

Originally Processed With FOIA(s):

S

FOIA Number:

S

FOIA MARKER

This is not a textual record. This is used as an administrative marker by the George Bush Presidential Library Staff.

Record Group/Collection: George H.W. Bush Presidential Records
Collection/Office of Origin: Speechwriting, White House Office of
Series: Speech File Backup Files
Subseries: Chron File, 1989-1993

OA/ID Number: 13833
Folder ID Number: 13833-007

Folder Title:
United Nations 9/21/92 [OA 7580]

Stack:	Row:	Section:	Shelf:	Position:
G	26	23	1	2

Countries Moving from Communism/Authoritarianism Towards Democracy

Europe/Eurasia

Russia *
 Ukraine *
 Belarus
 Moldova *
 Kazakhstan
 Kyrgyzstan *
 Armenia *
 Georgia
 Azerbaijan *
 Turkmenistan
 Tajikistan
 Uzbekistan
 Latvia *
 Lithuania *
 Estonia *
 Poland *
 E. Germany *
 Hungary *
 Czechoslovakia *
 Rumania
 Bulgaria *
 Albania *
 Slovenia *
 Croatia
 Bosnia *
 Macedonia *

Latin America

Nicaragua *
 Paraguay *
 Chile *
 Panama *

Africa

Namibia *
 Angola *
 Benin *
 Togo
 Congo *
 Zambia *
 South Africa
 Mozambique
 Ethiopia

Near East/South Asia

Nepal *
 Bangladesh *
 Afghanistan

East Asia

Mongolia *

Countries Moving Away from Democracy

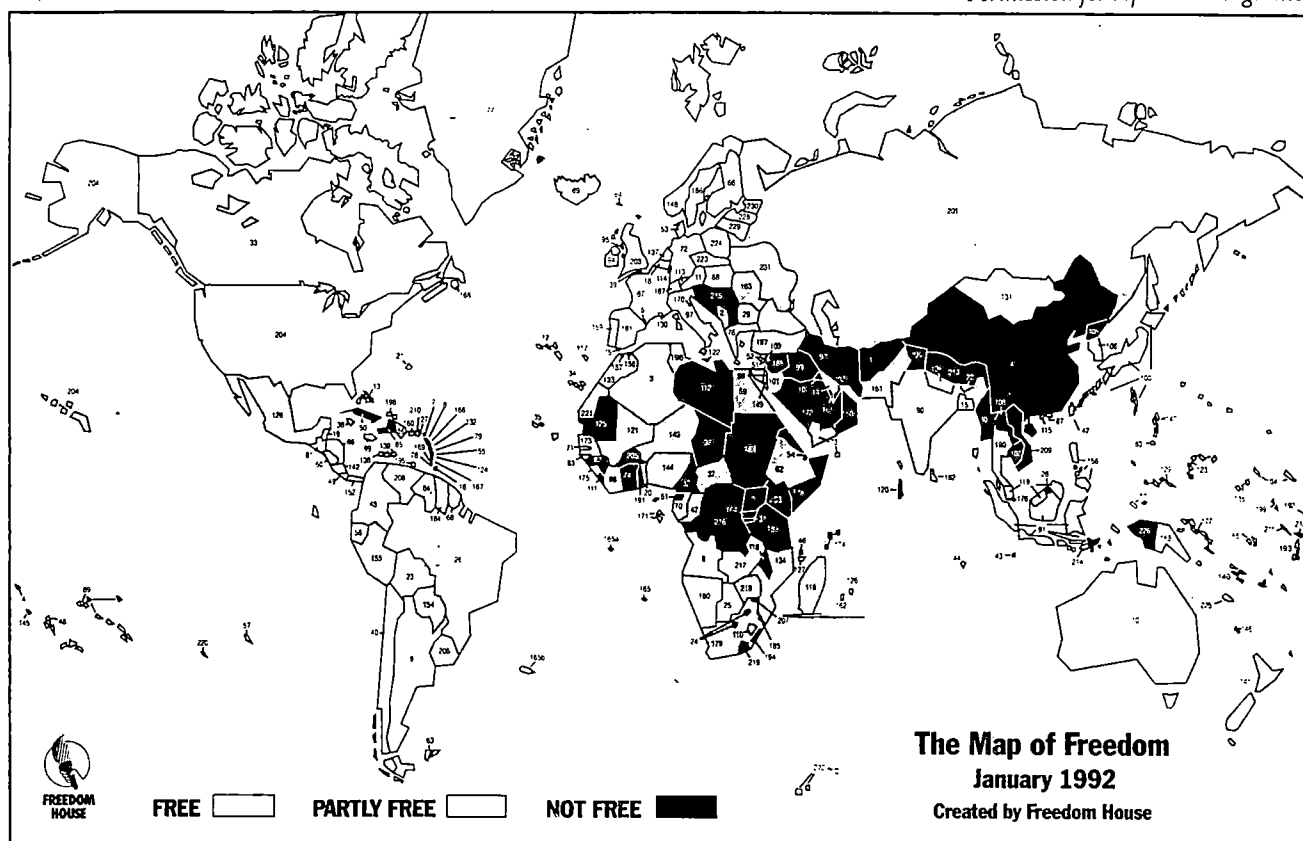
Latin America

Peru
 Haiti

Africa

Sudan

Note: "*" indicates countries which have held free and fair elections.



This map is based on data developed by Freedom House's Comparative Survey of Freedom. The Survey analyzes factors such as the degree to which fair and competitive elections occur, individual and group freedoms are guaranteed in practice, and press freedom exists. In some countries, the category reflects active citizen opposition rather than political rights granted by a government. More detailed and up-to-date Survey information may be obtained from Freedom House.

FREE STATES

9	Argentina	229	Lithuania
10	Australia	114	Luxembourg
11	Austria	122	Malta
13	Bahamas	123	Marshall Islands
15	Bangladesh	126	Mauritius
16	Barbados	129	Micronesia
18	Belgium	131	Mongolia
19	Belize	180	Namibia
20	Benin	135	Nauru
23	Bolivia	136	Nepal
25	Botswana	137	Netherlands
26	Brazil	141	New Zealand
29	Bulgaria	148	Norway
33	Canada	153	Papua New Guinea
35	Cape Verde Isls.	224	Poland
40	Chile	159	Portugal
49	Costa Rica	166	St. Christopher-Nevis
51	Cyprus (G)	167	St. Lucia
52	Cyprus (I)	169	St. Vincent and the Grenadines
223	Czechoslovakia	171	Sao Tome & Principe
53	Denmark	177	Solomon Isls.
55	Dominica	181	Spain
56	Dominican Republic	186	Sweden
58	Ecuador	187	Switzerland
230	Estonia	195	Trinidad & Tobago
66	Finland	199	Tuvalu
67	France	203	United Kingdom
71	The Gambia	204	United States
72	Germany	206	Uruguay
76	Greece	140	Vanuatu
78	Grenada	208	Venezuela
86	Honduras	212	Western Samoa
88	Hungary	217	Zambia
89	Iceland		
94	Ireland		
96	Israel		
97	Italy		
99	Jamaica		
100	Japan		
104	Kiribati		
106	Korea (S)		
228	Latvia		

RELATED TERRITORIES

4	Amer. Samoa (US)
5	Andorra (Fr-Sp)
7	Anguilla (UK)
138	Aruba (Ne)
12	Azores (Port)

21	Bermuda (UK)
27	Br. Vir. Is. (UK)
34	Canary Isls. (Sp)
36	Cayman Isls. (UK)
157	Ceuta (Sp)
39	Channel Isls. (UK)
43	Christmas Is. (Austral.)
44	Cocos (Keeling Isls.) (Austral.)
48	Cook Isls. (NZ)
57	Rapanui/Easter Is. (Chile)
63	Falkland Is. (UK)
64	Faeroe Isls. (Den)
68	French Guiana (Fr)
69	French Polynesia (Fr)
222	French Southern & Antarctic Terr. (Fr.)
75	Gibraltar (UK)
77	Greenland (Den)
79	Guadeloupe (Fr)
80	Guam (US)
95	Isle of Man (UK)
113	Liechtenstein (Swz)
117	Madeira (Port)
127	Mahore (Fr)
124	Martinique (Fr)
158	Melilla (Sp)
130	Monaco (Fr.)
132	Montserrat (UK)
139	Ne. Antilles (Ne)
225	New Caledonia (Fr)
145	Niue (NZ)
146	Norfolk Is. (Austral.)
147	No. Marianas (US)
17	Belau (Palau) (US)
220	Pitcairn Islands (UK)
160	Puerto Rico (US)
162	Reunion (Fr)
165	St. Helena and Dependencies (UK)
165a	Ascension

PARTLY FREE STATES

165b	Tristan da Cunha
168	St. Pierre-Mq. (Fr)
170	San Marino (It)
192	Tokelau (NZ)
198	Turks & Caicos. (UK)
210	Virgin Isls. (US)
211	Wallis & Futuna Isls. (Fr)
2	Albania
3	Algeria
6	Angola
8	Antigua & Barbuda
14	Bahrain
22	Bhutan
37	Central African Republic
45	Colombia
46	Comoros
47	Congo
59	Egypt
60	El Salvador
62	Ethiopia
65	Fiji
70	Gabon
81	Guatemala
83	Guinea-Bissau
84	Guyana
90	India
91	Indonesia
98	Ivory Coast
101	Jordan
109	Lebanon
110	Lesotho
116	Madagascar
119	Malaysia
121	Mali
128	Mexico
133	Morocco
134	Mozambique
142	Nicaragua
143	Niger

144	Nigeria
151	Pakistan
152	Panama
154	Paraguay
155	Peru
156	Philippines
163	Romania
173	Senegal
175	Sierra Leone
176	Singapore
179	South Africa
182	Sri Lanka
184	Suriname
185	Swaziland
42	Taiwan (China)
190	Thailand
193	Tonga
196	Tunisia
197	Turkey
231	Ukraine
201	USSR
73	Yemen
218	Zimbabwe

RELATED TERRITORIES

87	Hong Kong (UK)
115	Macao (Port)
221	Western Sahara (Mor)

NOT FREE STATES

1	Afghanistan
28	Brunei
205	Burkina Faso
30	Burma (Myanmar)
31	Burundi
102	Cambodia
32	Cameroon
38	Chad
41	China (PRC)
50	Cuba
54	Djibouti
61	Equatorial Guinea
74	Ghana

RELATED TERRITORIES

24	Bophuthatswana (SA)
219	Ciskei (SA)
214	East Timor (Indo.)
232	Eritrea
226	Irian Jaya (Indo.)
227	Kashmir (India)
149	Occupied Territories (Isr.)
213	Tibet (China)
194	Transkei (SA)
207	Venda

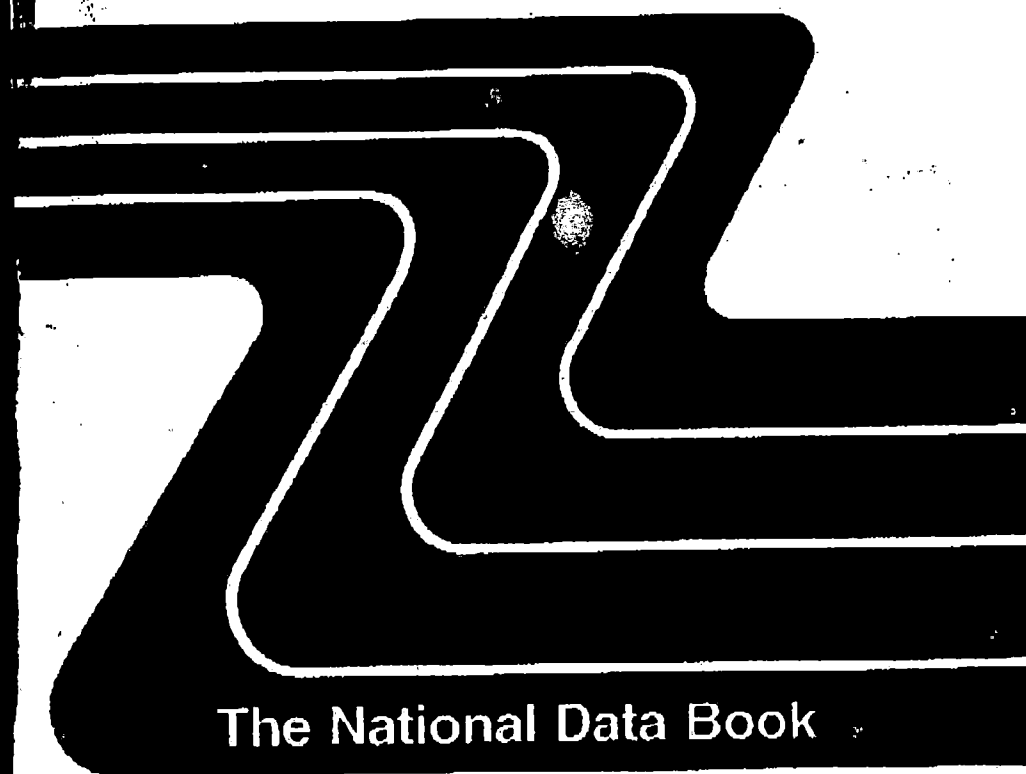
**COUNTRIES WHICH HAVE MOVED FROM COMMUNISM OR AUTHORITARIANISM
TOWARDS DEMOCRACY SINCE PRESIDENT BUSH TOOK OFFICE**

ALBANIA	3,300,000
AFGHANISTAN	15,800,000
ANGOLA	8,500,000
BANGLADESH	118,400,000
BENIN	4,700,000
BULGARIA	8,900,000
CAMBODIA	7,000,000
CHILE	13,100,000
CONGO	2,200,000
CZECHOSLOVAKIA	15,700,000
E. GERMANY	17,000,000
ETHIOPIA	51,700,000
HUNGARY	10,600,000
X <u>KUWAIT</u>	2,100,000
MONGOLIA	2,200,000
MOZAMBIQUE	14,600,000
NAMIBIA ✓	1,400,000
NEPAL	19,100,000
NICARAGUA	3,700,000
NIGERIA	118,800,000
PANAMA	2,400,000
PARAGUAY	4,600,000
POLAND	37,800,000
ROMANIA	23,300,000
SOUTH AFRICA	39,500,000
FORMER U.S.S.R.	290,900,000 ←
<i>Serbia (!?) →</i> <u>YUGOSLAVIA</u>	23,800,000
ZAMBIA	8,100,000

TOTAL 869,200,000

111th Edition

Statistical Abstract of the United States 1991



The National Data Book

U.S. Department of Commerce
Economics and Statistics Administration
BUREAU OF THE CENSUS

No. 1434. Population and Area, by Region and Country, 1950 and 1990, and Projections 2010 and 2010

[See Preface, page xvii]

