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Room 122

9-12-91

NATIONAL SECURITY COUNCIL

Jony -

Brent's remarks
to Council on
Foreign Relations

Nancy Dyke

Document Originally
Attached to
Following Page

B. Lewis et
9-11-91

NATIONAL SECURITY COUNCIL

Unprecedented time in which we live
events moving rapidly thru
uncharted territory

Rare moment in world history -
period of transition

Leaving period that
dominated our lives
for over 40 yrs.
internat. + domestic

containment + its
corollaries was a
masterpiece

a threat was perceived
confrontation of two
widely divergent
views

Conf. of aggressive mil.
powers - expansive

Led us to mil alliances

Cold War is all we've ever
known + attitudes are
instructive

NATIONAL SECURITY COUNCIL

Now disappeared
 took 40 yrs. to "do it" (contain
 but few of us would have
 guessed so brief
 left us w/ the thoughts,
 forces ... of that era

antic. dimensions of
 world environment
 that lies ahead
 discard old policies
 arrive at new ones

→ ~~don't~~ avoid being prisoners of
 cell w/ mentality

What sort of world?

How

NATIONAL SECURITY COUNCIL

New World Order

There will be a NWO of
some sort

~~There~~ ~~will~~ ~~be~~ a NWO
A glimpse of possibilities
may have been in Gulf
crisis

- ~~Had~~ complete
restoration of
US confidence
- Restored conf.
of others in US
& its purposes &
courage
- Brought UNSC into
real world
Had been still born

NATIONAL SECURITY COUNCIL

since founders founded
it as polit body run
by great powers to
adjudicate conflict in
the world

- mot. of grand coalition
against aggression -

29 countries eager to
make contribut to

" setting in order
a world upset
by the Nazi attack "

1st glimpse of crisis
not automatically
transferred to test of
wills between two blocs

NATIONAL SECURITY COUNCIL

low coop. made
possible UNSC role
- Performed ~~skillfully~~

→ this one shot affair or
can we generalize?

can't tell
Good ~~thing~~ signs about world
surge of democracy
liquidation of some of
more

But troubling:
Resurgence of nationalism

Living in resumption of history
that was in suspension
of since WW I era

Mil tech wide-spread &
can afflict (harm)?

Other areas
many questions

1. W. Eur - many questions
3 organizations / allies?

- NATO

- EC

- CSCE
trans. & peaceful change

Fundamental ques for US & Eur =
is US a European power?

2. E. Eur
formidable stake.
Reorienting economies
Rethinking materials
Finding role in W. Eur
success of this
intergrate is not
for or gained

for the
problems of E. Eur magnified
many times

NATIONAL SECURITY COUNCIL

3 Revolutions in dev. the simultaneous

1. National

2. Political

3. Economic

1. National - US only
observer

Old strain our concepts
of nationality in UN
(nationalism?)

2. Polit - we can offer
democratic info &
asst.

Can dem succeed
there?

How can we promote
but w/out preaching

3. Econ - where we can help
the most

To be undergoing 3 revs simult
is mind boggling
don't expect immed.

outcome

- Estab. regular processes to work w/ them
- Process of in system to give dec. on Baltics in for the more permanence

China

- ~~Economic in chaos~~
- Different from Sov. Un.
- No glasnost
- Deng tried twice

Sov Un. change began top down
 China -- bottom up
 frozen now in China

→ despite problems, this is most promising vista ^{before us} over 70 yrs.
 (He mentioned 1918)

NATIONAL SECURITY COUNCIL

So some say America come home - - "America first" History suggests that would be mistake

- New almost clean slate
- WWI is finally over
- Only one superpower
- US cannot be world's policeman but only US can organize & lead

→ Can't we write on slate in way that encourages the best of Am. values
 World still dangerous place

Q & A

NATO as a stabilizer in Europe -
Not collective security
Who never really made
eff. sec. work

for the
1. Movement - yes we /
less + apt

2. Yes - yes -
IMF + World Bank

Do make it work
for to be in place in
your program which
your assurance that
your cost will be paid
to advance your reform



Point of View

214 Massachusetts Avenue N.E. ☎ Washington, D.C. 20002 ☎ (202)546-4400

Sept. 12, 1991

Dear Editor,

The easing of Cold War tensions in the Middle East gives President Bush a "rare opportunity" to help overturn the U.N.'s "Zionism is Racism" resolution when he addresses the U.N. General Assembly Sept. 23, says Heritage Foundation U.N. specialist Christopher Gacek. In the enclosed op-ed essay, Gacek says the president should announce that America will work to block U.N. participation in any Middle East peace process unless the resolution is repealed.

In the second essay, Heritage's Soviet specialist Leon Aron, a Soviet emigre, offers a clear guide to key terms used to describe the political, economic and social conditions in the Soviet Union. Grasping the nature of change in the country is impossible without "understanding the reality behind the stock expressions," Aron says.

I hope you find the essays of timely interest.

Sincerely,

Joe Loconte
Manager of Editorial Services

would have turned the planet into a series of breadlines. The New World Economic Order defined equality as an especially virulent form of envy; it ignored the human striving to create lasting things; the human thirst for sensible risk, ~~and it is~~ ^{and it is} ^{let} tried, under cover of lofty rhetoric, to replace the natural human impulse for production and self-expression with the corrosive striving to seize wealth from one party and give it to another.

If we hope to build a future ^{peaceful, prosperous and free,} characterized ~~by prosperity~~ and peace, we must begin ~~by rejecting~~ ^{rejecting} the Newspeak of the old era, and dedicating ^{to} ourselves to a new era of honest talk, honest rhetoric and realistic commitment to the goals we have pledged to uphold.

Let us begin by honoring the charter's pledge "to practice tolerance and live together in peace with one another as good neighbors."

^{Today I urge you to} ~~Let us agree today to repeal~~ UNGA resolution 3379, the so-called "Zionism is racism" resolution. This resolution ~~merely~~ invites the entire world to embrace a form of religious bigotry and ~~to take~~ ^{take} sides on a dispute that has defied the best efforts of statesmen for decades.

In repealing this ~~repulsive~~ resolution no one agrees to submit ~~unequivocally~~ to every decision made by the government of Israel. ~~The question here has nothing to do with Israeli policy.~~ Many of us will disagree with particular stands taken by Israel, just as we do with any member state.

But understand: Zionism is not a policy; it expresses the essence of Israel, a land born out of a gruesome Holocaust; a land created as a homeland for the Jewish people. To equate Zionism with the intolerable sin of racism is to reject Israel - something this body cannot and should not do.

We stand on the verge of convening an historic peace conference between Israel and the Arab neighbors who have never accepted its existence. The United Nations can support this process by repealing unconditionally Resolution 3379, and in the process conceding that each nation in this conference deserves a seat at the table, and deserves the respect accorded every nation in the U.N. Charter and the Universal Declaration of Human Rights.

The United Nations played a major role in ringing up the final curtain on communism. It now has a chance to support a Middle East peace. Repeal Resolution 3379. Give peace a chance.

We also must understand that in the post-Cold War world, we face two major challenges: Nationalism and protectionism. We have discussed the first. Let us discuss the latter. In the years to come, the world will divide not on ideological lines so much as along lines of national self-interest. We must strive to fend off instincts toward war or imperialism by inviting every nation to share in the promise of liberty. I can think of no better way to encourage this new era than by promoting the free flow of goods and ideas.

Many nations represented here have joined the General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade, and you all understand that protectionist impulses have prevented nations from settling the greatest free-trade agreement in world history. Also remember: Protectionism set off the Great Depression. We cannot afford to destroy the international economy now, not when it offers the greatest competitive discipline, and the greatest hope of urging our own industries on to greater heights. I call upon all members of GATT to redouble their efforts to reach a successful conclusion for the Uruguay Round -- and then to begin yet another round of freer and fairer trade.

(homily about African children selling to Soviet trade companies, which enlist Asian help in marketing a product that will pay great dividends in the Euro and Americano markets.)

Economic progress promises more than full shop shelves. It pushes us to explore new ideas and inventions. ~~Do not forget!~~ Our world today is smaller than it ever has been. Oceans do not hold back the tide of new ideas; devices of mass communications can send news past high walls and into prison cells. In our lifetimes, technology has overwhelmed tyranny. The age of information also can become the age of liberation -- if we limit state power wisely and let our cultures make the best use of new ideas, new products, new insights.

Finally, let us remember that governance never will be a science. Human beings are perverse creatures. If you predict that they will follow one course of action, they will take

another ~~--- just out of sheer spite~~ "Scientific" government never works because the process of democracy in the end boils down to an expression of something vital and intangible: values.

end
↓

No nation should ever surrender its sovereignty to an international body, but every nation ought to understand that it bears a real responsibility for building a better future in this world. The United States has no intention of encouraging or building a Pax Americana. We encourage a Pax Terra constructed upon shared responsibilities and aspirations, and we urge the United Nations General Assembly to address the particularly touchy and crucial matter of values.

Communism blotted out history, but it also shattered fundamental social institutions: the family, the community; the place of worship. We must restore these institutions in our own quest for a New World Order, and we must give them the freedom to flourish in our age of "greater freedom," our new era of liberty.

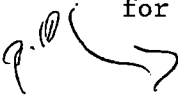
Whenever you consider a resolution, think not of lofty theories and the urgings of interest groups. Think of your loved ones. Ask how your resolutions and actions might affect them. Weigh carefully the ways in which your decisions will influence future families.

Whenever an old and tangible evil vanishes, people naturally embrace unrealistic hopes. In our time, many people assume that we have entered a Brave New World full of prosperity and free of fear. But that is naive.

The things we hold most dear demand the highest price in blood, sweat, toil, tears and pain. In the present euphoria, we may be tempted to forget the most important lesson of the age, which is that no social order can long survive without the consent of the governed, and that precious liberties demand constant attention and care.

I would like to think that those of us in this room, chastened by bloody wars and tense peaces, would protect liberty, democracy and human rights as zealously as we should. But history tells us that people tend to drop their guard when they see no great menaces ahead. They tend to take their own liberties for granted.

It is my solemn hope and wish that this organization, which has permitted itself to fall prey to fads over the years, will become the world's conscience, the last bastion of rigorous freedom and righteous courage. Know that principled men and women necessarily will suffer condemnation from peers who seek easy solutions to tough problems. Understand that national interests sometimes collide with the demands of human rights and natural law. But commit yourselves to becoming a special body - not one that enforces its views through force, but one that inspires nations through its commitment to reason and its passion for the values of love, productivity, and brotherhood.

 My nation cannot lead this world to a promising future of wealth and well-being. No other nation in the world can do it alone. Each of us has an obligation to follow where our national

interests lead. And together, we have a responsibility for building a common interest around shared principles. We have an opportunity not merely to spare our sons and daughters the sins and foibles of the past; we can build the foundations of a future more satisfying than any our world has ever known.

You can make history here. You can build a decent future here. You can inaugurate an era of peace and understanding here. Here, you can define and shape a New World Order.

Take this challenge seriously. Inspire future generations to praise and venerate you.

Good luck, and may God bless the United Nations, and the principles upon which it stands.

age of electrons -- technology has outrun tyranny -- china, etc.
; info revolution, etc.

respect, gatt, common security, clear definition of terms and goals, eternal vigilance. foundation of principle, values: end with bushian invocation of all the above.

214 Massachusetts Avenue N.E. ☎ Washington, D.C. 20002 ☎ (202)546-4400

NEW U.N. COULD REPEAL
'ZIONISM IS RACISM' RESOLUTION
by Christopher Gacek

When President Bush speaks before the U.N. General Assembly in New York this month, he will be addressing a profoundly different United Nations -- one that could serve the interests of peace in the Middle East.

In 1975, in a time when the United Nations served only as a battleground for Cold War tensions and Third World hostilities, the General Assembly passed Resolution 3379, which condemned Zionism as a "form of racism and racial discrimination." This was in the same era of General Assembly sessions that gave standing ovations to PLO terrorist leader Yassir Arafat and to President-for-life Idi Amin, the butcher of Uganda, after both men denounced the United States and Israel.

But the collapse of communism in Eastern Europe and the breakup of the Soviet Union have dramatically altered the climate in the United Nations. To be sure, much Third World hostility to the United States and its allies remains, but the Cold War tensions that exacerbated conflict in Middle East are gone.

As a result, President Bush has a rare opportunity to strike a mighty blow against institutionalized anti-Zionism by calling for the repeal of the U.N.'s abominable "Zionism is Racism" resolution. The former Soviet satellites of central Europe have privately

expressed their willingness to support repeal. And last year Soviet officials indicated privately that their government thought the resolution was a "terrible mistake."

The sort of anti-Israel bigotry that is the defining feature of Resolution 3379 cannot be tolerated in an organization that claims to respect the rights of all sovereign states to peacefully exist, without interference in their domestic affairs.

There are ways for President Bush to "give peace a chance" in the Middle East other than the administration's plan to suspend housing loan guarantees to Israel. Repeal of the U.N. resolution would be a simple but significant gesture, because it would assure Israel that the world political community accepts its right to exist. And a more secure Israel will be more likely to take bold steps toward peace.

Thus, when the president addresses the U.N. General Assembly, he must:

* Announce that the United States will work to block U.N. participation in any Middle East peace process as long as Resolution 3379 stays in effect. It is likely that any agreement between Israel, Syria, or the Palestinians will require U.N. oversight while it is being implemented and after it is complete. But Israel rightly maintains that it has no reason to trust an organization that exhibits such virulent animosity toward the very idea of a Jewish state.

* Make clear that the United States will lead an effort to repeal the resolution in the General Assembly and in every successive session of the General Assembly until repeal is

achieved. This is critical because it puts U.N. members on notice that voting against the United States on this matter will expose them to future political pressure, such as the reduction of economic assistance.

* Announce that the United States will veto the appointment of any proposed replacement for U.N. Secretary General Javier Perez de Cuellar who does not support repeal of the resolution. The United States should only accept a secretary general who is willing to use his "bully pulpit" and institutional power to help achieve this goal.

The message that Jewish nationalism, as expressed in the democratic nation of Israel, is politically legitimate must be impressed upon the United Nations -- which so easily offers its imprimatur to nationalistic movements in the Third World and elsewhere. It is a message that needs a champion -- from Crown Heights to Eastern Europe to Russia to the Middle East -- and who better than the president of the United States?

* * *

Note: Christopher Gacek, Ph.D., is a U.N. specialist and Jay Kingham Fellow in International Regulatory Affairs at The Heritage Foundation, a Washington think tank.

9/12/91

Snow/Grossman
UN.TS
September 20, 1991
Draft One

PRESIDENTIAL ADDRESS: THE UNITED NATIONS GENERAL ASSEMBLY
UNITED NATIONS GENERAL ASSEMBLY HALL
MONDAY, SEPTEMBER 23, 1991
11 A.M.

[INTRODUCTORY ACKNOWLEDGMENTS; PERSONAL REMINISCENCES]

Today I plan to deliver a different kind of address than you ever have heard from a President of the United States. I do not plan to dwell on a superpower rivalry that led to this organization's founding and defined international politics for a half century, although I will discuss it for a moment, because it provides a foundation for my main topic: The new world that faces us all.

