE DIRECTLY LINKED TO ECONOMIC REFORM. IN ADDITION, PRESIDENT BUSH HAS PROPOSED A NEW DEBT INITIATIVE TO REDUCE LATIN AMERICA AND THE CARIBBEAN'S OFFICIAL DEBT TO THE UNITED STATES, FOR COUN$RIES THAT ADOPT STRONG ECONOMIC AND INVESTMENT REFORM PROGRAMS WITH THE SUPPORT OF INTERNATIONAL INSTITUTIONS. THE DEBT REDUCTION PROGRAM WILL DEAL SEPARATELY WITH CONCESSIONAL AND COMMERCIAL TYPES OF LOANS. ON CONCESSIONAL DEBT -- LOANS MADE FOR AID OR FOOD FOR PEACE ACCOUNTS: WE WILL PROPOSE SUBSTANTIAL DEBT REDUCTIONS FOR THE MOST HEAVILY BURDENED COUNTRIES. WE WILL ALSO SELL A PORTION OF OUTSTANDING US COMMERCIAL LOANS TO FACILITATE DEBT-FOR-EQUITY AND DEBT-FOR-NATURE SWAPS IN COUNTRIES THAT HAVE SET UP SUCH PROGRAMES. WE WILL ALSO CALL FOR THE CREATION OF ENVIRONMENTAL TRUSTS -- WHERE INTEREST PAYMENTS OWED ON RESTRUCTURED US DEBT WILL BE PAID IN LOCAL CURRENCY AND SET ASIDE TO FUND ENVIRONMENTAL PROJECTS IN THE DEBTOR COUNTRIES.

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TAGS: UR, SENV, ENRG, UN, ECOSOC
SUBJECT: USG STATEMENT ON IMPLEMENTATION OF

- ALTHOUGH THESE SPECIFIC DEBT MEASURES HAVE BEEN DESIGNED TO ADDRESS THE PARTICULAR DEBT SITUATION OF LATIN AMERICAN AND CARIBBEAN COUNTRIES AND THEIR PROFILE OF OBLIGATIONS TO THE UNITED STATES, WE HAVE ALSO TAKEN ACTIONS TO FORGIVE DEVELOPMENT ASSISTANCE LOANS TO SUB-SAHARAN AFRICA, WHICH FACES THE SEVEREST DEVELOPMENT CRISIS IN THE WORLD. IN 1989, PRESIDENT BUSH AUTHORIZED DEBT FORGIVENESS FOR DEVELOPMENT ASSISTANCE AND ECONOMIC SUPPORT FUND LOANS FROM THE US AGENCY FOR INTERNATIONAL DEVELOPMENT TO SUB-SAHARA AFRICAN COUNTRIES UNDERTAKING ECNOMIC REFORM. SO FAR, MORE THAN DOLS 300 MILLION HAS BEEN FORGIVEN UNDER THIS PROGRAM. AN ADDITIONAL DOLS 300 MILLION IS EXPECTED TO BE FORGIVEN DURING US FISCAL YEAR 1991. THE BUSH ADMINISTRATION ALSO SUPPORTS THE PROVISION IN THIS YEAR'S FARM BILL TO FORGIVE PL-480 CREDITS TOSUB-SAHARA AFRICAN AND OTHER LEAST DEVELOPED COUNTRIES IMPLEMENTING IMF OR WORLD BANK REFORM PROGRAMS. PL-480 CREDITS TO SUB-SAHARAN AFRICA TOTAL SOME DOLS 1.6 BILLION.
- THE UNITED STATES RECOGNIZES THAT DEBT PROBLEMS ARE NOT CONFINED TO THESE REGIONS. FOR THOSE COUNTRIES ADDRESSING THEIR FUNDAMENTAL ECONOMIC PROBLEMS THROUGH VIGOROUS REFORMS, THE UNITED STATES WILL CONTINUE TO WORK CLOSELY WITH THEM IN BOTH BILATERAL AND MULTILATERAL FORA WITH THE GOAL OF PROMOTING SUSTAINED GROWTH AND DEVELOPMENT.
- THE PRESIDENT'S PROPOSAL COULD BE THE BEGINNING OF A NEW FRAMEWORK FOR MUTUALLY BENEFICIAL COOPERATION WITH, PERHAPS, GLOBAL APPLICABILITY.
- THE PROPOSALS AND PROGRAMS WHICH I HAVE JUST OUTLINED ARE POSITIVE PROOF THAT THE UNITED STATES IS STRONGLY COMMITTED TO THE GLOBAL CONSENSUS FORGED AT THE SPECIAL SESSION TO PROMOTE INTERNATIONAL ECONOMIC COOPERATION FOR SUSTAINED GROWTH OF THE WORLD ECONOMY AND, IN PARTICULAR, TO THE REVITALIZATION OF ECONOMIC GROWTH AND DEVELOPMENT OF THE DEVELOPING COUNTRIES.
UNCLASSIFIED
MR. PRESIDENT,
- MANY OF THOSE PRESENT TODAY PARTICIPATED IN THE FORMULATION OF THE DECLARATION OF THE 18TH UNGA SPECIAL SESSION. WE KNEW THEN THAT WE WERE BEGINNING A HOPEFUL PROCESS, NOT MERELY DRAFTING ANOTHER STERILE DOCUMENT. MY DELEGATION IS HERE TODAY TO DEMONSTRATE OUR GOVERNMENT'S COMMITMENT TO THAT PROCESS, AND TO THE PROGRESS IT CALLS FOR AND THE FUTURE IT PROJECTS.
THANK YOU, MR. PRESIDENT. (END QUOTE)
3. COMMENT: USDEL TOOK OPPORTUNITY OF THIS AGENDA ITEM TO DESCRIBE PRESIDENT BUSH'S NEW INITIATIVE FOR THE AMERICAS. PRESENTATION WAS WELL RECEIVED WITH LATIN AMERICAN DELEGATIONS IN PARTICULAR EXPRESSING INTEREST AND GRATIFICATION. ABRAM
BT