[illegible]

Population—Growth Rates—Density

No. 1494. Population and Area, by Region and County, 1880 and 1860, and Projections, 2008 and 2050.—Continued

[See Introduction, page 509]

COUNTRY	ADVERSE POPULATION (19005)				1981 total pop. mil.	ANNUAL RATE OF GROWTH (percent)			1981 total pop. mil.	Area (sq. mi.)
	1980	1980	1980	1980		1980-1970	1980-1970	1980-1970		
China	10,719	15,185	20,000	27,282	32	1.1	1.1	165	82,000	
Guinea	9,242	10,028	10,305	30,100	18	-0.3	-0.3	159	80,500	
Guatemala	40	64	68	114	114	0.1	0.1	157	15,000	
Ghana	6,634	9,066	11,446	13,585	102	2.5	2.5	817	42,000	
Greece	7,209	7,209	11,265	11,265	102	2.5	2.5	817	42,000	
Guinea-Bissau	789	808	1,518	1,518	135	3.4	3.4	71	14,000	
Haiti	759	759	821	943	135	0.4	0.4	6	50,000	
Honduras	5,475	6,142	7,060	8,435	97	1.3	1.3	173	10,711	
India	5,475	5,200	6,060	6,460	101	3.3	3.3	132	45,271	
Indonesia	10,711	10,304	10,304	10,304	115	-0.1	-0.1	194	16,707	
Japan	698,429	840,237	1,012,026	1,303,016	215	2.1	2.1	449	36,700	
Kenya	154,536	154,536	154,536	154,536	10	1.0	1.0	449	78,000	
Madagascar	38,121	56,947	72,701	100,716	44	3.5	3.5	68,252	68,252	
Mali	11,228	17,962	27,285	38,047	44	1.7	1.7	117	10,711	
Mexico	1,401	3,593	5,112	6,661	115	0.7	0.7	251	118,718	
Morocco	1,737	4,404	6,036	8,041	15	0.2	0.2	451	118,718	
Niger	54,451	57,691	60,836	63,981	15	0.2	0.2	451	118,718	
Norway	6,417	12,473	18,145	23,205	27	3.5	3.5	105	14,000	
Paraguay	1,401	2,441	2,707	3,101	115	1.0	1.0	105	14,000	
Peru	114,901	152,442	187,486	234,146	7	0.6	0.6	105	14,000	
Poland	1,131	3,065	4,370	5,685	119	1.5	1.5	105	14,000	
Portugal	14,889	24,839	35,142	41,204	37	3.0	3.0	119	14,000	
Romania	14,889	24,839	35,142	41,204	37	3.0	3.0	119	14,000	
Russia	14,889	24,839	35,142	41,204	37	3.0	3.0	119	14,000	
Senegal	14,889	24,839	35,142	41,204	37	3.0	3.0	119	14,000	
Sierra Leone	14,889	24,839	35,142	41,204	37	3.0	3.0	119	14,000	
Sri Lanka	14,889	24,839	35,142	41,204	37	3.0	3.0	119	14,000	
Tanzania	14,889	24,839	35,142	41,204	37	3.0	3.0	119	14,000	
Thailand	14,889	24,839	35,142	41,204	37	3.0	3.0	119	14,000	
Togo	14,889	24,839	35,142	41,204	37	3.0	3.0	119	14,000	
Tunisia	14,889	24,839	35,142	41,204	37	3.0	3.0	119	14,000	
Uganda	14,889	24,839	35,142	41,204	37	3.0	3.0	119	14,000	
Ukraine	14,889	24,839	35,142	41,204	37	3.0	3.0	119	14,000	
United Kingdom	14,889	24,839	35,142	41,204	37	3.0	3.0	119	14,000	
United States	14,889	24,839	35,142	41,204	37	3.0	3.0	119	14,000	
Yugoslavia	14,889	24,839	35,142	41,204	37	3.0	3.0	119	14,000	
Algeria	14,889	24,839	35,142	41,204	37	3.0	3.0	119	14,000	
Angola	14,889	24,839	35,142	41,204	37	3.0	3.0	119	14,000	
Argentina	14,889	24,839	35,142	41,204	37	3.0	3.0	119	14,000	
Australia	14,889	24,839	35,142	41,204	37	3.0	3.0	119	14,000	
Austria	14,889	24,839	35,142	41,204	37	3.0	3.0	119	14,000	
Belgium	14,889	24,839	35,142	41,204	37	3.0	3.0	119	14,000	
Benin	14,889	24,839	35,142	41,204	37	3.0	3.0	119	14,000	
Bolivia	14,889	24,839	35,142	41,204	37	3.0	3.0	119	14,000	
Brazil	14,889	24,839	35,142	41,204	37	3.0	3.0	119	14,000	
Bulgaria	14,889	24,839	35,142	41,204	37	3.0	3.0	119	14,000	
Cameroon	14,889	24,839	35,142	41,204	37	3.0	3.0	119	14,000	
Canada	14,889	24,839	35,142	41,204	37	3.0	3.0	119	14,000	
Chad	14,889	24,839	35,142	41,204	37	3.0	3.0	119	14,000	
Colombia	14,889	24,839	35,142	41,204	37	3.0	3.0	119	14,000	
Congo	14,889	24,839	35,142	41,204	37	3.0	3.0	119	14,000	
Cote d'Ivoire	14,889	24,839	35,142	41,204	37	3.0	3.0	119	14,000	
Czechoslovakia	14,889	24,839	35,142	41,204	37	3.0	3.0	119	14,000	
Dominican Republic	14,889	24,839	35,142	41,204	37	3.0	3.0	119	14,000	
Dominican Republic and Puerto Rico	14,889	24,839	35,142	41,204	37	3.0	3.0	119	14,000	
Egypt	14,889	24,839	35,142	41,204	37	3.0	3.0	119	14,000	
El Salvador	14,889	24,839	35,142	41,204	37	3.0	3.0	119	14,000	
Equatorial Guinea	14,889	24,839	35,142	41,204	37	3.0	3.0	119	14,000	
Ethiopia	14,889	24,839	35,142	41,204	37	3.0	3.0	119	14,000	
France	14,889	24,839	35,142	41,204	37	3.0	3.0	119	14,000	
Gabon	14,889	24,839	35,142	41,204	37	3.0	3.0	119	14,000	
Gambia	14,889	24,839	35,142	41,204	37	3.0	3.0	119	14,000	
Germany	14,889	24,839	35,142	41,204	37	3.0	3.0	119	14,000	
Ghana	14,889	24,839	35,142	41,204	37	3.0	3.0	119	14,000	
Guatemala	14,889	24,839	35,142	41,204	37	3.0	3.0	119	14,000	
Haiti	14,889	24,839	35,142	41,204	37	3.0	3.0	119	14,000	
Honduras	14,889	24,839	35,142	41,204	37	3.0	3.0	119	14,000	
India	14,889	24,839	35,142	41,204	37	3.0	3.0	119	14,000	
Indonesia	14,889	24,839	35,142	41,204	37	3.0	3.0	119	14,000	
Iran	14,889	24,839	35,142	41,204	37	3.0	3.0	119	14,000	
Israel	14,889	24,839	35,142	41,204	37	3.0	3.0	119	14,000	
Italy	14,889	24,839	35,142	41,204	37	3.0	3.0	119	14,000	
Japan	14,889	24,839	35,142	41,204	37	3.0	3.0	119	14,000	
Kenya	14,889	24,839	35,142	41,204	37	3.0	3.0	119	14,000	
Korea	14,889	24,839	35,142	41,204	37	3.0	3.0	119	14,000	
Laos	14,889	24,839	35,142	41,204	37	3.0	3.0	119	14,000	
Lebanon	14,889	24,839	35,142	41,204	37	3.0	3.0	119	14,000	
Libya	14,889	24,839	35,142	41,204	37	3.0	3.0	119	14,000	
Luxembourg	14,889	24,839	35,142	41,204	37	3.0	3.0	119	14,000	
Madagascar	14,889	24,839	35,142	41,204	37	3.0	3.0	119	14,000	
Malawi	14,889	24,839	35,142	41,204	37	3.0	3.0	119	14,000	
Malaysia	14,889	24,839	35,142	41,204	37	3.0	3.0	119	14,000	
Mali	14,889	24,839	35,142	41,204	37	3.0	3.0	119	14,000	
Mexico	14,889	24,839	35,142	41,204	37	3.0	3.0	119	14,000	
Moldavia	14,889	24,839	35,142	41,204	37	3.0	3.0	119	14,000	
Morocco	14,889	24,839	35,142	41,204	37	3.0	3.0	119	14,000	
Mozambique	14,889	24,839	35,142	41,204	37	3.0	3.0	119	14,000	
Nicaragua	14,889	24,839	35,142	41,204	37	3.0	3.0	119	14,000	
Netherlands	14,889	24,839	35,142	41,204	37	3.0	3.0	119	14,000	
New Zealand	14,889	24,839	35,142	41,204	37	3.0	3.0	119	14,000	
Nigeria	14,889	24,839	35,142	41,204	37	3.0	3.0	119	14,000	
Poland	14,889	24,839	35,142	41,204	37	3.0	3.0	119	14,000	
Portugal	14,889	24,839	35,142	41,204	37	3.0	3.0	119	14,000	
Romania	14,889	24,839	35,142	41,204	37	3.0	3.0	119	14,000	
Russia	14,889	24,839	35,142	41,204	37	3.0	3.0	119	14,000	
Senegal	14,889	24,839	35,142	41,204	37	3.0	3.0	119	14,000	
Sierra Leone	14,889	24,839	35,142	41,204	37	3.0	3.0	119	14,000	
Sri Lanka	14,889	24,839	35,142	41,204	37	3.0	3.0	119	14,000	
Tanzania	14,889	24,839	35,142	41,204	37	3.0	3.0	119	14,000	
Thailand	14,889	24,839	35,142	41,204	37	3.0	3.0	119	14,000	
Togo	14,889	24,839	35,142	41,204	37	3.0	3.0	119	14,000	
Tunisia	14,889	24,839	35,142	41,204	37	3.0	3.0	119	14,000	
Uganda	14,889	24,839	35,142	41,204	37	3.0	3.0	119	14,000	
Ukraine	14,889	24,839	35,142	41,204	37	3.0	3.0	119	14,000	
United Kingdom	14,889	24,839	35,142	41,204	37	3.0	3.0	119	14,000	
United States	14,889	24,839	35,142	41,204	37	3.0	3.0	119	14,000	
Yugoslavia	14,889	24,839	35,142	41,204	37	3.0	3.0	119	14,000	
Algeria	14,889	24,839	35,142	41,204	37	3.0	3.0	119	14,000	
Angola	14,889	24,839	35,142	41,204	37	3.0	3.0	119	14,000	
Argentina	14,889	24,839	35,142	41,204	37	3.0	3.0	119	14,000	
Australia	14,889	24,839	35,142	41,204	37	3.0	3.0	119	14,000	
Austria	14,889	24,839	35,142	41,204	37	3.0	3.0	119	14,000	
Belgium	14,889	24,839	35,142	41,204	37	3.0	3.0	119	14,000	
Benin	14,889	24,839	35,142	41,204	37	3.0	3.0	119	14,000	
Bolivia	14,889	24,839	35,142	41,204	37	3.0	3.0	119	14,000	
Brazil	14,889	24,839	35,142	41,204	37	3.0	3.0	119	14,000	
Bulgaria	14,889	24,839	35,142	41,204	37	3.0	3.0	119	14,000	
Cameroon	14,889	24,839	35,142	41,204	37	3.0	3.0	119	14,000	
Canada	14,889	24,839	35,142	41,204	37	3.0	3.0	119	14,000	
Chad	14,889	24,839	35,142	41,204	37	3.0	3.0	119	14,000	
Colombia	14,889	24,839	35,142	41,204	37	3.0	3.0	119	14,000	
Congo	14,889	24,839	35,142	41,204	37	3.0	3.0	119	14,000	
Cote d'Ivoire	14,889	24,839	35,142	41,204	37	3.0	3.0	119	14,000	
Czechoslovakia	14,889	24,839	35,142	41,204	37	3.0	3.0	119	14,000	
Dominican Republic	14,889	24,839	35,142	41,204	37	3.0	3.0	119	14,000	
Dominican Republic and Puerto Rico	14,889	24,839	35,142	41,204	37	3.0	3.0	119	14,000	
Egypt	14,889									

No. 1434. Population and Area, by Region and Country, 1980 and 1990, and Projecting, 2000 and 2010—Continued
(Data in millions, page 105)