For half a century, world affairs revolved around a conflict between the United States and the communist world -- principally, the Soviet Union. Many wars, many debates, many events reflected the competition between two ideologies: ^{communism} ~~one~~, that asserted the rights of governments to direct the movements of their people; the ^{liberal democracy} ~~other~~, which declared that governments derive their just rights from the people they serve.

Cut through the rhetoric, peer into the military and economic competition, and the conflict between the superpowers in ~~many ways~~ hinged on a ~~small but~~ poignant question: Do people have inalienable rights?

Well, I look around this room and I see the answers. Today, a single delegation represents the people of Germany; two

delegations represent Korea; the republics of Estonia, Latvia and Lithuania all send their own delegations. Just one week ago, 159 nations enjoyed membership in the U.N. Today, the number stands at 166. Seven nations in one week -- in fact, all joined in one day: That's extraordinary.

In their own ways, each of these changes -- changes that have occurred within the past year -- illustrate the new ascendancy of individual rights. They hail a new age of liberty.

I look back upon the past year, and I also see the makings of a new era of peace. ~~You see, the old order really~~ began to yield to the new in this very chamber. Less than a year ago, the Soviet Union joined the United States and a host of other nations in defending liberty -- and opposing the treacherous barbarity of Saddam Hussein. For the very first time, superpower competition took a back seat to international cooperation.

And, for the very first time, we began to glimpse -- like mountains emerging at dawn's first light -- a world in which we could conceive of fulfilling the challenge and the promise of the United Nations Charter -- and ~~of~~ the Universal Declaration of Human Rights.

Think about it: ^{For 45 years} ~~In the long history of the United Nations, the delegates here all battled against the large and frightening forces of superpower competition -- forces that rendered almost hopeless the charter's determination "to save succeeding generations from the scourge of war...to reaffirm faith in fundamental human rights, in the dignity and worth of the human~~

person, in the equal rights of men and women and nations large and small ... to promote social progress and better standards of life in larger freedom."

The three key words there are: "in larger freedom." For many in this room, and for many of the nations that belong to this body, "larger freedom" did not exist. Governments cared less about observing individual rights than in forcing the masses to conform to some planner's vision of a perfect society.

Individuals were tossed about, murdered and tortured, sent to labor camps or resettled in distant ^{provinces} lands -- all for the sake of theories that never made sense. [The communist ideal fell when people grasped the emptiness of its promises, and saw that freedom -- true freedom -- works. When they no longer could ignore the failures of their governments and their economies, people rose up and shouted defiantly: We are people! Treat us with dignity! Understand that your power flows from us -- not the other way around!

Many of us watched gleefully as the Berlin Wall came tumbling down; as the old Warsaw Pact nations emerged from their long dark confinement into the bright light and bracing air of freedom.

But we also have learned in recent months that communism in many ways froze history: It suspended ancient disputes; it subordinated ethnic rivalries and nationalist aspirations. In short, communism blotted out the identities of individuals and of nationalities.

As totalitarian masters relaxed their grip on their victims, and as individuals began again to taste their rightful freedom, old animosities raced to the surface; old hatreds reasserted themselves; and in the tumultuous aftermath of communism's collapse, people who for years had been denied their past and future began ^{asking: who are we? what do we want?} ~~searching for their own identities~~. The struggle over ideology gave way to the ~~far-older~~ struggle for identity.

That struggle has unleashed warfare between Croatians and Serbians; Armenians and Azerbaijanis; Kurds and Iraqis -- each battle merely picking up hatreds that have festered for more than 50 years.

^{You can see it there.}
The United Nations ~~has organized only 13 peacekeeping missions in its history. It mounted five of them in 1988 and 1989; another four during the past year. Think of it this way: the U.N. organized four peacekeeping missions during the first 43 years; and nine during the past three.~~ ^{it has mounted since 1988} In those three years, our world has changed so much that no sane person can now envision a World War III. ^{But} Nevertheless, most sober observers fear the constant eruption of smaller, deadly wars.

All of us must face this challenge squarely: First, by suing for the peaceful resolutions of disputes now in progress; second, and more importantly, by trying to prevent others from erupting.

No one here can promise that today's borders will remain fixed for all time: They won't. We must do our best to ensure that people resolve border disputes peacefully, and that any new

nations that might join our community will ~~arrive peacefully, and~~ ^{not join this world in a}
~~not after years of bloody savagery.~~ ^{hail of bullets and a reign of terror.}

Most nations already give lip service to the one step necessary for peace. Most nations already argue that they defend individual rights. But if minorities cannot enjoy the full fruits of liberty; conflicts will erupt. If people cannot exercise their own inalienable rights -- if they cannot speak their minds; if they cannot form political parties freely and elect governments without coercion; if they cannot practice their religion freely; if they cannot raise their families in peace; if they cannot enjoy a just return from their labor; if they cannot live fruitful lives and, at the end of their days, look upon their achievements and their society's progress with pride -- if these simple conditions for the good life do not exist, people do not enjoy true freedom, and their governments have failed in their primary duty, which is to protect the freedoms that enable people to live good lives.

In the years to come, we will face the challenge of reconciling people's yearnings for freedom and identity with the need to live in a peaceful world, a world in which people and peoples build ties of common interest. We must nurture feelings of nationalism without shredding the fabric of international society and hurling our nations into the kind of bloody factionalism that led to our first world war -- and ultimately, perhaps, to the Cold War.

But now, we must begin to build the basis for a new world of peace and prosperity, one that honors the individual's thirst for freedom; nations' desire for identity; and the world's desire for a vibrant, prosperous peace.

For the people in this room, the challenge is simple: Honor the commitments we have made by signing the United Nations Charter and the Universal Declaration of Human Rights.

respect, gatt, common security, clear definition of terms and goals, eternal vigilance.foundation of principle, values: end with bushian invocation of all the above.

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Point of View

214 Massachusetts Avenue N.E. Washington, D.C. 20002 (202)546-4400

BEWARE OF MISLEADING SOVIET TERMS by Leon Aron

Since Mikhail Gorbachev came to power in the Soviet Union in April 1985, America's media have been deluged by terms describing a very complex political, economic, and social situation. Many words from the Soviet political lexicon -- regurgitated by the media without explanation and often poorly understood by journalists-- often serve only to confuse.

But no sense can be made of the momentous events now reshaping the Soviet Union without first understanding the reality behind the stock expressions.

One of the most repeated errors has been the labeling of last month's coup leaders as members of the political "right." In the Soviet Union, the "right" means those who support communism, reject free market capitalism and seek to perpetuate government control over the daily life of the people. In the West, this is the agenda of the "left."

Other Soviet terms that require better definition are:

Black market - This is the huge sector of the Soviet economy that operates outside state control as a free market. Western journalists often use this term derisively. However, black markets operate according to the laws of supply and demand, and not arbitrarily according to orders by the state. For decades it has been the only sector of the Soviet economy that functioned

Note: Nothing written here is to be construed as necessarily reflecting the views of The Heritage Foundation or as an attempt to aid or hinder the passage of any bill before Congress.

efficiently.

Conservatives - This is the word most commonly used in the Soviet Union for hard-line communists. While it makes some sense to view hard-line communists as wanting to conserve the old totalitarian system, it is incorrect to attribute any philosophical meaning to the term. Conservatives in the West are anti-communist and pro-free market -- the exact opposite of "conservative" hard-line communists in the Soviet Union.

Democrats - These are people who struggle for free and fair elections, individual liberties, private ownership of property, a free market, and a sharp reduction in the role of the state in the economy. In the West this is, of course, the agenda of the right. In the Soviet Union they sometimes are called "progressive" or, mistakenly, left-wing. Members of the Soviet left, therefore, much more resemble American conservatives than American liberals.

Perestroika - This is the attempt by Gorbachev to create a "socialist market" by giving managers, and not central state planners, more control over running state enterprises. Gorbachev also allowed the creation of so-called cooperatives -- small shops, restaurants, and service organizations owned collectively by the employees. Because it was only a half-hearted reform program, perestroika made the economy worse. Under Gorbachev the state continued to control industry, land, raw materials, prices, and the distribution of food and other products.

Russian vs. Soviet - These terms often are mistakenly used interchangeably in the West. The Soviet Union consists of 15 republics. Russia is the largest republic, comprising three-

fourths of the area of the Soviet Union, and by itself would be the largest country in the world. Although ethnic Russians constitute roughly half of the Soviet Union's population, they are but one of more than a hundred nationalities.

Because most of the empire's leaders have been Russian, the Russian Republic has been the vehicle through which the communist empire was ruled. But this was not done with the consent of the Russian people, who lost more lives to Soviet totalitarian repression than any other people in the Soviet Union.

A final misconstrued term is "stability," a watchword of the Bush administration's Soviet policy. Bush's preference for controlled and limited change convinced him to support Mikhail Gorbachev long after he had become an obstacle to further democratization. The administration until recently shunned Boris Yeltsin and other democratic leaders of the republics, including those in the Baltics. True stability, however, cannot come from the forcible maintenance of an unwanted imperial structure, but only from the free self-determination of the republics.

* * *

Note: Leon Aron, Ph.D., a Soviet emigre, is Salvatori Senior Policy Analyst in Soviet Affairs at The Heritage Foundation, a Washington-based public policy research institute.

9/12/91

my, Fed.

For Tony Snow re: UN Speech / McGroarty, 9/19/91

Tony:

Attached are bits and pieces from Joe D. and his folks at State IO. Also, note Haass 1-pager on Z=R.

For what they're worth, what follows are a few paragraphs on the subject of nationalism, playing off General Scowcroft's theme of the "resurgence of history."

I'm sure the researchers will have more to pass along in the morning.

Good luck! -- we'll talk tomorrow....

////////////////////

{TRANS>>>: Our time -- a time of tremendous hope....}

History has begun again. At long last, dreams and destinies unite. Nations and peoples throw off their chains, unfurl their flags, celebrate the cultures they struggled to keep alive -- the common bonds that gave them strength and courage. The nations of the world celebrate with them.



But history's new promise also means the reemergence of old perils. Too often, we see ancient animosities -- frozen in time by the long years of Cold War -- revived and rekindled. For all the promise we see, we know that progress is not preordained. Just as we look with admiration at the peaceful path in the Baltics, so too we look with sadness at the violence shaking the Balkans.

The nationalism I warn against is not the healthy sort of national pride: the distinctive and defining traditions, the living history and heritage that all nations are duty-bound to honor and respect. What menaces us is nationalism of a sinister

American Culture and the Roots of Economic Development

Michael Novak

A theologian, author, and U.S. ambassador, Michael Novak holds the George Frederick Jewett Chair in Religion and Public Policy at the American Enterprise Institute in Washington, where he also serves as director of social and political studies.

In March 1986, with the rank of ambassador, Mr. Novak headed the U.S. delegation to the Expert Meeting on Human Contacts at the Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe, the continuation of the Helsinki Accord negotiations. He has served the United States in three administrations.

Michael Novak has written over twenty influential books in the areas of philosophy, theology, politics, economics, and culture. He serves on the editorial boards of several publications. He was a co-founder of both This World and Crisis.

Mr. Novak has received numerous awards, including the Freedom Award from the Coalition for a Democratic Majority, the George Washington Honor Medal from the Freedoms Foundation, and many others.

Let me start with a story that will be difficult to believe. Once when I was teaching at Stanford some years ago, I took advantage of one of the unique aspects of California education; namely, the class and I met near the swimming pool. It was a little study group, and as we were talking, one of the young women in the class, twirling her nose plug, saw it slip out of her hand and plop into the water.

Three of the young men made as if to dive in and retrieve it for her. She said, "No, I want Professor Novak to get it." That is what may seem unbelievable to you and impressed me a great deal at the time. I said, "Why me?" And she said, "Because nobody I know"—looking at me with those steely eyes that only a woman has—"nobody I know can dive down deeper, stay down longer, and come up drier."

It is my obligation this morning to ask you, even at this hour, to go down deeper in thinking about the U.S. role in the world than we normally do, to think about its philosophical bases. We are not very good at that. We are very practical people, hardly at all metaphysical, and so we explain ourselves very badly, not only to others but often to ourselves.

Our framers, who were much more philosophical than we, at the same time as being eminently practical, had a much clearer idea of what they were doing and of its originality.

Before I come to that, though, I want to pause just for a moment to remind you of what the poet said about the year 1789, that it was very bliss to be alive at that time. And if you ever wanted to say to students that they were living in a period, in a year—like 1776, 1787, or 1789, or 1848—1989 was such a year, an incredible year in the history of liberty, and it is extraordinary to have lived through it. Some day I think we will look back on these days with great admiration and great wonder.

But they would not have surprised the framers of the institutions under which we in the United States are blessed to live. George Washington said it in his farewell address, expressing the hope that one day the nations of the world would repair to the example, the ideals established by this nation.

James Madison, until he died, was proudest of one thing, namely the originality of the American conception of a system, of an order. No one will deny, he wrote in *Federalist 14*—I am paraphrasing—that we have consulted with due respect the lessons of antiquity and of our ancestors. But nobody can deny, either, that we have not lacked for originality, that we have reared a government with no model on the face of the Earth and no example by which to guide ourselves.

Madison, in particular, was acutely aware of how different from any other republic in history was the Constitution of this republic. Let me refresh you on what the problem was, because it is exactly the problem that many nations in Eastern Europe, Central America, East Asia, Africa, and many other parts of the world face today.

The Necessity of Republican, Limited Government

In 1787, in that hot summer, the people of the United States, led by a few, had declared the principles on which they stood. "We

hold these truths to be self-evident," they had declared eleven years earlier. They had fought a revolution in defense of those principles. They had won—and then they were proving to be incapable of governing themselves. There was riot and rebellion in Massachusetts, disorder in North Carolina, the threat of secession in New Jersey.

They feared that they were becoming the laughingstock of the whole world, having overthrown the rule of George III, who was, in the annals of history, not one of the worst of tyrants by far, who ruled, it was once said, by benign neglect. Having thrown off a mild form of tyranny, they were experiencing a government worse than they had suffered under.

They really feared that the whole idea of republican government, which was the name much preferred to democracy (because democracy always involved crowd tyranny, in that time and in our time), had fallen into disrepute among the philosophers and the historians, because no republic had survived very long; all, within a generation or two, had dissolved, almost always under the acids of envy, the envy of one class or one group for another.

Thus they had a problem, as expressed by Madison "to rescue from opprobrium the idea of the republic." The problem was that all republics had lasted for a generation; that is not good enough. Their task was to design a republic that would last for the ages, not just for a generation and to study what went wrong in all previous republics, to see how you make a republic work. They were very practical philosophers. They were not satisfied with writing down a beautiful idea.

"If men were angels," Madison wrote, "government would not be necessary." We don't need ideals in that sense. What we need is a republic that will work. That meant defeating envy. It meant checking the impulses in every human breast, that impel human beings, sooner or later—sometimes but not always—to evil, to self-aggrandizement, to disproportionate power, to taking unfair advantage. What is history, the framers asked, except a melancholy report of this wickedness in the human breast?