United States Department of State

Washington, D.C. 20520

August 14, 1990

TO: Nancy Dyke

FROM: John Stremlau

SUBJECT: UNGA Speech

I assume from our conversation that the speech will seek at least five objectives: 1) show US concern for the well-being of developing countries; 2) identify major challenges requiring our cooperation; 3) reaffirm our support of the UN; 4) emphasize potential benefits to developing countries of recent major advances in US-Soviet and G-7 cooperation; and, 5) propose one or more significant practical initiatives, but with minimal budgetary impact. I recognize that the Gulf crisis may require you to change gears, but one theme that could serve your initial objectives and accommodate developments in the Gulf would be:

<u>After the Cold War - Security for Development</u>

Since 1945, nearly 200 civil and regional conflicts have devastated poor nations in Africa, Asia, and Latin America. East-West tensions once exacerbated these local conflicts but today the US and the Soviet Union are working actively to resolve regional conflicts; the speech could offer a list of real and promising examples.

Despite these hopeful signs there is evidence of rising communal violence in many regions and the dangerous aggression of Saddam Hussein. Eliminating regional conflicts, and reducing the heavy investments to fight or deter them, will be essential for sustainable economic development. It would be tragic if the end of the Cold War merely emboldened regional leaders to resolve their differences through the threat or use of force.

The main sections of the speech would focus on steps to enhance the security of developing countries though greater international cooperation:

-- <u>Praise for the UN's prompt and decisive action in response to Iraqi aggression against Kuwait</u>. Most of the UN's Third World membership are small vulnerable states and the prosperity and stability of all but the oil producers will be seriously threatened by skyrocketing energy prices. The Iraqi invasion, however, has strengthened the foundations of international cooperation that should discourage future aggression. It is not only the first post Cold War

conflict but also the first post Cold War demonstration of collective security. Last year's speech emphasized the UN's peace keeping role; this year the UN's contribution to international security can be addressed in terms that recall the ambitious dreams of the UN's founding members.

-- Support for strengthening regional organizations. "Regional solutions for regional problems" has been a popular notion that is acquiring greater salience. As of this writing it has not materialized in the Arab world (always the worst case!) but in the past year there have been achievements, notably in Central and America and southern Africa where regional cooperation played an important role. The current ECOWAS initiative to bring peace to Liberia is an historic, if still uncertain, initiative by West Africans that is long overdue but could produce notably progress by the time the President goes to the UNGA. And there are a number of other regional initiatives in southern Africa, Asia and Latin America that could be mentioned. Reducing communal conflicts, helping to resolve environmental problems, curtailing drug trafficking and competing more effectively in an open global economy heavily influenced by modern science and technology are among the many security related incentives for strengthening regional associations. Enhanced regional cooperation is likely to be a major building block in the post-Cold War world and this UNGA offers a timely opportunity to elaborate our ideas about how such coalitions complement the work of the UN.

-- Propose a cluster of important initiatives to discourage proliferation. This could be the centerpiece of the UNGA speech that could compare favorably with last year's important initiative in chemical weapons reduction. The US and the Soviets are moving rapidly to destroy weapons of mass destruction -- INF, START, and CW -- giving our calls for non-proliferation greater moral authority than ever before. Against the backdrop of the Washington Summit and current events in Europe this UNGA is a timely opportunity to urge developing countries to join in a global effort to enhance international and regional stability. The spectre of Iraq's deployment of chemical weapons, and other news of spreading nuclear and missile capabilities in the volatile Middle East and South Asia will add to the sense of urgency. Collective action, the heart and soul of the long crippled UN Charter, seems ready for revival and a US call for fresh UN led efforts to curb proliferation could usher in a new era. Elements of the strategy could include:

-- Chemical weapons: Reiterate our active commitment to achieving a convention by 1992; this would be a good opportunity to press for universal compliance.

-- Biological weapons: Seek urgent action on improving the 1972 Biological Weapons Convention at next year's review conference.

