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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 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 minds.

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 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 understanding.** \\\

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 new bridges, and tear down old walls. At long last: The cold war is over.]]

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 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 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. \\\

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

NEW WORLD,
ON NO LONGER STYMIED

Council has passed eight 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 defend 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 diplomatic outcome. And one more thing -- in the aftermath of Iraq's unconditional departure from Kuwait, I truly believe that there may be opportunities: 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 through 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

September 10, 1991

MEMORANDUM FOR TONY SNOW

FROM: JENNIFER GROSSMAN
SUBJECT: QUOTES FOR UN SPEECH

- 1) "Resolution of conflicts, observance of human rights and the promotion of development together weave the fabric of peace; if one of these strands is removed, the tissue will unravel. This has been a motif of the thought and work of the United Nations over the years."

--UNSG de Cuellar, Secretary General's Report on the Organization, 1990.

"All over the world, there is a resurgent awareness that no social or political dispensation can, or should, endure that does not respect the dignity and worth of the human person, the equal rights of men and women and of nations large and small."

--ibid.

- 2) "Sometimes people call me an idealist...that is why I know I am an American."

--Woodrow Wilson

- 3) "Those who expect to reap the blessings of freedom must...undergo the fatigues of supporting it."

--Thomas Paine

- 4) "The ball of liberty, I believe most piously, is no so well in motion that it will roll around the globe...for light and liberty go together."

--Thomas Jefferson

- 5) "A democracy is peaceloving. It does not like to go to war. It is slow to rise to provocation. When it has once been provoked to the point where it must grasp the sword, it does not easily forgive its adversary for having produced the situation...Democracy fights in anger -- it fights for the very reason that it was forced to go to war."

--George Kennan, American Diplomacy, 1900-1950, 1951.

- 6) "My affections were first for my own country, and then, generally, for all of mankind."

--Thomas Jefferson, in a letter to Thomas Law, January 15, 1811.

16 September 1991

MEMORANDUM FOR TONY SNOW

FROM: JENNIFER GROSSMAN
INTERNS

SUBJECT: EXCERPTS FROM PAST PRESIDENTIAL ADDRESSES TO THE
UNITED NATIONS

- 1) EISENHOWER, 9/22/60: "This is, indeed, a moment for honest appraisal and historic decision. We can strive to master these problems for narrow national advantage or we can begin at once to undertake a period of constructive action which will subordinate selfish interest to the general well-being of the international community. The choice is truly a momentous one. Today, I come before you because our human commonwealth is once again in a state of anxiety and turmoil. Urgent issues confront us."

"Any nation, seduced by glittering promises into becoming a catspaw for an imperialistic power, thereby undermines the United Nations and places in jeopardy the independence of itself and all others."

"It is not enough that loud speakers in the public square exhort people to freedom. It is also essential that the people should be furnished with the mental tools to preserve and develop their freedom."

"The basic fact today of all change in the domain of international affairs is the need to forge the bonds and build the structure of a true world community. The United Nations is available to mankind to help it create just such a community. It has accomplished what no nation singly, or any limited group of nations, could have accomplished. It has become the forum of all peoples, and the structure about which they can center their joint endeavors to create a better future for our world."

"We must guard jealously against those who in alternating moods look upon the United Nations as an instrument for use or abuse. The United Nations was not conceived as an Olympian organ to amplify the propaganda tunes of individual nations."

"In urging progress toward a world community, I cite the American concept of the destiny of a progressive society. Here in this land, in what was once a wilderness we have generated a society and a civilization drawn from many sources. Yet out of the mixture of many peoples and faiths

we have developed unity in freedom--a unity designed to protect the rights of each individual while enhancing the freedom and well-being of all."

"The concept of unity in freedom, drawn from the diversity of many racial strains and cultures, we would like to see made a reality for all mankind. This concept should apply within every nation as it does among nations. We believe that the right of every man to participate through his or her vote in self-government is as precious as the right of each nation here represented to vote its own convictions in this Assembly. I should like to see a universal plebiscite in which every individual in the world would be given the opportunity freely and secretly to answer this question: Do you want this right? Opposed to the idea of two hostile, embittered worlds in perpetual conflict, we envisage a single world community, as yet unrealized but advancing steadily toward fulfillment through our plans, our efforts, and our collective ideas. Thus we see as our goal, not a super-state above nations, but a world community embracing them all, rooted in law and justice and enhancing the potentialities and common purposes of all peoples."

"As we take up this task, let us not delude ourselves that the absence of war alone is a sufficient basis for a peaceful world. I repeat, we must also build a world of justice under law, and we must overcome poverty, illiteracy, and disease."

- 2) JFK, 9/25/61: "The problem is not the death of one man (Dag Hammarskjöld) -- the problem is the life of this organization. It will either grow to meet the challenges of our age, or it will be gone with the wind, without influence, without force, without respect. Were we to let it die, to enfeeble its vigor, to cripple its powers, we would condemn our future."

"For in the development of this organization rests the only true alternative to war--and war appeals no longer as a rational alternative. Unconditional war can no longer lead to unconditional victory. It can no longer serve to settle disputes. It can no longer concern the great powers alone. For a nuclear disaster, spread by wind and water and fear, could well engulf the great and the small, the rich and the poor, the committed and the uncommitted alike. Mankind must put an end to war--or war will put an end to mankind."

"For disarmament without checks is but a shadow--and a community without law is but a shell."

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

peace, progress, human rights and world law."

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

"But to give this organization three drivers--to permit each great power to decide its own case, would entrench the Cold War in the headquarters of peace."

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

"Every man, woman and child lives under a nuclear sword of Damocles, hanging by the slenderest of threads, capable of being cut at any moment by accident or miscalculation or by madness. The weapons of war must be abolished before they abolish us."

"It is therefore our intention to challenge the Soviet Union, not to an arms race, but to a peace race. . ."

"The cold reaches of the universe must not become the new arena of an even colder war."

"Political sovereignty is but a mockery without the means of meeting poverty and illiteracy and disease. Self-determination is but a slogan if the future holds no hope."

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

"This generation learned from bitter experience that either brandishing or yielding to threats can only lead to war. But firmness and reason can lead to the kind of peaceful solution in which my country profoundly believes."

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

"Terror is not a new weapon. Throughout history it has been used by those who could not prevail, either by persuasion or example. But inevitably they fail, either because men are not afraid to die for a life worth living, or because the terrorists themselves came to realize that free men cannot be frightened by threats, and that aggression would meet its own response."

"Together we shall save our planet, or together we shall perish in its flames. Save it we can--and save it we must--and then shall we earn the eternal thanks for mankind and, as peacemakers, the eternal blessing of God."

- 3) JFK, 9/20/63: "...the shadow of fear lay darkly across the world."

"Peace is a daily, a weekly, a monthly process, gradually changing opinions, slowly eroding old barriers, quietly building new structures. And however undramatic the pursuit of peace, that pursuit must go on."

"It is never too early to try; and it's never too late to talk; and it's high time that many disputes on the agenda of this Assembly were taken off the debating schedule and placed on the negotiating table."

"...we believe that truth is stronger than error--and that freedom is more enduring than coercion."

"...plague and pestilence, and plunder and pollution..."

"...absolute sovereignty no longer assures us of absolute security. The conventions of peace must pull abreast and then ahead of the inventions of war."

"But peace does not rest in charters and covenants alone. It lies in the hearts and minds of all people. And if it is cast out there, then no act, no pact, no treaty, no organization can hope to preserve it without the support and the wholehearted commitment of all people. So let us not rest all our hopes on parchment and on paper; let us strive to build peace, a desire for peace, a willingness to work for peace, in the hearts and minds of all of our people." (Echoes "Learned Hand" May 21, 1944)

- 3) REAGAN, 9/26/83: "The United Nations was founded in the aftermath of World War II to protect future generations from the scourge of war, to promote political self-determination and global prosperity, and to strengthen the bonds of civility among nations. The founders sought to replace a world at war with a world of civilized order. They hoped that a world of relentless conflict would give way to a new era, one where

freedom from violence prevailed."

"The answer is clear: Governments got in the way of the dreams for the people. Dreams became issues of East versus West. Hopes became political rhetoric. Progress became a search for power and domination. Somewhere the truth was lost that people don't make wars, governments do." (There are lots of quotes arguing this point, if you wanted to elaborate)

"From the days when Theodore Roosevelt mediated the Russo-Japanese War in 1905, we have a long and honorable tradition of mediating or damping conflicts and promoting peaceful solutions."

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

- 4) REAGAN, 9/24/84: "...there's an increasing realization that economic freedom is a prelude to economic progress and growth and is intricately and inseparable linked to political freedom."

"We can never look at anyone's freedom as a bargaining chip in world politics."

"...the Universal Declaration of Human Rights. It states: 'The will of the people shall be the basis of the authority of government; this will shall be expressed in periodic and genuine elections.' The Declaration also includes these rights: 'To form and to join trade unions,' 'to own property alone as well as in association with others,' 'to leave any country including his own and return to his country,' and to enjoy 'freedom of opinion and expression.'"

"Since 1946 the United States has provided over \$115 billion in economic aid to developing countries, and today provides about one-third of the nearly \$90 billion in financial resources, public and private, that flows to the developing world. And the U.S. imports about one-third of the manufactured exports of the developing world."

"In a glass display case across the hall from the Oval Office at the White House there is a gold medal, the Nobel Peace Prize won by Theodore Roosevelt for his contribution in mediating the Russo-Japanese War in 1905. It was the first such prize won by an American, and it's part of tradition of which the American people are very proud--a tradition that is being continued today in many regions of the globe."

"When I appeared before you last year, I noted that we cannot count on the instinct for survival alone to protect us against war. Deterrence is necessary but not sufficient. America has

repaired its strength."

"'There have been tyrants and murderers, and for a time they can seem invincible. But in the end, they always fail [fall]. 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."

"'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." (Ignatius Loyola)

"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 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 climate 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.'

5) REAGAN, 10/24/85: (many echoes of JFK's '61 and '63 addresses to the UN)

"Forty years ago, the world woke daring to believe hatred's unyielding grip had finally been broken, daring to believe the torch of peace would be protected in liberty's firm grasp. Forty years ago, the world yearned to dream again innocent dreams, to believe in ideals with innocent trust. Dreams of trust are worthy, but in these 40 years too many lives have been lost. The painful truth is that the use of violence to take, to exercise, and to preserve power remains a persistent reality in much of the world."

"The vision of the U.N. Charter--to spare succeeding generations this scourge of war--remains real. It still stirs our soul and warms our hearts, but it also demands of us a realism that is rockhard, clear-eyed, steady, and sure--a realism that understands the nations of the United Nations are not united. I come before you this morning preoccupied with peace.."

"Nor must we close our eyes to this organization's disappointments: its failure to deal with real security issues, the total inversion of morality in the infamous Zionism-is-racism resolution, the politicization of too many agencies, the misuse of too many resources."

"What kind of people will we be 40 years from today? May we answer: free people, worthy of freedom and form in the conviction that freedom is not the sole prerogative of a chosen few, but the universal declaration of human rights set forth in 1948, and this is the affirming flame the United States has held high to a watching world. We champion freedom not only because it is practical and beneficial but because it is morally right and just. Free people whose governments rest upon the consent of the governed do not wage war on their neighbors. Free people blessed by economic opportunity and protected by laws that respect the dignity of the individual are not driven toward the domination of others."

"Let us begin with candor, with words that rest on plain and simple facts. The differences between America and the Soviet Union are deep and abiding. The United States is a democratic nation. Here the people rule. We build no walls to keep them in, nor organize any system of police to keep them mute. We occupy no country. The only land abroad we occupy is beneath the graves where our heroes rest."

"What is called the West is a voluntary association of free nations, all of whom fiercely value their independence and their sovereignty. And as deeply as we cherish our beliefs, we do not seek to compel others to share them. When we enjoy these vast freedoms as we do, it's difficult for us to understand the restrictions of dictatorships which seek to control each institution and every facet of people's lives--the expression of their beliefs, their movements, and their contacts with the outside world. It's difficult for us to understand the ideological premise that force is an acceptable way to expand a political system. We Americans do not accept that any government has the right to command and order the lives of its people, that any nation has an historic right to use force to export its ideology. This belief, regarding the nature of man and the limitations of government, is at the core of our deep and abiding differences with the Soviet Union, differences that put us into natural conflict and competition with one another."

"How is Moscow threatened if the capitals of other nations are protected? We do not ask that the Soviet leaders, whose country has suffered so much from war, to leave their people defenseless against foreign attack. Why then do they insist that we remain undefended? Who is threatened if Western research and Soviet research, that is itself well-advanced, should develop a nonnuclear system which would threaten not human beings but only ballistic missiles? Surely, the world will sleep more secure when these missiles have been rendered useless, militarily and politically; when the sword of Damocles that has hung over our planet for too many decades is lifted by Western and Russian scientists working to shield their citizens and one day shut down space as an avenue of

weapons of mass destruction. If we're destined by history to compete, militarily, to keep the peace, then let us compete in systems that defend our societies rather than weapons which can destroy us both and much of God's creation along with us. (Kennedy)

"And in each case, Marxism-Leninism's war with the people becomes war with their neighbors. These wars are exacting a staggering human toll and threaten to spill across national boundaries and trigger dangerous confrontations."

"Only when the human spirit can worship, create, and build, only when people are given a personal stake in determining their own destiny and benefiting from their own risks, do societies become prosperous, progressive, dynamic, and free."

"Let us all heed the simple eloquence in Andrei Sakharov's Nobel Peace Prize message: 'International trust, mutual understanding, disarmament and international security are inconceivable without an open society with freedom of information, freedom of conscience, the right to publish and the right to travel and choose the country in which one wishes to live.' At the core, this is an eternal truth; freedom works." (Bush has used this tag)

"America is committed to the world because so much of the world is inside America. After all, only a few miles from this very room is our Statue of Liberty past which life began anew for millions, where the people from nearly every country in this hall joined to build these United States. The blood of each nation courses through the American vein and feeds the spirit that compels us to involve ourselves in the fate of this good Earth."

- 6) REAGAN, 9/22/86: "...a short walk from this chamber is the delegates Meditation Room, a refuge from a world deafened by the noise of strife and violence. 'We want to bring back the idea of worship,' Dag Hammarskjold once said about this room, 'devotion to something which is greater and higher than we are ourselves.' Well, it's just such devotion that gave birth to the United Nations--devotion to the dream of world peace and freedom, of human rights and democratic self-determination, of a time when, in those ancient words, '... and they shall beat their swords into plowshares. . . nation shall not lift up sword against nation, neither shall they learn war anymore.'"

"We came to realize again the truth of the statement: Nations do not mistrust each other because they are armed; they are armed because they mistrust each other."

"In addition to regional disputes, the grave threat of terrorism also jeopardizes the hopes for peace. No cause, no grievance, can justify it. Terrorism is heinous and

intolerable. It is the crime of cowards--cowards who prey on the innocent, the defenseless, and the helpless."

"But the United States believes the greatest contribution we can make to world prosperity is the continued advocacy of the magic of the marketplace--the truth, the simple and proven truth, that economic development is an outgrowth of economic freedom just as economic freedom is the inseparable twin of political freedom and democratic government."