COUNTRY	MIDYEAR POPULATION (1,000)				1964 popula- tion rank	ANNUAL RATE OF GROWTH (percent)			1964 popula- tion per sq. mile
	1960	1962	1964 est.	1960- 1962		1962- 1964	1960- 1964		
Soviet Union	208,410	230,428	251,537	31,157	33,003	9	0.9	0.3	24
Spain	37,438	39,046	40,388	1,608	1,342	28	0.3	0.7	201
St. Lucia	14,000	17,188	19,435	3,188	2,247	27	1.2	1.2	870
Sweden	18,588	20,448	22,043	1,860	1,595	8	1.1	1.1	27
Suriname	395	397	403	2	6	1	0.5	0.5	68,000
Switzerland	884	928	973	44	45	119	5.0	5.0	8
Sweden	9,310	9,799	10,281	489	482	148	5.2	5.2	119
Switzerland	8,365	8,742	9,123	377	388	48	4.5	4.5	148
Syria	6,583	12,463	17,218	5,835	4,755	484	89.8	89.8	15,916
Tanzania	36,571	36,571	36,571	0	0	171	0.0	0.0	484
Tanzania	16,617	25,116	33,437	8,819	8,321	171	53.1	53.1	21,336
Togo	2,890	3,374	3,858	488	484	237	16.9	16.9	237
Togo	83	101	118	18	17	167	21.5	21.5	22,000
Togo and Tonga	1,060	1,124	1,188	64	64	288	6.0	6.0	288
Turkey	4,452	8,124	13,638	3,686	5,186	127	82.0	82.0	1,365
Turkey	48,171	55,704	63,081	7,533	7,377	130	15.5	15.5	675
Tunisia	1,171	1,171	1,171	0	0	183	15.7	15.7	183
Tunisia	12,725	17,900	23,061	5,275	5,161	203	41.4	41.4	183
United Arab Emirates	7,334	8,748	10,162	1,428	1,414	45	19.5	19.5	197
United Arab Emirates	1,004	1,004	1,004	0	0	118	0.0	0.0	118
United Kingdom	55,314	57,542	59,770	2,226	2,226	16	3.9	3.9	70
United States	237,737	250,017	262,301	12,264	12,284	600	4.5	4.5	600
Uruguay	2,563	3,251	3,939	686	688	18	26.9	26.9	18
Venezuela	11	18	25	7	7	111	62.2	62.2	111
Venezuela	15,024	18,526	22,028	3,502	3,502	183	22.9	22.9	183
Venezuela	50,327	66,171	82,015	15,888	15,848	16	29.9	29.9	16
Western Samoa	155	166	177	11	11	10	7.0	7.0	10
Yemen	7,334	8,748	10,162	1,428	1,414	45	19.5	19.5	197
Yemen	22,304	25,112	27,920	2,808	2,808	16	13.9	13.9	16
Zaire	39,682	39,682	39,682	0	0	37	0.0	0.0	37
Zaire	59,662	61,113	62,564	1,452	1,452	21	2.4	2.4	21
Zimbabwe	7,286	10,262	13,237	2,986	2,971	69	40.9	40.9	69
SPECIFIC AREAS OF SOVEREIGNTY AND DEPENDENCIES									
American Samoa	32	49	62	17	13	169	5.1	5.1	551
Anguilla	57	69	81	12	12	206	2.0	2.0	2,917
Antigua	11	12	14	1	1	183	0.4	0.4	183
British Virgin Islands	11	11				183	0.0	0.0	183
Cayman Islands	11	11				183	0.0	0.0	183
Cook Islands	11	11				183	0.0	0.0	183
Fernao Islands	11	11				183	0.0	0.0	183
Federated States of Micronesia	11	11				183	0.0	0.0	183
French Guiana	11	11				183	0.0	0.0	183
French Polynesia	11	11				183	0.0	0.0	183
Gaza Strip	11	11				183	0.0	0.0	183
Glennville	11	11				183	0.0	0.0	183
Greenland	11	11				183	0.0	0.0	183
Guadalupe	11	11				183	0.0	0.0	183
Guam	11	11				183	0.0	0.0	183
Hong Kong	11	11				183	0.0	0.0	183
Isle of Man	11	11				183	0.0	0.0	183
Janey	11	11				183	0.0	0.0	183
Marshall Islands	11	11				183	0.0	0.0	183
Mexico	11	11				183	0.0	0.0	183
Mexico	11	11				183	0.0	0.0	183
Mexico	11	11				183	0.0	0.0	183
Mexico	11	11				183	0.0	0.0	183
Mexico	11	11				183	0.0	0.0	183
Mexico	11	11				183	0.0	0.0	183
Mexico	11	11				183	0.0	0.0	183
Mexico	11	11				183	0.0	0.0	183
Mexico	11	11				183	0.0	0.0	183
Mexico	11	11				183	0.0	0.0	183
Mexico	11	11				183	0.0	0.0	183
Mexico	11	11				183	0.0	0.0	183
Mexico	11	11				183	0.0	0.0	183
Mexico	11	11				183	0.0	0.0	183
Mexico	11	11				183	0.0	0.0	183
Mexico	11	11				183	0.0	0.0	183
Mexico	11	11				183	0.0	0.0	183
Mexico	11	11				183	0.0	0.0	183
Mexico	11	11				183	0.0	0.0	183
Mexico	11	11				183	0.0	0.0	183
Mexico	11	11				183	0.0	0.0	183
Mexico	11	11				183	0.0	0.0	183
Mexico	11	11				183	0.0	0.0	183
Mexico	11	11				183	0.0	0.0	183
Mexico	11	11				183	0.0	0.0	183
Mexico	11	11				183	0.0	0.0	183
Mexico	11	11				183	0.0	0.0	183
Mexico	11	11				183	0.0	0.0	183
Mexico	11	11				183	0.0	0.0	183
Mexico	11	11				183	0.0	0.0	183
Mexico	11	11				183	0.0	0.0	183
Mexico	11	11				183	0.0	0.0	183
Mexico	11	11				183	0.0	0.0	183
Mexico	11	11				183	0.0	0.0	183
Mexico	11	11				183	0.0	0.0	183
Mexico	11	11				183	0.0	0.0	183
Mexico	11	11				183	0.0	0.0	183
Mexico	11	11				183	0.0	0.0	183
Mexico	11	11				183	0.0	0.0	183
Mexico	11	11				183	0.0	0.0	183
Mexico	11	11				183	0.0	0.0	183
Mexico	11	11				183	0.0	0.0	183
Mexico	11	11				183	0.0	0.0	183
Mexico	11	11				183	0.0	0.0	183
Mexico	11	11				183	0.0	0.0	183
Mexico	11	11				183	0.0	0.0	183
Mexico	11	11				183	0.0	0.0	183
Mexico	11	11				183	0.0	0.0	183
Mexico	11	11				183	0.0	0.0	183
Mexico	11	11				183	0.0	0.0	183
Mexico	11	11				183	0.0	0.0	183
Mexico	11	11				183	0.0	0.0	183
Mexico	11	11				183	0.0	0.0	183
Mexico	11	11				183	0.0	0.0	183
Mexico	11	11				183	0.0	0.0	183
Mexico	11	11				183	0.0	0.0	183
Mexico	11	11				183	0.0	0.0	183
Mexico	11	11				183	0.0	0.0	183
Mexico	11	11				183	0.0	0.0	183
Mexico	11	11				183	0.0	0.0	183
Mexico	11	11				183	0.0	0.0	183
Mexico	11	11				183	0.0	0.0	183
Mexico	11	11				183	0.0	0.0	183
Mexico	11								

X Not applicable. 2 Less than .05 percent or A.
 annual percent change. See Guide to Tables Presentation.
 * Data from U.S. Central Intelligence Agency, *The World Factbook*,
 American and foreign-born U.S. Department of State, *Status of the World's Nations*; intelligence and statistical office of the United
 Nations. New York, NY, *Zemographic Yearbook*. Includes Bermuda, Canada, Greenland, St. Pierre and Miquelon, and United
 States. Excludes "negative" areas subject to dispute over sovereignty. Includes the island-held part of Jamaica and
 Kashmir. Excludes the Pakistan-held part of Jammu and Kashmir. Includes only the Republic of Palau.
 Sources: Except as noted, U.S. Bureau of the Census, unpublished data.

**"THE CHALLENGES OF OUR AGE:
PEACEKEEPING, PROLIFERATION, AND PROSPERITY"
UNITED NATIONS GENERAL ASSEMBLY
SEPTEMBER 21, 1992**

**MR. PRESIDENT, MR. SECRETARY-GENERAL, DISTINGUISHED
GUESTS:**

**FORTY SEVEN YEARS AGO, I WAS A YOUNG MAN OF TWENTY
ONE. LIKE THOUSANDS OF OTHERS OF MY GENERATION, I HAD
GONE OFF TO WAR TO HELP KEEP FREEDOM ALIVE. BUT FORTY
SEVEN YEARS AGO THIS MONTH, THE WAR WAS FINALLY OVER,
AND I WAS LOOKING FORWARD TO PEACE AND THE CHANCE TO
BEGIN MY LIFE IN EARNEST.**

**1945 MARKED A MOMENT OF PROMISE NOT JUST FOR ME BUT
FOR ALL MANKIND. A GREAT STRUGGLE AGAINST DICTATORSHIP
HAD BEEN FOUGHT AND WON. ACROSS THE GLOBE, WE ALL
LOOKED FORWARD TO A FUTURE FREE OF WAR, A WORLD WHERE
WE MIGHT RAISE OUR CHILDREN IN PEACE AND FREEDOM. THIS
INSTITUTION -- THE UNITED NATIONS -- BORN AMIDST THE
ASHES OF WAR, EMBODIED THOSE HOPES AND DREAMS LIKE NO
OTHER.**

BUT THE HOPES AND DREAMS OF 1945 REMAINED UNFULFILLED. COMMUNIST IMPERIALISM DIVIDED THE WORLD IN TWO. OUR HOPES FOR PEACE AND OUR DREAMS OF FREEDOM WERE FROZEN IN THE GRIP OF COLD WAR. INSTEAD OF FINDING COMMON GROUND, WE FOUND OURSELVES AT GROUND ZERO. INSTEAD OF LIVING ON CHURCHILL'S "BROAD, SUNLIT UPLANDS", MILLIONS FOUND THAT THERE WAS -- AS ARTHUR KOESTLER SO CHILLINGLY WROTE -- DARKNESS AT NOON.

INSTEAD OF UNITING THE NATIONS, THIS BODY BECAME A FORUM FOR DISTRUST AND DIVISION AMONG NATIONS. IN A CRUEL IRONY, THE UNITED NATIONS -- CREATED TO FREE THE WORLD OF CONFLICT -- BECAME ITSELF CONFLICT'S CAPTIVE. // I, TOO, LIVED THROUGH THOSE DISPUTES. I SAT WHERE YOU SAT, SERVED IN THIS ASSEMBLY -- AND I SAW IN MY TIME THE CONSEQUENCES OF THE COLD WAR'S HOT WORDS ON THE HIGHER MISSIONS OF THE U.N.

NOW, FORTY SEVEN YEARS LATER, WE STAND AT THE END OF ANOTHER WAR -- THE COLD WAR -- AND OUR HOPES AND DREAMS HAVE AWAKENED AGAIN. RIVEN BY ITS OWN INTERNAL CONTRADICTIONS AND BANISHED BY THE PEOPLES' UNDYING THIRST FOR FREEDOM, IMPERIAL COMMUNISM HAS COLLAPSED IN ITS BIRTHPLACE. TODAY, RUSSIA HAS AWAKENED: DEMOCRATIC, INDEPENDENT, AND FREE. THE BALTIC STATES ARE FREE. AND SO, TOO, ARE UKRAINE, ARMENIA, BELARUS, KAZAKHSTAN, AND THE OTHER NEW INDEPENDENT STATES, JOINING THE NATIONS OF CENTRAL AND EASTERN EUROPE IN FREEDOM.

THE FEAR OF NUCLEAR ARMAGEDDON BETWEEN THE SUPERPOWERS HAS VANISHED. WE ARE PROUD TO HAVE DONE OUR PART TO ENSURE THAT OUR SCHOOL CHILDREN DO NOT HAVE TO PRACTICE HIDING UNDER THEIR DESKS FOR FEAR OF NUCLEAR ATTACK -- AS THE GENERATION BEFORE THEM. I AM PROUD, ALSO, TO SALUTE THE COURAGEOUS LEADERS WITH NUCLEAR RESPONSIBILITIES -- PRESIDENTS YELTSIN, KRAVCHUK, NAZARBAYEV, AND SHUSHKEVICH -- WHO JOINED ME IN ENDING THE SUPERPOWER STANDOFF THAT RISKED NUCLEAR NIGHTMARE. THIS IS THE FIRST GENERAL ASSEMBLY TO SEAT YOU AS TRULY INDEPENDENT AND FREE NATIONS. TO YOU AND TO THE LEADERS OF THE OTHER NEW INDEPENDENT STATES, I SAY: WELCOME HOME. WE ARE NOW TRULY UNITED NATIONS.

WITH THE COLD WAR'S END, I BELIEVE WE HAVE A UNIQUE OPPORTUNITY: TO GO BEYOND ARTIFICIAL DIVISIONS OF A FIRST, SECOND, AND THIRD WORLD, TO FORGE INSTEAD A GENUINE GLOBAL COMMUNITY OF FREE AND SOVEREIGN NATIONS -- A COMMUNITY BUILT ON RESPECT FOR THE PRINCIPLE OF PEACEFUL SETTLEMENTS OF DISPUTES, FUNDAMENTAL HUMAN RIGHTS, AND THE TWIN PILLARS OF FREEDOM: DEMOCRACY AND FREE MARKETS.

ALREADY, THE UNITED NATIONS -- ESPECIALLY THE SECURITY COUNCIL -- HAS DONE MUCH TO FULFILL ITS ORIGINAL MISSION AND TO BUILD THIS GLOBAL COMMUNITY. U.N. LEADERSHIP HAS BEEN CRITICAL IN RESOLVING CONFLICTS AND BROKERING PEACE THE WORLD OVER.

BUT SECURING DEMOCRACY AND SECURING THE PEACE IN THE CENTURY AHEAD WILL BE NO SIMPLE TASK. IMPERIAL COMMUNISM MAY HAVE BEEN VANQUISHED, BUT THAT DOES NOT END THE CHALLENGES OF OUR AGE -- CHALLENGES THAT MUST BE OVERCOME IF WE ARE FINALLY TO END THE DIVISIONS BETWEEN EAST AND WEST, NORTH AND SOUTH THAT FUEL STRIFE AND STRAIN AND CONFLICT AND WAR.

AS WE SUPPORT THE HISTORIC GROWTH OF DEMOCRACY AROUND THE WORLD, I BELIEVE THE COMMUNITY OF NATIONS -
- AND THE UNITED NATIONS -- FACE THREE CRITICAL, INTERRELATED CHALLENGES AS WE ENTER THE TWENTY-FIRST CENTURY.

FIRST, WE FACE THE POLITICAL CHALLENGE OF KEEPING TODAY'S PEACE AND PREVENTING TOMORROW'S WARS. AS WE SEE DAILY IN BOSNIA, SOMALIA, CAMBODIA -- EVERYWHERE CONFLICT CLAIMS INNOCENT LIVES -- THE NEED FOR ENHANCED PEACEKEEPING CAPABILITIES HAS NEVER BEEN GREATER, THE CONFLICTS WE MUST DEAL WITH MORE INTRACTABLE, THE COSTS OF CONFLICT HIGHER.

SECOND, WE FACE THE STRATEGIC CHALLENGE OF THE PROLIFERATION OF WEAPONS OF MASS DESTRUCTION -- TRULY THE FASTEST GROWING SECURITY CHALLENGE TO INTERNATIONAL PEACE AND ORDER.

THIRD, WE FACE THE COMMON ECONOMIC CHALLENGE OF PROMOTING PROSPERITY FOR ALL, OF STRENGTHENING AN OPEN, GROWTH-ORIENTED FREE-MARKET INTERNATIONAL ECONOMIC ORDER WHILE SAFEGUARDING THE ENVIRONMENT.

MEETING THESE CHALLENGES WILL REQUIRE US TO STRENGTHEN OUR COLLECTIVE ENGAGEMENT. IT WILL REQUIRE US TO TRANSFORM OUR COLLECTIVE INSTITUTIONS.

ABOVE ALL, IT WILL REQUIRE THAT EACH OF US LOOK SERIOUSLY AT OUR OWN GOVERNMENTS AND HOW WE CONDUCT OUR INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS. WE, TOO, MUST CHANGE OUR INSTITUTIONS AND OUR PRACTICES IF WE ARE TO MAKE A NEW WORLD OF THE PROMISE OF TODAY -- IF WE ARE TO SECURE A TWENTY-FIRST CENTURY PEACE.