How do you construct institutions that defeat envy and that keep the power of the human spirit while checking its most evil tendencies? The framers recognized that it is not enough to declare rights; one must also establish a government to secure those rights. It is quite wrong to think that they were anti-

government in that respect. To secure the four great principles of the Declaration of Independence, they had to constitute a government.

The Founding Fathers are the only revolutionaries in history who went to their deathbeds fifty years later peacefully, still beloved by their people.

They had also noted, however, that most of the abuses of human history had come through government, through the fact that every human being sometimes sins. Not always—most of the time, people are good, decent, generous, creative, cooperative, and that fact gives grounds for hope in republican government. Government of the people has a chance, because people are basically pretty good.

On the other hand, no one is good all the time, and therefore, restraints on government are forever necessary: checks and balances. Thus they wanted a limited government. They would give to government only those powers that could be written down, and they would make the document very short, under 4,000 words. As I understand it, the new constitution of Brazil is 257 pages long. It is not going to work. Any constitution that talks that much is giving government too much. I say that without even having read it. The framers wanted limited government.

Interpreting the Great Seal

The framers also designed the seal of the United States as the emblem of this government, which is now on the back of the dollar bill. The inscription along the bottom of the reverse side of the seal was inserted during the seventh draft, *Novus ordo seclorum*, which Catholics used to be able to translate rather easily as "the new order of the ages." Remember, the idea was to make a republic that would last more than through their own generation.

Incidentally, these men are the only revolutionaries in the history of the world so far who went to their deathbeds fifty years later peacefully and still beloved by their people, setting off fireworks demonstrations in their honor all over the country.

Almost all other revolutionaries since have come to be despised by their own people as having betrayed them.

They were aware that the trick was to build a system over this motto, "The New Order." They were aware that this new order was original, the new order, never seen before in history, and they predicted that one day all the nations of the world would repair to this design.

Above this inscription, *Novus ordo seclorum*, they put a picture of a building, a deliberately uncompleted pyramid, which can only come from one country in the world, Egypt. They wanted to evoke the image of the ancient people of Israel, who wandered out from the fleshpots of Egypt, across the desert, seeking the new Zion, the city on the hill. This was their founding metaphor, since most of the peoples of what is now the United States and of the Americas came from all the other continents on Earth, this one being virtually empty at the time. They had in their minds an image of going out across the oceans as the people of Israel had gone across the desert to a new Eden, a new beginning for the human race.

Reflection and Choice: Universal Human Attributes

The burden on them was to decide, perhaps for all time, as the first paragraph of *The Federalist* says, whether government can be built from reflection and choice or must forever be built through coercion or chance. Reflection and choice are the two capacities that make human beings most like God, as Jews and Christians believe. Because these are the two names of God, Light and Love, intellect and will, these two names give grounding to Jefferson's sentence, repeated by that brewery worker just outside of Prague last November. He stood up and said before his fellow workers, "We hold these truths to be self-evident, that all men are created equal and are endowed by their Creator with certain unalienable rights."

Thus, the message sent by the framers as the first of the new order was in fact picked up in Prague and earlier in China in the symbol of the Statue of Liberty as chosen by the students as the emblem of their desire, exactly as our framers had expected. They declared no rights to be American rights. All the rights they talked about were human rights. They belonged to all people everywhere, and they were rooted in the capacity of every woman and every man to reflect and to choose.

The trick for them was to design a system which would maximize, for the first time in human history, the number of areas and moments of life in which citizens could act from their own reflections and choice. That is the whole point, how to maximize reflection and choice in every moment and event of human life, for everybody. In that respect, all men are created equal in their capacity for reflection and choice. And in that capacity is grounded their right to be respected. It is unlike anything else in this universe. Only human beings reflect and choose.

As a friend of mine said about animal rights, the difficulty is going to be getting animals to respect them. Human rights are of a different order. They are based on the capacity of human beings to reflect and to choose and therefore to respect other agents' reflection and choice as being made in the image of God, as Jews and Christians put it.

You do not have to be Jewish or Christian to understand the rights, but using Jewish and Christian language is the best route to understanding why the framers thought as they thought and why something was self-evident to them that was not then self-evident to most of the human race, but is through hard experience now evident practically to everybody.

The best way to defend human rights and to secure those rights is through building a republican government, a government of the people, which respects the right of each citizen to reflect and to choose, and through designing into the structure of that system those checks and balances which would prevent the worst evils from occurring, without stifling the will to power and the capacity for creative invention and bold decision.

The New Order and the Free Economy

Just above that motto of the United States, *Novus ordo seclorum*—the new order of the ages—the framers put a pictorial representation of the system. What is the new order? The pyramid provides a picture of it; it is a three-sided order. Across the bottom they wrote "1776" (in Latin, so you may have to work to figure it out).

Imagine one corner of the pyramid as the government, designed to secure rights, a government with more limits, more checks and balances, than any before in history. Imagine the other corner as a firm foundation, an instrument for defeating envy: a

free economy, freer than any before in human history, outside the control of government, on an equal level with government, not under government but on an equal level.

There were more private business corporations in the year 1800 in the infant United States, just four million citizens strong, than in all of England, all of France, all of Germany—indeed, more than the entire world put together. And, of course, there were so many fewer lawyers. Nobody knew what you couldn't do. If you wanted to start a business, you just started it.

Government did not create corporations; people did. This was the first society in which that was the universal practice. It was also the first society in which it was recognized that the cause of the wealth of nations is intellect. The cause of the wealth of nations is not natural resources. If it were natural resources, Brazil would be the richest country on Earth, and Japan would be the poorest, Brazil having most and Japan least.

Quite demonstrably, the cause of wealth is not resources. The cause of wealth is the capacity of humans to reflect and to choose, to reflect acutely and practically and to choose to execute their ideas in the best possible way. Those who do that will become wealthy, even if all they start out with, like the Swiss, are mountains. If Switzerland were Peru, everybody would use the mountains as a reason why they are poor. The Swiss found a way to make chocolate and banks and have the highest standard of living on Earth in mean conditions, where even the cows have different-sized legs on left and right.

Finally, at the peak of the pyramid is the symbol of light, the human eye, also probably the symbol of conscience or honesty or candor, or even more probably of Providence, the Jewish and Christian name for God, because the Jewish and Christian God is different from the rationalist's. The Jewish and Christian God cares about particulars—a particular people, a particular event, a particular land—at the same time as He speaks universally; Creator of all, he is concerned about particulars. That is the meaning of the word Providence.

And above the symbol of the system is *Annuit cœptis* ("He smiled on our beginnings"). This God of all smiled on the beginnings of our country. That is a particular God, a particular conception of God. It is the same God who knows the name and

identity of every single individual ever made, knows every lily of the field, and so forth. It is a unique conception.

They designed the building uncompleted because they believed that a system whose basic reflection and choice will always

There is no example of a democracy or a republic that genuinely respects individual rights or minority rights that does not have a capitalist economy.

have more work to do in every generation. Every generation will have to have its revolution. Even the Reagan revolution picked up on that theme. The most conservative thing you can do is to have a revolution. A revolution means, in Latin, *revolvere*, "to revolve," that is, to turn back to first principles.

That is the understanding the framers had of revolution. A revolution is not to break with the past; on the contrary, it is to join the past and bring up the life that was there at the beginning and make it fresh again, because the trouble with human things is entropy. You are always wearing out and slipping backwards. If you are committed to liberty and justice for all, you have got to go twice as fast because you slip back with every step. It is not as if liberties maintain themselves once achieved; on the contrary, we have to work at it. So the building is incomplete, as ever it will be in history.

"One Nation Under God"

Above all, the whole system is under the eye of that creator from whom our inalienable rights come, or, if you are not a believer, under the eye of conscience or human scrutiny or human judgment. It is not necessary to be a believer to get the basic idea.

Thus we properly say, when we pledge allegiance to the flag, "One nation under God." That is the way the framers showed it: a vital, limited government and a vital, free economy under a moral and cultural system, under the dynamism, as John Adams put it, of the scouring eye of the God of Israel, who over the desert was never satisfied. No matter how rich or powerful the people of Israel would be, they would never meet his tests, and that sense of

transcendent judgment, of always being self-critical, is part of our heritage.

Americans are never so happy as in saying how bad things are. Any taxi driver in New York can tell you, between downtown and LaGuardia, everything that is wrong with the country.

That is why we say "One nation under God." I should pause to add, we are the only country in the world, I believe, that pledges allegiance to a republic; that is, to a form of government. The Germans pledge to a people; the French, if I understand correctly, to a language; the British, to a history; others, to a piece of land. Not the people of the United States. We don't have all those things in common. What we have in common is a form of government. "I pledge allegiance to the flag and to the republic for which it stands." Take away the republic, in other words, and the deal is off. That is what holds us together.

In my judgment, that is why burning the flag, burning the republic, is a symbol of self-destruction. If you burn the flag, you burn the republic, you burn the very thing that secures your rights and everybody else's, and that is why, I think, people find it such a deep affront. It is not burning the symbol of a piece of land; it is burning what secures our rights.

It is important to see the idea of order, of a system, of a republic, as the key ideas. That is what is happening around the world. The people of Czechoslovakia, and other parts of the world, are trying now to do more than just to have their land or have their language or maintain their culture, but to develop a system that will protect and secure their rights.

Republicanism Depends on Capitalism

They have also come to recognize that a necessary precondition of a republican form of government is a capitalist economy. Let me put it the other way. Let me voice it as an empirical proposition, because that is what it is. There is no example of a democracy or a republic that genuinely respects individual rights or minority rights that does not have a capitalist economy. And it makes sense. If you do not have economic rights, free rights of what Pope John Paul II calls the right to personal economic initiative, what good are rights to personal political initiatives? If you don't have the wherewithal to do things in the world, that is,

If you don't have the economic wherewithal, political rights are empty.

It must be stressed that the meaning of "capitalism" is not understood in the world, and most Americans cannot explain it. Our dictionaries don't explain it. I recently had my research assistant go through seven dictionaries, *Webster's* and *American Heritage* and all the others, and all of them defined capitalism in Marxist terms. They all described capitalism the way Marx did. They give it three notes. The language shifts from dictionary to dictionary, but the notes are always the same. Capitalism is a system based on free exchange or markets, on private ownership of the means of production—a perfectly Marxian phrase, since nobody ever used it before Marx—and accumulation or profit.

These phrases may define capitalism in Marxist fantasies and led Marx himself to fantasize about a system that would not have these things—no markets, no private property, and no accumulation. That means stagnation or decline. If you do not have accumulation, you are either stagnating or going downhill, which is exactly what tends to happen.

Such a society would be based on a fantasy of what capitalism is and what it has been historically. After all, Jerusalem in the Bible, even 3,000 years ago, let alone 2,000, had private property and markets and profit. Jerusalem was nothing but a market. It had no natural resources. It stood between three continents, and it was a marketplace, and there was private property, as every story in the Bible will show you, and the good Lord himself twice forbade covetousness; that is, coveting the goods of others. In other words, without private property, a law against coveting things makes no sense. If it is all held in common, there is nothing wrong with covetousness. You don't own anything; neither does anybody else. It is all yours. It only makes sense in a regime of private property.

Marx's Fantasy and the Concreteness of Ideas

Marx completely overlooked what was different about capitalism. He ignored the answer to Adam Smith's question, What is the nature and the cause of the wealth of nations? In a simple word, it is wit, invention, discovery, *caput*. The heart of capitalism is the word "*caput*," head, invention, discovery, or enterprise, or, in Adam Smith's favorite string of words, skill, dexterity, and judgment. The Patent and Copyright Clause (Article I, Section 8 of the

U.S. Constitution), is the first piece of capitalist legislation in the history of the world, because it recognizes the most fundamental of all kinds of property, property in ideas. All wealth in the modern world comes from ideas.

In the ancient and medieval worlds, wealth came from taking. How did Rome become rich? They went out and conquered the barbarians and brought the booty home. Why did people live in castles surrounded by moats? Because when there were no markets and very little travel, there was only local produce available. The only way you got jewelry and precious stones and other things which were not available locally was to go out and take them. Since there were very few markets and very poor roads, when you grew great crops, what could you do with them? Nothing except feed an army. Therefore, for most of human history, the acquisition of wealth meant war, plunder, and rapine.

It was from that sort of system that capitalism—you can read this plainly in the writings of David Hume, Adam Ferguson, and then Adam Smith, before there was capitalism—it was from such a system that capitalism was designed to lift up the moral standards of the human race, make war obsolete, afford universal plenty, and end universal poverty, and to make it possible for human beings to acquire wealth without taking from others, by inventing new things, new goods, and new services.

Liberty, Prosperity, and Baseball

A friend of mine in South Korea explained to me the secret of development. I said, "How did South Korea develop so quickly?" I remember seeing pictures in 1956, not long after the war, of one of the most bleak and poverty-stricken nations on Earth—Korea, which had suffered terribly under the Japanese, and had had a rather mean history before that. How had South Korea developed so quickly, with all these mini-vans on the roads and high-rises and great cities and so much else that really surprised me on my first visit there?

My friend answered, "It is easy. We studied what the Japanese did, and we figured out the secret of wealth is that you have to do two things: use chopsticks or calligraphy and play baseball. So we had always used chopsticks and calligraphy, but we didn't play baseball. So we brought in baseball, and immediately development happened."

I said, "What do you mean? You're kidding." He said, "No. Look at Mainland China. They use chopsticks, but they don't play baseball. There is no development." Then he added, "Look at Cuba. They play baseball but they don't use chopsticks. There is no development."

You can tell whether a country is capitalist by what happens to the poorest people. Is it easy, cheap, and quick to incorporate?

He went on: "Look, seriously, what I mean is this. Chopsticks and calligraphy have this great advantage because they relate the brain to the hand." In a manufacturing age, the hand—Adam Smith's skill and dexterity—are crucial. The source of wealth is the brain, and those who use the hand together with the brain are going to be superior.

He further explained, "One other thing we did not have, but baseball taught us. Namely, baseball taught us how you have a system—in this case just a game—which respects the individual but is played as an association." You have to have the collective. No baseball team can win with one player, not even one great superstar. You have to have strong players at every position. On the other hand, everybody has to come to the plate one at a time, and the ball singles out the fielders one at a time. It is the supreme game of the individual, but, above all, it teaches the individual how to operate in society. "We had the idea of society," he said. "We did not have the idea of the individual, and baseball freed us."

Readers may call this explanation fanciful, but it is not a bad expression of why baseball is the game you have to understand if you want to understand America. You cannot understand America if you do not understand baseball, and I don't think you can understand what has happened to the world today unless you see the emergence of baseball in universal consciousness.

Nothing happens in baseball until the voice of the law says it has happened. It is liberty under law, and it is the most interesting relationship of the individual with the community that we have in any of our games worldwide.