"Countries based on the consent of the governed, countries that recognize the unalienable rights of the individual, do not make war on each other. Peace is more than just an absence of war. True peace is justice, true peace is freedom, and true peace dictates the recognition of human rights."

"A Nobel laureate in literature, a great figure of the American South, William Faulkner, once said that the last sound heard on Earth would be that of the two remaining humans arguing over where to go in the spaceship they had built. In his speech to the Nobel committee in 1950, Faulkner spoke of the nuclear age, of the general and universal physical fear it had engendered, a fear of destruction that had become almost unbearable. But he said, 'I decline to accept the end of man. I believe that man will not merely endure, he will prevail. He is immortal . . . because he has a soul, a spirit capable of compassion and sacrifice and endurance.' Faulkner spoke of 'the old verities and truths of the heart'. . ."

- 7) REAGAN, 9/21/87: "Now, diplomacy, of course, is a subtle and nuanced craft, so much so that it's said that when one of the most wily diplomats of the 19th century passed away other diplomats asked, on reports of his death, 'What do you suppose the old fox meant by that?'"

"All over the world today, the yearnings of the human heart are redirecting the course of international affairs, putting the lie to the myth of materialism and historical determinism."

"Some despair when these new, young democracies face conflicts or challenges, but growing pains are normal in democracies. The United States had them, as has every other democracy on Earth."

"Here in the United States, entrepreneurial energy--reinvigorated when we cut taxes and regulations--has fueled the current economic expansion. According to scholars at the Massachusetts Institute of Technology, three-quarters of the more than 13 1/2 million new jobs that we have created in this country since the beginning of our expansion came from businesses with fewer than 100 employees, businesses started by ordinary people who dared to take a chance."

"There has been much talk in the halls of this building about

the right to development. But more and more the evidence is clear that development is not itself a right. It is the product of rights: the right to own property; the right to buy and sell freely; the right to contract; the right to be free of excessive taxation and regulation, or burdensome government. There have been studies that determined that countries with low tax rates have greater growth than those with high rates."

✓ "Some time ago the Czech dissident writer Vaclav Havel warned the world that 'respect for human rights is the fundamental condition and the sole genuine guarantee of true peace.' And Andrei Sakharov in his Nobel lecture said: 'I am convinced that international confidence, mutual understanding, disarmament, and international security are inconceivable without an open society with freedom of information, freedom of conscience, the right to publish, and the right to travel and choose the country in which one wishes to live.' Freedom serves peace; the quest for peace must serve the cause of freedom." (RR used same exact quote in 1985 UN address)

"This is why we must protect the Universal Declaration of Human Rights from being debased as it was through the infamous 'Zionism is Racism' resolution."

I have spoken today of a vision and the obstacles to its realization. More than a century ago a young Frenchman, Alexis de Tocqueville, visited America. After that visit he predicted that the two great powers of the future world would be, on one hand, the United States, which would be built, as he said, 'by the plowshare,' and, on the other, Russia, which would go forward, again, as he said, 'by the sword.' Yet need it be so? Cannot swords be turned to plowshares? Can we and all nations not live in peace?"

"Two centuries ago, in a hall much smaller than this one, in Philadelphia, Americans met to draft a Constitution. In the course of their debates, one of them said that the new government, if it was to rise high, must be built on the broadest base: the will and consent of the people. And so it was, and so it has been."

"If we diplomatic pilgrims are to achieve equal altitudes, we must build all we do on the full breadth of humanity's will and consent and the full expanse of the human heart."

- 8) REAGAN, 9/26/88: ". . .do we continue the work of the founders of this institution and see to it that, at last, freedom is enshrined and humanity knows war no longer and that this place, this floor, shall be truly 'the world's last battlefield?'"

"Let peace come."

"With such systems [SDI], for the first time, in case of

accidental launch or the act of a madman somewhere, major powers will not be faced with the single option of massive retaliation but will instead have the chance of a saner choice: to shield against an attack instead for avenging it."

". . . even at this moment another ominous terror is loose once again in the world, a terror we thought the world had put behind, a terror that looms at us now from the long-buried past, from ghostly, scarring trenches and the haunting, wan faces of millions dead in one of the most inhumane conflicts of all time: poison gas, chemical warfare."

". . . I said history demonstrates that, time and again, in place after place, economic growth and human progress make their greatest strides in countries that encourage economic freedom; that individual farmers, laborers, owners, traders, and managers are the heart and soul of development. Trust them, because where they're allowed to create and build, where they're given a personal stake in deciding economic policies and benefiting from their success, then societies become more dynamic, prosperous, progressive, and free. We believe in freedom. We know it works.

And this, Mr. Secretary-General and distinguished delegates, is the immutable lesson of the postwar era: that freedom works-even more, that freedom and peace work together." (again, Bush used this in his acceptance speech)

". . . values such as family, the first and most important unit of society, where all values and learning begin-an institution to be cherished and protected; values, too, such as work, community, freedom, and faith. For it's here we find the deeper rationale for the cause of human rights and world peace."

✓
". . . a truth embodied in our Declaration of Independence: that the case for inalienable rights, that the idea of human dignity, that the notion of conscience above compulsion can be made only in the context of higher law, only in the context of what one of the founders of this organization, Secretary-General Dag Hammarskjold, has called devotion to something which is greater and higher than we are ourselves. This is the endless cycle, the final truth to which humankind seems always to return: that religion and morality, that faith in something higher, are prerequisites for freedom and that justice and peace within ourselves is the first step toward justice and peace in the world and for the ages."

". . . that when we grow weary of the world and its troubles, when our faith in humanity falters, it is then that we must seek comfort and refreshment of spirit in a deeper source of wisdom, one greater than ourselves."

- 9) UNSG's Report on the Work of the Organization, 9/91:
"The causes of the transformation of the global scene, under

way since 1985, are beyond the compass of this report. One of its direct effects, however, has been the end of the long season of stagnation for the United Nations."

"The adoption of a plan for the termination of the war between Iran and Iraq, the conclusion of the Geneva Accords followed by the withdrawal of the forces of the Soviet Union from Afghanistan and the bringing to independence of Namibia were among the major fruits of this rejuvenation of the United Nations. Steady progress was also maintained with regard to the situations in Western Sahara, Cambodia, Central America and elsewhere."

11
"As against 13 operations launched all through 43 years, 5 were mounted in 1988 and 1989, and 4 during the period under review."

"...some discordant notes, however, are still audible. One is the persistence of the trend, even if now in lesser degree, not to avail of the machinery of the United Nations to resolve certain important issues, including some relating to areas of incipient or potential conflict. The other is the pronounced contrast between the tasks imposed on the Organization and the resources provided to it. The dynamism and liberality of vision hardly accords with the indigence to which the Organization has been financially reduced."

"The extinction of the bipolarity associated with the cold war has no doubt removed the factor that virtually immobilized international relations over four decades. It has cured the Security Council's paralysis and helped immensely in resolving some regional conflicts. By itself, however, it does not guarantee a just and lasting peace for the world's peoples."

"A new factor in the international situation has been introduced by the manifold difficulties of transition in a good part of the northern Eurasian landmass. The way in which this transition is handled by leadership both inside and outside that vast region is certain to have far-reaching implications for the emerging international order as a whole."

"Once the [Iraq] invasion occurred, the response of the Security Council was not only swift but systematic; in adopting 14 resolutions regarding the situation, the Council followed a step-by-step and considered approach to the use of its powers under Chapter VII of the Charter. Far from acting in haste, the Council afforded ample time - from 2 August 1990 to 15 January 1991 - for the Government of Iraq to comply with the Council's demand."

"The hostilities in the Gulf have made it agonizingly clear that the devastation of two States, with untold loss of innocent lives, appalling dangers to public health, damage to the environment and immense suffering of millions, represented

a startling failure of collective diplomacy. In the aftermath of these hostilities, therefore, a renewed emphasis is rightly being placed on the need for preventive diplomacy."

"I must stress here that, for itself, the United Nations is not designed to monopolize the peace process. The role of regional arrangements or agencies in pacific settlement of disputes is explicitly recognized in Articles 33 (1) and 52 (2) of the Charter. As long as a credible peace process is in motion as envisaged in these two Articles, there can be no cause for complaint that the United Nations is being bypassed."

"Another deficiency in the working of the system of collective security is the insufficient use of the principal judicial organ of the United Nations, the International Court of Justice. Many international disputes are justiciable; even those which seem entirely political (as the Iraq-Kuwait dispute prior to invasion) have a clearly legal component."

"I believe that the protection of human rights has now become one of the keystones in the arch of peace. I am also convinced that it now involves more a concerted exertion of international influence and pressure through timely appeal, admonition, remonstrance or condemnation and, in the last resort, an appropriate United Nations presence, than what was regarded as permissible under traditional international law."

"With the heightened international interest in universalizing a regime of human rights, there is a marked and most welcome shift in public attitudes. To try to resist it would be politically as unwise as it is morally indefensible."

"Another principal source of chronic instability is the militarization of human society represented by the level of armaments and military outlays in the world today."

"The obsession has been as ruinous in political, cultural and psychological terms as it has been financially costly. Over the years, however, the cold war overshadowed the whole field of arms limitation and disarmament. The perspectives that have now been opened should enable us to weave collective approaches in this field more tightly into the fabric of peace-making and conflict control. The opportunities now presented to us are not likely to remain open indefinitely."

"Dismantling the military edifice of the cold war should mean designing a credible architecture for regional security. In this connection, one cannot disregard the existing imbalances and asymmetries within regions that cause recurrent tensions and insecurity."

"The mist of unreality that has hung over discussions of limiting and reducing the level of arms needs to be blown

away. That, I believe, is a most impelling call of the present moment in history."

"Next year the United Nations will face a very important test of its capacity to meet global challenges in the Conference on Environment and Development - the first world summit conference formally mandated by the General Assembly."

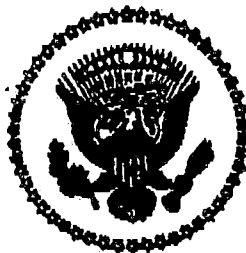
"The upsurge and transnationalization of crime endangers the internal security of States, erodes the individual's basic freedom from fear and can also disrupt international relations."

"Beyond addressing these two menacing problems, the global social strategy would be sadly deficient if it did not include constructive action to revive basic social institutions and to end social discrimination against the weaker members of society. The intended observance of the International Year of the Family in 1994, the development of standard rules for the equalization of opportunities for the disabled, the collaboration with non-governmental organizations in establishing principles for the treatment of older persons, the commitment to attain equality in law and managerial practice between men and women as a basic human right - all reflect a continuity of concern with social health and justice. On the question of gender equality, which is a concern second to none, it is discouraging to observe that progress slackened during the 1980s, in large measure as a result of distracting economic and political factors. I believe that the pace can be quickened through the preparations for the Fourth World Conference on Women in 1995."

"Vast changes in human society and human needs have occurred since 1945. The Organization's membership has itself more than tripled. It is only natural, therefore, that the structures of the Organization and the system now need to be overhauled in the light of current and foreseeable challenges."

"The Charter of the United Nations furnishes guidance that remains timely even in conditions its framers could not have anticipated."

"The facilitation of peaceful and constructive change not the perpetuation of the status quo, will remain the United Nations principal concern."



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September 3, 1991

SUBJECT: USUN CONTROL OFFICERS FOR 46th UNGA

Control Officers for the 46th UNGA have been designated as follows:

Overall Visit Control Officer	Control Officer	Room	Extension
The President	Ambassador Alexander Watson	1111A	44410
	Ambassador George Moose	1117	44400
	Counselor Dorothy Sampas	313	44320
Mrs. Bush	Commander Harvey Langholtz	920	44300
Chief of Staff Sununu	Erin Walsh	914	44085
	Ambassador Moose	1117	44400
The Secretary	Ambassador Moose	814	44400
Mrs. Baker	Erin Walsh	1010	44382
Ambassador Pickering	David Ettinger	1110	44407
Mrs. Pickering	Erin Walsh	914	44085
General Scowcroft	Ambassador Moose	1117	44400
Marlin Fitzwater	Counselor Philip Arnold	215	44058
Asst. Secretary Tutweiler	Arthur Zegelbone	213	44062
Asst. Secretary (EUR)	EUR Adviser Vladimir Lehovich		
Asst. Secretary Solomon (EAP)	EAP Adviser Richard Teare (Until 10/7)		
Asst. Secretary Kelly (NEA)	and Ambassador Theresa Tull (From 10/7)		
Asst. Secretary Aronson (ARA)	NEA Adviser Brooks Wramplemeier		
Asst. Secretary Cohen (AF)	ARA Adviser Douglas Watson		
Asst. Secretary Bolton (IO)	Ambassador Irving Hicks		
Ambassador Joseph Reed (Protocol)	Ambassador Moose	1117	44400
Congressional Delegate Dymally	Brenda Connors	219	44066
Congressional Delegate Burton	Larry Grossman	718	44328
Ambassador Joseph Reed (ex-Protocol)	Michael Michalski	717	44315
Marguerita F. Rockefeller	Larry Grossman	716	44317
Oscar Padilla	David Cohen	721	44255
Press Liaison	David Cohen	721	44255
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Administrative Arrangements	Maryann Alt	511	44195
Site or Event	Counselor Dorothy Sampas	313	44320
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Baggage	Waldorf		
Couriers	- - - -		
Secretaries	- - - -		
Computer Systems Liaison	OIC Provides		
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	Winnie Gerrain	310	44117
	Warren Forrest	319	44077

The Comparative Survey of Freedom: 1991

The Democratic Moment

R. Bruce McColm

Historians may see 1991 as the year when the idea of liberal democracy gained global domination for the first time in history. The road to functional democracies is strewn with enormous obstacles; yet for the first time in the history of the Survey, liberal democracies, even in a fragile or embryonic form, far outnumbered any other political system.

Last year's seismic collapse of communism as a viable political system reverberated across the world. The democratic transitions in Eastern Europe and even the liberalization process in the Soviet Union stimulated a dialogue concerning multiparty democracy throughout the developing world. While the first free elections in Eastern Europe captured the headlines, Africa was experiencing a sweep of multipartyism that represents the most significant phenomenon since decolonization three decades ago.

Latin America, after a decade of democratic transitions, began to confront the longer-term problems of reviving long dormant democratic institutions and balancing civilian-military relations during a period of internationally enforced austerity programs. Throughout the subcontinent of Asia, democratic institutions faced enormous difficulties this year, particularly in Pakistan, Bangladesh, Sri Lanka and even India as ethnic and religious violence accelerated at a frightening pace.

Nostalgia for authoritarian and totalitarian forms of government so far has not materialized in this brief period of global democratization. However, the disintegration or impending collapse of such multi-ethnic nations as the Soviet Union, Yugoslavia, India (and even the recent tensions over the Meech Lake Accords in Canada) clearly raises the question of whether the resurgence of nationalism and the politics of ethnic identification are antithetical to the democratization process.