WITH YOU TODAY, I WOULD LIKE TO DISCUSS THESE THREE CHALLENGES -- PEACEKEEPING, PROLIFERATION, AND PROSPERITY. AND I WOULD LIKE TO USE THIS OPPORTUNITY TO BEGIN TO SKETCH HOW I BELIEVE THE INTERNATIONAL COMMUNITY CAN WORK TOGETHER TO MEET THESE THREE CHALLENGES AND HOW THE UNITED STATES IS CHANGING ITS INSTITUTIONS AND POLICIES TO CATALYZE THIS EFFORT.

LET ME BEGIN WITH PEACEKEEPING.

THE UNITED NATIONS HAS A LONG AND DISTINGUISHED HISTORY OF PEACEKEEPING AND HUMANITARIAN RELIEF. FROM CYPRUS AND LEBANON TO CAMBODIA AND CROATIA, THE BLUE BERET HAS BECOME A SYMBOL OF HOPE AMID HOSTILITY. THE U.N. HAS LONG PLAYED A CENTRAL ROLE IN PREVENTING CONFLICTS FROM TURNING INTO WARS, AND STRENGTHENED PEACEKEEPING CAPABILITIES CAN HELP BUTTRESS THESE DIPLOMATIC EFFORTS.

BUT AS MUCH AS THE U.N. HAS DONE, IT CAN DO MUCH MORE.

PEACEKEEPERS ARE STRETCHED TO THE LIMIT WHILE DEMANDS FOR THEIR SERVICES INCREASE BY THE DAY. THE NEED FOR MONITORING AND PREVENTIVE PEACEKEEPING -- PUTTING PEOPLE ON THE GROUND BEFORE THE FIGHTING STARTS -- MAY BECOME ESPECIALLY CRITICAL IN VOLATILE REGIONS.

THIS IS ESPECIALLY THE CASE BECAUSE OF THE RAPID AND TURBULENT CHANGE THAT CONTINUES TO SHAKE EASTERN EUROPE AND EURASIA. ACROSS THE LANDS THAT ONCE WERE IMPRISONED BEHIND THE IRON CURTAIN, PEOPLES ARE REASSERTING THEIR HISTORICAL IDENTITIES THAT WERE FROZEN IN COMMUNISM'S CATACOMB.

WHERE THIS IS TAKING PLACE IN A DEMOCRATIC MANNER WITH TOLERANCE AND CIVILITY AND RESPECT FOR FUNDAMENTAL HUMAN RIGHTS AND FREEDOMS, THIS NEW, DEMOCRATIC NATIONALISM IS ALL TO THE GOOD. BUT UNFORTUNATELY, WE NEED ONLY LOOK TO THE BLOODY BATTLES RAGING PLACES SUCH AS THE FORMER YUGOSLAVIA TO SEE THE DANGERS OF ETHNIC VIOLENCE.

THIS IS THE GREATEST THREAT TO THE "DEMOCRATIC PEACE" WE HOPE TO BUILD WITH EASTERN EUROPE, RUSSIA, AND EURASIA, EVEN MORE SO THAN ECONOMIC DEPRIVATION. WE FULLY SUPPORT THE EFFORTS OF NATO, C.S.C.E., W.E.U., THE C.I.S., AND OTHER COMPETENT REGIONAL ORGANIZATIONS TO DEVELOP PEACEKEEPING CAPABILITIES. WE ARE CONVINCED, HOWEVER, THAT ENHANCED U.N. CAPABILITIES ARE A NECESSARY COMPLEMENT TO THESE REGIONAL EFFORTS NOT JUST IN EUROPE AND EURASIA BUT ACROSS THE GLOBE.

I WELCOME THE SECRETARY-GENERAL'S CALL FOR A NEW AGENDA TO STRENGTHEN THE U.N.'S ABILITY TO PREVENT, CONTAIN, AND RESOLVE CONFLICT ACROSS THE GLOBE. TODAY, I CALL UPON ALL MEMBER STATES TO JOIN ME IN TAKING BOLD STEPS TO ADVANCE THAT AGENDA.

I THEREFORE WILL BE DISCUSSING WITH MY COLLEAGUES THE MERITS OF A SPECIAL MEETING OF THE UNITED NATIONS SECURITY COUNCIL TO DISCUSS THE SECRETARY-GENERAL'S PROPOSALS AND TO DEVELOP CONCRETE RESPONSES IN FIVE KEY AREAS:

ONE, ROBUST PEACEKEEPING REQUIRES MEN AND EQUIPMENT ONLY MEMBER STATES CAN PROVIDE. NATIONS SHOULD DEVELOP AND TRAIN MILITARY UNITS FOR POSSIBLE PEACEKEEPING OPERATIONS AND HUMANITARIAN RELIEF. THESE FORCES MUST BE AVAILABLE ON SHORT NOTICE AT THE REQUEST OF THE SECURITY COUNCIL AND WITH THE APPROVAL OF THE GOVERNMENTS PROVIDING THEM.

TWO, IF MULTINATIONAL UNITS ARE TO WORK TOGETHER, THEY MUST TRAIN TOGETHER. MANY NATIONS -- FOR EXAMPLE, FIJI, NORWAY, CANADA, AND FINLAND -- HAVE A LONG HISTORY OF PEACEKEEPING, AND WE CAN ALL TAP INTO THAT EXPERIENCE AS WE TRAIN FOR EXPANDED OPERATIONS. EFFECTIVE MULTINATIONAL ACTION WILL ALSO REQUIRE COORDINATED COMMAND-AND-CONTROL AND INTEROPERABILITY OF BOTH EQUIPMENT AND COMMUNICATIONS. MULTINATIONAL PLANNING, TRAINING, AND FIELD EXERCISES WILL BE NEEDED. THESE EFFORTS SHOULD LINK UP WITH REGIONAL ORGANIZATIONS.

THREE, WE ALSO NEED TO PROVIDE ADEQUATE LOGISTICAL SUPPORT FOR PEACEKEEPING AND HUMANITARIAN OPERATIONS. MEMBER STATES SHOULD DESIGNATE STOCKPILES OF RESOURCES NECESSARY TO MEET HUMANITARIAN EMERGENCIES, INCLUDING FAMINES, FLOODS, OR CIVIL DISTURBANCES. THIS WILL SAVE VALUABLE TIME IN A CRISIS.

FOUR, WE WILL NEED TO DEVELOP PLANNING, CRISIS MANAGEMENT, AND INTELLIGENCE CAPABILITIES FOR PEACEKEEPING AND HUMANITARIAN OPERATIONS.

FIVE, WE MUST ENSURE ADEQUATE, EQUITABLE FINANCING FOR U.N. AND ASSOCIATED PEACEKEEPING EFFORTS.

AS I SAID, WE MUST CHANGE OUR NATIONAL INSTITUTIONS IF WE ARE TO CHANGE OUR INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS, SO LET ME ASSURE YOU: THE UNITED STATES IS READY TO DO ITS PART TO STRENGTHEN WORLD PEACE BY STRENGTHENING INTERNATIONAL PEACEKEEPING.

FOR DECADES, THE AMERICAN MILITARY HAS SERVED AS A STABILIZING PRESENCE AROUND THE GLOBE. I WANT TO DRAW ON OUR EXTENSIVE EXPERIENCE IN WINNING WARS AND KEEPING THE PEACE TO SUPPORT U.N. PEACEKEEPING.

I HAVE DIRECTED THE US SECRETARY OF DEFENSE TO PLACE A NEW EMPHASIS ON PEACEKEEPING. BECAUSE OF PEACEKEEPING'S GROWING IMPORTANCE AS A MISSION FOR THE US MILITARY, WE WILL EMPHASIZE TRAINING OF COMBAT, ENGINEERING, AND LOGISTICAL UNITS FOR THE FULL RANGE OF PEACEKEEPING AND HUMANITARIAN ACTIVITIES. WE WILL WORK WITH THE UNITED NATIONS TO BEST EMPLOY OUR CONSIDERABLE LIFT, LOGISTICS, COMMUNICATIONS, AND INTELLIGENCE CAPABILITIES TO SUPPORT PEACEKEEPING OPERATIONS. AND WE WILL OFFER OUR CAPABILITIES FOR JOINT SIMULATIONS AND EXERCISES TO STRENGTHEN OUR ABILITY TO UNDERTAKE JOINT PEACEKEEPING OPERATIONS. THERE IS ROOM FOR ALL COUNTRIES LARGE AND SMALL, AND I HOPE ALL WILL PLAY A PART.

MEMBER STATES, AS ALWAYS, MUST RETAIN THE FINAL DECISION ON THE USE OF THEIR TROOPS. BUT WE MUST DEVELOP OUR ABILITY TO COORDINATE PEACEKEEPING EFFORTS SO THAT WE CAN MOBILIZE QUICKLY WHEN A THREAT TO PEACE ARISES OR WHEN PEOPLE IN NEED LOOK TO THE WORLD FOR HELP.

I HAVE FURTHER DIRECTED THE ESTABLISHMENT OF A PERMANENT PEACEKEEPING CURRICULUM IN US MILITARY SCHOOLS.

TRAINING, PLAINLY, IS KEY. THE UNITED STATES IS PREPARED TO MAKE AVAILABLE OUR BASES AND FACILITIES FOR MULTINATIONAL TRAINING AND FIELD EXERCISES. ONE SUCH BASE NEARBY WITH FACILITIES IS FORT DIX. AMERICA USED THESE BASES TO WIN THE COLD WAR; TODAY, WITH THAT WAR OVER, THEY CAN HELP BUILD A LASTING PEACE.

THE UNITED STATES IS WILLING TO PROVIDE OUR MILITARY EXPERTISE TO THE UNITED NATIONS TO HELP THE U.N. STRENGTHEN ITS PLANNING AND OPERATIONS FOR PEACEKEEPING. WE WILL ALSO BROADEN AMERICAN SUPPORT FOR MONITORING, VERIFICATION, RECONNAISSANCE, AND OTHER REQUIREMENTS OF U.N. PEACEKEEPING OR HUMANITARIAN ASSISTANCE OPERATIONS.

FINALLY, THE UNITED STATES WILL REVIEW HOW WE FUND PEACEKEEPING AND EXPLORE NEW WAYS TO ENSURE ADEQUATE AMERICAN FINANCIAL SUPPORT FOR U.N. PEACEKEEPING AND HUMANITARIAN ACTIVITIES. I DO BELIEVE WE MUST THINK DIFFERENTLY ABOUT HOW WE ENSURE -- AND PAY FOR -- OUR SECURITY IN THIS NEW ERA.

WHILE THE END OF THE COLD WAR MAY HAVE ENDED THE SUPERPOWER NUCLEAR ARMS COMPETITION, REGIONAL COMPETITIONS IN WEAPONS OF MASS DESTRUCTION CONTINUE. OVER TWENTY COUNTRIES HAVE OR ARE DEVELOPING NUCLEAR, CHEMICAL, OR BIOLOGICAL WEAPONS AND THE MEANS TO DELIVER THEM.

AT A TIME WHEN THE UNITED STATES AND ITS FORMER ADVERSARIES ARE ENGAGED IN DEEP, HISTORIC CUTS IN OUR NUCLEAR ARSENALS, OUR CHILDREN AND GRANDCHILDREN WILL NEVER FORGIVE US IF WE ALLOW NEW AND UNSTABLE NUCLEAR STAND-OFFS TO DEVELOP AROUND THE WORLD.

WE BELIEVE THE SECURITY COUNCIL SHOULD BECOME A KEY FORUM FOR NONPROLIFERATION ENFORCEMENT. THE SECURITY COUNCIL SHOULD MAKE CLEAR ITS INTENTION TO STEM PROLIFERATION AND SANCTION PROLIFERATORS. REAFFIRMING ASSURANCES MADE AT THE TIME THE NUCLEAR NONPROLIFERATION TREATY WAS NEGOTIATED, I PROPOSE THAT THE SECURITY COUNCIL REASSURE NON-NUCLEAR STATES THAT IT WILL SEEK IMMEDIATE ACTION TO PROVIDE ASSISTANCE, IN ACCORDANCE WITH THE CHARTER, TO ANY NON-NUCLEAR WEAPON STATE PARTY TO THE N.P.T. THAT IS A VICTIM OF AN ACT OF AGGRESSION OR AN OBJECT OF THREAT OF AGGRESSION INVOLVING NUCLEAR WEAPONS. I ALSO CALL FOR THE INDEFINITE RENEWAL OF THE NUCLEAR NONPROLIFERATION TREATY WHEN IT IS REVIEWED IN 1995.

I BELIEVE WE MUST EXPLORE WAYS WE CAN STRENGTHEN LINKAGES BETWEEN THE SUPPLIERS CLUBS' -- THE NUCLEAR SUPPLIERS' GROUP, THE AUSTRALIA GROUP, AND THE MISSILE TECHNOLOGY CONTROL REGIME -- AND SPECIALIZED U.N. AGENCIES. HERE I WOULD LIKE TO NOTE UNSCOM'S PRODUCTIVE EFFORTS TO DISMANTLE THE IRAQI WEAPONS OF MASS DESTRUCTION PROGRAM AND THE INTERNATIONAL ATOMIC ENERGY AGENCY'S CONTINUING GOOD WORK.

BUT AS THE U.N. ORGANIZATIONS ADAPT TO STOP PROLIFERATION, SO TOO MUST EVERY MEMBER STATE CHANGE ITS STRUCTURES TO ADVANCE OUR NON-PROLIFERATION GOALS.

IN THAT SPIRIT, I WANT TO ANNOUNCE MY INTENTION TODAY TO WORK WITH THE US CONGRESS TO REDIRECT THE US ARMS CONTROL AND DISARMAMENT AGENCY -- OR ACDA -- TO REFOCUS ITS TALENTS ON PROVIDING TECHNICAL SUPPORT FOR NON-PROLIFERATION, WEAPONS MONITORING AND DESTRUCTION, AND GLOBAL DEFENSE CONVERSION. UNDER THE DIRECTION OF THE SECRETARY OF STATE, ACDA SHOULD BE USED NOT ONLY IN COMPLETING THE TRADITIONAL ARMS CONTROL AGENDA, BUT JUST AS IMPORTANTLY IN PROVIDING TECHNICAL ASSISTANCE ON OUR NEW SECURITY AGENDA.

EVEN AS WE WORK TO PREVENT PROLIFERATION OF WEAPONS OF MASS DESTRUCTION, WE MUST BE REALISTIC AND GUARD OURSELVES AGAINST PROLIFERATION THAT HAS ALREADY TAKEN PLACE. THEREFORE, WE ARE WORKING TOWARD A COOPERATIVE SYSTEM FOR DEFENSE AGAINST LIMITED BALLISTIC MISSILE ATTACKS. WE FULLY INTEND TO HAVE OTHER NATIONS PARTICIPATE IN THIS GLOBAL PROTECTION SYSTEM.