-- Nuclear proliferation: With the conclusion of what we hope will be a successful NPT review conference one week prior to the speech, this is a good time to take stock of progress, which may include South African accession, highlight rising risks and horrendous consequences of region conflicts fought with nuclear weapons, and propose steps for greater concerted action.

-- Missiles: Membership has been increasing in the Missile Technology Control Regime but so too has the capability to produce highly destabilizing missiles capable of longer range and greater payloads. A major challenge for the UN and regional organizations in the 1990s will be to extend the restraints and related regimes to all Third World suppliers and consumers.

On each of these issues the US and the Soviets can act in concert, thereby reaffirming an end to the Cold War. Our leverage, however will be limited without added pressures from regional organizations and the UN. The President's UNGA speech could put down the requisite markers for confidence building and regime strengthening. It would also signal that our determined and thus far successful efforts to gain a multinational response to the Gulf crisis reflects renewed confidence in the UN.

-- Propose UN elections monitoring office. Per your suggestion I read Tom Pickering's cable outlining how the UN could institutionalize, at no new cost, its increasingly important role as the supervisor/advisor to ensuring free and fair elections in democratizing nations. This proposal would complement the non-proliferation proposal; it is not enough to reduce the means of cohesion as true security can only be based on universal adherence to democratic values. In light of rising communal conflicts, along ethnic, religious and racial lines, this proposal would have to acknowledge the risk of tyranny of the majority and the importance of holding all elections in ways than also advance protection of basic human rights.

UN Childrens - probably in G.A. Hall

75 Heads of State

declaration + plan of action

problems of children + what will be done about it

"give every child a future"

40,000 deaths a day

Harms: what we're going to do for children

Our plan: US health + education goals for 2000

8/90

Themes for UNGA Speech

October 1, 1990

[Objective: Speech with more global scope, treating Third World in same depth and perspective as earlier speeches devoted to Europe and USSR. Also to reaffirm strong U.S. commitment to world leadership.]

Introductory Themes

-- **Peace, democracy, market economics are transforming Europe.** East-West relations are making historic progress (liberation of East Europe; German unity in NATO; CFE; CSCE).

-- **But these trends are sweeping the rest of the world as well.** From Managua to Pretoria, to Ulan Bator, the winds of change are blowing stronger. The principles of justice, the yearning for freedom, the laws of economics do not discriminate; they apply equally to all -- North and South, East and West.

-- **North-South relations, more than a generation after decolonization, are entering a new era of maturity and interdependence.** Ideologies of struggle are discredited; basic humane values prove their universality; practical cooperation becomes the imperative.

An Era of Hope for the World Community

-- **A sea change is already apparent in the effectiveness of the UN:** Superpower cooperation is bringing the UN closer to what the Founders envisioned. It's a more productive body now, its deliberations more moderate. ("Beyond polemics"?) The U.S. supports the U.N. and is committed to helping it work better.

-- **The UN's recent achievements:**

- o Peacekeeping and election monitoring (Central America, Namibia; mission of UNSYG representative to West Bank).

- o UNGA 18th Special Session on International Economic Cooperation and its sound recommendations on Third World economic reform.

- o ICJ reform.

- o World Summit for Children [link to the President's speech the day before at the event]

-- **A new U.S. initiative** [suggested by Pickering]: A more formal, permanent UN mechanism for election monitoring:

- o a UN Special Coordinator for electoral assistance;
- o a UN electoral commission of eminent experts;
- o guidelines to be developed by UNSYG for future UN electoral missions;
- o a UN electoral assistance program, based in Geneva.

-- **A new era of international cooperation is upon us:**

- o new strength of regional groupings (EC, NATO, CSCE, and EBRD in Europe; APEC in Asia);
- o new tasks for multilateral collaboration (environment).

-- A true world community is finally being born.

Dangers and Challenges

-- Complacency would be dangerous. We must step up to the serious challenges that still confront us.

-- **A multipolar world could be a world of turmoil, instability, and new dangers:**

- Need to maintain overall balance of power in Europe, Asia, and globally. U.S. will remain engaged and fulfill its responsibility.

- Proliferation of high-tech weaponry (ballistic missiles; CBW; nukes).

- Unresolved regional conflicts (Middle East; Kashmir; Afghanistan; Cambodia; Angola) -- and the dangerous practice of some to resort to force force contrary to UN Charter. Iraq an outlaw.

- Drug trafficking menaces the political health of <u>all</u> nations, not just industrial countries. Cite Cartagena Summit.

- State-sponsored terrorism (Libya); evil of hostage-taking.

- Protectionism that could undermine world prosperity and deny developing world its chance for growth. Cite Uruguay Round and Houston Summit.

- Debt problem. Cite Enterprise for the Americas initiative.

- Danger to environment -- which must be averted in a manner consistent with economic growth.

- Refugee needs, relief of victims of natural and manmade disasters call for cooperation (Indochina refugees; Iranian earthquake).

Conclusion

-- It's up to us. If we act together, we could make unprecedented new progress toward a world as envisioned by the UN Charter -- of order under law, of peace with freedom.