Perhaps Western policy-makers should examine the opposite notion: the growth of democratic nationalist movements around the world may, in fact, provide the political force necessary to press for decentralization, authentic federal systems of government, and local self-rule. Western political leaders, clearly, are aghast at the prospect that the Soviet Union, a vast land-based empire, might splinter into several states and that Yugoslavia may become authentically "Balkanized." But alternative views of commonwealth or confederation might be adopted that offer nationalities a realistic way to achieve their legitimate demands and provide new mechanisms and structures allow-

ing central governments to transform their systems without risking national integrity. From Eastern Europe to Africa, the way national and tribal aspirations are reconciled with centralized political systems in transition will become the burning issue of the 1990s.

The very nonrational basis for the popular upsurge of nationalism in multi-ethnic nations has led some observers to argue that the temptation to lurch toward independence and secession may eventually overwhelm any democratic dimensions of these movements. The nationalist revival in the world, which in many cases reflects long repressed aspirations, may in fact lead to the dissolution of the modern nation state as we have known it in the twentieth century. Whether this development is ultimately inimical to stability, peace and democratization may depend on Western responses. The trend toward integration in Western Europe, as well as the unifying force of national economic prosperity in fostering a higher sense of community over parochialism, may serve as a model for nations emerging under repressive regimes.

Western policymakers can no longer ignore the larger geopolitical implications of these nationalist movements. As they seek to rectify past grievances or reaffirm historically based sovereignty claims, the West could play a constructive role in encouraging a greater understanding of and commitment to such fundamental democratic principles as minority and cultural rights within their borders. It is clear that central governments can no longer stage-manage or brutally suppress national aspirations for freedom or self-determination, nor should the West support such endeavors. Simply upholding the *status quo ante* may, in all likeli-

Note

The first of the Freedom House year-end reviews of freedom began in 1955, when they were called the Balance Sheet of Freedom and, still later, the Annual Survey of the Progress of Freedom. The balance sheet has been established as the Comparative Survey of Freedom since the early 1970s, and has appeared in *Freedom Review* (formerly *Freedom at Issue*) since 1973. It has also been issued in a more developed context as a yearbook since 1978. It is a year-long project that employs regional specialists and outside experts and draws on a wide range of sources.

Entitled *Freedom in the World: Political Rights and Civil Liberties*, the yearbooks have appeared annually since 1978. The next yearbook for 1990-1991 will be available from Freedom House in March 1991.

Freedom in the World—1991

The population of the world this year is estimated at 5.323 billion residing in 165 sovereign states and 62 related territories, a total of 227 places. The level of political rights and civil liberties as shown comparatively by the Freedom House Survey is:

Free: 2,088.2 billion (39.23) percent of the world's population live in 65 of the states and in 50 of the related territories.

Partly Free: 1,485.67 billion (27.91 percent of the world's population) live in 50 of the states and 3 of the related territories.

Not Free: 1,748.72 billion (32.86) percent of the world's population live in 50 of the states and 9 of the related territories.

Record of the Survey (population in millions)

SURVEY DATE	FREE		PARTLY FREE		NOT FREE		WORLD POPULATION
January '73	1,029.0	(32.00%)	720.5	(21.00%)	1,583.0	(47.00%)	3,334.0
January '77	789.9	(19.60%)	1,464.0	(36.40%)	1,765.9	(43.90%)	4,019.8
January '79	1,483.2	(35.10%)	1,042.7	(24.70%)	1,700.9	(40.20%)	4,226.8
January '81	1,613.0	(35.90%)	970.9	(21.60%)	1,911.9	(42.50%)	4,495.8
January '83	1,665.1	(36.32%)	918.8	(20.04%)	2,000.2	(43.64%)	4,584.1
January '85	1,671.4	(34.85%)	1,117.4	(23.30%)	2,007.2	(41.85%)	4,795.8
January '87	1,842.5	(37.10%)	1,171.5	(23.60%)	1,949.9	(39.30%)	4,963.9
January '89	1,992.8	(38.86%)	1,027.9	(20.05%)	2,107.3	(41.09%)	5,128.0
January '90	2,034.4	(38.87%)	1,143.7	(21.85%)	2,055.9	(39.28%)	5,234.0
January '91	2,088.2	(39.23%)	1,485.7	(27.91%)	1,748.7	(32.86%)	5,322.6

hood, only invite increased political strife, civil war and the chronic instability that breeds wars.

While all fifteen Soviet Republics have adopted resolutions on differing forms of autonomy, the degree to which each is committed to a truly democratic system, with institutionalized guarantees for minority rights, is unclear. National movements in the Baltics, the Ukraine and the Russian republic are dominated by democratic parties and associations that are rediscovering and identifying with those short periods of their history which might be seen as liberal or democratic. Strategies of these prodemocracy movements, such as the Ukrainian RUKH, have largely avoided the past problems of ethnic exclusivity by incorporating ethnic minorities and diverse faiths in their governing bodies.

In South Africa, the unbanning of black political organizations and discussions on future negotiations over majority rule have sparked an escalation of violence between competing political organizations that has both an ethnic and ideological basis. The debate in Africa over the appropriate way to develop multiparty democracy focuses on the issue of maintaining national unity in the face of the inevitable political fragmentation along ideological and tribal lines.

While it is still too early to judge the success and even the authenticity of these transition processes, it is clear that liberal democracy, both in rhetoric and deed, has become the preferred model of political development. Of the 165 countries monitored by the Survey, formal liberal democracies account for 76 countries and another 36 (112 of

the 165 monitored) could be said to be in varying stages of transition to a democratic system.

The remaining governments represent a combination of traditional monarchies, as in the Middle East; military regimes such as Burma; and nearly twenty-eight dominant, one-party or Communist regimes. However, it should be noted that 11 of the democratic countries and all those in transition are either Partly Free or Not Free because they lack the institutional safeguards for the preservation of the political rights and civil liberties to which they aspire.

1990 continued the trend toward greater freedom in the world begun in the 1980s. In measuring political rights and civil liberties around the world, the Survey classified 65 nations and 50 territories as Free, 50 nations and 3 territories as Partly Free and 50 nations and 9 territories as Not Free. Measured against last year, this represents a gain of four among the Free countries and a decline by eleven of Not Free countries.

Using population figure estimates, this means that out of a world population of 5.3 billion, 2.09 billion, or 39.23 percent, live in countries categorized as Free, 1.49 billion, or 27.91 percent live in Partly Free states, and 1.75 billion, or 32.86 percent live in Not Free societies. Of those living in Not Free states, nearly 1.12 billion are citizens of the People's Republic of China. In sum, 1990 was the first year of the Survey in which both the number of Free countries and population living in Free societies outnumbered both the Not Free countries and their populations.

(continued on page 12)

The Survey 1991

The *Comparative Survey of Freedom* is an institutional effort by Freedom House to monitor the political rights and civil liberties in 165 nations and 62 related territories on an annual basis. Expanded in the early 1970s, this year-long project is produced by our regional experts, consultants outside the country and human rights specialists and derives its information from a wide-range of sources.

As always, Freedom House welcomes criticism of the findings by both governments and nongovernmental organizations. Only through this valuable exchange of views can we improve our findings.

During the past year, Freedom House conducted numerous fact-finding missions around the world. Freedom House personnel visited Poland, the Soviet Union, Hungary, Czechoslovakia, Romania, Nicaragua, El Salvador, Guatemala, Haiti and South Africa. During these on-sites, Freedom House made efforts to meet a cross-section of political parties and associations, human rights monitors, representatives of both the private sector and the trade unions, academics, foreign and local journalists, security forces and insurgent movements where they exist.

Throughout the year, we consult a vast array of published source materials, ranging from reports of other human rights organizations to regional publications and newspapers.

Most valued to Freedom House are the many human rights activists, journalists, editors and political figures around the world who keep us informed on a regular basis of their countries' situations, sometimes at great risk to themselves.

This year's *Survey* was conducted by a Freedom House project team: R.

Bruce McCollm (coordinator); Dr. Joseph Ryan, a comparative political scientist; James Finn, general editor; Douglas W. Payne; George Zarycky; Eric Singer; Dale Bricker; Perry Bechky; and Maria Vitagliano. Leonard Sussman and research assistant Jessie Miller are responsible for the *Survey of Press Freedom*. This year's research assistants were Carla Copeland, Paul Danziger, Sharon Gross, John Gutierrez, Mykola Hryckowian, Alexa Peery, Christina Pendzola, Thomas Ragsdale and Elizabeth Stern. The managing editor is Mark Wolkenfeld and the editorial assistant is Pei Koay.

The year in review

The difficulties in evaluating the state of freedom around the world have been inherent in the *Survey* project since its beginnings two decades ago. This has been especially true over the past two years as the rate of political change

around the world has accelerated with a gale force.

In 1989, an unusually volatile period, saw 27 countries change their ratings. In 1990 fifty-six nation-states, or over one-third of the world, changed because of real political events, rather than methodological considerations. Thirty-six countries improved their human rights situations, while declines were registered by eighteen. Two countries—Antigua and Barbuda, and Turkey—showed mixed results. Seventeen countries changed ratings, moving between the categories of "Free," "Partly Free" and "Not Free." Of these, fifteen improved categories, while two—the Philippines and Kuwait—lost ground.

Category changes

Five nations joined the Free community. After seventeen years of military dictatorship, Chile inaugurated the freely

Countries that changed categories

Country	1990	1991
Benin	Not Free	Partly Free
Bulgaria	Not Free	Partly Free
Cape Verde	Not Free	Partly Free
Chile	Partly Free	Free
Comoros	Not Free	Partly Free
Czechoslovakia	Not Free	Free
Gabon	Not Free	Partly Free
Haiti	Not Free	Partly Free
Hungary	Partly Free	Free
Kuwait	Partly Free	Not Free
Mongolia	Not Free	Partly Free
Namibia	Partly Free	Free
Panama	Not Free	Partly Free
Philippines	Free	Partly Free
Poland	Partly Free	Free
Sao Tome	Not Free	Partly Free
and Principe		
USSR	Not Free	Partly Free

17 countries became more free

elected government of President Patricio Alwyn. The foremost question in the country remained the issue of military subordination to civilian authority. The government amnestied remaining political prisoners, created a commission to investigate past human rights violations and ratified the Inter-American Convention on Human Rights.

Czechoslovakia faced the formidable challenge of transforming its "velvet revolution" into a democracy. President Václav Havel's Civic Forum won the June parliamentary elections and promptly faced a number of difficult issues: the pace and scope of free-market reforms, growing nationalism in Slovakia, the surprising resiliency of the Communist party and the withdrawal of Soviet troops. The Prague government reformed the judiciary system, dismantled the secret police force and sought to improve prison conditions.

Hungary held its first free national elections in more than forty years, which resulted in a coalition government led by the center-right Hungarian Democratic Forum and the emergence of a well-organized parliamentary opposition. However, a low voter turnout in the fall elections revealed a growing apathy.

Lech Walesa, who led Solidarity for ten years, was elected Poland's President in December amid a national debate over the rate of economic and political reform. Walesa argued Poland lagged behind other East European countries that had already ousted the old guard in open parliamentary elections.

Namibia joined Botswana, the Gambia and Mauritius as Africa's only Free countries by adopting a multiparty democratic system.

The most decisive change this year doesn't appear in the *Survey*. Long the most Stalinist regime in Eastern Europe, the German Democratic Republic held its first free election since its creation in 1949, resulting in a stunning victory for the Christian Democratic-led "Alliance for Germany." By October, the country was dissolved and

Germany united again. This left the new Germany with the massive problem of integrating two disparate economic systems and dealing with the *Stasi*, its 85,000 officers and half-a-million informants.

Within the category of Free, five countries declined in their ratings. Argentina confronted another army revolt and the Menem government is relying on executive decree to implement its economic policies. Brazil continued its stable transition with the inauguration of President Collor de Mello, but experienced continued violence against the Indian population in rural areas. In the troubled Dominican Republic aging President Joaquin Balaguer won a narrow victory over his archrival Juan Bosch, and was promptly besieged by national labor strikes and charges by the Catholic church that he had lost his authority to deal with the nation's crisis. Papua New Guinea was accused of human-rights violations in its handling of the Bougainville uprising. The United Kingdom dropped one point in civil liberties for restrictions on the media and revelations about forced confessions and faked evidence to obtain convictions in terrorist incidents.

While their rating didn't change, three countries in the Free category experienced serious threats to freedom and democracy. India became the most threatened democracy in the world, rocked by two consecutive years of sectarian and secessionist violence in the Punjab, Assam and Kashmir, where tens of thousands have been killed or injured. Militant Hindus and Muslims clashed over a disputed religious site at Ayodhya in Uttar Pradesh and by November this sense of national crisis brought down the government of Prime Minister V.P. Singh.

Trinidad-Tobago was shaken at the end of July by a bloody coup attempt by a small band of Muslim extremists, who stormed the National Parliament and held the prime minister hostage for five days. Antigua and Barbuda experienced another arms shipment scandal, which implicated

high officials in the Bird administration and caused public pressure for new elections.

Several countries moved from Not Free to Partly Free. For the first time in the *Survey's* history the Soviet Union is now ranked as "partly free." The year ended with President Gorbachev threatening to use new powers to halt economic chaos and restore "law and order," a reference to the independent-minded republics. The new draft union treaty supported by Gorbachev calls for the protection of human rights and the creation of a democratic state based on popular representation and law. Despite the democratic dressing, most republics have rejected the new union treaty.

The year saw all fifteen Republics declare some form of sovereignty and state that their constitutions take precedence over the Soviet one. While the powers of the Soviet presidency have been greatly enhanced, Gorbachev's actions have largely been ignored. Six of the republics established their own presidential systems, and Armenia refused to enforce a presidential decree ordering paramilitary groups to lay down their weapons. Leningrad and Moscow are now governed by reformers, and reform candidates appear to be winning local elections throughout the USSR.

The Soviet Parliament also passed laws guaranteeing freedom of the press and freedom of religion. The Russian Republic, led by Boris Yeltsin, drafted a democratic constitution (to be approved by referendum in 1991), and developed extensive economic and diplomatic relations with the other republics, paving the way for a possible reconfiguration of the Soviet Union.

Bulgaria became Partly Free because of multiparty elections in June contested by a burgeoning opposition. The Communists, renamed the Bulgarian Socialist Party, won at the polls, making it the only ruling party in Eastern Europe to be returned to power in a multiparty election. However, by year's end the government of Prime Minister Andrei Lukanov collapsed, besieged by

Gains in Freedom without changing category

Albania
Algeria
Brunei
Central African Republic
Congo
Guinea
Guinea-Bissau
Ivory Coast
Madagascar
Mali
Mozambique
Nepal
Nicaragua
Niger
Nigeria
Romania
South Africa
Taiwan
Tanzania
Tonga
Zaire

Declines in Freedom without changing category

Argentina
Bangladesh
Brazil
Dominican Republic
Guatemala
Indonesia
Iraq
Liberia
Mexico
Pakistan
Papua New Guinea
Peru
Suriname
Tunisia
Uganda
United Kingdom

Gains and Declines in Freedom without changing category

Antigua and Barbuda and Turkey both gained and declined in the ratings. Antigua and Barbuda, rated 2,3 in 1990, changed to 3,2 in 1991. Turkey, rated 3,3 in 1990, changed to 2,4 in 1991.

party factionalism, national unrest and a rash of strikes.