WHILE EXPANDED PEACEKEEPING CAPABILITIES AND IMPROVED NONPROLIFERATION EFFORTS WILL BE CRITICAL FOR BUILDING AN ENDURING PEACE, SHARED ECONOMIC GROWTH IS THE LONG-TERM FOUNDATION FOR A BRIGHTER FUTURE WELL INTO THE NEXT CENTURY.

THAT'S WHY I STATED YESTERDAY -- DURING A MOMENT OF INTERNATIONAL UNCERTAINTY -- THAT THE UNITED STATES WOULD BE STRONGLY ENGAGED WITH ITS GLOBAL PARTNERS IN BUILDING A GLOBAL ECONOMIC, FINANCIAL, AND TRADING STRUCTURE FOR THIS NEW ERA. AT THE SAME TIME, I URGED THAT OUR GLOBAL RESPONSIBILITIES LEAD US TO EXAMINE WAYS TO STRENGTHEN THE G-7 COORDINATION PROCESS. I AFFIRMED AMERICA'S SUPPORT FOR EUROPEAN INTEGRATION THAT OPENS MARKETS AND ENHANCES EUROPE'S CAPABILITIES TO BE OUR PARTNER IN THE GREAT CHALLENGES WE FACE IN THIS NEW ERA. WHILE THE EXACT FORM OF INTEGRATION IS, OF COURSE, FOR EUROPEANS TO DETERMINE, WE WILL STAND BY THEM.

ECONOMIC GROWTH IS NOT A ZERO-SUM PROCESS. ALL OF US WILL BENEFIT FROM THE EXPANDED TRADE AND INVESTMENT THAT COMES FROM A VIBRANT, GROWING WORLD ECONOMY. TO ENSURE THAT THE BENEFITS OF THIS GROWTH ARE SUSTAINED AND SHARED BY ALL, FAIR AND OPEN COMPETITION SHOULD BE THE FUEL FOR THE GLOBAL ECONOMIC ENGINE. THAT'S WHY THE UNITED STATES WANTS TO COMPLETE THE URUGUAY ROUND OF THE GATT NEGOTIATIONS AS SOON AS POSSIBLE AND TO CREATE A NETWORK OF FREE TRADE AGREEMENTS, BEGINNING WITH THE NORTH AMERICA FREE TRADE AGREEMENT.

AT THE SAME TIME, WE NEED TO RECOGNIZE THAT WE HAVE A SHARED RESPONSIBILITY TO FOSTER AND SUPPORT THE FREE MARKET REFORMS NECESSARY TO BUILD GROWING ECONOMIES AND VIBRANT DEMOCRACIES IN THE DEVELOPING WORLD AND THE NEW DEMOCRATIC STATES. THIS SHOULD BE DONE BY PROMOTING THE PRIVATE SECTOR TO BUILD THESE NEW ECONOMIES, NOT BY FOSTERING DEPENDENCY WITH TRADITIONAL GOVERNMENT-TO-GOVERNMENT FOREIGN AID.

SINCE WORLD WAR II, FOREIGN ASSISTANCE OFTEN SERVED AS A WEAPON IN THE COLD WAR. OBVIOUSLY, WE WILL STILL USE CRITICAL FOREIGN ASSISTANCE FUNDS TO MEET LEGITIMATE SECURITY NEEDS. AND AS OUR HUMANITARIAN OPERATIONS IN SOMALIA, NORTHERN IRAQ, BOSNIA, AND THE FORMER SOVIET UNION TESTIFY, WE WILL CONTINUE OUR ROBUST HUMANITARIAN ASSISTANCE EFFORTS TO HELP THOSE SUFFERING FROM MAN-MADE AND NATURAL DISASTERS.

BUT FOREIGN "AID" AS WE HAVE KNOWN IT NEEDS TO BE TRANSFORMED. THE NOTION OF A "HAND-OUT" TO LESS DEVELOPED COUNTRIES NEEDS TO GIVE WAY TO COOPERATION IN MUTUALLY PRODUCTIVE ECONOMIC RELATIONSHIPS.

WE KNOW THAT THE MORE A NATION RELIES ON THE PRIVATE SECTOR AND FREE MARKETS, THE HIGHER ITS RATE OF GROWTH. THE MORE OPEN TO TRADE, THE HIGHER ITS RATE OF GROWTH. AND THE BETTER A COUNTRY'S INVESTMENT CLIMATE, ONCE AGAIN, THE HIGHER ITS RATE OF GROWTH.

TO MOVE FROM AID DEPENDENCY TO ECONOMIC PARTNERSHIP, WE PROPOSE TO ALTER FUNDAMENTALLY THE FOCUS OF US FOREIGN ASSISTANCE PROGRAMS TO BUILDING STRONG, INDEPENDENT ECONOMIES THAT CAN BECOME CONTRIBUTORS TO A HEALTHY, GROWING GLOBAL ECONOMY. THAT MEANS OUR NEW EMPHASIS SHOULD BE ON BUILDING ECONOMIC PARTNERSHIPS AMONG OUR PRIVATE SECTORS THAT WILL PROMOTE PROSPERITY AT HOME AND ABROAD.

WORKING WITH OUR CONGRESS, I WILL PROPOSE A TOP-TO-BOTTOM OVERHAUL OF OUR INSTITUTIONS THAT PLAN AND ADMINISTER FOREIGN ASSISTANCE -- DRASTICALLY REDUCING THE BUREAUCRACY THAT HAS BUILT UP AROUND GOVERNMENT-BASED PROGRAMS, STREAMLINING OUR DELIVERY SYSTEMS, AND STRENGTHENING SUPPORT FOR PRIVATE SECTOR DEVELOPMENT AND ECONOMIC REFORM. THE AGENCY FOR INTERNATIONAL DEVELOPMENT -- ANOTHER INSTITUTION BORN DURING THE COLD WAR -- NEEDS TO BE FUNDAMENTALLY AND RADICALLY OVERHAULED. PROMOTING ECONOMIC SECURITY, OPPORTUNITY, AND COMPETITIVENESS WILL BECOME A PRIMARY MISSION OF THE STATE DEPARTMENT.

OUR ASSISTANCE EFFORTS SHOULD NOT BE CHARITY. ON THE CONTRARY, THEY SHOULD PROMOTE MUTUAL PROSPERITY. THEREFORE, USING EXISTING FOREIGN AFFAIRS RESOURCES, I WILL PROPOSE CREATING A \$1 BILLION "GROWTH FUND." THE FUND WILL PROVIDE GRANTS AND CREDITS TO SUPPORT US BUSINESSES IN PROVIDING EXPERTISE, GOODS, AND SERVICES DESPERATELY NEEDED IN COUNTRIES UNDERTAKING ECONOMIC RESTRUCTURING. I WILL ALSO SUPPORT SIGNIFICANTLY INCREASING THE PROGRAMS OF THE EXPORT-IMPORT BANK TO ENSURE THAT US PRODUCTS AND TECHNOLOGY PROMOTE INVESTMENT IN WORLDWIDE ECONOMIC GROWTH.

THE UNITED STATES WILL WORK WITH ITS GLOBAL ECONOMIC PARTNERS, ESPECIALLY THE G-7 NATIONS, TO ENHANCE GLOBAL GROWTH AT THIS KEY POINT IN WORLD HISTORY AS WE END ONE ERA AND BEGIN ANOTHER. NONE OF US CAN AFFORD INSULAR POLICIES. EACH OF US MUST CONTRIBUTE, THROUGH GREATER COORDINATED ACTION, TO BUILD A STRONGER WORLD ECONOMY.

LADIES AND GENTLEMEN, I REALIZE WHAT I HAVE
OUTLINED TODAY IS AN AMBITIOUS AGENDA -- BUT WE LIVE IN
REMARKABLE TIMES: TIMES WHEN EMPIRES COLLAPSE, //
IDEOLOGIES DISSOLVE, // AND WALLS CRUMBLE -- TIMES WHEN
CHANGE CAN COME SO FAST THAT WE SOMETIMES FORGET HOW
FAR AND FAST WE'VE PROGRESSED IN ACHIEVING OUR HOPES
FOR A GLOBAL COMMUNITY OF DEMOCRATIC NATIONS.

IN THE FACE OF TODAY'S CHANGES -- WITH THE LOSS OF
SO MUCH THAT WAS FAMILIAR AND PREDICTABLE -- THERE IS
NOW A GREAT TEMPTATION FOR PEOPLE EVERYWHERE TO TURN
INWARD AND TO BUILD WALLS AROUND THEMSELVES: WALLS
AGAINST TRADE, WALLS AGAINST PEOPLE, WALLS AGAINST
IDEAS AND INVESTMENT, WALLS AGAINST ANYTHING AT ALL
THAT APPEARS NEW AND DIFFERENT.

AS THE BERLIN WALL FELL, THESE WALLS, TOO, MUST
FALL.

THEY MUST FALL BECAUSE WE CANNOT SEPARATE OUR FATE FROM THAT OF OTHERS -- OUR PEACE IS SO INTERCONNECTED, OUR SECURITY SO INTERTWINED, OUR PROSPERITY SO INTERDEPENDENT THAT TO TURN INWARD AND RETREAT FROM THE WORLD IS TO INVITE DISASTER AND DEFEAT.

AT THE THRESHOLD OF A NEW CENTURY, WE CAN TRULY SAY: A MORE PEACEFUL, MORE SECURE, MORE PROSPEROUS FUTURE BECKONS TO US.

FOR THE SAKE OF OUR CHILDREN AND GRANDCHILDREN -- FOR THE SAKE OF THOSE WHO PERISHED DURING THE COLD WAR -- FOR THE SAKE OF EVERY MAN, WOMAN, AND CHILD WHO KEPT FREEDOM'S FLAME ALIVE EVEN DURING THE DARKEST NOON -- LET US PLEDGE OURSELVES TO MAKE THAT FUTURE REAL.

LET US PLEDGE OURSELVES TO FULFILL THE PROMISE OF A TRULY UNITED NATIONS. THANK YOU AND GOD BLESS YOU.

#

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

September 17, 1992

MEMORANDUM FOR THE CHIEF OF STAFF
PAUL BATEMAN
DAVID BATES
TONY BENEDI
PHILLIP BRADY
ANN BROCK
MICHAEL BUSCH
NICK CALIO
BILLY DALE
DAVID DEMAREST
BILL FARISH
LAURIE FIRESTONE
MARLIN FITZWATER
CLAYTON FONG
GARY FOSTER
JOHN GAUGHAN
BOYDEN GRAY
KAREN GROOMES
EDE HOLIDAY
CONSTANCE HORNER
TOM HUFFORD
RON KAUFMAN
BOBBIE KILBERG
CECE KREMER
WILLIAM KRISTOL
MICHAEL LUCAS
CHRISTINA MARTIN

TIM MCBRIDE
DAN MCGROARTY
LAURA MELILLO
HENSON MOORE
JANE MOORE
JANET MULLINS
ED MURNANE
ROGER PORTER
PATTY PRESOCK
STEVEN PROVOST
SUSAN PORTER ROSE
DENNIS ROSS
BRENT SCOWCROFT
DORRANCE SMITH
JUDY SMITH
KATHY SUPER
PEGGY SWIFT
MARGARET TUTWILER
DAVID VALDEZ
ROSE ZAMARIA
ROBERT ZOELICK
USSS/PPD OPS
WHCA OPS
MEDICAL UNIT
AIRLIFT OPS
WHTV

FROM: JOHN G. KELLER, JR.

SUBJECT: TRIP OF THE PRESIDENT AND MRS. BUSH TO NEW
YORK, NEW YORK ON MONDAY, SEPTEMBER 21, 1992

For your use and planning purposes, the attached is a preliminary outline schedule for the Trip of the President and Mrs. Bush to New York, New York on Monday, September 21, 1992.

Please keep in mind the following information has not been finally approved and is subject to change.

Attachments

PRELIMINARY OUTLINE SCHEDULE

Monday, September 21, 1992

GUEST AND STAFF INSTRUCTIONS:

7:35 am Vans depart West Basement
en route Andrews Air Force
Base.

7:55 am Those with own transportation
should arrive Andrews Air Force
Base Distinguished Visitor's
Lounge at this time.

8:20 am MARINE ONE departs White House en route
Andrews Air Force Base.

(Flying Time: 10 Minutes)

8:30 am MARINE ONE arrives Andrews Air Force Base.

8:40 am AIR FORCE ONE departs Andrews Air Force Base
(E.D.T.) en route New York, New York.

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

9:30 am AIR FORCE ONE arrives John F. Kennedy
(E.D.T.) International Airport, New York, New York.

9:40 am MARINE ONE departs John F. Kennedy International
Airport en route Wall Street Landing Zone.

(Flying Time: 15 Minutes)

9:55 am MARINE ONE arrives Wall Street Landing Zone.

10:00 am MOTORCADE departs Wall Street Landing Zone
en route United Nations.

(Drive Time: 15 Minutes)

10:15 am MOTORCADE arrives United Nations.

- * COURTESY CALL ON UNITED NATIONS SECRETARY-
GENERAL BOUTROS-GHALI
- Travel Pool
(10:25 am - 10:40 am)
- * PRIVATE TIME: 5 MINUTES
(10:45 am - 10:50 am)
- * COURTESY CALL ON UNITED NATIONS GENERAL
ASSEMBLY PRESIDENT STOYAN GANEV
- Closed Press
(10:55 am - 11:00 am)
- * ADDRESS UNITED NATIONS GENERAL ASSEMBLY
- Open Press/Live Television Coverage
- Remarks
- Teleprompter
(11:05 am - 11:30 am)

11:35 am MOTORCADE departs United Nations en route
Waldorf-Astoria Hotel.

(Drive Time: 15 Minutes)

11:50 am MOTORCADE arrives Waldorf-Astoria Hotel.

- * PRIVATE TIME: 5 HOURS 50 MINUTES
(11:55 am - 5:45 pm)
- * TEAM 100 MEETING
- Closed Press
- Brief Informal Remarks
(5:50 pm - 6:10 pm)

- * PHOTO WITH VICTORY '92 VIPS
 - Closed Press
 - 30 Attendees
 - (6:15 pm - 6:25 pm)
- * VICTORY '92 DINNER
 - Closed Press
 - Brief Informal Remarks
 - 300 Attendees
 - (6:30 pm - 6:50 pm)

6:55 pm MOTORCADE departs Waldorf-Astoria Hotel en route
Marron Residence.

(Drive Time: 5 Minutes)

7:00 pm MOTORCADE arrives Marron Residence.

- * PRESIDENTIAL TRUST DINNER
 - Closed Press
 - (7:05 pm - 8:05 pm)

8:10 pm MOTORCADE departs Marron Residence en route Wall
Street Landing Zone.

(Drive Time: 15 Minutes)

8:25 pm MOTORCADE arrives Wall Street Landing Zone.