Order and Development

So far I have discussed the American order. I have discussed the distinctive idea of development, of capitalism, of intellect, of discovery, of innovation as the cause of wealth. Finally, I want to discuss what this means in terms of development worldwide.

In Eastern Europe, in Central America and most of Asia, and all over Africa, it is almost impossible for individuals to start a corporation of their own. The procedures in law are vague or antithetical, the expenses are prohibitive, and the bureaucracy for establishing a corporation is forbidding.

In Peru, for instance, it takes an average of 252 days of full-time work to incorporate a small business, plus about \$7,000 in bribes, in a country where the average income of a person is about \$700. In Hong Kong, it costs \$30 to incorporate. It takes a maximum of sixteen days, and it is done through the mail. All you do is register it. The government does not create the corporation; the government, for the sake of good order, registers the corporation as a legal person.

This virtual rock with no natural resources is one of the wealthiest places on Earth, totally disproving the notion that overpopulation is the cause of poverty. Looking at the world, you really have to notice that all the most crowded places on this planet are the richest: Japan, the Netherlands, Hong Kong. People do not cause poverty; people cause wealth. If the cause of wealth is the human intellect, every new child is a potential creator. To create more wealth than he or she consumes in a lifetime is the entire principle of progress. If that were not true, economic progress would not be possible. But it is true.

Development begins at the bottom up. The way wealth is created in a capitalist country and the way you can tell whether a country is capitalist or not is to see what happens to the poorest people. The first question to explore is, Can they start their own corporations? Is it easy, cheap, and quick to incorporate? If so, you have the beginnings of a capitalist economy; if not, a capitalist economy is impossible, because until there is wealth at the bottom, you have no markets for selling things to.

In Latin America, you have a very narrow market. You have about 10 percent of the population economically active and well off and 90 percent living in various stages of poverty and destitution, unable to purchase anything.

Second, a capitalist economy depends on the ability of patenting and copyrighting new ideas. Try to think of a product that you use or own in your home invented in Latin America. I think there are none. I know of only one, actually. We don't use it in our home, but it is the short-range airplane. There is a short-range aircraft made in Brazil, the best short-distance aircraft that there is. But there is very little else. Patent and copyright laws are so crucial. Abraham Lincoln called them one of the four great gifts to the history of liberty. Yet they do not exist in most of the world.

The third prerequisite for a capitalist economy is institutions of credit. You need incorporation, patent and copyright laws, and you need institutions of credit which specialize in helping poor people, which both lend money and give advice, which help people to start businesses and give advice because the lending institutions want their money back; they want the small businesses to succeed.

Where you have that, you have lots of people, independent of government, creating new wealth inventively, and you have percolation from the bottom up, which is how the U.S. economy grew and how every economy grows that is a developed economy.

These concepts are interrelated. The most important form of wealth and the most important form of collateral is an idea. For example, a fellow came from a village in the mountains of Panama to Archbishop Marcos McGrath four years ago and said, "If I could only borrow money for a truck, I could bring the produce of our village to the city, and I could earn enough to pay back the truck." An idea like that is collateral.

These three things almost everybody overlooks: ease of incorporation; the role of invention, and therefore patent and copyrights of ideas; and the crucial role of credit. It is hard to start a small business under the condition that before you have anything to sell, you already have to assemble raw materials and pay people to assemble them. You have to pay out before you can sell and earn back, and for that you need credit. Credit is the mother's milk of business, and if poor people have no access to credit—and they do not in most parts of the world—there can be no explosion of energies from the bottom up.

Part II:

The Institutional Role in Aid and Trade Policy Implementation

The world order changeth

WE SEEK, said George Bush, "new ways of working with other nations to deter aggression, and to achieve stability, prosperity and, above all, peace." He was talking of the New World Order—an epic made possible by Mikhail Gorbachev, realised by Saddam Hussein, starring the United States and shortly to be showing in a conflict near you.

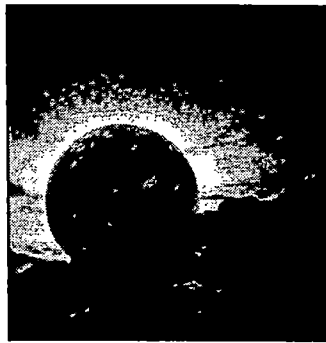
There has always been a touch of show in the idea. Americans prefer to go to war to fight for a great good, rather than just against a thug. So President Bush, not much given to the "vision thing", offered America's Gulf-bound soldiers an ideal beyond curbing Iraq's nastiness. There is, however, much more to the new-order phrase than a warm feeling. The world has been shaken up momentarily by the collapse of communism, and its politics have yet to set into their next mould. A New World Order of some sort will come, willy nilly. Should it, can it, be Mr Bush's version?

The new topography of world power supports him. It is dominated by one peak, where only a short while ago it featured two: around one were gathered countries that had espoused democracy and the market economy; around the other the communist command societies. Between them lay the valley of the non-aligned, which lived by playing the peaks off against each other.

The summit that remains is called the G7, the Group of Seven rich pluralist countries. It is surrounded by countries that share the same values and broadly the same approach to running their economies. Of rival peaks they see no sign. The landscape drops away from them past newly industrialised and developing countries to those that are still dirt-poor. The Soviet Union is down on the slopes now—though Mr Gorbachev is loth to admit it and craves a place on the mountain-top.

On the foot-hills many governments are unhappy, for the game of playing-off has all but ended. Now they have just one mountain to climb. Success is measured by the same yardsticks everywhere—democracy, freedom of economic choice, prosperity and an unspoilt environment. The odd Burma or North Korea still holds out against these criteria, but each will crack in time, Albania-style, and join the mountaineers. Even in China, capitalist shoots poke up through the permafrost. For a blessed moment, world politics is driven by the power of shared values rather than by geopolitical manoeuvring.

In this landscape, the G7 get-together has replaced the superpower summit as the most influential meeting-place in the world—though it has scarcely learnt to use its power. Another gathering, too, has a much-enhanced role: the five permanent members of the Security Council of the United Nations. This is where the haves work to carry the have-littles and have-nots along with them in dealing with international wrongs. The



five—America, Britain, France, China and the Soviet Union—in effect determine the decisions of the Security Council, which in turn steers the UN as a whole.

This landscape is an ideal one on which to build a system of more collective leadership, one that would lock in those winning values. To get that system, however, America must want it. Mr Bush can fairly claim that those values "have their clearest expression in the US". He can also point to America's military prowess, rediscovered in the Gulf. America now

knows that its international options are shaped more by self-restraint than by external threat. But, having been financed in the Gulf war to the tune of \$37 billion by friendly Arabs and \$17 billion by Germany and Japan, it also knows that it no longer has the economic clout to run a hegemony.

Conceivably, America could now stand aloof from its friends and play a Palmerstonian balance-of-power game, pursuing its own interests independently, as Britain did in the 19th century. But, in peace as in war, America has always needed a loftier view of its world mission: it wants the outward expression of a nationhood founded on shared values rather than on more visceral sorts of kinship. John Kennedy's blank cheque to "pay any price, bear any burden, meet any hardship, support any friend, oppose any foe, in order to secure the survival and success of liberty" is no longer on offer. Instead, there is a new readiness to share responsibility in world leadership. Hence the Bush administration's recent invitation to Europeans to get involved in the search for Arab-Israeli peace; hence, even more, its desire to keep the leaders of the crumbling Soviet Union feeling involved rather than abandoned.

Send a cargo-boat

The threats to this Olympian landscape are great. One is that the mountain-top gods will fall out, as gods tend to. Some pundits will predict—in words of grave realism tinged with glee—that the passing of the cold war will allow the irrepressible nation-state to return to its natural game of jockeying for national advantage. They will also predict that success in this game will now be measured in market share rather than in territory, that trading blocks will replace alliances, that commerce will be the continuation of warfare by other means.

The fraught, fear-dependency relationship between America and Japan certainly points that way. Books claiming that the Japanese are plotting to conquer the world still sell well in America. The French like them too, so the European Community is split between those who want to exclude the Japanese and those who want to benefit from their skills. The rift between Europe and America on farm trade could yet widen nastily. If these triangular tensions get worse, Europe and the

emerging North American Free-Trade Area will turn inward. Japan might even overcome Asia's post-second-world-war taboos and champion an Asian block.

So the first big essential for Mr Bush's order lies in the ungripping matter of the GATT—not just its Uruguay round and the improvements in mutual openness this will bring, but commitment by the G7 governments to obey the GATT's rules and adjudication. They will balk at this. But they have no logical excuse for making only selective curtsies to the GATT. Unlike the UN, the GATT cannot undermine the values that the G7 champions; in commerce it surely enshrines them. And what is at stake is not just an economic good—though that is huge—but the prevention of the most obvious, petty bust-up that could divide the leaders of the post-cold-war world.

G7 without oxygen

The GATT helps the New World Order in another way, too. The harder the world's one mountain is to climb, the greater the risk that militant Islam will appeal as a rival set of values and split off as a volcanic peak of its own. And the greater will be the already daunting prospect of economic migration, bringing the developing world into direct conflict with the rich one.

Open trade is, and always was, the best answer—not just so that poor countries can sell to rich ones, but also to allow the rich to help the poor through direct involvement in their economies. The multilateral providers of economic aid—the World Bank, the IMF, the UN agencies—have much to contribute. They and their sponsors have yet to adjust to the post-cold-war era. They no longer need to give aid on the wrong terms to keep feckless regimes “in the western camp”. Equally, they can offer more aid, on the right tough conditions, to countries previously considered untouchable menaces. Multilateral aid should now have a new and more constructive lease of life.

So much for economics. In politics there will be no shortage of threats for any New World Order to cope with. The scope for local conflicts is, if anything, greater in the one-peak world than before. As the communist sphere of influence dwindles, mismatches between nations and frontiers on the world map are being violently revealed, often in ways that disturb their neighbours. Local democracy has little truck with cartographers. The cracking-up of the Soviet Union and of Yugoslavia are European examples. Africa, India and the Middle East all suffer from their share of frontier-chafing.

In richer parts of the world, groupings of states can provide an answer of sorts. They give small, released nations—such as the Baltic states will soon be—security, a voice in the world and a framework in which to pay their way. They give small trapped nations, or minorities trapped within larger ones, a court of appeal beyond the unsympathetic capital. Europe has a variety of such clubs, with differing and overlapping memberships and purposes. Many of them are still coming to terms with their new job in the one-peak world. The European Community grudgingly wonders how to adjust its 30-year dream to welcome in the rest of Western Europe, let alone Eastern Europe. NATO wonders how best to embrace or reassure some of the very countries it was set up to fend off. The Conference on Security and Co-operation in Europe, which once tried to reassure the Soviet Union that the West had no designs upon its empire, is now there mainly to bind it to the West.

Pace Margaret Thatcher, who considers all clubs that infringe the sovereignty of nations unnatural and doomed to fail, the creation of such groups does not have to be a repeat of the

building of the Soviet empire. It is odd but instructive that some of the proud countries breaking loose from the Soviet system are queueing up to join the tyranny of Jacques Delors in Brussels. Two principles must apply: such groupings should be freely entered into, and open to trade from outside.

Beyond ethnic tension, there is the world's undiminished supply of nastiness, terrorism, weaponry and tyranny. Mr Hussein's recent reminder of that showed up the new potential of the UN to help here. Russia, China and most developing countries held their peace as the UN sanctioned an American-led alliance to eject him from Kuwait and later restrain him from maltreating Iraqi Kurds. After the Saddam experience, would-be wrong-doers will think twice before they defy the UN. Would-be right-doers will be more inclined to seek its blessing. Gradually, case by case, the UN will reach into the affairs of particularly odious governments—if all goes well.

There should, however, be no illusion that a global police-force run by a global democracy is feasible. Those who have carried the winning ideas to the top of the mountain, and now wish to spread them, will not allow this process to be vetoed by the semi-converted or by plain toughs. America would do well to pay more respect to the International Court of Justice, which has never asked it to ditch its own principles. But, for the time being, the UN part of the New World Order will remain a lopsided affair in which the three western permanent members of the Security Council have to persuade the new Soviet Union to back them in the righting of some wrong, and hope that China then opts against isolation. Perhaps Germany, Japan and India should broaden this forum. Yet opening the Security Council too wide risks reducing the UN's effectiveness. The less powerful must have their say but, if the UN is to work, the great powers, especially America and its allies, must not be alienated. They must pursue the principles enshrined in its charter with as much international agreement as possible.

It cuts both ways

Next month, in London, the heads of the G7 meet for the first time since the Gulf war showed what was possible in a changed world. They must start to pin those possibilities down. The quest is not for some collective order for its own warm-sounding sake; it is for the best way to prevent the return of petty nationalism among the rich and to establish their values worldwide. The day of American hegemony has gone. That of global democracy has not remotely come. In looking for a middle way, the G7 should remember three imperatives. First, spread wealth through open trade and conditional aid. Second, bow to international disciplines that embrace the right values. Third, seek to achieve consensus among nations, but do not feel bound by the process.

If that sounds painless, it is not. The mountain-top is thick with those who would rather not see trade that is too liberal, aid that is too principled, or arms control that is too self-denying. And America itself needs to remember that a willingness to involve others is not enough to make a collective world order work. There must also be readiness to submit to it. If America really wants such an order, it will have to be ready to take its complaints to the GATT, finance the multilateral aid agencies, submit itself to the International Court, bow to some system to monitor arms exports, and make a habit of consulting the UN. Is it ready to do so? If not, its quest for “new ways of working with other nations” will sound like old-fashioned humbug.

Essay

WILLIAM SAFIRE

Bush at the U.N.

WASHINGTON

The moment has come for the President of the United States to step up to his obligation to form and articulate American foreign policy in the wake of the death of Communism and the breakup of the Soviet Union. The forum is the U.N. session opening this week in New York.

The need for a substantive speech, now scheduled for Monday Sept. 23, is all the more pressing because his last attempt — his dismaying "Chicken Kiev" speech in Ukraine on Aug. 1 — betrayed a misconceptual framework. That was the first address by a U.S. President that had to be followed by an op-ed article by his national security adviser to explain that what he said was not what he meant.

It came with ill grace for Mr. Bush to implicitly derogate his Presidential predecessors from Truman to Reagan, who waged and won the cold war, for having engaged Soviet leaders "in duels of eloquent bluff and bravado."

Worse was his dire warning to the peoples of Ukraine, the Baltics and other republics seeking independence from central Moscow rule that "Americans will not support those who seek independence in order to replace a far-off tyranny with a local despotism. They will not aid those who promote a suicidal nationalism based upon ethnic hatred."

That was to shore up the Gorbachev Communist centralizers against the likes of the Yeltsin separatists. Though Brent Scowcroft later insisted no pro-union purpose was intended, the plain truth was emphasized in another line: "America's first system of government — the Continental Congress — failed because the states were too suspicious of one another and the central government too weak to protect commerce and individual rights."

Came the putsch and its counter-coup, and the restive republics scrapped the centralism to create just the sort of loose articles of confederation Mr. Bush had instructed them were such a failure in our experience.