Mongolia became the first Communist nation in Asia to drop Marxism as its official ideology and hold competitive multiparty elections.

Benin saw the formation of a transition government by Prime Minister Soglo and the adoption of a new constitution. After a negotiated settlement was reached with exiled political leaders, President Mathieu Kerekou voluntarily stepped aside. Presidential and legislative elections were scheduled for January 1991. After a mercenary attempt to take-over the country, Comoros President Djohar came under pressure from French President Francois Mitterand to democratize, a promise he made amid irregularities in the March election.

The former Portuguese colonies of Sao Tome and Principe and Cape Verde abandoned a commitment to a one-party state and adopted multiparty

democracy. In Cape Verde, despite irregularities in the registration process and constraints on political organizing, the January 1991 legislative elections will be the first contested by several parties. Sao Tome's leading opposition figure, Alfonso Dos Santos was released in April, and direct competitive legislative elections were announced for the first time. Gabon also held competitive elections, although the results were protested by the opposition, which won nearly half the seats.

Following the American invasion that removed General Manuel Antonio Noriega from power in December 1989, the Endara government in Panama faced the enormous tasks of economic and political reconstruction. The only "4," "2" in the Survey, Panama is unique for having a duly elected president installed by a foreign power. American forces have provided the security protection for most of 1990 and suppressed a military coup attempt later in the year.

Two countries—Kuwait and the Philippines—dropped categories, the former from Partly Free to Not Free after its brutal occupation by Iraq and the latter, which dropped from "free" to Partly Free because the Survey team felt President Aquino had been too reluctant to translate her popularity into any real reforms, thus allowing corruption, political violence and military domination to overwhelm the once hopeful transition.

Within the Partly Free category, there were nine improvements and nine declines.

After a stunning victory over the Sandinistas in the 25 February elections, the Chamorro government in Nicaragua took office with little control over the military and persistent labor unrest.

Taiwan continued its attempts at democratization under its first native president, Mr. Lee Teng-hui. The December 1989 elections, called by in-

international observers as the freest and fairest in that nation's history, saw opposition parties, such as the Democratic Progress Party (DPP), make significant gains.

King Birendra of Nepal was forced by a broad-based opposition to lift a twenty-nine-year ban on independent political activity and accepted a draft constitution that called for a constitutional monarchy and a popularly elected parliament.

In Africa, several countries improved. Algeria's liberalization made advances with the June local and regional elections that saw the ruling FLN defeated by the opposition Islamic Salvation Front. It was the first multiparty election in Algeria and the first election anywhere in which an Islamist party won a majority.

Registration began for voters and banned politicians appeared with two new parties, as Nigeria's transition plan for 1989 remained on schedule. Demonstrations and civil unrest forced Ivory Coast President Felix Houphouët-Boigny to accede to demands for a multiparty system and national elections. The eighty-five-year old patriarch was elected in October in elections marred by widespread fraud. Madagascar legalized opposition parties in March and eased censorship.

After twenty-seven years of imprisonment, Nelson Mandela was freed. Black political organizations were unbanned and the state of emergency was lifted. There was a wide agreement in South Africa on the need to create a democratic political system, majority rule and a bill of rights to protect both minorities and individuals. Despite the movement toward negotiations by 1991, this was one of the bloodiest years in the country's history with internecine fighting erupting between the African National Congress and Inkatha, the Zulu-based party.

Long resistant to multiparty elections, President Kenneth Kuanda had to capitulate as the worst rioting in Zambian history hit the capital of Lusaka. Throughout the year advocates

for a democratic transition were arrested by police. Finally, earlier plans for a constitutional referendum were shelved for competitive elections this coming year.

Of the nine declines in the Partly Free category, the most notable was Uganda, where President Museveni postponed scheduled elections and extended his own term until 1995. In the eastern and western parts of Uganda, counter-insurgency efforts forced 200,000 civilians into overcrowded camps.

Before her dismissal from office on nebulous charges, Pakistan's Prime Minister Benazir Bhutto managed to alienate the powerful military and civil service establishments, while ignoring rising violence between ethnic groups. The October elections, won by the conservative Islamic Democratic Alliance (IDA), were generally fair, but irregularities may have inflated the alliance's majority.

Throughout the year, Bangladesh saw flare-ups of political violence and large anti-government protests after President Lt. General Hossain Ershad suspended civil liberties. While he insisted the 1991 elections would be fair, he was finally forced to resign in December amid mounting social unrest.

Guatemala, Peru and Suriname experienced declines typical of Latin American countries in transition: military authority overwhelming civilian control because of insurgency. Indonesia, Mexico and Tunisia also experienced slight downturns.

Although Sri Lanka's ratings didn't change, Tamil insurgents renewed their warfare and opened another front earlier in the year.

Some of the more interesting improvements in the *Survey* came in the Not Free category. Of the twelve countries which gained in ratings in this category, nine were African countries that implemented partial reforms or professed a new commitment to multiparty democracy. These were the Central African Republic, Congo,

Guinea, Guinea-Bissau, Mali, Mozambique, Niger, Tanzania and Zaïre.

National protests in Haiti forced the resignation of General Prosper Avril in March 1990 and elections were held in December. The Rev. Jean-Bertrand Aristide won overwhelmingly. On that basis, Haiti is now rated Partly Free. If the military and Duvalierists accept the winner as president, then Haiti will remain, if precariously, Partly Free.

Romania experienced serious problems in establishing both political stability and legitimacy after last year's violent revolution that toppled the thirty-four-year regime of Nicolae Ceausescu. The National Salvation Front (NSF), led by former senior Communist officials, many with close ties to Ceausescu, won an overwhelming victory at the polls in May. But the Front frequently used force to quell protests by the democratic movement.

Albania, long the most repressive regime in Europe, unbanned religion and lifted travel restrictions. These tentative steps toward liberalization included a pledge by Ramiz Alia, the first secretary of the Albanian Party of Labor, to adopt a multiparty state, and the request by one opposition group to register as a political party.

Brunei freed political prisoners in 1990.

The most repressive regimes

The Gulf crisis once again focused world attention on the appalling state of political rights and civil liberties in the Middle East. The Iraqi government, led by Saddam Hussein, remains one of the most brutal and repressive regimes in power today. The government's vast secret police apparatus subjected citizens to a wide range of human rights abuses, including forced relocation and deportation, arbitrary arrest, torture and summary executions.

Reports from Iraqi-occupied Kuwait alleged widespread looting, rape and executions of scores of people, sometimes in front of their families. Iraqi forces have ruthlessly repressed any

demonstrations of resistance by the remaining Kuwaiti population.

Iraq's former adversary and new ally, Iran officially boasted of public beheadings and hangings of its political opponents. There are reportedly thousands of political prisoners, and religious and ethnic minorities are vigorously persecuted. It is reported that since the 1988 ceasefire, 23,000 political detainees alone have been executed. While perhaps this number is too high, the published executions in 1990 have been 443. Some political prisoners are now executed on "drug charges."

The Gulf allies also have serious human rights problems. In retaliation for Yemen's reservations about measures against Iraq, Saudi Arabia forcibly expelled hundreds of thousands of its nearly 1 million Yemeni workers. The Syrian regime possesses an extensive security apparatus which persecutes political opponents as well as ethnic and religious minorities. Syrian military units reportedly killed dozens of people demonstrating against Syrian involvement with the allied forces in Saudi Arabia.

In Asia, the People's Republic of China lifted martial law in January, yet continued the harassment and jailing of students. The Chinese security forces were purged and substantially beefed up in anticipation of further unrest. The full extent of repression against the workers movement is just beginning to be known in the West. Widely publicized releases of political prisoners were aimed more at improving its international image than revealing any significant shift toward liberalization. Chinese and Soviet military officials have met to discuss internal crackdowns in both countries. The 1990 Law on Hong Kong limited human rights and provoked increased emigration from that territory.

Reacting to the fall of Communist

regimes in Eastern Europe, North Korea recalled 2,000 students and officials and scattered them about remote provincial areas for fear of contamination by democratic ideas. Only the slightest signs of economic reforms were visible as Marshall Kim Il-Sung began a new four-year term.

Burma allowed national elections in May, only to be shocked by the landslide victory of the National League for Democracy led by Aung San Suu Kyi, the daughter of the country's founder. The military refused to hand over power and arrested hundreds of leading opposition leaders in a brutal campaign of repression.

Both Vietnam's and Laos' ruling Communist parties accelerated economic reforms but reaffirmed their commitment to a one-party state. While the international peace talks under the U.N. Security Council over resolving the Cambodian civil war continued, the Vietnamese re-entered the country to bolster the Phnom Penh government against the Khmer Rouge, who continued to receive support from China. The government continues its practice of political killings and disappearances, while the Khmer Rouge suppressed religion in areas it controls and attempted to shift the Thai-border populations back into liberated zones.

Afghanistan remained a land of horrifying violence and the war drifted into a stalemate as super power negotiations could not bring any agreement between the mujahedeen and the Najibullah regime.

Liberia was engulfed in a savage civil war that brought down the regime of General Samuel K. Doe and launched a wave of inter-tribal slaughter encouraged by rival guerrilla movements. In Ethiopia, mediation efforts between guerrillas and the Mengistu regime ended in failure and there was increased dissent within the military.

After five different rounds of talks between UNITA and the Luanda government, it appears that the fifteen-year old war in Angola might end in 1991. Hard-liners resist the short timetable for elections and the creation of a multiparty state, but the two sides in the conflict under pressure from Moscow and Washington appear to be approaching an agreement of an internationally verified ceasefire and elections sometime in 1991.

The Said Barre government in Somalia scrapped plans for a multi-party elections in 1990 and ended the year having lost all but the capital to the various guerrilla factions.

With the loss of allies in Nicaragua and Panama and the collapse of communism in the Soviet Union and Eastern Europe, Fidel Castro defiantly reinforced the Stalinist political system in Cuba and jailed all but a handful of some 200 human rights activists. Castro strengthened his grip over the party, the military and government, and re-employed the Committees in Defense of the Revolution to squelch dissent. Castro suppressed religious processions and sabotaged a proposed visit to the island by His Holiness John Paul II.

The *Survey* underscores Freedom House's concern that the enhancement and support of democratic movements and human rights monitors abroad be seen as vital to America's national interest. Recent attempts to revive the bloodless power politics of the 1970s will flounder in this revolutionary age. Democratic internationalism has been supported in the post-war period by a bipartisan consensus. The "New World Order" will not be built solely on agreements between political elites; it will be constructed through a myriad of separate institutions and organizations that mediate between the citizen and the once-powerful state. ■

(Continued from page 6)

The countries in which 67.14 percent of the world's population lived in free societies or those with middling degrees of freedom were almost uniformly liberal democracies possessing institutional safeguards—albeit often rudimentary and fragile—for their citizens, and some juridical mechanisms for correcting and redressing injustices. Such institutional safeguards were not present in the 50 Not Free countries, and are not found to an appreciable extent in some Partly Free countries, even those undergoing democratic transitions.

Of the many countries in transition, a significant number will not evolve into democratic systems because they either lack a political culture that encourages tolerance and pluralism, face persistent insurgencies, or have fragile organizations and institutions that form a civil society indispensable for democratic development. Countries such as El Salvador, Guatemala, Nicaragua, the Philippines and Sri Lanka may fail because of the refusal by political, social and revolutionary elites to agree on a common national agenda.

Extra-institutional measures at conflict resolution (such as private efforts) might provide the unofficial, nongovernmental assistance necessary to strengthen the entrenchment of democratic norms in such countries. The creation of a civic culture that can foster and sustain a democratic national consciousness is vital for societies trying to overcome a past where large segments of the population were complicit in repressive rule.

Surprisingly, over the past year the East European democracies of Czechoslovakia, Hungary and Poland have exhibited extraordinary restraint toward old oppressors and in their efforts to overcome the psychology of totalitarianism that still inhibits citizen participation in building civic institutions.

The thirty-four members of the Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe (CSCE) recently declared "a new era of democracy, peace and unity." To become a reality this hope needs an aggressive Western strategy to assist those around the world working for structural changes in their societies. The most cost-effective way to encourage the development of open, free-enterprise societies is political assistance to those working to build democratic institutions. The promising December talks between Secretary of State James Baker and Soviet Foreign Minister Eduard Shevardnadze laid the groundwork for peaceful resolutions of conflicts in Angola and Afghanistan. These, however, will not lead to a stable peace unless Western countries provide significant help to construct the nongovernmental institutions necessary to support a democratic resolution of prolonged wars.

In the past American assistance packages appeared to

be based on some new form of economic determinism: the notion that the primary need of a country in democratic transition was the vital aid to help it make the change to a free market system. While market economies are indeed one goal of these transitions, neither foreign assistance nor private investment can achieve much beyond a temporary relief of economic stress as long as the essential structures of society are either in disarray or remain in the hands of retainers from the old regime.

If U.S. economic assistance is not accompanied by profound changes in the civic and political character of these societies, Western aid will inevitably fail, encouraging the retention of bloated government bureaucracies and the perpetuation of corrupt political elites who adopt the new "democratic" line.

Democratic political development is, in our view, a prerequisite for attracting domestic and foreign capital investment, preventing the emigration of the most educated and productive workers, and for the preservation of human rights. Throughout newly emerging democracies, citizens are pressing for reforms to make governments more accountable, legislatures more effective, and legal systems more accessible. Accountability and responsiveness will be necessary to curb the endemic violence in many of these societies and to foster authentic stability.

For the past decade, there have been promising beginnings in political development assistance. Numerous programs of the National Endowment for Democracy and its affiliates, USAID Democratic Initiatives programs, and the various initiatives of Western European countries continue to support democratic reforms. Equally encouraging have been the new, active roles of the United Nations and the Organization of American States (OAS) in verifying cease-fires in regional conflicts and monitoring elections in previously war-torn societies.

That the language of democracy is accepted as the framework for all discussions concerning human rights has been a welcome occurrence over the last few years. But the consolidation of democracy will be greatly helped by the development of an infrastructure of nongovernment institutions that mediate between the citizen and the state. If democratic political development is not considered a higher priority in our foreign policy the world will face grave political reversals, sooner rather than later.

The trends in our *Survey* clearly indicate rather difficult times ahead for countries undergoing the painful but liberating transition to democracy. It should be our purpose as Americans to prolong this democratic moment. ■

R. Bruce McColm, executive director of Freedom House, is coordinator of the Comparative Survey of Freedom.

Survey Methodology

Joseph E. Ryan

The purpose of the *Comparative Survey of Freedom* since its inception in the 1970s has been to provide an annual evaluation of political rights and civil liberties everywhere in the world.

The *Survey* attempts to judge all places by a single standard and to point out the importance of democracy and freedom. At a minimum, a democracy is a political system in which the people choose their authoritative leaders freely from among competing groups and individuals who were not chosen by the government. Putting it broadly, freedom is the chance to act spontaneously in a variety of fields outside the control of government and other centers of potential domination. Normally, Westerners associate the adherence to political rights and civil liberties with the liberal democracies, such as those in North America and the European Community. However, there are also such Third World democracies as Costa Rica and Botswana. In another case, Western Samoa combines political parties and competitive elections with power for the *matai*, the heads of extended families.