8:30 pm MARINE ONE departs Wall Street Landing Zone en
route John F. Kennedy International Airport.

(Flying Time: 15 Minutes)

8:45 pm MARINE ONE arrives John F. Kennedy International
Airport.

8:55 pm
(E.D.T.)

AIR FORCE ONE departs New York, New York en route
en route Andrews Air Force Base.

(Flying Time: 55 Minutes)
(Interchange: No)
(Time Change: None)

9:50 pm
(E.D.T.)

AIR FORCE ONE arrives Andrews Air Force Base.

10:00 pm

MARINE ONE departs Andrews Air Force Base
en route White House.

(Flying Time: 10 Minutes)

10:10 pm

MARINE ONE arrives White House.

Ed Walters

2-ww

September 17, 1992 (5:00 p.m.)
(Carpendale)
DRAFT #5

**"THE CHALLENGES OF OUR AGE:
PEACEKEEPING, PROLIFERATION, AND PROSPERITY"**

Address
by
President Bush
before
the United Nations General Assembly
September 21, 1992

Mr. President, Mr. Secretary-General, Distinguished Guests:

✓ Forty seven years ago, I was a young man of twenty one.

Like thousands of others of my generation, I had gone off to war to help keep freedom alive. But forty seven years ago this ^{Sept. 2, 1945} month, the war was finally over, and I was looking forward to peace and the chance to begin my life in earnest.

1945 marked a moment of promise not just for me but for all mankind. It was a watershed -- one that divides all that came before from what was to follow. A great struggle against dictatorship had been fought and won. Across the globe, we all looked forward to a future free of war, a world where we might raise our children in peace and freedom. This institution -- the United Nations -- born amidst the ashes of war, embodied those hopes and dreams like no other.

But the hopes and dreams of 1945 remained unfulfilled.

[Communist imperialism] divided the world in two. Our hopes for peace and our dreams of freedom were frozen in the grip of Cold War. Instead of finding common ground, we found ourselves at Ground Zero. Instead of living on Churchill's "broad, sunlit

uplands", millions found that there was -- as Arthur Koestler so chillingly wrote -- darkness at noon. Instead of uniting the nations, this body became a forum for distrust and division among nations. In a cruel irony, the United Nations -- created to ^{resolve} ~~free~~ the world of conflict -- ^{'s} ~~became~~ itself conflict's captive. I, too, lived through those disputes. I sat where you sat, served in this Assembly -- and I saw in my time the consequences of the Cold War's hot words on the higher missions of the UN. AC

Now, forty seven years later, we stand at the end of another war -- the Cold War -- and our hopes and dreams have awakened again. Riven by its own internal contradictions and banished by the peoples' undying thirst for freedom, imperial communism has collapsed in its birthplace. As I said here three years ago, ^{Pres. Per. Doc} advocates of the totalitarian conceit saw its triumph written in the laws of history. They failed to see the love of freedom written in the human heart. Now, Russia has awakened: democratic, independent, and free. The Baltic states are free. And so, too, are Ukraine, Armenia, Belarus, Kazakhstan, and the other new independent states, joining the nations of Central and Eastern Europe in freedom.

The fear of nuclear armageddon between the superpowers has vanished. I am proud to have done my part to ensure that our school children do not have to practice hiding under their desks for fear of nuclear attack -- as the generation before them had to. I am proud, also, to salute the courageous leaders --

★ Presidents ^{Vkr} [Yeltsin, ^{3 Krz} Kravchuk, ^{Belarus} Nazarbayev, and Kravchenka] -- who joined me in ending the superpower standoff that risked nuclear nightmare. This is the first General Assembly to seat you as truly independent and free nations. To you and to the leaders of the other new independent states, I say: Welcome home. We are now truly united nations.

With the Cold War's end, I believe we have a unique opportunity: To go beyond our divisions of a First, Second, and Third World, to forge instead a genuine global community of free and sovereign nations -- a community built on respect for fundamental human rights and the twin pillars of freedom: democracy and free markets.

★  Already, the United Nations -- especially the Security Council -- has done much to fulfill its original mission and to build this global community. UN leadership has been critical to resolving conflicts and brokering peace agreements the world over: in Afghanistan and El Salvador, in Cambodia, Angola, and ^{Wetter} ^{Konstanz} Namibia. The Security Council has moved to redress the wrongs committed in the bombing of Pan Am 103, and this body has correctly repudiated the ill-conceived notion that Zionism is racism. The Security Council continues to increase the pressure to end the aggression perpetuated against the peoples of Bosnia, and, of course, in Iraq, the UN has shown it will take a firm and ^{an} unrelating stand against aggression.

But securing the peace into the future will be just as difficult for our generation as it was for those statesmen who

met in this body forty seven years ago. Imperialist communism may have vanquished, but that does not end the challenges of our age -- challenges that must be overcome if we are to finally end the divisions between East and West, North and South that fuel strife and strain and conflict and war.

In my view, the community of nations -- and the United Nations --^{/#} face three overriding challenges as we enter the twenty-first century.

First, we face the political challenge of keeping today's peace and preventing tomorrow's wars. As we see daily in Bosnia, ^{civil wars} Somalia, Cambodia, and elsewhere the need for enhanced peacekeeping capabilities has never been greater, the conflicts we must deal with more intractable, the costs of conflict higher.

Second, we face the strategic challenge of weapons proliferation -- truly the fastest growing security challenge to international peace and order.

Third, we face the common economic challenge of promoting prosperity for all, of strengthening an open, growth-oriented free-market international economic order while safeguarding the ^{Earth's} environment.

Meeting these challenges will be difficult. It will require us to strengthen our collective engagement. It will require us to transform our collective institutions to cope with challenges markedly different from those we have confronted before.

Above all, it will require that each of us -- the leaders of the world -- look seriously at our own governments and how we conduct our international affairs. We, too, must change our

institutions and our practices if we are to make a new world of the promise of today -- if we are to secure a twenty-first century peace.

With you today, I would like to discuss these three challenges -- peacekeeping, proliferation, and prosperity. [And I would like to use this opportunity to begin to sketch how I believe the international community can work together to meet these three challenges and how the United States is changing its institutions and policies to catalyze this effort.]

Let me begin with peacekeeping.

Peacekeeping

The United Nations, of course, has a long and distinguished history of peacekeeping and humanitarian relief. From Cyprus and Lebanon to Cambodia and Croatia, the blue beret has become a symbol of hope amid hostility. The UN has always played a central role in preventing conflicts from turning into wars, and strengthened peacekeeping capabilities can help buttress these diplomatic efforts.

But much as the UN it has done, it can do much more.

Old doctrines and resources are now often inadequate for the tasks at hand. Peacekeepers are stretched to the limit while demands for their services increase by the day. The need for preventive peacekeeping -- putting peacekeepers on the ground before the fighting starts -- is particularly critical in volatile regions like the Balkans.

This is especially the case because of the rapid and

turbulent change that continues to shake Eastern Europe and Eurasia. Across the lands that once were imprisoned behind the Iron Curtain, peoples are reasserting their historical identities that were frozen in communism's ^{coloon?} catacomb. Where this is taking place in a democratic manner with tolerance and civility and respect for fundamental human rights and freedoms, this new, democratic nationalism is all ^{for} to the good. But unfortunately, we need only look to the bloody battles raging in the former Yugoslavia and the conflicts in Nagorno Karabakh and ^TTrans-
 Dniester to see the dangers of ethnic violence. This is the greatest threat to the "democratic peace" we hope to build with Eastern Europe, Russia, and Eurasia, even more so than economic deprivation. I fully support the efforts of NATO, CSCE, WEU, the CIS, and other competent regional organizations to develop peacekeeping capabilities, but I am convinced enhanced UN capabilities are a necessary complement to these regional efforts not just in Europe and Eurasia, but across the globe. ? Nick 'Dnyas

I welcome the Secretary-General's call for a new agenda to strengthen the UN's ability to prevent, contain, and resolve conflict across the globe. Today, I hope all member states will join me in taking bold steps to advance that agenda. AC

• I therefore call for a special meeting of the United Nations Security Council to discuss the Secretary-General's proposals and to develop concrete responses in three key areas:

One, robust peacekeeping requires men and equipment only member states can provide. [Nations should develop and train

military units for possible peacekeeping operations and humanitarian relief.] These forces must be available on short notice at the request of the Security Council and with the approval of the governments providing them. AC

But if multilateral units are to work together, they must train together. Nations ^{such as} like Fiji, Norway, and Canada have a long history of peacekeeping, and the rest of us must tap into that experience as we train for expanded operations. But effective multilateral action will also require coordinated command-and-control and interoperability of both equipment and communications. Only joint planning, joint training, and joint field exercises will be needed. AC

Where applicable, these efforts should link up with regional organizations -- like NATO, NACC, and the WEU -- that are pursuing peacekeeping.

We also need to provide adequate logistical support for peacekeeping and humanitarian operations. Member states should designate stockpiles of non-military resources necessary to meet humanitarian emergencies, like famines, floods, or civil disturbances. This will save valuable time in a crisis.

Two, we will need to develop planning, crisis management, and intelligence capabilities needed to carry out peacekeeping and humanitarian operations.

Three, we must ensure adequate, equitable financing for UN and associated peacekeeping efforts.

As I said, we must change our national institutions if we are to change our international relations, so let me assure you:

The United States is ready to do its part to strengthen world peace by strengthening international peacekeeping.

In Desert Storm, the American military showed it knows how to win wars. But, every day, it's showing it knows how to keep the peace. US Army forces are stationed in the Sinai Desert, US Marines are off the shore of Somalia, and US military aircraft are flying reconnaissance missions over Iraq and flying relief supplies into Sarajevo -- all peacekeeping or humanitarian relief missions. We will draw on our extensive experience to support UN peacekeeping.

• ^{America's} [I have directed ~~the~~ Secretary of Defense and the Chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff to place a new emphasis on peacekeeping. Because of peacekeeping's growing importance as a mission for the US military, I have directed the Secretary and the Chairman to emphasize training of combat, engineering, planning, and logistical units for the full range of peacekeeping and humanitarian activities. I have directed them to work with the United Nations to best utilize US lift, logistics, communications, and intelligence capabilities for peacekeeping operations. For those nations that designate peacekeeping units, we will work with them to strengthen our operational coordination, including through joint simulations, war games, and exercises.] I sincerely hope other nations will follow America's example and join in this effort.

Our object is not the creation of a standing army under UN control. Member states, as always, must retain the final

decision on the use of their troops. But we must develop our ability to coordinate peacekeeping efforts so that we can mobilize quickly when a threat to peace arises or when a humanitarian emergency looms.

- ✦ • I have further directed the establishment of a permanent peacekeeping curriculum in US military academies and service schools.
- ✦ • Training, plainly, is key. The United States is prepared to make available our bases and facilities for joint training and field exercises. America built ^{many of} these bases to win the Cold War; today, with that war over, they can help build a lasting peace.
- ✦ • The United States is willing to provide our military expertise to the United Nations to help the UN strengthen its peacekeeping operations. We will also broaden American support for monitoring, verification, reconnaissance, and other requirements of UN peacekeeping or humanitarian assistance operations.
- ✦ • Finally, the United States will review how we fund peacekeeping and explore new ways to ensure adequate American financial support for UN peacekeeping and humanitarian activities, drawing on existing funds. I do not intend, however, to ask the American people to spend more than they now do on defense; indeed, I expect us to achieve substantial savings with the end of the Cold War. But I believe we must think differently about how we ensure -- and pay for -- our security in this new era.

Proliferation

While enhanced peacekeeping capabilities are essential for maintaining the peace, one of the most pressing security challenges of the next century will be the proliferation of weapons of mass destruction. I have long pushed for stronger non-proliferation efforts, going back to when I was Vice President and ^{proposed, supported} tabled the chemical weapons treaty in Geneva. I am particularly pleased those talks have been successful and we now have finished the Chemical Weapons Convention. 1784 AC

While the end of the Cold War may have ended the superpower nuclear arms competition, regional arms competitions continue in volatile regions of the world. By the end of this decade, as many as five to ten developing countries could develop nuclear weapons, up to twenty could have chemical weapons, and ten could possess a biological weapons capability. At least eight new countries could acquire the capability to put nuclear warheads atop ballistic missiles by the end of the decade. Rulers who recklessly pursue weapons of mass destruction cannot be counted on to obey some abstract theory of deterrence. At a time when the United States and its former adversaries are engaged in deep, historic cuts in our nuclear arsenals, our children and grandchildren will never forgive us if we allow new and unstable nuclear stand-offs to develop around the world. SD10 AC → CIA? ✓

- We believe the Security Council should become the key forum for nonproliferation enforcement. Reaffirming assurances made at the time the Nuclear Nonproliferation Treaty was negotiated, I

AC
NPT
language

propose that the Security Council reassure non-nuclear states that it will seek immediate action to provide assistance, in accordance with the Charter, to any non-nuclear weapon State party to the NPT that is a victim of an act of aggression or an object of threat of aggression involving weapons of mass destruction. At the same time, the Security Council should make clear its intention to stem proliferation and sanction proliferators.

• I also believe we must strengthen the Suppliers' Clubs -- the Nuclear Suppliers' Group, the Australia Group, and the Missile Technology Control Regime. In this regard, I think we should explore the ways we can strengthen linkages between the Suppliers Clubs' and specialized UN agencies. Here I'd like to mention UNSCOM's efforts to dismantle the Iraqi weapons of mass destruction program.

But as the UN organizations change to stop proliferation, so too must every member state change its structures to advance our non-proliferation goals.

• In that spirit, I want to announce my intention today to work with the ^{U.S.} Congress to transform the US Arms Control and Disarmament Agency -- or ACDA -- to refocus its talents on providing technical support for non-proliferation, weapons monitoring and destruction, and global defense conversion. The scientists and engineers of ACDA served their country honorably and effectively in providing the expertise that ended the Cold War. Their talents should be utilized not only in completing the

traditional arms control agenda, but just as importantly in providing technical advice on our new security agenda.

• Two weeks ago, the United States deferred work on the design and construction of a new production reactor for tritium, saving approximately ^{700 m} \$1 billion. I have asked the Congress to redirect \$166 million from this program to nonproliferation activities conducted by our national weapons laboratories including Los Alamos, Livermore, and Sandia. These new funds would be used for development of improved technologies for proliferation detection, including land-based and space-based detection technologies; to improve nonproliferation technical analysis; and to develop technologies to improve the effectiveness of international safeguards and help control exports of sensitive technologies or sensitive materials. I believe the weapons scientists who began the nuclear age should now turn much of their talent and time to preventing proliferation.