Small wonder Secretary of State Baker received such a lukewarm reception in the Baltic republics the other day: (The U.S., shamefully, was 36th to recognize their freedom, just after Mongolia.) The people knew their independence came despite the Bush Administration's historically wrong-headed support of Moscow central.

O.K., so the Bush foreign policy zigged while the world zagged, and the U.S. found itself sadly mispositioned on the central issue of our

time. That was last month. This is now; time to abandon the old New World Order based on a Gemini hegemony and to set forward the new New World Order based on a high-flying eagle and a multipolar bear.

Can President Bush come up with a conceptual framework in the short time remaining? Yes, if he stops his frenetic travel and lectern-pounding to focus on his U.N. speech.

For openers, quote President Benjamin Harrison, who said in 1888: "We have no commission from God to police the world." Propose to intervene only to protect vital interests, as when an aggressor builds or buys nuclear weaponry. Invite world par-

Moment for his big speech.

ticipation in our space shield to safeguard everyone from nuclear blackmail or accidental missile launch.

State our intent to increase the momentum for freedom around the world, helping those who root out the Communists still lying in the weeds, creating financial magnets and laws to attract free-enterprise investments. Promise to use our economic retaliatory power to break tariff barriers and crush cartels.

Show how we will provide humanitarian aid in the spirit of our past generosity, expecting our prosperous trading partners to do the same, remembering that help toward self-help is the best help — no Marshall Plans or grandiose designs, especially when assets are wasted on standing armies and legions of spies.

A week is plenty of time to create the "Bush Doctrine." No State Department Pablum; no 15-minute package claiming leadership without being leaderly; no historic mistakes that call for op-ed clarification.

Take yellow pad in hand, Mr. President, and show how America intends to participate in, rather than continue to observe, the sweep of history in the run-up to the millennium. By rising to this intellectual challenge, you will earn the world's attention at your next great forum, in Hawaii three months from now: aboard the battleship Missouri on the 50th anniversary of the attack on Pearl Harbor.

Mr. Mo's Kenya, we cans will decide not to travel there image. And we hope, too, that Ameri- We hope to see greater press cover- tial to progress in human rights. We believe that such aid should be ports. After what we have witnessed, visit on safari, the one U.S. aid sup- books and films as "Out of Africa," the country romanticized in such and brutal place. It is a far cry from The Kenya we visited was a grim go. ings — 10 U.S. dollars — they let us- when, for a bribe of 300 Kenyan shil- about to be taken inside and detained- waved a U.S. passport. Still we were. We tried to explain who we were. We Nevertheless, there were the guns. against driving by his house. we later verified, there is no law miserable slum we meant to visit. As which is a stone's throw from the in front of President Moi's home, Though we didn't know it, we were guards, one of whom cocked his rifle. ourselves face to face with uniformed turned down a shady road and found town on the outskirts of Nairobi, we

had no good at Kuwait in illigent and dam Hussein the intelligence community to ad- Does Robert Gates have the vision support democratic change he ahead. our security and new opportunities to and nuclear intensified its the cold war and the Persian Gulf by the unexpectedly early endings of We have been pleasantly surprised fitness to serve. question his candor and commitment rized under the law, I would seriously activities in this regard were autho- r or maintain. Indeed, unless all his- ments but also connections that were official relationships between govern- These ties include not just direct, also needs to be examined critically. the Iran-contra scandal, his involve- ment in U.S. ties with Iraq since 1985 In addition to Mr. Gates's role guidance. not a reliable substitute for as- terent. Enemy stupidity, however, an effective chemical or nuclear prematurely, before he had acc- dam Hussein had provoked the catastrophe, but only because this failure of intelligence was threat ted?



UNETH:

Age of Peace, Responsibility: Liberty as luxury

Age of Liberation

Diversity in uniformity

For Americans - no; for here - yes

Waters of past ages: imperialism, colonial, etc. replaced by the ~~new~~ diverse strivings

Example - not free - govern!

Entering new world

no money; engagement

GAII

no biology - reconciliation - Zionism

The global challenge of nation ism

II

The Challenge of Peace

Ideology has given way to striving for identity
imperialism cart aside for nationalisms

The Challenge of Prosperity

adts, etc. - labor gates

The Necessity of Liberty

Method

promoted

secured by war - sold for post

power in people
w/gov. orgs.



① stupid VN debates, resolutions - Joe

② Dan Hamner skidd - Senator

③ Bob: world growth stats;
comcon vs U.S., EC.
4 Tiffers

④ ~~Senator - VN peacekeeping missions -
FF, by year~~



Topics

Terrorism

SDI: common defense

What the core institutions: family, religion
role of values



ABOARD AIR FORCE ONE

4) what to do?

- (1) GATT
- (2) values, etc - Zionism
- (3) ind. as unit

V)

death of Newspark
end of Apocalypse



ABOARD AIR FORCE ONE

Stinner - Dalores Hope

Tax back Seymour

Dawz - call Chris Dee

divided. The older men said I was right, the younger men said it was a damn shame to shoot an elephant for killing a coolie, because an elephant was worth more than any damn Coringhee coolie. And afterwards I was very glad that the coolie had been killed; it put me legally in the right and it gave me a sufficient pretext for shooting the elephant. I often wondered whether any of the others grasped that I had done it solely to avoid looking a fool.

[1936]

Politics and the English Language

MOST people who bother with the matter at all would admit that the English language is in a bad way, but it is generally assumed that we cannot by conscious action do anything about it. Our civilization is decadent and our language—so the argument runs—must inevitably share in the general collapse. It follows that any struggle against the abuse of language is a sentimental archaism, like preferring candles to electric light or hansom cabs to aeroplanes. Underneath this lies the half-conscious belief that language is a natural growth and not an instrument which we shape for our own purposes.

Now, it is clear that the decline of a language must ultimately have political and economic causes: it is not due simply to the bad influence of this or that individual writer. But an effect can become a cause, reinforcing the original cause and producing the same effect in an intensified form, and so on indefinitely. A man may take to drink because he feels himself to be a failure, and then fail all the more completely because he drinks. It is rather the same thing that is happening to the English

language. It becomes ugly and inaccurate because our thoughts are foolish, but the slovenliness of our language makes it easier for us to have foolish thoughts. The point is that the process is reversible. Modern English, especially written English, is full of bad habits which spread by imitation and which can be avoided if one is willing to take the necessary trouble. If one gets rid of these habits one can think more clearly, and to think clearly is a necessary first step towards political regeneration; so that the fight against bad English is not frivolous and is not the exclusive concern of professional writers. I will come back to this presently, and I hope that by that time the meaning of what I have said here will have become clearer. Meanwhile, here are five specimens of the English language as it is now habitually written.

These five passages have not been picked out because they are especially bad—I could have quoted far worse if I had chosen—but because they illustrate various of the mental vices from which we now suffer. They are a little below the average, but are fairly representative samples. I number them so that I can refer back to them when necessary:

(1) I am not, indeed, sure whether it is not true to say that the Milton who once seemed not unlike a seventeenth-century Shelley had not become, out of an experience ever more bitter in each year, more alien [*sic*] to the founder of that Jesuit sect which nothing could induce him to tolerate.

Professor Harold Laski

(*Essay in Freedom of Expression*).

(2) Above all, we cannot play ducks and drakes with a native battery of idioms which prescribes such egregious collocations of vocables as the Basic put up with for tolerate or put at a loss for bewilder.

Professor Laurelot Hogbea (*Interglossa*).

(3) On the one side we have the free personality: by definition it is not neurotic, for it has neither conflict nor dream. Its desires, such as they are, are transparent, for they are just what institutional approval keeps in the forefront of consciousness; another institutional pattern would alter their

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number and intensity; there is little in them that is natural, irreducible, or culturally dangerous. But on the other side, the social bond itself is nothing but the mutual reflection of these self-secure integrities. Recall the definition of love. Is not this the very picture of a small academic? Where is there a place in this hall of mirrors for either personality or fraternity?

Essay on psychology in *Politics* (New York).

(4) All the "best people" from the gentlemen's clubs, and all the frantic faceted captains, united in common hatred of Socialism and bestial horror of the rising tide of the mass revolutionary movement, have turned to acts of prosecution, to foul incantations, to medieval legends of poisoned wells, to legalize their own destruction of proletarian organizations, and rouse the agitated petty-bourgeoisie to chauvinistic fervor on behalf of the fight against the revolutionary way out of the crisis.

Communist pamphlet.

(5) If a new spirit is to be infused into this old country, there is one thorny and contentious reform which must be tackled, and that is the humanization and galvanization of the B.M.C. Timidly here will bespeak canker and atrophy of the soul. The heart of Britain may be soiled and of strong beat, for instance, but the British Lion's roar at present is like that of Bottom in Shakespeare's *A Midsummer Night's Dream*—as gentle as any sucking dove. A virile new Britain cannot continue indefinitely to be traduced in the eyes, or rather ears, of the world by the effete language of Langham Place, brazenly masquerading as "standard English." When the Voice of Britain is heard at nine o'clock, better far and infinitely less indigestible to hear sitches honestly dropped than the present priggish, inflated, inhibited, school-ma'amish arch braying of blameless bushful mewing maidens!

Letter in *Tribune*

Each of these passages has faults of its own, but, quite apart from avoidable ugliness, two qualities are common to all of them. The first is staleness of imagery; the other is lack of precision. The writer either has a meaning and cannot express it, or he inadvertently says something else, or he is almost indifferent as to whether his words mean anything or not.

This mixture of vagueness and sheer incompetence is the most marked characteristic of modern English prose, and especially of any kind of political writing. As soon as certain topics are raised, the concrete melts into the abstract and no one seems able to think of turns of speech that are not hackneyed: prose consists less and less of words chosen for the sake of their meaning, and more and more of phrases tacked together like the sections of a prefabricated hen-house. I list below, with notes and examples, various of the tricks by means of which the work of prose-construction is habitually dodged:

DYING METAPHORS. A newly invented metaphor assists thought by evoking a visual image, while on the other hand a metaphor which is technically "dead" (e.g. *iron resolution*) has in effect reverted to being an ordinary word and can generally be used without loss of vividness. But in between these two classes there is a huge dump of worn-out metaphors which have lost all evocative power and are merely used because they save people the trouble of inventing phrases for themselves. Examples are: *Ring the changes on, take up the cudgels for, toe the line, ride roughshod over, stand shoulder to shoulder with, ply into the hands of, no axe to grind, grist to the mill, fishing in troubled waters, on the order of the day, Achilles' heel, swan song, hotbed.* Many of these are used without knowledge of their meaning (what is a "rift," for instance?), and incompatible metaphors are frequently mixed, a sure sign that the writer is not interested in what he is saying. Some metaphors now current have been twisted out of their original meaning without those who use them even being aware of the fact. For example, *toe the line* is sometimes written *to the line*. Another example is *the hammer and the anvil*, now always used with the implication that the anvil gets the worst of it. In real life it is always the anvil that breaks the hammer, never the other way about: a writer who stopped to think what he was saying would be aware of this, and would avoid perverting the original phrase.

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OPERATORS OF VERBAL FALSE LIMBS. These save the trouble of picking out appropriate verbs and nouns, and at the same time pad each sentence with extra syllables which give it an appearance of symmetry. Characteristic phrases are *render inoperative*, *militate against*, *make contact with*, *be subjected to*, *give rise to*, *give grounds for*, *have the effect of*, *play a leading part (role) in*, *make itself felt*, *take effect*, *exhibit a tendency to*, *serve the purpose of*, etc., etc. The keynote is the elimination of simple verbs. Instead of being a single word, such as *break*, *stop*, *spoil*, *mend*, *kill*, a verb becomes a *phrase*, made up of a noun or adjective tacked on to some general-purpose verb such as *prove*, *serve*, *form*, *play*, *render*. In addition, the passive voice is wherever possible used in preference to the active, and noun constructions are used instead of gerunds (*by examination of* instead of *by examining*). The range of verbs is further cut down by means of the *-ize* and *de-*formations, and the banal statements are given an appearance of profundity by means of the *not un-*formation. Simple conjunctions and prepositions are replaced by such phrases as *with respect to*, *having regard to*, *the fact that*, *by dint of*, *in view of*, *in the interests of*, *on the hypothesis that*; and the ends of sentences are saved from anticlimax by such resounding commonplaces as *greatly to be desired*, *cannot be left out of account*, *a development to be expected in the near future*, *deserving of serious consideration*, *brought to a satisfactory conclusion*, and so on and so forth.

PRETENTIOUS DACTION. Words like *phenomenon*, *element*, *individual* (as noun), *objective*, *categorical*, *effective*, *virtual*, *basic*, *primary*, *promote*, *consult*, *exhibits*, *exploits*, *utilize*, *eliminate*, *liquidate* are used to dress up simple statement and give an air of scientific impartiality to biased judgments. Adjectives like *epoch-making*, *epic*, *historic*, *unforgettable*, *triumphant*, *age-old*, *inevitable*, *inexorable*, *veritable*, are used to dignify the sordid processes of international politics, while writing that aims at glorifying war usually takes on an archaic color, its characteristic words being:

realm, *throne*, *chariot*, *mailed fist*, *trident*, *sword*, *shield*, *buckler*, *banner*, *juckboot*, *claron*. Foreign words and expressions such as *cul de sac*, *ancien régime*, *deus ex machina*, *mutatis mutandis*, *status quo*, *gleichschaltung*, *weltanschauung*, are used to give an air of culture and elegance. Except for the useful abbreviations *i.e.*, *e.g.*, and *etc.*, there is no real need for any of the hundreds of foreign phrases now current in English. Bad writers, and especially scientific, political and sociological writers, are nearly always haunted by the notion that Latin or Greek words are grander than Saxon ones, and unnecessary words like *expedite*, *ameliorate*, *predict*, *extraneous*, *deracinated*, *clandestine*, *subaqueous* and hundreds of others constantly gain ground from their Anglo-Saxon opposite numbers.¹ The jargon peculiar to Marxist writing (*hyena*, *hangman*, *cannibal*, *petty bourgeois*, *these gentry*, *lacquy*, *stunkey*, *mad dog*, *White Guard*, etc.) consists largely of words and phrases translated from Russian, German or French; but the normal way of coining a new word is to use a Latin or Greek root with the appropriate affix and, where necessary, the *-ize* formation. It is often easier to make up words of this kind (*deregionalize*, *impermissible*, *extramarital*, *non-fragmentary* and so forth) than to think up the English words that will cover one's meaning. The result, in general, is an increase in slovenliness and vagueness.

MEANINGLESS WORDS. In certain kinds of writing, particularly in art criticism and literary criticism, it is normal to come across long passages which are almost completely lacking in meaning.² Words like *romantic*, *plac-*

¹ An interesting illustration of this is the way in which the English flower names which were in use till very recently are being ousted by Greek ones, *snapsdragon* becoming *antirrhinum*, *forget-me-not* becoming *myosotis*, etc. It is hard to see any practical reason for this change of fashion: it is probably due to an instinctive turning-away from the more homely word and a vague feeling that the Greek word is scientific.