Freedom House does not view democracy as a static concept, and the *Survey* recognizes that a democratic country does not necessarily belong in our category of "free" states. A democracy can lose freedom and become merely "partly free." Peru and Colombia are examples of such "partly free" democracies. In other cases, countries that replaced military regimes with elected governments can have less than complete transitions to liberal democracy. El Salvador and Guatemala fit the description of this kind of "partly free" democracy. (For an explanation of the designations "free," "partly free," and "not free," see the section on The Map of Freedom below.)

Just as democracy is not a static concept, the *Survey* itself adapts to changing conditions. Readers of the previous editions of the *Survey* will note that the ratings of many countries and related territories have changed since 1989. Events have changed some ratings, but other changes reflect methodological refinements developed by this year's *Survey* team.

Definitions and categories of the Survey

The *Survey's* understanding of freedom is broad and encompasses two sets of characteristics grouped under political rights and civil liberties. Political rights enable people to participate freely in the political process. By the political process, we mean the system by which the polity chooses the authoritative policy makers and attempts to make binding decisions affecting the national, regional or local community. In a free society this means the right of all adults to vote and compete for public office, and for elected rep-

resentatives to have a decisive vote on public policies. A system is genuinely free or democratic to the extent that the people have a choice in determining the nature of the system and its leaders.

The *Survey* employs checklists for these rights and liberties to help determine the degree of freedom present in each country and related territory, and to help assign each entity to a comparative category.

The checklist for political rights asks whether (a) the head of state and/or head of government or other chief authority, and (b) the legislative representatives, are elected through free and fair elections. Freedom House considers the extent to which the system offers the voter the chance to make a free choice among competing candidates, and to what extent the candidates are chosen independently of the state. The checklist asks specifically whether there are fair electoral laws, equal campaigning opportunities, fair polling and honest tabulation of ballots.

The mechanics of the election are not the only concern. We also examine whether the voters are able to endow their elected representatives with real power, or whether unelected elements reduce or supersede this power. In many Latin American countries, for example, the military retains a significant political role, and in Morocco the king maintains significant power over the elected politicians.

A fully free political system must allow the people to organize in different political parties or other competitive political groupings of their choice, and the system must be open to the rise and fall of these competing parties or groupings. The *Survey* looks for the occurrence of a significant opposition vote, *de facto* opposition power, and a possibility for the opposition to increase its support or gain power through elections. The definition of political rights also includes a country's right of self-determination and its citizens' freedom from domination by the military, foreign powers, totalitarian parties, religious hierarchies, economic oligarchies or any other powerful group. The more people suffer under such domination, the less chance the country has of getting credit for self-determination.

Finally, the *Survey* examines minority rights and sub-national political power: Do cultural, ethnic, religious and other minority groups have reasonable self-determination, self-government, autonomy or participation through informal consensus in the decision-making process? Is political power decentralized, allowing for local, regional and/or provincial or state administrations led by their freely elected officials? (For entities such as tiny island nations, the absence of a decentralized system does not necessarily count as a negative in the *Survey*.)

For traditional monarchies that have no parties or elector-

al process, the *Survey* gives discretionary credit for systems that provide for consultation with the people, encourage discussion of policy, and allow the right to petition the ruler.

Freedom House does not have a culture-bound view of democracy. The *Survey* team rejects the notion that only Europeans and those of European descent qualify as democratic. The *Survey* demonstrates that, in addition to those in Europe and the Americas, there are free countries with varying kinds of democracy functioning among people of all races and religions in Africa, the South Pacific and Asia. In some South Pacific islands, free countries can have competitive political systems based on competing family groups and personalities rather than on European or American-style parties.

Civil liberties are the freedoms to develop views, institutions and personal autonomy apart from the state. The checklist for civil liberties begins with a requirement for free and independent media, literature and other cultural expressions. In cases where the media are state-controlled but offer pluralistic points of view, the *Survey* gives the system credit. The checklist also includes the rights to have open public discussion and free private discussion, and freedom of assembly and demonstration. Freedom House looks for evidence that a country or territory allows freedom of political or quasi-political organization. This includes political parties, civic associations, ad hoc issue groups and so forth.

The *Survey* considers whether citizens are equal under the law, have access to an independent, nondiscriminatory judiciary, and are respected by the security forces. Freedom House does not mistake constitutional guarantees for the respect for human rights in practice. The checklist also includes protection from unjustified political terror, imprisonment, exile or torture, whether by groups that support or oppose the system, and freedom from war or insurgency situations. Freedom from war and insurgency situations enhances the liberties in a free society, but the absence of wars and insurgencies does not in itself make an unfree society free.

The standards for civil liberties also include free trade unions and peasant organizations or equivalents, free professional and other private organizations, free businesses or cooperatives, and free private and public religious expression and free religious institutions. For tiny island countries and territories and other small entities with low populations, the absence of unions and other types of association does not necessarily count as a negative unless the government or other centers of domination are deliberately blocking association.

The checklist for civil liberties has an item on personal social freedoms, which include such aspects as gender equality, property rights, freedom of movement, choice of residence, and choice of marriage and size of family. The *Survey* also rates equality of opportunity, which includes freedom from exploitation by or dependency on landlords, employers, union leaders, bureaucrats or any other type of

denigrating obstacle to a share of legitimate economic gains. Equality of opportunity also implies a free choice of employment and education. Extreme inequality of opportunity prevents disadvantaged individuals from enjoying a full exercise of civil liberties. Typically, desperately poor countries and territories lack both opportunities for economic advancement and the other liberties on this checklist.

The final point on the civil liberties checklist is freedom from extreme government indifference or corruption. When governments do not care about the social and economic welfare of large sectors of the population, the human rights of those people suffer. Gross government corruption can pervert the political process and hamper the development of a free economy.

The *Survey* rates political rights and civil liberties separately on a seven-category scale, 1 representing the most free and 7 the least free. A country is assigned to a particular category based on responses to the checklist and the judgments of the *Survey* team at Freedom House. The numbers are not purely mechanical; they also reflect judgment. The team assigns initial ratings to countries by awarding from 0 to 2 points per checklist item, depending on the degree of compliance with the standard. The highest possible score for political rights is 18 points, based on up to 2 points for each of nine questions. The highest possible score for civil liberties is 26 points, based on up to 2 points for each of thirteen questions.

After placing countries in initial categories based on checklist points, the *Survey* team makes minor adjustments to account for factors such as extreme violence, whose intensity may not be reflected in answering the checklist questions. The *Survey* team recognizes that one factor may overwhelm others so that the suggested initial category is not necessarily the most accurate. For example, in a few cases, such as Colombia, the team adjusted political rights ratings to reflect extreme violence. For the sake of better comparative accuracy, the team also reevaluated a few countries, such as Suriname, to reflect the degree of military influence on their political systems. These exceptions aside, in the overwhelming number of cases, the checklist system reflects the real world situation and is adequate for placing countries and territories into the proper comparative categories.

The map on pages 32-33 divides the world into three large categories: "free," "partly free," and "not free." The *Survey* places countries and territories into this tripartite division by averaging the category numbers they received for political rights and civil liberties. Those whose category numbers average 1-2.5 are considered "free," 3-5.5 "partly free," and 5.5-7 "not free." The dividing line between "partly free" and "not free" falls within the group whose category numbers average 5.5. For example, countries that receive a rating of 6 for political rights and 5 for civil liberties, or a 5 for political rights and a 6 for civil liberties, could be either "partly free" or "not free." The total number of raw points is the factor which makes the difference between the two. Countries and territories with combined raw scores

of 0-14 points are "not free," and those with combined raw scores of 15-29 points are "partly free." "Free" countries and territories have combined raw scores of 30-44 points.

The differences in raw points between countries in the three broad categories represent distinctions in the real world. There are obstacles which "partly free" countries must overcome before they can be called "free," just as there are impediments which prevent "not free" countries from being called "partly free." Countries at the lowest rung of the "free" category (category 2 in political rights, category 3 in civil liberties) differ from those at the upper end of the "partly free" group (category 3 in both). Typically, there is more violence and/or military influence on politics at 3,3 than at 2,3 and the differences become more striking as one compares 2,3 with worse categories of the "partly free" countries.

The distinction between the least bad "not free" countries and the least free "partly free" may be less obvious than the gap between "partly free" and "free," but at "partly free," there is at least one extra factor that keeps a country from being assigned to the "not free" category. For example, Zimbabwe (6,4) has a court system that is capable of ruling against the government party on electoral matters, and Bahrain (6,5) has a system of consultation between ruler and subjects, and rights of petition. These are examples of aspects that separate these countries from their respective "not free" neighbors, Ethiopia (7,7) and Iraq (7,7). The gap between "partly free" and "not free" is easier to see if one compares Benin (6,4) with Burma (7,7). Benin began moving from dictatorship towards democratic transition in 1990, and it expanded civil liberties. By way of contrast, Burma (Myanmar) halted and reversed democratic trends after the opposition won the legislative election. The Burmese military crushed dissent and reinforced its harsh rule.

Freedom House wishes to point out that the designation "free" does not mean that a country has perfect freedom or lacks serious problems. As an institution which advocates human rights, Freedom House remains concerned about a variety of social problems and civil liberties questions in the U.S. and other countries that the *Survey* places in the "free" category. Similarly, in no way does an improvement in a country's rating mean that human rights campaigns should cease. On the contrary, we wish to use the *Survey* as a prod to improve the condition of all countries.

The approach of the *Survey*

The *Survey* attempts to measure conditions as they really are around the world. This approach is distinct from relying on intense coverage by the American media as a guide to which countries are the least free. The publicity given problems in some countries does not necessarily mean that unpublicized problems of other countries are not more severe. For example, while U.S. television networks are allowed into Israel and El Salvador to cover abuses of human rights, they are not allowed to report freely in North Korea, which has far less freedom than the other two countries. To reach such comparative conclusions, Freedom House evaluates

the development of democratic governmental institutions, or lack thereof, and also examines the quality of civil society, life outside the state structure.

Without a well-developed civil society, it is difficult, if not impossible, to have an atmosphere supportive of democracy. A society that does not have free individual and group expressions in nonpolitical matters is not likely to make an exception for political ones. As though to prove this, there is no country in the *Survey* that places in category 6 or 7 for civil liberties and, at the same time, in category 1 or 2 for political rights. In the overwhelming majority of cases in the *Survey*, countries and territories have ratings in political rights and civil liberties that are within two categories of each other.

The *Survey* rates both countries and related territories. For our purposes, countries are internationally recognized independent states whose governments are resident within their officially claimed territories. In the unusual case of Cyprus, we give two ratings, since there are two governments on that divided island. In no way does this imply that Freedom House endorses Cypriot division. We note only that neither the predominantly Greek Republic of Cyprus nor the predominantly Turkish Republic of Northern Cyprus is the *de facto* government for the entire island. Given the difficult situation in the Middle East at press time, Freedom House faced a choice between counting Kuwait as an independent country or as a related territory of Iraq. Pending the outcome of the crisis, we continue to count Kuwait as an independent country for this 1990-91 report. A few internationally recognized states, such as Monaco and San Marino, count as related territories here, due to their officially dependent relationships with other states. With those exceptions, related territories consist mostly of colonies, protectorates, occupied territories and island dependencies. Although many countries recognize the PLO as the government of Palestine, we do not count Palestine as an independent country, because the PLO does not govern a Palestinian state.

The *Survey* excludes uninhabited related territories and such entities as the U.S.-owned Johnston Atoll, which has only a transient military population and no native inhabitants. Since most related territories have a broad range of civil liberties and some form of self-government, a higher proportion of them have the "free" designation than do independent countries.

The 1991 *Survey* has made some changes in its coverage of related territories. We list Tibet as a related territory of China, East Timor and Irian Jaya as related territories of Indonesia, and Kashmir as a related territory of India. In each case, the separate listing allows Freedom House to call attention to the human rights situation in areas in which there are serious questions about self-determination. The *Survey* team decided not to list the republics of the Soviet Union as related territories, but there will be information on the Soviet republics in the forthcoming book, *Freedom in the World: Political Rights and Civil Liberties, 1990-1991*.

The Tabulated Ratings

The accompanying Table of Independent Countries (pages 17-18) and Table of Related Territories (page 19) rate each country or territory on seven-category scales for political rights and civil liberties. Each entity is then placed in a broad category of "free," "partly free" or "not free." On each scale, 1 represents the most free and 7 the least free.

Political rights

In political rights, generally speaking, states rated 1 come closest to the ideals suggested by the checklist questions, beginning with free and fair elections. Those elected rule. There are competitive parties or other competitive political groupings, and the opposition has an important role and power. These entities have self-determination or an extremely high degree of autonomy (in the case of related territories). Usually, those rated 1 have self-determination for minority groups or their participation in government through informal consensus. With the exception of such entities as tiny island countries, these countries and territories have decentralized political power and free subnational elections.

Countries and territories rated 2 in political rights are free, but are less free than those rated 1. Such factors as violence, political discrimination against minorities, and foreign or military influence on politics are present and weaken the quality of democracy.

The same factors that weaken freedom in category 2 may also undermine political rights in categories 3, 4 and 5. Other damaging conditions are at work as well, including civil war, very strong military involvement in politics, lingering royal power, unfair elections and one-party dominance. However, states and territories in these categories still have some elements of political rights, such as the freedom to organize nongovernmental parties and quasi-

political groups, reasonably free referenda, or other significant means of popular influence on government.

Typically, states and territories with political rights rated 6 have systems ruled by military juntas, one-party dictatorships, religious hierarchies and autocrats. These regimes allow only some minimal manifestation of political rights such as competitive local elections or some degree of representation or autonomy for minorities. A few states in category 6 are traditional monarchies that mitigate their relative lack of political rights through the use of consultation with their subjects, toleration of political discussion, and acceptance of petitions from the ruled.

Category 7 includes places where political rights are absent or virtually nonexistent, due to the extremely oppressive nature of the regime or extreme oppression in combination with civil war.

Civil liberties

States and territories rated 1 in civil liberties come closest to the ideals of freedoms of expression, assembly and demonstration, religion and association. They also do the comparatively best job of protecting the individual from political violence and from harms inflicted by courts and security forces. Entities in this category have free economic activity and tend to strive for equality of opportunity. There is no such thing as complete equality of opportunity, but free places tend to come comparatively closer to the ideal than less free ones. In general, these countries and territories are comparatively free of extreme government indifference or corruption.

The political entities in category 2 in civil liberties are not as free as those rated 1, but they are still relatively free. In general, these countries and territories have deficiencies in three or four aspects of civil liberties. In each

case, the country is otherwise generally free.

Independent countries and related territories with ratings of 3, 4 or 5 have progressively fewer civil liberties than those in category 2. States in these categories range from ones that are in at least partial compliance with virtually all checklist standards to those which have partial compliance with only eight standards. Some countries have a mixture of good civil liberties scores in some areas and zero or partial credit in others. As one moves down the scale below category 2, the level of oppression increases, especially in the areas of censorship, political terror and the prevention of free association. There are also many cases in which groups opposed to the state carry out political terror that undermines other freedoms. That means that a poor rating for a country is not necessarily a comment on the intentions of the government. The rating may simply reflect the real restrictions on liberty which can be caused by nongovernmental terror.