• Even as we work to prevent proliferation, we must be realistic and guard ourselves against proliferation that has already taken place. In an effort to protect interested nations from the emerging threats, President Yeltsin and I agreed in June to work together with our allies and other interested states in developing a concept for a Global Protection System. Recently, at the suggestion of the United States, NATO began an initial examination of this issue. And today, representatives of the U.S. and Russia are holding their second meeting to work toward a cooperative system for defense against limited ballistic missile

check
long from
NM

AC;
State
NSC

AC

attacks. We fully intended to have other nations participate in the Global Protection System.

Prosperity

While expanded peacekeeping capabilities and improved nonproliferation efforts will be critical for building an enduring peace, shared economic growth is the long-term foundation for a [brighter future well into the next century.] Now that the possibility of nuclear (devastation) is (diminished), we cannot allow it to be replaced by economic despair.

Economic growth is not a zero-sum game. All of us will benefit from the expanded trade and investment that comes from a vibrant, growing world economy. To ensure that the benefits of this growth are sustained and shared by all, fair and open competition should be the fuel for the global economic engine. That's why the United States wants to complete the Uruguay Round as soon as possible and create a network of free trade agreements, beginning with (NAFTA.)

At the same time, we need to recognize that we have a shared responsibility to foster and support the free market reforms necessary to build growing markets in the developing world and the new democratic states. This should be done by promoting the private sector to build new economies, not by fostering dependency with traditional government-to-government foreign aid.

For the last forty years, foreign assistance often served as a weapon in the Cold War. Obviously, we will still use critical foreign assistance funds to meet legitimate security needs. And

as operations Provide Hope, Provide Comfort, and Provide Relief^{in Iraq}
 testify, we will continue our robust humanitarian assistance
 efforts to help those suffering from man-made and natural
 disasters.

But foreign "aid" as we have known it needs to be
 transformed. The notion of a "hand-out" to poor countries needs
 to give way to ^{development of} "investment" in mutually productive economic
 relationships.

★ We know that the more market-oriented a country's economic AC
 policies lead to free markets, the higher its rate of growth. E2 Rodriguez
 The more open to imports, the higher its rate of growth. And the (Conrad
 better a country's investment climate, once again, the higher its (Horne)
 rate of growth. Call to get

- ⑥
- To move from aid dependency to economic partnership, I
 propose to fundamentally alter the focus of US assistance
 programs away from development and dependency to growth and
 independence.) That means our new emphasis should be on building
 economic partnerships between our private sectors that will
 promote prosperity at home and abroad.
 - Working with our Congress, I will propose a top-to-bottom
 overhaul of our institutions that plan and administer foreign
 assistance -- drastically reducing the bureaucracy that has built
 up around government-based programs, streamlining our delivery
 systems, and strengthening support for private sector development
 and economic reform.) The Agency for International Development -
 - another institution born during the Cold War -- needs to be 1961
- ⑦

✱ [fundamentally and radically overhauled.] And I will ask the Secretary of State to make promoting economic security, opportunity, and competitiveness a [primary mission of the State Department.]

✱ • Our assistance efforts should not be charity. On the contrary, they should promote mutual prosperity. Therefore, using existing foreign affairs resources, [I will propose creating a \$1 billion "Growth Fund." The Fund will provide grants and credits to support US business providing expertise, goods, and services desperately needed in countries undertaking economic restructuring. I will also support increasing the programs of the Export-Import Bank by \$5 billion to ensure that US products and technology support the investment in worldwide economic growth.]

The benefits of this expanded trade will not be limited to the United States and recipient countries. By focusing on private sector engagement, we can promote expanded exports that will lead to higher growth -- and a more prosperous world. This will complement our emphasis on free trade. The task is large enough that we all need to participate in building a stronger world economy. At the same time, the economic benefits can and should be shared by all.

Conclusion

Ladies and gentlemen, I realize what I have outlined today is an ambitious agenda -- but we live in ambitious, audacious times. Times when empires can collapse, ideologies dissolve, and

walls crumble -- times when change can come so fast that we sometimes forget how far and fast we've progressed in achieving our hopes for a global community of democratic nations.

In the face of today's changes -- with the loss of so much that was familiar and predictable -- there is now a great temptation for people everywhere to turn inward and to build walls around themselves: walls against trade, walls against people, walls against ideas and investment, walls against anything at all that appears new and different. These walls are no less real than the wall of concrete and barbed wire that tore an ugly scar through Germany.

As the Berlin Wall fell, these walls must fall. We must tear down these walls of intolerance and isolation.

I am fighting -- and will continue to fight -- to persuade the men and women of America to work against an isolationist slumber -- this desire at the end of the Cold War to leave the world behind. I am fighting to persuade them to embrace and engage the new world that confronts us with many new possibilities and some new perils. I do so because I am convinced -- and I believe Americans understand -- that we cannot separate our fate from that of others -- convinced that our peace is so interconnected, our security so intertwined, our prosperity so interdependent that to turn inward and retreat from the world is to invite disaster and defeat.

Today, I ask you to join me in this fight. Because fundamentally, our peoples understand that we stand at a moment

Ed Rodriguez
(Commerce House)

ORGANIZATION OF U.S. FOREIGN ECONOMIC POLICY MAKING & IMPLEMENTATION

- o U.S. trade, finance, investment, and development policies and programs affect Third World economic growth and development. The vitality of Third World economies and their openness to trade and investment affect America's economic prosperity.
 - U.S. policies and programs that encourage and strengthen market economies as well as open trade and investment regimes abroad promote Third World economic growth and development.
 - An AID study of 42 developing countries' policy orientation and performance during 1980-83 as well as 1984-87 found that countries with more market-oriented policies had, on average, better rates of economic growth. Those countries with the most market-oriented policies had a real per capita GDP growth rate about 3% higher than those with the least market-oriented policies. (Development and the National Interest)
 - A World Bank analysis of 48 developing countries' export-import policies and performance during 1963-73 as well as 1973-85 showed that countries with a strong export orientation enjoyed higher economic growth rates than those with a strong import-substitution orientation. (Development and the National Interest)
 - According to the 1988 Frost and Sullivan investment climate survey, developing countries with the best investment climate averaged about 6% GDP per capita growth in 1987 while those with the worst investment climate experienced an average negative growth rate of approximately 1%. (Development and the National Interest)
 - Robust and sustained Third World economic growth benefits the United States by stimulating greater demand for U.S. exports, and creating more jobs for American workers.
 - /// - A Commerce Department study found that, during 1978-88, developing countries with consistently high rates of economic growth also experienced the fastest rate of growth for exports to and imports from the U.S. (Development and the National Interest)
- o U.S. trade, finance, investment, and development policies and programs are administered by numerous departments and agencies that often have overlapping, competing, and conflicting objectives. Poor coordination and integration of U.S. foreign economic policy making and implementation undermines its effectiveness and efficiency as well as the federal government's responsiveness to the private sector. Ultimately, America's economic prosperity suffers.
 - There are about 18 departments, agencies, and offices within the Executive Office of the President involved with trade policy making and implementation, approximately 11 with investment, roughly 10 with finance, and around 15 with development, including 2 quasi-official foundations.

LEVEL 1 - 6 OF 26 STORIES

Copyright 1990 Globe Newspaper Company
The Boston Globe

May 1, 1990, Tuesday, City Edition

SECTION: NATIONAL/FOREIGN; Pg. 22 p

LENGTH: 79 words

HEADLINE: ASK THE GLOBE

Q. When was the US Agency for International Development founded? M.S., Gloucester A. AID was established in 1961 as part of the US Department of State during the administration of President John F. Kennedy. In 1979 it was placed under the umbrella of the International Development Cooperation Agency - which only exists on paper - with such other agencies as Food for Peace, the Peace Corps, the Office of Trade & Development and the Overseas Private Investment Corp.

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

September 18, 1992

MEMORANDUM FOR THE PRESIDENT

FROM: DAN MC GROARTY

SUBJECT: PROPOSED REMARKS FOR UNITED NATIONS

I. SUMMARY

On Monday, September 21, at 11:05 a.m., you will address the United Nations General Assembly in New York City.

II. DISCUSSION

Your remarks (approximately 32 minutes / teleprompter) address the three major challenges the UN faces in the coming decade: peacekeeping, limiting weapons proliferation, and promoting economic prosperity. Your speech includes several policy prescriptions to meet these challenges.

"Development & the National Interest"

Feb. 1989

AID

development of peaceful applications of atomic energy, considered the report of the Conference of the Eighteen-Nation Committee on Disarmament, dated 14 March 1968,²² and appreciated the work of the Committee on the elaboration of the draft non-proliferation treaty, which is attached to that report.²³

Convinced that, pursuant to the provisions of the treaty, all signatories have the right to engage in research, production and use of nuclear energy for peaceful purposes and will be able to acquire source and special fissionable materials, as well as equipment for the processing, use and production of nuclear material for peaceful purposes,

Convinced further that an agreement to prevent the further proliferation of nuclear weapons must be followed as soon as possible by effective measures on the cessation of the nuclear arms race and on nuclear disarmament, and that the non-proliferation treaty will contribute to this aim,

Affirming that in the interest of international peace and security both nuclear-weapon and non-nuclear-weapon States carry the responsibility of acting in accordance with the principles of the Charter of the United Nations that the sovereign equality of all States shall be respected, that the threat or use of force in international relations shall be refrained from and that international disputes shall be settled by peaceful means,

1. Commends the Treaty on the Non-Proliferation of Nuclear Weapons, the text of which is annexed to the present resolution²⁴;
2. Requests the Depositary Governments to open the Treaty for signature and ratification at the earliest possible date;
3. Expresses the hope for the widest possible adherence to the Treaty by both nuclear-weapon and non-nuclear-weapon States;
4. Requests the Conference of the Eighteen-Nation Committee on Disarmament and the nuclear-weapon States urgently to pursue negotiations on effective measures relating to the cessation of the nuclear arms race at an early date and to nuclear disarmament, and on a treaty on general and complete disarmament under strict and effective international control;
5. Requests the Conference of the Eighteen-Nation Committee on Disarmament to report on the progress of its work to the General Assembly at its twenty-third session.

US statement

United States Declaration on Security Assurances to Non-Nuclear Nations, June 17, 1968²⁵

The Government of the United States notes with appreciation the desire expressed by a large number of States to subscribe to the treaty on the non-proliferation of nuclear weapons.²⁶

²² A/1072.

²³ *Ibid.*, pp. 155-160.

²⁴ *Supra.*

²⁵ S/PV.1430, pp. 22-24. Ambassador Goldberg read the declaration to the Security Council on this date.

²⁶ *Ibid.*, pp. 160-165.

We welcome the willingness of these States to undertake not to receive the transfer from any transferor whatsoever of nuclear weapons or other nuclear explosive devices or of control over such weapons or explosive devices directly or indirectly; not to manufacture or otherwise acquire nuclear weapons or other nuclear explosive devices; and not to seek or receive any assistance in the manufacture of nuclear weapons or other nuclear explosive devices.

The United States also notes the concern of certain of these States that in conjunction with their adherence to the treaty on the non-proliferation of nuclear weapons, appropriate measures be undertaken to safeguard their security. Any aggression accompanied by the use of nuclear weapons would endanger the peace and security of all States.

Bearing these considerations in mind, the United States declares the following:

Aggression with nuclear weapons, or the threat of such aggression, against a non-nuclear-weapon State would create a qualitatively new situation in which the nuclear-weapon States which are permanent members of the United Nations Security Council would have to act immediately through the Security Council to take the measures necessary to counter such aggression or to remove the threat of aggression in accordance with the United Nations Charter, which calls for taking "effective collective measures for the prevention and removal of threats to the peace, and for the suppression of acts of aggression or other breaches of the peace".²⁷ Therefore, any State which commits aggression accompanied by the use of nuclear weapons or which threatens such aggression must be aware that its actions are to be countered effectively by measures to be taken in accordance with the United Nations Charter to suppress the aggression or remove the threat of aggression.

The United States affirms its intention, as a permanent member of the United Nations Security Council, to seek immediate Security Council action to provide assistance, in accordance with the Charter, to any non-nuclear-weapon State party to the treaty on the non-proliferation of nuclear weapons that is a victim of an act of aggression or an object of a threat of aggression in which nuclear weapons are used.

The United States reaffirms in particular the inherent right, recognized under Article 51 of the Charter, of individual and collective self-defence if an armed attack, including a nuclear attack, occurs against a Member of the United Nations, until the Security Council has taken measures necessary to maintain international peace and security.

The United States votes for the draft resolution before us²⁸ and this statement of the way in which the United States intends to act in accordance with the Charter of the United Nations are based upon the fact that the draft resolution is supported by other permanent members of the Security Council which are nuclear-weapon States and are also proposing to sign the treaty on the non-proliferation of nuclear weapons, and that these States have made similar statements as to the way in which they intend to act in accordance with the Charter.²⁹

²⁷ Art. I of the Charter.

²⁸ Identical with the tripartite proposal of Mar. 7, 1968 (*ibid.*, p. 115).

²⁹ See S/PV.1430, pp. 11-15, 17-20.

not sign this Treaty before its entry into force.
 2. This Treaty shall be subject to ratification by signatory States. Instruments of ratification and instruments of accession shall be deposited with the Governments of _____, which are hereby designated the Depositary Governments.

3. This Treaty shall enter into force after its ratification by all nuclear-weapon States signatory to this Treaty, and 40 other States signatory to this Treaty and the deposit of their instruments of ratification. For the purposes of this Treaty, a nuclear-weapon State is one which has manufactured and exploded a nuclear weapon or other nuclear explosive device prior to January 1, 1967.

4. For States whose instruments of ratification or accession are deposited subsequent to the entry into force of this Treaty, it shall enter into force on the date of the deposit of their instruments of ratification or accession.

5. The Depositary Governments shall promptly inform all signatory and acceding States of the date of each signature, the date of deposit of each instrument of ratification or of accession, the date of the entry into force of this Treaty, and the date of receipt of any requests for convening a conference or other notices.

6. This Treaty shall be registered by the Depositary Governments pursuant to Article 102 of the Charter of the United Nations.

ARTICLE X

1. Each Party shall in exercising its national sovereignty have the right to withdraw from the Treaty if it decides that extraordinary events, related to the subject matter of this Treaty, have jeopardized the supreme interests of its country. It shall give notice of such withdrawal to all other Parties to the Treaty and to the United Nations Security Council three months in advance. Such notice shall include a statement of the extraordinary events it regards as having jeopardized its supreme interests.

2. Twenty-five years after the entry into force of the Treaty, a Conference shall be convened to decide whether the Treaty shall continue in force indefinitely, or shall be extended for an additional fixed period or periods. This decision shall be taken by a majority of the Parties to the Treaty.

ARTICLE XI

This Treaty, the English, Russian, French, Spanish and Chinese texts of which are equally authentic, shall be deposited in the archives of the Depositary Governments. Duly certified copies of this Treaty shall be transmitted by the Depositary Governments to the Governments of the signatory and acceding States.