² Example: "Comfort's catholicity of perception and image, strangely Whitmanesque in range, almost the exact opposite

tic, values, human, dead, sentimental, natural, vitality, as used in art criticism, are strictly meaningless, in the sense that they not only do not point to any discoverable object, but are hardly ever expected to do so by the reader. When one critic writes, "The outstanding feature of Mr. X's work is its living quality," while another writes, "The immediately striking thing about Mr. X's work is its peculiar deadness," the reader accepts this as a simple difference of opinion. If words like *black* and *white* were involved, instead of the jargon words *dead* and *living*, he would see at once that language was being used in an improper way. Many political words are similarly abused. The word *Fascism* has now no meaning except in so far as it signifies "something not desirable." The words *democracy*, *socialism*, *freedom*, *patriotic*, *realistic*, *justice*, have each of them several different meanings which cannot be reconciled with one another. In the case of a word like *democracy*, not only is there no agreed definition, but the attempt to make one is resisted from all sides. It is almost universally felt that when we call a country democratic we are praising it: consequently the defenders of every kind of régime claim that it is a democracy, and fear that they might have to stop using the word if it were tied down to any one meaning. Words of this kind are often used in a consciously dishonest way. That is, the person who uses them has his own private definition, but allows his hearer to think he means something quite different. Statements like *Marshal Pétain was a true patriot*, *The Soviet Press is the freest in the world*, *The Catholic Church is opposed to persecution*, are almost always made with intent to deceive. Other words used in variable meanings, in most cases more or less dishonestly, are: *class*, *totalitarian*, *science*, *progressive*, *reactionary*, *bourgeois*, *equality*.

in aesthetic compulsion, continues to evoke that trembling atmospheric accumulative hinting at a cruel, an inexorably serene timelessness. . . . Wrey Gardiner scores by aiming at simple bull's-eyes with precision. Only they are not so simple, and through this contented sadness runs more than the surface bitter-sweet of resignation." (*Poetry Quarterly*.)

Now that I have made this catalogue of swindles and perversions, let me give another example of the kind of writing that they lead to. This time it must of its nature be an imaginary one. I am going to translate a passage of good English into modern English of the worst sort. Here is a well-known verse from *Ecclesiastes*:

I returned and saw under the sun, that the race is not to the swift, nor the battle to the strong, neither yet bread to the wise, nor yet riches to men of understanding, nor yet favour to men of skill; but time and chance happeneth to them all.

Here it is in modern English:

Objective consideration of contemporary phenomena compels the conclusion that success or failure in competitive activities exhibits no tendency to be commensurate with innate capacity, but that a considerable element of the unpredictable must invariably be taken into account.

This is a parody, but not a very gross one. Exhibit (3), above, for instance, contains several patches of the same kind of English. It will be seen that I have not made a full translation. The beginning and ending of the sentence follow the original meaning fairly closely, but in the middle the concrete illustrations—race, battle, bread—dissolve into the vague phrase "success or failure in competitive activities." This had to be so, because no modern writer of the kind I am discussing—no one capable of using phrases like "objective consideration of contemporary phenomena"—would ever tabulate his thoughts in that precise and detailed way. The whole tendency of modern prose is away from concreteness. Now analyse these two sentences a little more closely. The first contains forty-nine words but only sixty syllables, and all its words are those of everyday life. The second contains thirty-eight words of ninety syllables: eighteen of its words are from Latin roots, and one from Greek. The first sentence contains six vivid images, and only one phrase ("time and chance") that could be called vague. The second contains not a single fresh, arresting phrase, and in spite of its ninety

syllables it gives only a shortened version of the meaning contained in the first. Yet without a doubt it is the second kind of sentence that is gaining ground in modern English. I do not want to exaggerate. This kind of writing is not yet universal, and outcrops of simplicity will occur here and there in the worst-written page. Still, if you or I were told to write a few lines on the uncertainty of human fortunes, we should probably come much nearer to my imaginary sentence than to the one from *Ecclesiastes*.

As I have tried to show, modern writing at its worst does not consist in picking out words for the sake of their meaning and inventing images in order to make the meaning clearer. It consists in gumming together long strips of words which have already been set in order by someone else, and making the results presentable by sheer humbug. The attraction of this way of writing is that it is easy. It is easier—even quicker, once you have the habit—to say *In my opinion it is not an unjustifiable assumption that* than to say *I think*. If you use readymade phrases, you not only don't have to hunt about for words; you also don't have to bother with the rhythms of your sentences, since these phrases are generally so arranged as to be more or less euphonious. When you are composing in a hurry—when you are dictating to a stenographer, for instance, or making a public speech—it is natural to fall into a pretentious, Latinized style. Tags like *a consideration which we should do well to bear in mind* or *a conclusion to which all of us would readily assent* will save many a sentence from coming down with a bump. By using stale metaphors, similes and idioms, you save much mental effort, at the cost of leaving your meaning vague, not only for your reader but for yourself. This is the significance of mixed metaphors. The sole aim of a metaphor is to call up a visual image. When these images clash—as in *The Fascist octopus has sung its swan song, the jackboot is thrown into the melting pot*—it can be taken as certain that the writer is not seeing a mental image of the objects he is naming; in other words he is not really

thinking. Look again at the examples I gave at the beginning of this essay. Professor Laski (1) uses five negatives in fifty-three words. One of these is superfluous, making nonsense of the whole passage, and in addition there is the slip *alien* for *akin*, making further nonsense, and several avoidable pieces of clumsiness which increase the general vagueness. Professor Hogben (2) plays ducks and drakes with a battery which is able to write prescriptions, and, while disapproving of the everyday phrase *put up with*, is unwilling to look *egregious* up in the dictionary and see what it means; (3), if one takes an uncharitable attitude towards it, is simply meaningless: probably one could work out its intended meaning by reading the whole of the article in which it occurs. In (4), the writer knows more or less what he wants to say, but an accumulation of stale phrases chokes him like tea leaves blocking a sink. In (5), words and meaning have almost parted company. People who write in this manner usually have a general emotional meaning—they dislike one thing and want to express solidarity with another—but they are not interested in the detail of what they are saying. A scrupulous writer, in every sentence that he writes, will ask himself at least four questions, thus: What am I trying to say? What words will express it? What image or idiom will make it clearer? Is this image fresh enough to have an effect? And he will probably ask himself two more: Could I put it more shortly? Have I said anything that is avoidably ugly? But you are not obliged to go to all this trouble. You can shirk it by simply throwing your mind open and letting the ready-made phrases come crowding in. They will construct your sentences for you—even think your thoughts for you, to a certain extent—and at need they will perform the important service of partially concealing your meaning even from yourself. It is at this point that the special connection between politics and the debasement of language becomes clear.

In our time it is broadly true that political writing is bad writing. Where it is not true, it will generally be found that the writer is some kind of rebel, expressing

his private opinions and not a "party line." Orthodoxy, of whatever color, seems to demand a lifeless, imitative style. The political dialects to be found in pamphlets, leading articles, manifestos, White Papers and the speeches of under-secretaries do, of course, vary from party to party, but they are all alike in that one almost never finds in them a fresh, vivid, home-made turn of speech. When one watches some tired hack on the platform mechanically repeating the familiar phrases—*bestial atrocities, iron heel, bloodstained tyranny, free peoples of the world, stand shoulder to shoulder*—one often has a curious feeling that one is not watching a live human being but some kind of dummy: a feeling which suddenly becomes stronger at moments when the light catches the speaker's spectacles and turns them into blank discs which seem to have no eyes behind them. And this is not altogether fanciful. A speaker who uses that kind of phraseology has gone some distance towards turning himself into a machine. The appropriate noises are coming out of his larynx, but his brain is not involved as it would be if he were choosing his words for himself. If the speech he is making is one that he is accustomed to make over and over again, he may be almost unconscious of what he is saying, as one is when one utters the responses in church. And this reduced state of consciousness, if not indispensable, is at any rate favorable to political conformity.

In our time, political speech and writing are largely the defence of the indefensible. Things like the continuance of British rule in India, the Russian purges and deportations, the dropping of the atom bombs on Japan, can indeed be defended, but only by arguments which are too brutal for most people to face, and which do not square with the professed aims of political parties. Thus political language has to consist largely of euphemism, question-begging and sheer cloudy vagueness. Defenceless villages are bombarded from the air, the inhabitants driven out into the countryside, the cattle machine-gunned, the huts set on fire with incendiary bullets: this is called *pacification*. Millions of peasants

are robbed of their farms and sent trudging along the roads with no more than they can carry: this is called *transfer of population* or *rectification of frontiers*. People are imprisoned for years without trial, or shot in the back of the neck or sent to die of scurvy in Arctic lumber camps: this is called *elimination of unreliable elements*. Such phraseology is needed if one wants to name things without calling up mental pictures of them. Consider for instance some comfortable English professor defending Russian totalitarianism. He cannot say outright, "I believe in killing off your opponents when you can get good results by doing so." Probably, therefore, he will say something like this:

While freely conceding that the Soviet régime exhibits certain features which the humanitarian may be inclined to deplore, we must, I think, agree that a certain curtailment of the right to political opposition is an unavoidable concomitant of transitional periods, and that the rigors which the Russian people have been called upon to undergo have been amply justified in the sphere of concrete achievement.

The inflated style is itself a kind of euphemism. A mass of Latin words falls upon the facts like soft snow, blurring the outlines and covering up all the details. The great enemy of clear language is insincerity. When there is a gap between one's real and one's declared aims, one turns as it were instinctively to long words and exhausted idioms, like a cuttlefish squirting out ink. In our age there is no such thing as "keeping out of politics." All issues are political issues, and politics itself is a mass of lies, evasions, folly, hatred and schizophrenia. When the general atmosphere is bad, language must suffer. I should expect to find—this is a guess which I have not sufficient knowledge to verify—that the German, Russian and Italian languages have all deteriorated in the last ten or fifteen years, as a result of dictatorship.

But if thought corrupts language, language can also corrupt thought. A bad usage can spread by tradition and imitation, even among people who should and do know better. The debased language that I have been discussing is in some ways very convenient. Phrases like

a not unjustifiable assumption, leaves much to be desired, would serve no good purpose, a consideration which we should do well to bear in mind, are a continuous temptation, a packet of aspirins always at one's elbow. Look back through this essay, and for certain you will find that I have again and again committed the very faults I am protesting against. By this morning's post I have received a pamphlet dealing with conditions in Germany. The author tells me that he "felt impelled" to write it. I open it at random, and here is almost the first sentence that I see: "[The Allies] have an opportunity not only of achieving a radical transformation of Germany's social and political structure in such a way as to avoid a nationalistic reaction in Germany itself, but at the same time of laying the foundation of a co-operative and unified Europe." You see, he "feels impelled" to write—feels, presumably, that he has something new to say—and yet his words, like cavalry horses answering the bugle, group themselves automatically into the familiar dreary pattern. This invasion of one's mind by ready-made phrases (*lay the foundations, achieve a radical transformation*) can only be prevented if one is constantly on guard against them, and every such phrase anaesthetizes a portion of one's brain.

I said earlier that the decadence of our language is probably curable. Those who deny this would argue, if they produced an argument at all, that language merely reflects existing social conditions, and that we cannot influence its development by any direct tinkering with words and constructions. So far as the general tone or spirit of a language goes, this may be true, but it is not true in detail. Silly words and expressions have often disappeared, not through any evolutionary process but owing to the conscious action of a minority. Two recent examples were *explore every avenue* and *leave no stone unturned*, which were killed by the jeers of a few journalists. There is a long list of flyblown metaphors which could similarly be got rid of if enough people would interest themselves in the job; and it should also be possi-

ble to laugh the *not un-*formation out of existence,² to reduce the amount of Latin and Greek in the average sentence, to drive out foreign phrases and strayed scientific words, and, in general, to make pretentiousness unfashionable. But all these are minor points. The defence of the English language implies more than this, and perhaps it is best to start by saying what it does *not* imply.

To begin with it has nothing to do with archaism, with the salvaging of obsolete words and turns of speech, or with the setting up of a "standard English" which must never be departed from. On the contrary, it is especially concerned with the scrapping of every word or idiom which has outworn its usefulness. It has nothing to do with correct grammar and syntax, which are of no importance so long as one makes one's meaning clear, or with the avoidance of Americanisms, or with having what is called a "good prose style." On the other hand it is not concerned with fake simplicity and the attempt to make written English colloquial. Nor does it even imply in every case preferring the Saxon word to the Latin one, though it does imply using the fewest and shortest words that will cover one's meaning. What is above all needed is to let the meaning choose the word, and not the other way about. In prose, the worst thing one can do with words is to surrender to them. When you think of a concrete object, you think wordlessly, and then, if you want to describe the thing you have been visualizing you probably hunt about till you find the exact words that seem to fit it. When you think of something abstract you are more inclined to use words from the start, and unless you make a conscious effort to prevent it, the existing dialect will come rushing in and do the job for you, at the expense of blurring or even changing your meaning. Probably it is better to put off using words as long as possible and get one's meaning as clear as one can through pictures or

²One can cure oneself of the *not un-*formation by memorizing this sentence: *A not unblack dog was chasing a not unsmall rabbit across a not ungreen field.*

sensations. Afterwards one can choose—not simply accept—the phrases that will best cover the meaning, and then switch round and decide what impression one's words are likely to make on another person. This last effort of the mind cuts out all stale or mixed images, all prefabricated phrases, needless repetitions, and humbug and vagueness generally. But one can often be in doubt about the effect of a word or a phrase, and one needs rules that one can rely on when instinct fails. I think the following rules will cover most cases:

- (i) Never use a metaphor, simile or other figure of speech which you are used to seeing in print.
- (ii) Never use a long word where a short one will do.
- (iii) If it is possible to cut a word out, always cut it out.
- (iv) Never use the passive where you can use the active.
- (v) Never use a foreign phrase, a scientific word or a jargon word if you can think of an everyday English equivalent.
- (vi) Break any of these rules sooner than say anything outright barbarous.

These rules sound elementary, and so they are, but they demand a deep change in attitude in anyone who has grown used to writing in the style now fashionable. One could keep all of them and still write bad English, but one could not write the kind of stuff that I quoted in those five specimens at the beginning of this article.

I have not here been considering the literary use of language, but merely language as an instrument for expressing and not for concealing or preventing thought. Stuart Chase and others have come near to claiming that all abstract words are meaningless, and have used this as a pretext for advocating a kind of political quietism. Since you don't know what Fascism is, how can you struggle against Fascism? One need not swallow such absurdities as this, but one ought to recognize that the present political chaos is connected with the decay of language, and that one can probably bring about some improvement by starting at the verbal end. If you simplify your English, you are freed from the worst

follies of orthodoxy. You cannot speak any of the necessary dialects, and when you make a stupid remark its stupidity will be obvious, even to yourself. Political language—and with variations this is true of all political parties, from Conservatives to Anarchists—is designed to make lies sound truthful and murder respectable and to give an appearance of solidity to pure wind. One cannot change this all in a moment, but one can at least change one's own habits, and from time to time one can even, if one jeers loudly enough, send some worn-out and useless phrase—some *jackboot*, *Achilles' heel*, *hot-bed*, *melting pot*, *acid test*, *veritable inferno* or other lump of verbal refuse—into the dustbin where it belongs.