Typically, at category 6 in civil liberties, countries and territories have a few partial rights. For example, a country might have some religious freedom, some personal social freedoms, some highly restricted private business activity, and relatively free private discussion. In general, these states and territories severely restrict expression and association. There are almost always political prisoners and other manifestations of political terror.

At category 7, countries and territories have virtually no freedom. An overwhelming and justified fear of the state's repressive nature characterizes the society.

The accompanying Tables of Combined Average Ratings average the two seven-category scales of political rights and civil liberties into an overall freedom rating for each country and territory.



NEWS FROM FREEDOM HOUSE

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Freedom House is a nonpartisan, national organization devoted to the strengthening of free societies.

FOR IMMEDIATE RELEASE:

The Survey of Freedom will be printed in
the January-February Freedom Review.

ANNUAL FREEDOM HOUSE SURVEY FINDS MORE PEOPLE LIVING IN FREE SOCIETIES THAN EVER BEFORE.

- * *Soviet Union rated Partly Free*
- * *Important gains in Africa*
- * *67 percent of the world lives in Free or Partly Free societies*

NEW YORK, Dec. 21—"In 1990, the world underwent an unprecedented political shift," said R. Bruce McCollm, executive director of Freedom House, the fifty-year old human rights advocacy group based in New York. "Over one-third of the 165 nations surveyed registered changes in freedom. Most former Communist countries in Eastern Europe continued to democratize. Africa saw the most dramatic political changes since decolonization. The Soviet Union was ranked **Partly Free** for the first time. And democracy became the preferred political system, though gains haven't been consolidated."

The organization's twentieth annual *Survey of Freedom in the World*, which monitors political rights and civil liberties in 165 nations and 62 related territories, classified 65 nations and 50 territories as **Free**, 50 nations and 3 territories as **Partly Free** and 50 nations and 9 territories as **Not Free**. The findings represent a gain of four in the **Free** category and a decline of eleven in **Not Free** countries.

According to the Survey, 1990 was the first year in which both the number of **Free** countries and their populations outnumbered the **Not Free** countries and their populations. Out of a world population of 5.3 billion, 2.09 billion or 39.23 percent live in countries categorized as **Free**, 1.49 billion or 27.91 percent in **Partly Free**, and 1.75 billion or 32.86 percent live in **Not Free** societies.

Significant Gains in Freedom

Biggest gains in freedom were registered with democratic transitions in Chile, Czechoslovakia, Hungary, Namibia and Poland. In Africa, 19 countries showed

improvements in freedom with the adoption of multiparty systems. Nicaragua and Haiti experienced the freest elections in their histories, which produced surprise victors. Both Bulgaria and Mongolia experienced greater liberalization with the emergence of a democratic movements and the holding of free elections. The emergence of political parties, greater freedom of expression, an independent trade union movement and competitive elections at the republic level caused Freedom House to rate the Soviet Union Partly Free for the first time.

Shaky transitions and reversals

Democratic transitions remained shaky throughout Central America, the Philippines and Pakistan. For the first time since martial law was declared in 1975, Freedom House expressed deep concerns about the future of India, the world's most populous democracy.

The Gulf crisis only highlighted the dismal human rights records of Afghanistan, Iran, Iraq, Syria and Saudi Arabia. Cuba, Cambodia, Laos, North Korea and Vietnam defied the changes within the Communist world. Burma's military regime refused to hand power over to the opposition and engaged in a brutal campaign of repression. Despite cosmetic improvements, the 1.12 billion citizens of the People's Republic of China continued to be denied even the most elementary human rights.

Advance of liberal democracy

For the first time in the Survey's twenty-year history, liberal democracies outnumbered any other form of political system. Freedom House found that 76 democracies and another 36 countries were in some form of democratic transition (112 of the 165 countries evaluated), compared to 44 in 1972 and 56 in 1980.

"However, many of these countries will fail to make a successful transition," warned Mr. McColm. He cited such obstacles as endemic violence, the fragility of new democratic institutions, the lack of a political culture supportive of tolerance and pluralism, and resurgent nationalism.

Freedom House concluded that American foreign assistance programs must emphasize democratic political development if the marked gains in freedom are to be maintained.

Freedom House is a non-partisan, non-profit human rights organization. This year marks its fiftieth anniversary. Its chairman is Ambassador Max Kampelman, formerly the chief arms negotiator of the United States.

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Foreword

Freedom House is a nonprofit organization based in New York that monitors political rights and civil liberties around the world. Established in 1941, Freedom House believes the effective advocacy of civil rights at home and human rights abroad must be grounded in fundamental democratic values and principles.

The *Comparative Survey of Freedom* is an institutional effort to monitor the political rights and civil liberties in 165 nations and 62 related territories on an annual basis. Freedom House began earlier efforts to record the progress and decline in freedoms during the 1950s in reaction to racial violence in the United States. The first year-end review of freedom was sparked in 1955 by the kidnapping and murder of Emmet Till, a fourteen-year old black in Mississippi. An all-white jury subsequently acquitted the two white men indicted for the crime.

During those early years, the project was called the Balance Sheet of Freedom, and later the Annual Survey of the Progress of Freedom. By the late 1960s, the Freedom House Board of Trustees felt there was a need to create a single standard by which to measure and record the development of freedom around the world.

When Freedom House's *Comparative Survey of Freedom* was finally established in the early 1960s, democracy was in a perilous state both at home and abroad: Spain, Portugal and Greece were under military rule; the world's largest democracy, India, would soon declare martial law; an American president faced the possibility of impeachment; and the prospects for liberalization—not to say democratization—in Eastern Europe, Latin America and Asia, were dim. The past decade has seen unprecedented gains in freedom over much of the world.

Today, the *Comparative Survey of Freedom* has become a year-long project produced by our regional experts, foreign consultants and human rights specialists and derives its information from a wide-range of sources. During the past year, Freedom House conducted numerous fact-finding missions around the world. Freedom House personnel visited Czechoslovakia, El Salvador, Guatemala, Haiti, Hungary, Poland, South Africa and the Soviet Union. During these on-site visits, we made an effort to meet a cross-section of political parties and associations, human rights monitors, representatives of both the private sector and independent trade unions, academics, foreign and local

journalists, security forces and insurgent movements where they existed.

Throughout the year, we consult a vast array of published source materials, ranging from reports of other human rights organizations to regional publications and newspapers. Most valued to us are the many human rights activists, journalists, editors and political figures around the world who keep us informed on a regular basis of their nations' situations, sometimes at great risk to themselves and their families. As always, the *Survey* is dedicated to them and their struggle for freedom.

The 1990-1991 *Survey* was conducted by a Freedom House project team: R. Bruce McColm, the coordinator who also serves as the executive director of Freedom House; Dr. Joseph Ryan, a comparative political scientist; James Finn, general editor; Douglas W. Payne; George Zarycky; Eric Singer; Dale Bricker; Perry Bechky; and Maria Vitagliano. Leonard Sussman and research assistant Jessie Miller compile the *Survey of Press Freedom*. The *Survey* team is especially grateful to the extraordinary talents of the editorial team of James Finn, Mark Wolkenfeld and editorial assistant Pei C. Koay without whom this book would not have docked safely. The *Survey* team also appreciates the dedicated work of this year's research assistants: Carla Copeland, Paul Danzinger, Sharon Gross, John Gutierrez, Mykola Hryckowian, Alexa Peery, Chrisina Pendzola, Thomas Ragsdale and Elizabeth Stern.

The findings of the *Survey* are accompanied by independent, regional essays written by acknowledged experts in their field: William J. Barns, Asia; J. Leo Cefkin, Africa; James Finn, United States; Douglas W. Payne, Latin America; Don Peretz, Middle East; Arch Puddington, Soviet Union; Wayne C. Thompson, Western Europe.

As always, Freedom House welcomes criticism and comments on our findings. Throughout the year, these exchange of views make us constantly review and improve our findings.

Freedom House receives funding from private individuals, corporations, labor unions and foundations for all its activities. We especially want to express our appreciation to the Pew Charitable Trusts, which has provided the main support for the *Comparative Survey of Freedom* over the last decade and a half. We also want to thank the Lynde and Harry Bradley Foundation for its continued support and assistance in this endeavor. —

Introduction to Country Reports

The Survey team at Freedom House wrote reports on 165 countries and 62 related territories. Each report begins with brief political, economic, and social data. This information is arranged under the following headings: **polity, economy, political rights, civil liberties, status, population, human development index, population, life expectancy, and ethnic groups.** More detailed information follows in an overview and in an essay on the political rights and civil liberties of each country.

Under **polity**, there is an encapsulated description of the dominant centers of freely chosen or unelected political power in each country. Most of the descriptions are self-explanatory, such as "Communist one-party" for China or "parliamentary democracy" for Ireland. Such nonparliamentary democracies as the United States of America are designated "presidential-legislative democracies." European democratic countries with constitutional monarchs are designated "parliamentary democracies," because the elected body is the locus of most real political power. Only countries with powerful monarchs (e.g. the Sultan of Brunei) warrant a reference to the monarchy in the brief description of the polity. Dominant party polities are systems in which the ruling party (or front) dominates government, but allows other parties to organize or compete short of taking control of government. There are other types of polities listed as well. Among them are various military and military-influenced or -dominated regimes, transitional systems, and several unique polities, such as Iran's clergy-dominated parliamentary system. Countries with genuine federalism have the word "federal" in the polity description.

The reports label the economy of each country. Non-industrial economies are called traditional or pre-industrial. Developed market economies and Third World economies with a modern market sector have the designation "capitalist." Mixed capitalist countries combine private enterprise with substantial government involvement in the economy for social welfare purposes. Capitalist-statist economies have both large market sectors and government-owned productive enterprises, due either to elitist economic policies or state dependence on key natural resource industries. Mixed capitalist-statist economies have the characteristics of capitalist-statist economies plus major social welfare programs. Statist systems have the goal of placing the entire economy under direct or indirect

government control. Mixed statist economies are primarily government-controlled, but also have significant private enterprise. Developing Third World economies with a government-directed modern sector belong in the "statist" category. Economies in transition between statist and capitalist forms may have the word "transitional" in the economy description.

Each country report mentions the category of **political rights and civil liberties** in which Freedom House classified the country. Category 1 is the most free and category 7 is the least free in each case. **Status** refers to the designations "free," "partly free" and "not free," which Freedom House uses as an overall summary of the general state of freedom in the country.

Each entry includes a **population** figure which is sometimes the best approximation that is available. For all cases in which the information is available, the *Survey* provides **life expectancy** statistics for males and females.

Freedom House obtained the **Human Development Index (HDI)** from the U.N. Development Program. This figure combines life expectancy, literacy and real per capita GDP, and carries the designation "low," "medium" or "high," depending on the country's degree of deprivation of each of these three variables. In some cases, Freedom House doubts the validity of the data, and indicates these reservations with the symbol /d on the Table of Social and Economic Comparisons at the back of the book.

The *Survey* provides a listing of countries' **ethnic groups** because this information may help the reader understand such questions as minority rights which the *Survey* takes into account.

Each country summary has an overview which describes such matters as the most important events of 1990 and current political issues. Finally, the country reports contain a section on **political rights and civil liberties**. This section summarizes each country's degree of respect for the rights and liberties that Freedom House uses to evaluate freedom in the world. These summaries include instances of human rights violations by both governmental and nongovernmental entities.

Reports on related territories follow the country summaries. In most cases, these reports are comparatively brief and contain fewer categories of information than one finds in the country summaries. —

1990

Table of Independent Countries Comparative Measures of Freedom

Country	PR	CL	Freedom Rating	Country	PR	CL	Freedom Rating	Country	PR	CL	Freedom Rating
Afghanistan	7	7	Not Free	Denmark	1	1	Free	Kuwait (Iraq-occupied)	7	7	Not Free
†Albania	7	6A	Not Free	Djibouti	6	5	Not Free	Laos	6	7	Not Free
†Algeria	4A	4	Partly Free	Dominica	2	1	Free	†Lebanon	6	5	Not Free
†Angola	7	7	Not Free	Dominican Republic	2	3	Free	Lesotho	6	5	Not Free
Antigua and Barbuda	3	2A	Free	Ecuador	2	2	Free	Liberia	7	7	Not Free
†Argentina	1	3	Free	Egypt	5	4	Partly Free	Libya	7	7	Not Free
Australia	1	1	Free	El Salvador	3	4	Partly Free	Luxembourg	1	1	Free
Austria	1	1	Free	Equatorial Guinea	7	7	Not Free	†Madagascar	4A	4	Partly Free
Bahamas	2	3	Free	Ethiopia	7	7	Not Free	Malawi	7	6	Not Free
Bahrain	6	5	Partly Free	Fiji	6	4	Partly Free	Malaysia	5	4	Partly Free
Bangladesh	5	5	Partly Free	Finland	1	1	Free	Maldives	6	5	Not Free
Barbados	1	1	Free	France	1	2	Free	Mali	6	5A	Not Free
Belgium	1	1	Free	Gabon	4A	4A	Partly Free	Malta	1	1	Free
Belize	1	2	Free	The Gambia	2	2	Free	Mauritania	7	6	Not Free
†Benin	6A	4A	Partly Free	Germany *	1	2	Free	Mauritius	2	2	Free
Bhutan	6	5	Partly Free	Ghana	6	5	Not Free	Mexico	4	4	Partly Free
†Bolivia	2	3	Free	Greece	1	2	Free	Mongolia	4A	4A	Partly Free
Botswana	1	2	Free	Grenada	2	2	Free	Morocco	4	4	Partly Free
Brazil	2	3	Free	Guatemala	3	4	Partly Free	Mozambique	6	6A	Not Free
Brunei	6	5A	Not Free	Guinea	6A	5A	Not Free	Namibia	2A	3	Free
†Bulgaria	3A	4A	Partly Free	Guinea-Bissau	6	5A	Not Free	Nauru	1	2	Free
Burkina Faso	6	5	Not Free	†Guyana	5	4	Partly Free	†Nepal	4	4A	Partly Free
†Burma (Myanmar)	7	7	Not Free	Haiti	4A	4A	Partly Free	Netherlands	1	1	Free
Burundi	7	6	Not Free	Honduras	2	3	Free	New Zealand	1	1	Free
Cambodia	7	7	Not Free	Hungary	2A	2A	Free	Nicaragua	3A	3A	Partly Free
†Cameroon	6	6	Not Free	Iceland	1	1	Free	Niger	6A	5A	Not Free
Canada	1	1	Free	†India	2	3	Free	Nigeria	5A	5	Partly Free
†Cape Verde	5A	5	Partly Free	Indonesia	6	5	Not Free	Norway	1	1	Free
Central African Republic	6	5A	Not Free	Iran	6	5	Not Free	Oman	6	6	Not Free
Chad	7	6	Not Free	Iraq	7	7	Not Free	Pakistan	4	4	Partly Free
†Chile	2A	2A	Free	Ireland	1	1	Free	Panama	4A	2A	Partly Free
China (P.R.C.)	7	7	Not Free	Israel	2	2	Free	Papua New Guinea	2	3	Free
†Colombia	3	4	Partly Free	Italy	1	1	Free	Paraguay	4	3	Partly Free
Comoros	5A	5	Partly Free	Ivory Coast	6	4A	Partly Free	Peru	3	4	Partly Free
†Congo	6A	6	Not Free	Jamaica	2	2	Free	Philippines	3	3	Partly Free
Costa Rica	1	1	Free	Japan	1	1	Free	Poland	2A	2A	Free
†Cuba	7	7	Not Free	Jordan	5	5	Partly Free	Portugal	1	2	Free
Cyprus (G)	1	1	Free	†Kenya	6	6	Not Free	Qatar	7	5	Not Free
Cyprus (T)	2	2	Free	Kiribati	1	2	Free	†Romania	6A	5A	Not Free
Czechoslovakia	2A	2A	Free	Korea, North	7	7	Not Free	Rwanda	6	6	Not Free
				Korea, South	2	3	Free				