[1946]

Reflections on Gandhi

SAINTS should always be judged guilty until they are proved innocent, but the tests that have to be applied to them are not, of course, the same in all cases. In Gandhi's case the questions one feels inclined to ask are: to what extent was Gandhi moved by vanity—by the consciousness of himself as a humble, naked old man, sitting on a praying mat and shaking empires by sheer spiritual power—and to what extent did he compromise his own principles by entering politics, which of their nature are inseparable from coercion and fraud? To give a definite answer one would have to study Gandhi's acts and writings in immense detail, for his whole life was a sort of pilgrimage in which every act was significant. But this partial autobiography,¹ which ends in the nineteen-twenties, is strong evidence in his favor, all the more because it covers what he would have called the unregenerate part of his life and reminds one that inside

¹ *The Story of My Experiments with Truth*. By M. K. Gandhi. Translated from the Gujarati by Mahadev Desai. Public Affairs Press.

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Grossman, Simon, Bunton
UN.TS
September 20, 1991
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PRESIDENTIAL ADDRESS: THE UNITED NATIONS GENERAL ASSEMBLY
UNITED NATIONS GENERAL ASSEMBLY HALL
MONDAY, SEPTEMBER 23, 1991
11 A.M.

[Introductory acknowledgments: incoming president: Mr. Shihabi; outgoing president, Mr. de Marco; Secretary General Perez de Cuellar. PERSONAL REMINISCENCES]

Today I plan to deliver a different kind of address than you have heard from a President of the United States. I do not plan to dwell on a superpower rivalry that defined international politics for a half century, although I will discuss it for a moment, because it provides a foundation for my main topic: The new world that faces us all.

For nearly 50 years, world affairs revolved around a conflict between the free world -- the United States and other democracies -- and the communist world -- principally, the Soviet Union. Many wars, many debates, many events reflected the competition between two ideologies: communism, which asserted the primacy of governments over individuals; and democratic capitalism, which declared that governments derive their just rights from the people they serve.

At its core, the competition between ideologies hinged upon one crucial question: Do people have inalienable rights? Can higher principles establish limits upon state power?

Well, I look around this room and I see the answers. Today, a single delegation represents the people of Germany; two delegations represent Korea; the republics of Estonia, Latvia and Lithuania all send their own delegations. Just one week ago, 159 nations enjoyed membership in the U.N. Today, the number stands at 166. Seven nations in one week -- in fact, all joined in one day: That's extraordinary. This burst in membership illustrates the determination of people around the world to enjoy the rights due them simply because they are human beings.

We have entered a new era of individual rights. The changes around the world hail a new age of liberty.

I look back upon the past year, and I also see the makings of a new era of peace. Less than a year ago, the Soviet Union joined the United States and a host of other nations in defending a tiny country against aggression -- and opposing Saddam Hussein. For the very first time, superpower competition took a back seat to international cooperation.

At that moment, the Cold War truly drew to an end. The United Nations, in one of its finest moments, constructed a measured, principled, deliberate and courageous response to Saddam Hussein. This body stood up to an outlaw who threatened not just Kuwait, but many states within the region. In so doing, the United Nations itself may have thrown off the shackles of the Cold War.

Now, for the very first time, a world of promise has begun to take shape -- like mountains emerging at dawn's first light.

In this world, nations take seriously the United Nations Charter and the Universal Declaration of Human Rights. These documents, signed in moments of high hope, once again can united and inspire people of all nations, faiths and creeds.

Think about it: In the long history of the United Nations, superpower competition rendered hopeless the charter's determination "to save succeeding generations from the scourge of war...to reaffirm faith in fundamental human rights, in the dignity and worth of the human person, in the equal rights of men and women and nations large and small ... to promote social progress and better standards of life in larger freedom."

For many in this room, and for many of the nations that belong to this body, "larger freedom" did not exist during the Cold War. Totalitarian regimes cared less about observing individual rights than about forcing the masses to conform to a planner's vision of a perfect society. The totalitarian state tossed individuals about, murdered and tortured doubters, hurled troublemakers into labor camps or sent them away to distant settlements -- all to silence men and women who tried to point out that the theory of communism made no sense. It enforced ignorance and want upon people. It smothered their talents and virtues. It imprisoned whole nations.

It survived as long as it did because it promised the impossible. As Jeane Kirkpatrick, a former ambassador to the United Nations, notes: Communism offered up a world view that was

universal, teleological, final, comprehensive, moral -- and unifying: It promised an end to alienation.

It promised everything, and for years people reached out in the vain hope that it could deliver everything for everyone.

The communist ideal fell when people saw that freedom -- true freedom; an uncertain, risky, responsibility fraught freedom -- works. When they no longer could ignore the failures of their governments and their economies, they rose up and shouted defiantly: We are people! Treat us with dignity! Understand that your power flows from us! In one of history's rich ironies, so-called Peoples' republics fell victim to the people.

Many of us watched in amazement as the Berlin Wall came tumbling down; as the old Warsaw Pact nations emerged from their long dark confinement into the bright light and bracing air of freedom. Some of us also wept with joy as kinsmen threw off their chains, unfurled their flags, celebrated the cultures that they had struggled so long -- and at such great personal peril -- to keep alive, and preserved the common bonds that gave them strength, courage, and hope that the forces of freedom eventually would prevail over the minions of tyranny. The whole world celebrated as the sudden release of nations that for so many years had been held captive.

But communism also made a captive of history. It suspended ancient disputes; it subordinated ethnic rivalries and nationalist aspirations.

As totalitarian masters relaxed their grip on their victims, and as individuals began again to taste their rightful freedom, old animosities raced to the surface; old hatreds reasserted themselves; and in the tumultuous aftermath of communism's collapse, people who for years had been denied their past and future began searching for their own identities.

That struggle has unleashed warfare between Croatians and Serbians; Armenians and Azerbaijanis; Kurds and Iraqis -- each battle merely picking up hatreds that have festered for generations.

You see signs of this tumult everywhere, including here. The United Nations has organized but four peacekeeping missions during its first 43 years; it has mounted nine missions in the past 36 months. Although we now seem mercifully liberated from the fear of nuclear holocaust, we face new threats in the form of smaller, but nonetheless virulent conflicts.

Communism also shattered fundamental social institutions: the family, the community; the place of worship. We must restore these institutions in our own quest for a New World Order -- and order characterized by the rule of law, rather than the resort to force; the cooperative settlement of disputes, rather than the anarchic warfare.

We must face this challenge squarely: First, by suing for the peaceful resolutions of disputes now in progress; second, and more importantly, by trying to prevent others from erupting.

No one here can promise that today's borders will remain fixed for all time: They won't. We must strive instead to ensure that people resolve border disputes peacefully, and that any new nations that might join our community will arrive peacefully, and not after years of bloody savagery.

We can start preventing new hostilities by defending the inalienable rights outlined in the UN's founding documents: individual liberties, rights to property, and the protection of minority rights. If people cannot speak their minds; if they cannot form political parties freely and elect governments without coercion; if they cannot practice their religion freely; if they cannot raise their families in peace; if they cannot enjoy a just return from their labor; if they cannot live fruitful lives and, at the end of their days, look upon their achievements and their society's progress with pride -- if these simple conditions for the good life do not exist, tempers will flare and bullets will fly. Governments that fail to carry out their primary responsibility -- protecting the freedoms that enable people to live good lives -- will fall in favor of systems that do.

In the years to come, we will face the challenge of reconciling people's yearnings for freedom and identity with the need to live in a peaceful world. We must nurture feelings people's sense of identity without shredding the fabric of international society and without inciting the kind of bloody

factionalism that led to our first world war -- and ultimately, perhaps, to the Cold War.

For the people in this room, the challenge is simple: Honor the commitments we have made by signing the United Nations Charter and the Universal Declaration of Human Rights.

[[This chamber in past years has made a mockery of its founding document by distorting the meaning of such simple terms as "liberty" and "democracy."

The New World Information and Communications Order and the New World Economic Order enjoyed great currency here not too many years ago. Both crusades mocked the principles upon which this organization was founded. They promoted equality, by which they meant an especially virulent form of envy. They ignored the human striving to create lasting things; the human thirst for sensible risk. It sought, under cover of lofty rhetoric, to replace the natural human impulse for production and self-expression with the corrosive striving to seize wealth from one party and give it to another.

George Orwell once derided this dishonest rhetoric by noting, "The words democracy, socialism, freedom, patriotic, realistic, justice have each of them several different meanings which cannot be reconciled with one another....Words of this kind are often used in a consciously dishonest way. That is, the person who uses them has his own private definition, but allows his hearer to think he means something quite different."

David Hare, talking about the United Nations during the days of hypocritical rhetoric, put the matter more bluntly. "When they speak," he said of some representatives, "dead frogs fall from their mouths."

If we hope to build confidence in our abilities to promote prosperity and peace, we must reject the Newspeak of the old era and speak clearly and honestly.]]

Let us begin with the charter's pledge "to practice tolerance and live together in peace with one another as good neighbors."

This pledge renounces bigotry and dishonesty, and commits this body to tolerance and concord. In that spirit, I call upon you today to repeal UNGA resolution 3379, the so-called "Zionism is racism" resolution -- and to do so this year. Resolution 3379 invites the world to embrace religious bigotry and take sides on a dispute that has defied the best efforts of statesmen for decades.

In repealing this resolution no one agrees to submit unequivocally to every decision made by the government of Israel. Many of us will disagree with particular stands taken by Israel, just as we do with any member state.

But understand: Zionism is not a policy; it is the idea that led to the creation of a home for the Jewish people, to the state of Israel. To equate Zionism with the intolerable sin of racism is to twist history, since the Jewish people died by the millions during World War II precisely because of their race. To equate

Zionism with racism is to reject Israel -- something this body cannot and should not do.

We stand on the verge of convening an historic peace conference between Israel and its Arab neighbors. The United Nations can support this process by repealing unconditionally Resolution 3379, and conceding that each nation in this conference deserves a seat at the table.

The United Nations played a major role in ringing up the final curtain on communism. It now has a chance to support a Middle East peace. Repeal Resolution 3379. Give peace a chance.

The U.N. Charter also pledges to "employ international machinery for the promotion of the economic and social advancement of all peoples." I can think of no better way to encourage this new era than by promoting the free flow of goods and ideas.

In truth, ideas and goods will travel around the globe with or without our help. The information revolution has destroyed the weapons of enforced isolation and ignorance. It has made geography obsolete. Ideas zip around the globe at the speed of light. Devices of mass communication can send news over high walls and through the thickest stone cells. In our lifetime, technology has overwhelmed tyranny, proving that the age of information also can become the age of liberation -- if we limit state power wisely and let our cultures make the best use of new ideas, new products, new insights.

By the same token, the world has learned that capitalism -- free markets -- provide levels of prosperity, growth and happiness that centrally planned economies could never dream of. Even the most charitable reckoning of economic growth over the past decade indicates that the economies of the free world have grown at twice the rate of the former communist world. But long lines throughout the former communist world indicate that the growth rates may have differed even more dramatically.

The path to peace requires economic growth. When economies grow, they serve people, they fulfill needs, and they create opportunities. Growth drives out the rationale for envy; it permits every person to gain -- not at the expense of others, but to the benefit of others.

This applies to international relations as well. We can minimize the possibility of war -- and especially of global conflict -- if we protect free trade and free information.

Many nations represented here have joined the General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade. The Uruguay Round unfortunately has stalled, as nations struggle to retain comparative advantage in various areas. This striving is natural, but it also has prevented negotiators from settling the greatest free-trade agreement ever.

I cannot emphasize too strongly the importance of completing a new GATT treaty. Protectionism set off the Great Depression, and a new wave of protectionism could unleash furies the likes of which we have never seen.

I call upon all members of GATT to redouble their efforts to reach a successful conclusion for the Uruguay Round -- and then to begin yet another round of freer and fairer trade.

You see, economic progress promises more than full shop shelves. It provides the soil in which democracy can flourish.

So the future beckons, full of hope. Yet as we venture to create new ties, to forge a New World Order, we must avoid embracing unrealistic hopes.

We have been liberated from the fear of nuclear conflagration -- our nation's atomic scientists turned their doomsday clock back to ten minutes before midnight last year; this year, they may turn it back to noon. But the end of the Cold War issued in an entirely new set of uncertainties.

We must do our best to control nuclear proliferation, and prevent the spread of the poor man's atom bombs: chemical and biological weapons. We must remember that self-interest will continue tugging nations in different directions, and these struggles occasionally will flare into violence.

We know that demagogues will try to peddle false dreams to people whose hunger for hope overwhelms their common sense. We can never say with confidence where the next conflict may arise, which nation will spawn the next dangerous aggressor. Terrorists still use our citizens as pawns; and we must band together to overwhelm this affront to basic human dignity.

In a world defined by change, we must be as firm in principle as we are flexible in our response to changing international affairs.

I learned years ago that the United Nations has few resources for resolving large-scale conflicts. But I also came to love the special spirit of this place.

The strength of the United Nations lies in its economic and social missions, in encouraging economic development -- and deploying economic punishments, where necessary; in serving as a vehicle through which willing parties can settle old disputes. In the months to come, I look forward to working with Secretary General Perez de Cuellar as we pursue peace in Cyprus, protect democracy throughout Central America, work toward resolving tensions in Cambodia, and try to establish a lasting peace the Western Sahara and Angola.

Finally, many of you may wonder about America's role in the new world I have described. Let me assure you, The United States has no intention of encouraging or building a Pax Americana. We encourage a Pax Terra constructed upon shared responsibilities and aspirations.

My nation cannot lead this world to a promising future of wealth and well-being and it will not try. Nor will we surrender our sovereignty to any international institution. No nation should do that.

Each of us has an obligation to follow where our national interests lead. Yet together, we have a responsibility for

building a common interest around shared principles. I have talked today about the core values for our future: individual and minority liberties, democracy, free markets, and a collective determination to advance these goals wherever we can.

We have an opportunity to spare our sons and daughters the sins and foibles of the past; we can build a future more satisfying than any our world has ever known.

None of us can hide from this responsibility. The communications revolution and the evolution of weapons of mass destruction have made it impossible for nations to isolate themselves. As we become increasingly linked by ties of security and trade, it will become impossible to distinguish domestic policy from foreign policy. Increasingly, we all depend upon one another for our peace and our prosperity.

The only historical force we must confront is the march toward liberty. The future lies undefined before us, full of promise; littered with peril. In our activities as citizens and statesmen, we will define just what kind of future we shall enjoy: a future made peaceful by reflection and choice, or one blistered by fires of war and subjected to the ugly whims of coercion and chance.

We can make history here. We can build a decent future here. We can inaugurate an era of peace and understanding here. Here, we can help define and shape a New World Order.

Take this challenge seriously. Inspire future generations to praise and venerate you.

Good luck, and may God bless the United Nations, and the principles upon which it stands.

Questions:

Do we wish to talk about SDI?

IDEAS FOR A NEW WORLD ORDER SPEECH

1. A New Vision

- Last year at UN sketched out a vision of a new partnership of nations -- spoke in visionary terms about a new world order.
- Developments since then make this vision even more attractive and potentially realizable. A world coalition of countries came together to defeat Iraqi aggression, collapse of communism in the Soviet Union, major movement toward democracy throughout the world.
- Now at a stage of uncertainty and opportunity -- many old forms are in ruins and new ones not yet developed -- necessary to move quickly to give shape to new structures -- not have a chance to do so again within our lifetimes -- we are at a turning point in history.

2. A New World Architecture

- Some have spoken critically of the NWO as an era of U.S. hegemony -- we do not seek such a role, nor do we intend to play the role of world hegemon -- will use influence

in a constructive way, but it must be a common world effort -- do not want a world where order is dependent on the threat of force.

-- See the outline of a new world architecture -- old forms are shattered -- distortions of the Cold War are over.

-- New architecture must be present in all areas of international endeavor.

o Political -- we are moving toward a world of pluralist democracies -- end of dictatorship, totalitarian and personal -- emphasis on human rights and rule of law -- we are seeing cooperation among states to further democracy. Democratic nations stand ready to assist those seeking a free and open society -- an increasingly free flow of information has helped peoples to protect and defend newly won freedom.

o Security -- world of blocs is over -- a system of collective security must be realized -- recent history has proven that collective action in defense against aggression works -- prospects for greater possibility of negotiated settlements of disputes are

bright -- critical importance of nonproliferation --
notion of security must be extended beyond traditional
concepts of defense against aggression to include
transnational threats such as narcotics, terrorism,
and the environment.

- o Economic -- world of open borders for goods and
people -- equal opportunity for individuals and
nations -- building an open world trading system --
U.S. and a growing number of nations believe that
free market economies and private enterprise are the
best assurances of accomplishing this.

3. Role of the United Nations

- Role of UN and other transnational bodies' is critical to
the New World Order.
- UN already provides a workable framework for a New World
Order -- transformation of the CSCE process in Europe
provides one example for the UN of how a body can be
infused with new powers and effectiveness.
- Must be structural and process changes

- o Practices developed in the Cold War era of opposing blocs (East-West, North-South) must be changed.
- o Attitudes reflecting these practices must be changed to reflect new realities and hopes.
- o General Assembly must be transformed into a genuine legislative body where serious debate and work takes place.
- o Specialized bodies must be given more powers, but at same time must be subject to greater controls by the General Assembly and the Secretary General.
- o Need to focus UN energy on fostering democracy and rule of law.
- o Need to invigorate existing bodies, such as the UN Human Rights Commission, to take on problems of discrimination as well as violations of commonly accepted human rights -- UNHRC must be concerned not only with uncovering violations of rights but of developing action programs to deal with them.

The American vision for the NWO would encourage "our allegiance to an idea that all people everywhere must be free."

Snow, McGroarty, Duggan
Grossman, Simon, Bunton
UN
September 22, 1991
Draft Four

PRESIDENTIAL ADDRESS: THE UNITED NATIONS GENERAL ASSEMBLY
UNITED NATIONS GENERAL ASSEMBLY HALL
MONDAY, SEPTEMBER 23, 1991
12:45 P.M.

Mr. President, thank you very much. Mr. Secretary General, distinguished delegates of the United Nations, I am honored to speak with you as you open the 46th Session of the General Assembly.

I would like to congratulate outgoing President Guido de Marco of Malta, and incoming President Samir Shihabi of Saudi Arabia. I also want to salute Secretary General Javier Perez de Cuellar, who will step down in just over three months. Secretary General Perez de Cuellar has served during a period of unprecedented change and turmoil. For nine years we have enjoyed the leadership of this man of peace; a man I feel proud to call my friend. \\ Today, let us congratulate our friend, and praise his spectacular service to the United Nations -- and the people of the world. \\

Let me also welcome new members to this chamber: the unified German delegation; two delegations representing Korea; the republics of Estonia, Latvia and Lithuania; and new missions from the Marshall Islands and Micronesia. Just one week ago, 159 nations enjoyed membership in the U.N. Today, the number stands at 166. The presence of these new members alone provides reason for us to celebrate. \\

My address will not sound like any you have heard from a President of the United States. I will not dwell on the superpower competition that defined international politics for a half century. Instead, I will discuss the challenges of building peace and prosperity in a world leavened by the Cold War's end and the resumption of history.

Communism held history captive for years. It suspended ancient disputes; it suppressed ethnic rivalries, nationalist aspirations, and old prejudices. As it has dissolved, suspended hatreds have sprung to life. People who for years have been denied their pasts have begun searching for their own identities -- often through peaceful and constructive means, occasionally through factionalism and bloodshed.

This revival of history ushers in a new era, teeming with opportunities and obstacles. Let's begin by discussing the opportunities.

First, history's renewal enables people to pursue their natural instincts for enterprise. As this Century dawned, nations suffocated by feudalism or restrained by all-powerful states began feeling the promise and power of free enterprise.

Communism froze that progress -- until its failures became too much for even its defenders to bear. Now, citizens throughout the world have chosen enterprise over envy; personal responsibility over the enticements of the state; prosperity over the poverty of central planning.

The U.N. Charter encourages this adventure by pledging "to employ international machinery for the promotion of the economic and social advancement of all peoples." I can think of no better way to fulfill this mission than to promote the free flow of goods and ideas.

Frankly, ideas and goods will travel around the globe with or without our help. The information revolution has destroyed the weapons of enforced isolation and ignorance.

In many parts of the world technology has overwhelmed tyranny, proving that the age of information can become the age of liberation -- if we limit state power wisely and free our people to make the best use of new ideas, inventions, and insights.

By the same token, the world has learned that free markets provide levels of prosperity, growth and happiness that centrally planned economies can never offer. Even the most charitable estimates indicate that in recent the free world's economies have grown at twice the rate of the former communist world.

Growth does more than fill shelves. It permits every person to gain -- not at the expense of others, but to the benefit of others. Prosperity encourages people to live as neighbors and not as predators.

Economic growth can aid international relations in the same way. Many nations represented here are parties to the General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade. The Uruguay Round, the latest in the postwar series of trade negotiations, offers hope to

developing nations, many of which have been cruelly deceived by the false promises of totalitarianism.

Here in this chamber we hear about North-South problems. But free and open trade, including unfettered access to markets and credit, offer developing countries means of self-sufficiency and economic dignity.

If the Uruguay Round should fail, a new wave of protectionism could destroy our hopes for a better future. Therefore, I call upon all members of GATT to redouble their efforts to reach a successful conclusion for the Uruguay Round.

I cannot stress this enough: Economic progress will play a vital role in the new world. It supplies the soil in which democracy grows best. And democracy is history's second bequest to our new world.

People everywhere seek government of, by and for the people; they want to enjoy their inalienable rights to freedom of property and person. In one of history's rich ironies so-called People's republics have been toppled by the people themselves. [[XX such republics have surrendered to freer systems in just the last year.]]

Challenges to democracy also have failed. Just last month coup plotters in the Soviet Union tried to derail the forces of liberty and reform, but Soviet citizens refused to follow. Most of the nations in this chamber stood with the forces of reform, led by Mikhail Gorbachev and Boris Yeltsin -- and against the coup plotters.

The challenge facing the Soviet peoples now -- that of building political systems based upon individual liberty, minority rights, democracy and free markets -- mirrors every nation's responsibility for encouraging peaceful, democratic reform. But it also testifies to the extraordinary power of the democratic ideal.

As democracy flourishes, so does the opportunity for a third historical breakthrough: international cooperation. Less than a year ago, the Soviet Union joined the United States and a host of other nations in defending a tiny country against aggression -- and opposing Saddam Hussein. For the very first time on a matter of major importance, superpower competition took a back seat to international cooperation.

The United Nations, in one of its finest moments, constructed a measured, principled, deliberate and courageous response to Saddam Hussein. It stood up to an outlaw who invaded Kuwait, who threatened many states within the region, who sought to set a menacing precedent for the post Cold War world.

The coalition effort established a model for the collective settlement of disputes. Members set a goal -- the liberation of Kuwait -- and devised a courageous, unified means of achieving it.

Now, for the first time, we have a real chance to fulfill the U.N. Charter's ambition of working "to save succeeding generations from the scourge of war...to reaffirm faith in fundamental human rights, in the dignity and worth of the human person, in the equal rights of men and women and nations large

and small ... to promote social progress and better standards of life in larger freedom."

We will not revive these ideals if we fail to acknowledge the challenges that the renewal of history presents.

Consider first the challenge of nationalism.

In Europe and Asia, nationalist passions have flared anew, challenging borders, straining the fabric of international society. You see signs of this tumult here. The United Nations organized but four peacekeeping missions during its first 43 years; it has mounted nine missions in the past 36 months. Although we now seem mercifully liberated from the fear of nuclear holocaust, these smaller, virulent conflicts should trouble us all.

We must face this challenge squarely: First, by pursuing the peaceful resolution of disputes now in progress; second, and more importantly, by trying to prevent others from erupting.

No one here can promise that today's borders will remain fixed for all time. But we must strive to ensure the peaceful, negotiated settlement of border disputes.

We can help by defending the inalienable rights outlined in the UN's founding documents, and enabling minorities to enjoy the full benefits of membership in a free society -- including the right to retain ties of kinship with ancestors and relatives in other lands. [[We cannot fend off legitimate national aspirations. But neither can we let hate-filled factions jeopardize the prospects for a productive peace.]]

We also must promote the cause of international harmony by addressing old feuds. We should take seriously the charter's pledge "to practice tolerance and live together in peace with one another as good neighbors."

UNGA Resolution 3379, the so-called "Zionism is racism" resolution, mocks this pledge and the principles upon which the U.N. was founded. I call upon you to repeal it without delay.

Zionism is not a policy; it is the idea that led to the creation of a home for the Jewish people, to the state of Israel. To equate Zionism with the intolerable sin of racism is to twist history, and forget the terrible plight of Jews in World War II, and indeed throughout history. To equate Zionism with racism is to reject Israel itself -- a member in good standing of the United Nations.

This body cannot claim to seek peace and at the same time challenge Israel's right to exist. By repealing Resolution 3379 unconditionally, the U.N. will enhance its credibility and serve the cause of peace.

As we work to meet the challenge posed by the resumption of history, we also must defend the Charter's emphasis on inalienable human rights.

Government has failed if citizens cannot speak their minds; if they cannot form political parties freely and elect governments without coercion; if they cannot practice their religion freely; if they cannot raise their families in peace; if they cannot enjoy a just return from their labor; if they cannot

live fruitful lives and, at the end of their days, look upon their achievements and their society's progress with pride.

Politicians who talk about "democracy" and "freedom" but provide neither eventually will feel the sting of public disapproval, and the power of people's yearning to live free.

Some nations still deny people their basic rights, and too many voices cry out for freedom. The people of Cuba suffer oppression at the hands of a dictator who hasn't gotten the word, the lone hold-out in an otherwise Democratic hemisphere; a man who hasn't adapted to a world that has no use for totalitarian tyranny. Elsewhere, despots ignore the heartening fact that the rest of the world has embarked upon a new age of liberty.

The renewal of history also imposes an obligation to remain vigilant about new threats and old.

We must expand our efforts to control nuclear proliferation. We must work to prevent the spread of chemical and biological weapons, and the missiles to deliver them.

We must remember that self-interest will tug nations in different directions, and that struggles over perceived interests will flare sometimes into violence.

We can never say with confidence where the next conflict may arise. And we cannot promise eternal peace -- not while demagogues peddle false promises to people hungry with hope; not while terrorists use our citizens as pawns, and drug dealers destroy our people. As a result, we must band together to overwhelm affronts to basic human dignity.

It is no longer acceptable to shrug and say that one man's terrorist is another man's freedom fighter. Let's put the law above the crude and cowardly practice of hostage-holding. //

In a world defined by change, we must be as firm in principle as we are flexible in our response to changing international conditions.

That is especially true today of the outlaw regime in Iraq. Six months after the passage of U.N. Security Council Resolutions 687 and 688, Saddam continues to rebuild his weapons of mass destruction and subject the Iraqi people to brutal repression. Let me repeat: Our argument has never been with the people of Iraq. It was with a brutal dictator whose arrogance dishonored the Iraqi people.

Saddam's contempt for U.N. resolutions -- first demonstrated in August 1990 -- shows that we must keep U.N. sanctions in place as long as he remains in power. It also shows that we cannot compromise for a moment in seeing that Iraq destroys all its weapons of mass destruction.

This is not to say that we should punish the Iraqi people. Security Council Resolution 706 created a responsible mechanism for sending humanitarian relief to innocent Iraqi citizens. Now, we must put that mechanism to work.

We must not abandon our principled stand against Saddam's aggression. This cooperative effort has liberated Kuwait; now it must lead to a just government in Iraq. When it does, the Iraqi

people can look forward to better lives; free at home, free to engage in the world beyond their borders.

The resumption of history also permits the United Nations to resume the important business of promoting the values I have discussed today. While this body cannot resolve large-scale conflicts, it can serve as a vehicle through which willing parties can settle old disputes. In the months to come, I look forward to working with Secretary General Perez de Cuellar and his successor as we pursue peace in Afghanistan, Cambodia, Cyprus, El Salvador, and the Western Sahara.

The U.N. can encourage free-market development through its international lending and aid institutions; it can discourage bad behavior through the use of appropriate sanctions.

Where institutions of freedom have lain dormant, the United Nations can offer them new life. These institutions play a crucial role in our quest for a New World Order -- an order in which no nation surrenders one iota of its sovereignty; an order characterized by the rule of law, rather than the resort to force; the cooperative settlement of disputes, rather than the anarchy and bloodshed; and an unstinting belief in human rights.

Finally, you may wonder about America's role in the new world I have described. Let me assure you, The United States has no intention of striving for a Pax Americana. In a changing world, the United States remain unchanged. We will not retreat into isolationism. We will remain engaged. We will offer

freindship and leadership. In short, we seek a Pax Universalis built upon shared responsibilities and aspirations.

The United Nations should not dictate the particular forms of governments that nations should adopt. But it can and should encourage the values upon which this organization was founded.

Together, we should insist that nations seeking our acceptance meet basic standards of human decency.

My friends, we have an opportunity to spare our sons and daughters the sins and errors of the past; we can build a future more satisfying than any our world has ever known.

The future lies undefined before us, full of promise; littered with peril. We can choose the kind of world we want: one blistered by the fires of war and subjected to the whims of coercion and chance, or one made peaceful by reflection and choice.

Take this challenge seriously. Inspire future generations to praise and venerate you -- to say: On the ruins of conflict, these brave men and women built an era of peace and understanding; they inaugurated a new world order, an order worth preserving for the ages.

Good luck. Thank you very, very much.

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