1990

Table of Independent Countries Comparative Measures of Freedom

Country	PR	CL	Freedom Rating	Country	PR	CL	Freedom Rating	Country	PR	CL	Freedom Rating
St. Christopher and Nevis	1	1	Free	Sudan	7	7	Not Free	↓Uganda	6	5▼	Partly Free
St. Lucia	1	2	Free	Suriname	4▼	3	Partly Free	USSR	5▲	4▲	Partly Free
St. Vincent and the Grenadines	1	2	Free	Swaziland	6	5	Partly Free	United Arab Emirates	6	5	Not Free
↑Sao Tome and Principe	5▲	5	Partly Free	Sweden	1	1	Free	United Kingdom	1	2▼	Free
Saudi Arabia	7	6	Not Free	Switzerland	1	1	Free	United States	1	1	Free
Senegal	4	3	Partly Free	Syria	7	7	Not Free	Uruguay	1	2	Free
Seychelles	6	6	Not Free	Taiwan (Rep. of China)	3▲	3	Partly Free	Vanuatu	2	3	Free
Sierra Leone	6	5	Partly Free	Tanzania	6	5▲	Not Free	Venezuela	1	3	Free
Singapore	4	4	Partly Free	Thailand	2	3	Free	Vietnam	7	7	Not Free
Solomon Islands	1	1	Free	Togo	6	6	Not Free	Western Samoa	2	2	Free
Somalia	7	7	Not Free	Tonga	3▲	3	Partly Free	✓Yemen *	6	5	Partly Free
South Africa	5▲	4▲	Partly Free	Trinidad and Tobago	1	1	Free	Yugoslavia	5	4	Partly Free
Spain	1	1	Free	Tunisia	5	4▼	Partly Free	Zaire	6▲	6	Not Free
Sri Lanka	4	5	Partly Free	Turkey	2▲	4▼	Partly Free	↑Zambia	6	5	Partly Free
				Tuvalu	1	1	Free	Zimbabwe	6	4	Partly Free

↑↓ Arrows up or down indicate a general trend in freedom. PR and CL stand for Political Rights and Civil Liberties. 1 represents the most free and 7 the least free category.

▲▼ Triangles up or down indicate a change in Political Rights or Civil Liberties caused by real world events since the last survey. The Freedom Rating is an overall judgment based on Survey results. See the "Methodological Essay" for more details. The table does not indicate changes made for purely methodological reasons since last year.

* Indicates merger.

Table of Related Territories

Comparative Measures of Freedom

Country & Territory	PR	CL	Freedom Rating	Country & Territory	PR	CL	Freedom Rating	Country & Territory	PR	CL	Freedom Rating
Australia				India				Melilla	2	1	Free
Christmas Island	3	2	Free	Kashmir **	6	5	Not Free	Switzerland			
Cocos (Keeling) Islands	1	2	Free	Indonesia				Liechtenstein	1	1	Free
Norfolk Island	2	1	Free	East Timor **	7	6	Not Free	United Kingdom			
Chile				Irian Jaya **	7	6	Not Free	Anguilla	1	1	Free
Rapanui (Easter Island)	3	2	Free	Israel				Bermuda	1	1	Free
China				Occupied Territories	6	6	Not Free	British Virgin Islands	2	1	Free
Tibet **	7	7	Not Free	Italy				Cayman Islands	2	1	Free
Denmark				San Marino	1	1	Free	Channel Islands	2	1	Free
Faeroe Islands	1	1	Free	Morocco				Falkland Islands	2	1	Free
Greenland	1	1	Free	Western Sahara	5	4	Partly Free	Gibraltar	1	1	Free
France				Netherlands				Hong Kong	4	3	Partly Free
French Guiana	2	2	Free	Aruba	1	1	Free	Isle of Man	2	1	Free
French Polynesia	2	2	Free	Netherlands Antilles	1	1	Free	Montserrat	2	1	Free
French Southern and Antarctic Territories	3	1	Free	New Zealand				Pitcairn Islands	2	1	Free
Guadeloupe	2	2	Free	Cook Islands	2	2	Free	St. Helena and Dependencies	2	1	Free
Martinique	2	1	Free	Niue	2	2	Free	Turks and Caicos	2	1	Free
Mayotte (Mahore)	2	2	Free	Tokelau	2	2	Free	United States of America			
Monaco	3	1	Free	Portugal				American Samoa	1	1	Free
New Caledonia	2	2	Free	Azores	1	2	Free	Guam	1	1	Free
Reunion	2	2	Free	Macao	3	3	Partly Free	Marshall Islands	1	1	Free
St. Pierre and Miquelon	2	2	Free	Madeira	1	2	Free	Micronesia	1	1	Free
Wallis and Futuna Islands	3	2	Free	South Africa				Northern Marianas	1	1	Free
France-Spain Condominium				Bophutatswana	6	5	Not Free	Palau (Belau)	1	2	Free
Andorra	2	1	Free	Ciskei	6	5▲	Not Free	Puerto Rico	1	1	Free
				Transkei	6▲	5	Not Free	United States Virgin Islands	1	1	Free
				Venda	7▼	5	Not Free				
				Spain							
				Canary Islands	1	1	Free				
				Ceuta	2	1	Free				

** Indicates territories added to this year's survey.

Combined Average Ratings— Independent Countries

FREE

1
Australia
Austria
Barbados
Belgium
Canada
Costa Rica
Cyprus (G)
Denmark
Finland
Iceland
Ireland
Italy
Japan
Luxembourg
Malta
Netherlands
New Zealand
Norway
St. Christopher-Nevis
(St. Kitts-Nevis)
Solomon Islands
Spain
Sweden
Switzerland
Trinidad and Tobago
Tuvalu
United States of
America

1.5
Belize
Botswana
Dominica
France
Germany
Greece
Kiribati
Nauru
Portugal
St. Lucia
St. Vincent and
the Grenadines
United Kingdom
Uruguay

2
Argentina
Chile

Cyprus (T)
Czechoslovakia
Ecuador
The Gambia
Grenada
Hungary
Israel
Jamaica
Mauritius
Poland
Venezuela
Western Samoa

2.5
Antigua and Barbuda
Bahamas
Bolivia
Brazil
Dominican Republic
Honduras
India
Korea, South
Namibia
Papua New Guinea
Thailand
Vanuatu

PARTLY FREE

3
Nicaragua
Panama
Philippines
Taiwan (Rep. of
China)
Tonga
Turkey

3.5
Bulgaria
Colombia
El Salvador
Guatemala
Paraguay
Peru
Senegal
Suriname

4
Algeria
Gabon

Haiti
Madagascar
Mexico
Mongolia
Morocco
Nepal
Pakistan
Singapore

4.5
Egypt
Guyana
Malaysia
South Africa
Sri Lanka
Tunisia
USSR
Yugoslavia

5
Bangladesh
Benin
Cape Verde
Comoros
Fiji
Ivory Coast (Cote D'Ivoire)
Jordan
Nigeria
Sao Tome and Principe
Zimbabwe

5.5
Bahrain
Bhutan
Indonesia
Sierra Leone
Swaziland
Uganda
Yemen
Zambia

NOT FREE

5.5
Brunei
Burkina Faso
Central African Republic
Djibouti
Ghana
Guinea
Guinea-Bissau

Iran
Lebanon
Lesotho
Maldives
Mali
Niger
Romania
Tanzania
United Arab Emirates

6
Cameroon
Congo
Kenya
Mozambique
Oman
Qatar
Rwanda
Seychelles
Togo
Zaire

6.5
Albania
Burundi
Chad
Laos
Malawi
Mauritania
Saudi Arabia

7
Afghanistan
Angola
Burma (Myanmar)
Cambodia
China
Cuba
Equatorial Guinea
Ethiopia
Iraq
Korea, North
Kuwait (Iraqi-
occupied)
Liberia
Libya
Somalia
Sudan
Syria
Vietnam

1990

Combined Average Ratings—Related Territories

FREE

1

- American Samoa (U.S.)
- Anguilla (U.K.)
- Aruba (Netherlands)
- Bermuda (U.K.)
- Canary Islands (Spain)
- Faeroe Islands (Denmark)
- Gibraltar (U.K.)
- Greenland (Denmark)
- Guam (U.S.)
- Liechtenstein (Switzerland)
- Marshall Islands (U.S.)
- Micronesia (U.S.)
- Netherlands Antilles (Netherlands)
- Northern Marianas (U.S.)
- Puerto Rico (U.S.)
- San Marino (Italy)
- U.S. Virgin Islands (U.S.)

1.5

- Andorra (France-Spain)
- Azores (Portugal)
- British Virgin Islands (U.K.)
- Cayman Islands (U.K.)
- Ceuta (Spain)
- Channel Islands (U.K.)
- Cocos (Keeling) Islands (Australia)

Falkland Islands (U.K.)

Isle of Man (U.K.)

Madeira (Portugal)

Martinique (France)

Melilla (Spain)

Montserrat (U.K.)

Norfolk Island (Australia)

Palau (Belau) (U.S.)

Pitcairn Islands (U.K.)

St. Helena and Dependencies (U.K.)

Turks and Caicos (U.K.)

2

- Cook Islands (New Zealand)
- French Guiana (France)
- French Polynesia (France)
- French Southern and Antarctic Territories (France)
- Guadeloupe (France)
- Mayotte (Mahore) (France)
- Monaco (France)
- New Caledonia (France)
- Niue (New Zealand)
- Reunion (France)
- St. Pierre and Miquelon (France)
- Tokelau (New Zealand)

2.5

- Christmas Island (Australia)
- Rapanui (Easter Island) (Chile)
- Wallis and Futuna Islands (France)

PARTLY FREE

3

Macao (Portugal)

3.5

Hong Kong (U.K.)

4.5

Western Sahara (Morocco)

NOT FREE

5.5

- Bophutatswana (South Africa)
- Ciskei (South Africa)
- Kashmir (India)
- Transkei (South Africa)

6

- Occupied Territories (Israel)
- Venda (South Africa)

6.5

- East Timor (Indonesia)
- Irian Jaya (Indonesia)

7

- Tibet (China)

Table of Independent Countries

Comparative Measures of Freedom

Country	PR	CL	Freedom Rating	Country	PR	CL	Freedom Rating	Country	PR	CL	Freedom Rating
Afghanistan	7	7	Not Free	Denmark	1	1	Free	Kuwait (Iraq-occupied)	7▼	7▼	Not Free
↑Albania	7	6▲	Not Free	Djibouti	6	5	Not Free	Laos	6	7	Not Free
↑Algeria	4▲	4	Partly Free	Dominica	2	1	Free	↑Lebanon	6	5	Not Free
↑Angola	7	7	Not Free	Dominican Republic	2▼	3	Free	Lesotho	6	5	Not Free
Antigua and Barbuda	3▼	2▲	Free	Ecuador	2	2	Free	Liberia	7▼	7▼	Not Free
↓Argentina	1	3▼	Free	Egypt	5	4	Partly Free	Libya	7	7	Not Free
Australia	1	1	Free	El Salvador	3	4	Partly Free	Luxembourg	1	1	Free
Austria	1	1	Free	Equatorial Guinea	7	7	Not Free	↑Madagascar	4▲	4	Partly Free
Bahamas	2	3	Free	Ethiopia	7	7	Not Free	Malawi	7	6	Not Free
Bahrain	6	5	Partly Free	Fiji	6	4	Partly Free	Malaysia	5	4	Partly Free
Bangladesh	5▼	5▼	Partly Free	Finland	1	1	Free	Maldives	6	5	Not Free
Barbados	1	1	Free	France	1	2	Free	Mali	6	5▲	Not Free
Belgium	1	1	Free	Gabon	4▲	4▲	Partly Free	Malta	1	1	Free
Belize	1	2	Free	The Gambia	2	2	Free	Mauritania	7	6	Not Free
↑Benin	6▲	4▲	Partly Free	Germany *	1	2	Free	Mauritius	2	2	Free
Bhutan	6	5	Partly Free	Ghana	6	5	Not Free	Mexico	4	4▼	Partly Free
↓Bolivia	2	3	Free	Greece	1	2	Free	Mongolia	4▲	4▲	Partly Free
Botswana	1	2	Free	Grenada	2	2	Free	Morocco	4	4	Partly Free
Brazil	2	3▼	Free	Guatemala	3	4▼	Partly Free	Mozambique	6	6▲	Not Free
Brunei	6	5▲	Not Free	Guinea	6▲	5▲	Not Free	Namibia	2▲	3	Free
↑Bulgaria	3▲	4▲	Partly Free	Guinea-Bissau	6	5▲	Not Free	Nauru	1	2	Free
Burkina Faso	6	5	Not Free	↑Guyana	5	4	Partly Free	↑Nepal	4	4▲	Partly Free
↓Burma (Myanmar)	7	7	Not Free	Haiti	4▲	4▲	Partly Free	Netherlands	1	1	Free
Burundi	7	6	Not Free	Honduras	2	3	Free	New Zealand	1	1	Free
Cambodia	7	7	Not Free	Hungary	2▲	2▲	Free	Nicaragua	3▲	3▲	Partly Free
↑Cameroon	6	6	Not Free	Iceland	1	1	Free	↑Niger	6▲	5▲	Not Free
Canada	1	1	Free	↓India	2	3	Free	Nigeria	5▲	5	Partly Free
↑Cape Verde	5▲	5	Partly Free	Indonesia	6▼	5	Partly Free	Norway	1	1	Free
Central African Republic	6	5▲	Not Free	Iran	6	5	Not Free	Oman	6	6	Not Free
Chad	7	6	Not Free	Iraq	7	7▼	Not Free	Pakistan	4▼	4▼	Partly Free
↑Chile	2▲	2▲	Free	Ireland	1	1	Free	Panama	4▲	2▲	Partly Free
China (P.R.C.)	7	7	Not Free	Israel	2	2	Free	Papua New Guinea	2	3▼	Free
↑Colombia	3	4	Partly Free	Italy	1	1	Free	Paraguay	4	3	Partly Free
Comoros	5▲	5	Partly Free	Ivory Coast	6	4▲	Partly Free	Peru	3▼	4	Partly Free
↑Congo	6▲	6	Not Free	Jamaica	2	2	Free	Philippines	3▼	3	Partly Free
Costa Rica	1	1	Free	Japan	1	1	Free	Poland	2▲	2▲	Free
↓Cuba	7	7	Not Free	Jordan	5	5	Partly Free	Portugal	1	2	Free
Cyprus (G)	1	1	Free	↓Kenya	6	6	Not Free	Qatar	7	5	Not Free
Cyprus (T)	2	2	Free	Kiribati	1	2	Free	Romania	6▲	5▲	Not Free
Czechoslovakia	2▲	2▲	Free	Korea, North	7	7	Not Free	Rwanda	6	6	Not Free
				Korea, South	2	3	Free				

1990

Table of Independent Countries Comparative Measures of Freedom

Country	PR	CL	Freedom Rating	Country	PR	CL	Freedom Rating	Country	PR	CL	Freedom Rating
St. Christopher and Nevis	1	1	Free	Sudan	7	7	Not Free	Uganda	6	5▼	Partly Free
St. Lucia	1	2	Free	Suriname	4▼	3	Partly Free	USSR	5▲	4▲	Partly Free
St. Vincent and the Grenadines	1	2	Free	Swaziland	6	5	Partly Free	United Arab Emirates	6	5	Not Free
↑ Sao Tome and Principe	5▲	5	Partly Free	Sweden	1	1	Free	United Kingdom	1	2▼	Free
Saudi Arabia	7	6	Not Free	Switzerland	1	1	Free	United States	1	1	Free
Senegal	4	3	Partly Free	Syria	7	7	Not Free	Uruguay	1	2	Free
Seychelles	6	6	Not Free	Taiwan (Rep. of China)	3▲	3	Partly Free	Vanuatu	2	3	Free
Sierra Leone	6	5	Partly Free	Tanzania	6	5▲	Not Free	Venezuela	1	3	Free
Singapore	4	4	Partly Free	Thailand	2	3	Free	Vietnam	7	7	Not Free
Solomon Islands	1	1	Free	Togo	6	6	Not Free	Western Samoa	2	2	Free
Somalia	7	7	Not Free	Tonga	3▲	3	Partly Free	Yemen *	6	5	Partly Free
South Africa	5▲	4▲	Partly Free	Trinidad and Tobago	1	1	Free	Yugoslavia	5	4	Partly Free
Spain	1	1	Free	Tunisia	5	4▼	Partly Free	Zaire	6▲	6	Not Free
Sri Lanka	4	5	Partly Free	Turkey	2▲	4▼	Partly Free	↑Zambia	6	5	Partly Free
				Tuvalu	1	1	Free	Zimbabwe	6	4	Partly Free

↑↓ Arrows up or down indicate a general trend in freedom.
PR and CL stand for Political Rights and Civil Liberties.
1 represents the most free and 7 the least free category.

▲▼ Triangles up or down indicate a change in Political Rights or Civil Liberties caused by real world events since the last survey. The Freedom Rating is an overall judgment based on Survey results. See the "Methodological Essay" for more details. The table does not indicate changes made for purely methodological reasons since last year.

* Indicates merger.

Table of Social and Economic Comparisons

Country	Human Development Index	Per Capita GNP (\$)	Life expectancy male/female		Country	Human Development Index	Per Capita GNP (\$)	Life expectancy male/female	
Afghanistan	0.212 (low)	240*	37	37	Cape Verde	0.534 (medium)	500	57	61
Albania	0.790 (medium)	936*	69	73	Central African Republic	0.258 (low)	330	41	45
Algeria	0.609 (medium)	2,680	59	62	Chad	0.157 (low)	150	41	45
Angola	0.304 (low)	470	40	44	Chile	0.931 (high)	1,310	67	73
Antigua and Barbuda	0.898 (high)	2,540	68	72	China (PRC)	0.716 (medium/d)	290	67	69
Argentina	0.910 (high)	2,390	66	73	Colombia	0.801 (high)	1,240	61	66
Australia	0.978 (high)	11,100	72	79	Comoros	0.399 (low)	370	48	52
Austria	0.961 (high)	11,980	70	77	Congo	0.395 (low)	870	45	48
Bahamas	0.880 (high)	10,280	64	69	Costa Rica	0.916 (high)	1,610	71	76
Bahrain	0.737 (medium)	8,510	67	71	Cuba	0.877 (high/d)	1,767/d*	72	75
Bangladesh	0.318 (low)	160	48	47	Cyprus	0.928 (high)	5,200	72	76
Barbados	0.925 (high)	5,350	70	75	Sectoral differences not specified				
Belgium	0.966 (high)	11,480	70	77	Czechoslovakia	0.931 (high/d)	5,820/d	68	75
Belize	0.805 (high)	1,240	67 combined		Denmark	0.971 (high)	14,930	72	78
Benin	0.224 (low)	310	42	46	Djibouti	0.073 (low)	480	47 combined	
Bhutan	0.236 (low)	150	46	49	Dominica	0.906 (high)	1,440	57	59
Bolivia	0.548 (medium)	580	49	53	Dominican Republic	0.699 (medium)	730	61	65
Botswana	0.646 (medium)	1,050	53	56	Ecuador	0.758 (medium)	1,040	62	66
Brazil	0.784 (medium)	2,020	61	66	Egypt	0.501 (medium)	680	57	60
Brunei	0.770 (medium)	15,390	70	73	El Salvador	0.651 (medium)	860	63	67
Bulgaria	0.918 (high/d)	4,150/d	69	74	Equatorial Guinea	0.229 (low)	180	42	46
Burkina Faso	0.150 (low)	190	44	47	Ethiopia	0.282 (low)	130	39	43
Burma (Myanmar)	0.561 (medium/d)	200	56	59	Fiji	0.806 (high)	1,570	67	71
Burundi	0.235 (low)	250	45	48	Finland	0.967 (high)	14,470	70	78
Cambodia	0.471 (low)	na	42	45	France	0.974 (high)	12,790	71	79
Cameroon	0.474 (low)	970	50	53	Gabon	0.525 (medium)	2,700	47	51
Canada	0.983 (high)	15,160	72	79					

Notes: Freedom House obtained the Human Development Index from *Human Development Report 1990* (Oxford University Press, 1990) which the United Nations Development Program published following a study of economic and social data. The Index is computed from a formula based on a country's degree of deprivation of life expectancy, literacy and real GDP per capita. The U.N. divided countries into low, medium, and high categories of human development. For cases in which Freedom House has doubts about the reliability of data, the chart shows /d. The figures for per capita GNP also come from the U.N.

Report, with the exception of cases for which it had no figure listed. For countries marked with *, the GNP statistic comes from the Rand McNally *World Maps and Facts* (1990 edition). For countries marked with (GDP), Rand McNally lists no GNP figure. Life expectancy figures for males and females come from Rand McNally, except in cases where no figure is listed. The chart includes a few cases of a combined life expectancy figure which come from the U.N. Countries excluded from the U.N. Report have the notation "not in study."

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

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've proposed.

The remarks praise the U.N., calling for a key role in building the new partnership over the coming years. It includes particular praise for the U.N.'s response to the Gulf crisis, and renews last year's call for abolishing chemical weapons. The draft also includes two new proposals: a U.N. Electoral Commission, and U.N. membership for the Republic of Korea.

The U.N. speech also marks our last opportunity -- and our best opportunity -- to say that "the cold war is over" -- a predictable "headline" likely to resonate clear on into 1992.

It's the right thing to say because it matches the mood of the times, the theme of your speech, and your vision of a new partnership of nations. And it forthrightly acknowledges what we have already as much as said -- and what everyone recognizes is a reality.

It's the last opportunity because most observers will mark German reunification on Oct. 3 as the formal end of the cold war era. And it's the best opportunity because it's before not only "a" world forum, but the world forum -- one we've asked to play a key part in reintegrating the Soviet Union into the community of nations. For these reasons, we've [bracketed] for your consideration the "cold war is over" language that you looked at for the Joint Session of Congress speech. (Please see the bottom of page two and the top of page three.)

Saudi elected to U.N. post

WT 9/18
X

By Peter James Spielmann
THE ASSOCIATED PRESS

NEW YORK — Saudi Arabia's high-profile role in the Persian Gulf war helped propel its U.N. ambassador, Samir Shihabi, into the spotlight with his election yesterday as General Assembly president.

Born a Palestinian in Jerusalem in 1925, Mr. Shihabi represents a country that for decades had taken a quiet back seat in the world body.

Saudi Arabia has never sat on the Security Council, and longtime U.N. officials do not recall that the kingdom has ever sought the chairmanship of a major U.N. committee.

But Saudi Arabia's role as the staging point for the allied coalition that freed Kuwait from Iraq brought the kingdom into a more diplomatically prominent role.

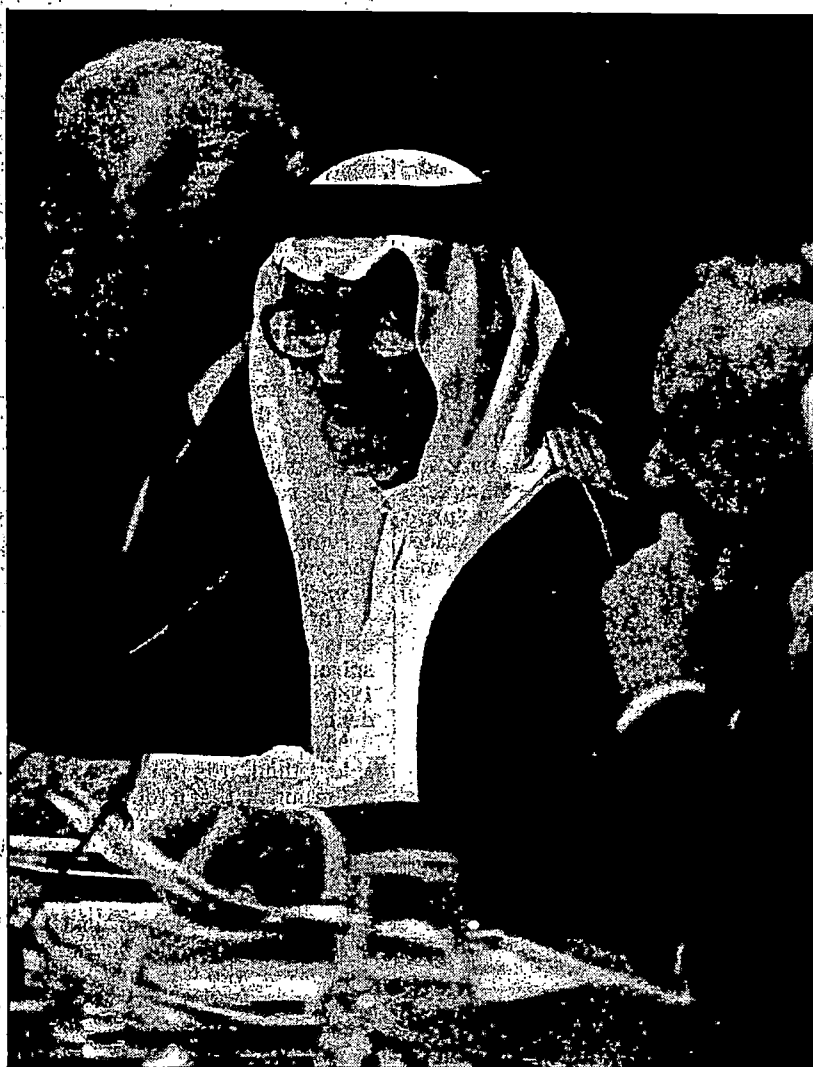
Mr. Shihabi entered the race for the General Assembly presidency only after the ambassador of rival Yemen declared his candidacy for the post.

With a seat on the Security Council, Yemeni Ambassador Abdalla Saleh Ashtal often infuriated the Saudis by sidetracking anti-Iraq initiatives of the United States and Britain during the Gulf crisis.

In yesterday's secret balloting, soon after the opening of the General Assembly, Mr. Shihabi won in the first round with 83 votes out of 150 cast. Papua New Guinea's foreign minister, Michael Somare, was second with 47 votes, and Yemen's envoy came in third with 20 votes.

Mr. Shihabi replaces Maltese Foreign Minister Guido de Marco. The position is largely ceremonial, but the president has power to control the assembly agenda.

There are few perks to go with the



New U.N. General Assembly President Samir Shihabi addresses the 46th session yesterday. He has served as Saudi ambassador to the world body.

new position as assembly president. Mr. Shihabi will have a U.N. limousine and driver if he wants them, but the post is unsalaried and he must pay for his own travel.

Mr. Shihabi, who has an open, friendly manner, is well-liked among his fellow delegates. He was a founder of the International Association of Permanent Representatives to the United Nations, a sort of fraternity for U.N. envoys.

He is known for his fondness for ornate canes, which he collects and often carries in the corridors of the United Nations.

Mr. Shihabi has been his country's U.N. ambassador since 1983, after having been ambassador to Pakistan

from 1980 to 1983. He joined the Saudi foreign service in 1949, first being posted as first secretary in the Saudi Embassy in Bern, Switzerland.

From 1959 to 1961, Mr. Shihabi was charge d'affaires in Italy, and from 1961 to 1964 he was director of the U.N. and International Organizations Department in the Saudi Foreign Ministry. He was ambassador to Turkey from 1964-73 and ambassador to Somalia in 1973-74.

He holds a bachelor of arts degree in political science and economics from the American University in Beirut, Lebanon, and Cairo, Egypt. He studied law at Yale University and at Cambridge University.

U.N. Add

By Anthony Goodman
REUTERS NEWS AGENCY

NEW YORK — The United Nations admitted seven new member states yesterday. The new members — Baltic states of Estonia, Latvia and Lithuania — were admitted to the world body.

All were unanimously admitted, where a veto by any country could have blocked their admission.

The United Nations was founded with 51 at its founding conference in 1945.

The admission of the new members represents the biggest single influx since 1975, when South Korea was admitted to the world body.

The new members have come with the end of the Cold War. Estonia, Latvia and Lithuania, 51 years after independence, no longer have vetoes.

The United Nations has long been a battleground against communist North Korea, and North Korea opposed the two Korean states perpetuate their separation.

The Federated States of the Marshall Islands, previously administered as part of a U.N. trust territory, were also admitted.

At its opening session, president Saudi Arabi welcomed the new members.

After a hard-fought election, he obtained 83 votes, handily defeating the candidate, Sir Michael Somare, who received 20 votes.

Slightly built and bearded, the assembly hall weary, he changed his headaddress before delivering the assembly podium.

Speaking in Arabic, he said: "We are a country of Kuwait has ended and have been restored to its place."

Aquino called U.S. 'lackey'

By Rene Pastor
REUTERS NEWS AGENCY

MANILA — The Philippine government battled yesterday to keep U.S. forces in the country despite a

placate the Americans," said Sen. Aquilino Pimentel, who opposes the U.S. presence. "We have cut the umbilical cord, but we have a lackey of a government wanting to satisfy the Americans."

treaty, and we're going to have a chance to approve it," Secretary Raul Mangla said.

In Washington, Pentagon spokesman Pete Williams said

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.

#