In witness whereof the undersigned, duly authorized, have signed this Treaty.

Done in _____ at _____ this _____ of _____

Security Council resolution

The Security Council
 Noting with appreciation the desire of a large number of States to subscribe to the Treaty on the Non-Proliferation of Nuclear Weapons, and thereby to undertake not to receive the transfer from any transferor whatsoever of nuclear weapons or other nuclear explosive devices or of control over such weapons or explosive devices directly, or indirectly; not to manufacture or otherwise acquire nuclear weapons or other nuclear explosive devices; and not to seek or receive any assistance in the manufacture of nuclear weapons or other nuclear explosive devices;

Taking into consideration the concern of certain of these States that, in conjunction with their adherence to the Treaty on the Non-Proliferation of Nuclear Weapons, appropriate measures be undertaken to safeguard their security;

Bearing in mind that any aggression accompanied by the use of nuclear weapons would endanger the peace and security of all States;

1. Recognizes that aggression with nuclear weapons or the threat of such aggression against a non-nuclear-weapon State would create a situation in which the Security Council, and above all its nuclear-weapon State permanent members, would have to act immediately in accordance with their obligations under the United Nations Charter;

2. Welcomes the intention expressed by certain States that they will provide or support immediate assistance, in accordance with the Charter, to any non-nuclear-weapon State Party to the Treaty on the Non-Proliferation of Nuclear Weapons that is a victim of an act or an object of a threat of aggression in which nuclear weapons are used;

3. Reaffirms in particular the inherent right, recognized under Article 51 of the Charter, of individual and collective self-defence if an armed attack occurs against a member of the United Nations, until the Security Council has taken measures necessary to maintain international peace and security.

Joint American-Soviet Draft Treaty on the Nonproliferation of Nuclear Weapons, March 11, 1968

The States concluding this Treaty, hereinafter referred to as the "Parties to the Treaty",

Considering the devastation that would be visited upon all mankind by a nuclear war and the consequent need to make every effort to avert

" ENDC/222, Mar. 7, 1968. The draft resolution was submitted to the ENDC by the U.S., the U.K., and the U.S.S.R. On June 19, 1968, the Security Council approved it by a vote of 10 to 0, with 5 abstentions. The following states voted in favor of the resolution: Canada, China, Denmark, Ethiopia, Hungary, Paraguay, Senegal, U.S.S.R., U.K., U.S. The countries that abstained were: Algeria, Brazil, France, India, Pakistan.

" A/1012 and 10C/230, Annex 1. The draft treaty was submitted to the ENDC.

September 17, 1992

MEMORANDUM FOR DAN MC GROARTY

FROM: ED WALTERS

SUBJECT: SPEECH TO THE UN

I have attached a copy of 1990 and 1991 addresses to the United Nations, along with relevant research from last year's speech.

that is budgetarily sound, and that is—where we have offsets and we stay within the budget agreement. So, that's what I've been concentrating on.

Now, as I leave, I'll be focusing in the United Nations on these other questions.

Q. Mr. President, do you think—

The President. Well, I'm going to be focusing on all that when we get up there, and I'll have something to say about it later this morning.

Note: The President spoke at 10:05 a.m. on the South Lawn at the White House. During this exchange, a reporter referred to President Saddam Hussein of Iraq. Robert Dole is Senate Minority Leader. A tape was not available for verification of the content of this exchange.

**Address to the 46th Session of the
United Nations General Assembly in
New York City
September 23, 1991**

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

I'd first like to congratulate outgoing President Guido De Marco of Malta and salute our incoming President Samir Shi-habi of Saudi Arabia. I also want to salute especially Secretary-General Javier Perez de Cuellar, who will step down in just over 3 months. But let me say, Secretary-General Perez de Cuellar has served with great distinction during a period of unprecedented change and turmoil. For almost 10 years we've enjoyed the leadership of this man of peace, a man that I, along with many of you, feel proud to call friend. So today, let us congratulate our friend and praise his spectacular service to the United Nations and to the people of the world. Mr. Secretary-General.

Let me also welcome new members to this chamber: two delegations representing Korea, particularly our democratic friends, the Republic of Korea; the Republics of Estonia, Latvia, and Lithuania; and new mis-

sions from the Marshall Islands and Micronesia.

Twenty years ago, when I was the Permanent Representative here for the United States, there were 132 U.N. members. Just 1 week ago, 159 nations enjoyed membership in the United Nations. Today, the number stands at 166. The presence of these new members alone provides reasons for us to celebrate.

My speech today will not sound like any you've heard from a President of the United States. I'm not going to dwell on the superpower competition that defined international politics for half a century. Instead, I will discuss the challenges of building peace and prosperity in a world leavened by the cold war's end, the resumption of history.

Communism held history captive for years. It suspended ancient disputes, and 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 perils. And let's begin by discussing the opportunities.

First, history's renewal enables people to pursue their natural instincts for enterprise. Communism froze that progress until its failures became too much for even its defenders to bear. And 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." And 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 tyr-



anny, 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 years 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, not as predators. Economic growth can aid international relations in exactly 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. History shows all too clearly that protectionism can destroy wealth within countries and poison relations between them. And therefore, I call upon all members of GATT to redouble their efforts to reach a successful conclusion for the Uruguay round. I pledge that the United States will do its part.

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. People everywhere seek government of and by the people. And they want to enjoy their inalienable rights to freedom and property and person.



Challenges to democracy 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 Mik-

hail 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. 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 was replaced with 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 the goal, the liberation of Kuwait, and devised a courageous, unified means of achieving that goal.

And 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." Those are the words from the charter. We will not revive these ideals if we fail to acknowledge the challenge that the renewal of history presents.

In Europe and Asia, nationalist passions have flared anew, challenging borders, straining the fabric of international society. At the same time, around the world, many age-old conflicts still fester. You see signs of this tumult right here. The United Nations has mounted more peacekeeping missions in the last 36 months than during its first 43 years. And although we now seem merciful-

ly 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 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 United Nations was founded. And I call now for its repeal. 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. And 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 of 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 this resolution unconditionally, the United Nations 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 can't form political parties freely and elect governments without coercion, if they can't practice their religion freely, if they can't raise their families in peace, if they can't enjoy a just return from their labor, if they can't 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 their basic rights to the people. And too many voices cry out

for freedom. For example, 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. It is for this reason that I put forward my Middle East arms initiative, a comprehensive approach to stop and, where possible, reverse the accumulation of arms in that part of the world most prone to violence.

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 peoples. We, 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's especially true today of 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. Saddam's contempt for U.N. resolutions was first demonstrated back in August of 1990. And it continues even as I am speaking. His government refuses to permit unconditional helicopter inspections and right now is refusing to allow U.N. inspectors to leave inspected



premises with documents relating to an Iraqi nuclear weapons program.

And it is the United States view that we must keep the United Nations sanctions in place as long as he remains in power. And this also shows that we cannot compromise for a moment in seeing that Iraq destroys all of its weapons of mass destruction and the means to deliver them. And we will not compromise.

This is not to say, and let me be clear on this one, that we should punish the Iraqi people. Let me repeat, our argument has never been with the people of Iraq. It was and is with a brutal dictator whose arrogance dishonors the Iraqi people. Security Council Resolution 706 created a responsible mechanism for sending humanitarian relief to innocent Iraqi citizens. We must put that mechanism to work.

We must not abandon our principled stand against Saddam's aggression. This cooperative effort has liberated Kuwait, and now it can lead to a just government in Iraq. And when it does, when it does, the Iraqi people can look forward to better lives, free at home, free to engage in a world beyond their borders.



The resumption of history also permits the United Nations to resume the important business of promoting the values that I've discussed today. This body 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 such diverse and troubled lands as Afghanistan, Cambodia, Cyprus, El Salvador, and the Western Sahara.

The United Nations can encourage free-market development through its international lending and aid institutions. However, the United Nations should not dictate the particular forms of government 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 standards of human decency.



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 must surrender

one iota of its own sovereignty, an order characterized by the rule of law rather than the resort to force, the cooperative settlement of disputes rather than anarchy and bloodshed, and an unstinting belief in human rights.

Finally, you may wonder about America's role in the new world that I have described. Let me assure you, the United States has no intention of striving for a *Pax Americana*. However, we will remain engaged. We will not retreat and pull back into isolationism. We will offer friendship and leadership. And in short, we seek a *Pax Universalis* built upon shared responsibilities and aspirations.

To all assembled, 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 blighted by the fires of war and subjected to the whims of coercion and chance, or one made more 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 to each and every one of you. And thank you very, very much.

Note: President Bush spoke at 12:44 p.m. in the General Assembly Hall at the United Nations. In his address, he referred to outgoing U.N. General Assembly President Guido De Marco and incoming President Samir Shihabi, Secretary-General Javier Perez de Cuellar de la Guerra of the United Nations, President Mikhail Gorbachev of the Soviet Union, President Boris Yeltsin of the Republic of Russia, President Saddam Hussein of Iraq, and President Fidel Castro Ruz of Cuba.

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

DATE: 9/18

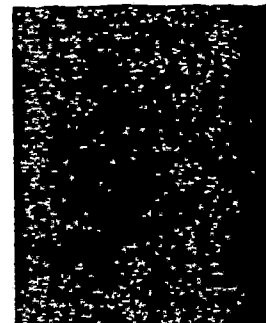
NOTE FOR: CHRISS WINSTON
DAN MCGROARTY

The President has reviewed the attached, and it is forwarded to
you for your:

information

☐

action

☒

Thank you.

James W. Cicconi
Assistant to the President
and Deputy to the Chief of Staff
(x-2702)

cc:

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

September 15, 1989

DM - Chriss
See below
[Signature]

INFORMATION

MEMORANDUM FOR THE PRESIDENT

THROUGH: CHRISS WINSTON CW

FROM: DANIEL MCGROARTY [Signature]

SUBJECT: UN SPEECH -- PERSONAL REMINISCENCES

As the first former UN Ambassador to address the General Assembly as President, your reminiscences of your days in the UN offer a unique opportunity in your upcoming UN speech.

Brief mention of your recollections at the beginning of your speech would lend a personal tone -- and at the same time establish that you speak as one who knows the UN from the inside. We would appreciate whatever recollections you could provide regarding your thoughts as you sat in the General Assembly at the opening of the 26th Session 18 years ago, your impressions as a new Ambassador on the responsibilities of your assignment, on the opportunities or potential of the UN, etc.

You may be interested to know that eight of the current UN ambassadors served in the same capacity during your ambassadorship in 1971-1973.

1. Be sure we get the proper formal salutation in the very beginning. Joseph Reed can help on UN protocol... But we must properly salute the Sec. general and the Pres. of the General Assembly.

Might mention the names of the perm reps who were there when I was.

also the fact that so many perm reps go on to lead their countries.

Excuse the personal reminiscing but this in a sense is like coming home." As in one's school days one makes fast friends here- friendships that cut across political boundaries:"

"Under our able Sec General the UN is widely recognized as having a renewed role in the important area of Peacekeeping. I salute the efforts of our able Sec General." (check this with Brent)

Find a subtle way to tease, not ridicule, the length of the speeches....

Possible:.....

I'll never forget one meeting of the Security Council. I was US Perm Rep. I was 45 minutes late getting to the meeting. One speaker had been going on and on for the full 45 minutes. He saw me walk in and take the US seat at the table. He stopped his remarks and said "Oh I am so glad that the US Perm Rep. could join us. And now for his benefit I will start over. The groan that went up from the room transcended ideological lines, historic alliances, regional differences.... The whole place groaned in unison and the laughter broke out....

I will try not to compete with his record breaking oratory." etc etc

Possible- I'm not hooked on it.

Friendships are formed here; Genuine Understanding is Enhanced Here; a Genuine sense of service prevails here- from the security people, the people who work in the Delegates Lounge, those who work in the dining room, run the elevators, there is a UN spirit a spirit of fraternity and that is good.

09 SEP 18 PM 12:18

September 19, 1991

MEMORANDUM FOR TONY SNOW

FROM: JENNIFER GROSSMAN

SUBJECT: UN MATERIAL

Tony, I'll try to just continue to fax you material as I process it. Here's what I have right now. P.S. -- keep organized! Yenta says use those files she gave you. Attached material:

- 1) regurgitation of what you saw as outline, I copied my notes of what you relayed, you'll probably understand it better than I.
- 2) Address by Bush when he was US Ambassador to UN. Has a bit on founders' vision. Some of the nice things UN has done.
- 3) News Summary update on new members.
- 4) Bush's 1990 address to UN. You should have a copy, but here's another just in case.
 - p. 2: irrepressibility of human spirit and "power of individuals"
 - pp. 2-3, bottom 6: part I.A. of your outline, UN freed from Cold War Freeze
 - pp. 4-5: Iraq
 - p. 7: the visionary stuff
 - p. 8: countdown 2000
- 5) Article on new President of the General Assembly
- 6) Address by Bush when Ambassador to the UN, at Annual Dinner Inaugurating the '71 UN Day Program
- 7) ***Address by Bush when Ambassador to the UN, to UN Plenary on situation in the Middle East.
 - talks about Resolution 242
- 8) Article from Bob, "Ten Minutes to Midnight"

RE YOUR QUESTIONS

- 1) Guido de Marco is the outgoing President of the General Assembly. Samir Shihabi is incoming President. (see article)

QUOTES

- 1) "The United Nations will not abolish sin, but it can make it more difficult for the sinners."
 - Ivor Richard, Great Britain, fmr ambassador to the

United Nations

- 2) "The United Nations is messy because the world is messy"
--ibid
- 3) THE WAY IT WAS:
"If the United Nations is a country unto itself, then the commodity it exports most is words."
--Esther B. Fein, NY Times, 14 Oct '85
- (*) "When they speak, dead frogs fall out of their mouths."
--David Hare, on some UN representatives
- "It's group therapy for the world."
--Antonio Monteiro, Portugal, on the series of debates that mark the start of each General Assembly session, NYT 27 Sept '86
- 4) "This organization is created to prevent you from going to hell. It isn't created to take you to heaven."
--Henry Cabot Lodge Jr., 28 Jan '54
- 5) APPLIC TO IRAQ: "May the United Nations ever be vigilant and potent to defeat the swallowing up of any nation at any time, by any means -- by armies with banners, by force or by fraud, by tricks or by midnight treachery."
--Henry Cabot Lodge Jr., at dedication of plaque honoring 37,000 servicemen who died while fighting under UN's unified command in Korean War, NYT, 28 Jun '60
- 6) ***GREAT ANECDOTE (could be used to qualify how divisions will always remain in the organization):

"Our agenda is not exhausted. The secretary general is exhausted. All of you are exhausted. I find it comforting that, beginning with our very first day, we find ourselves in such complete unanimity."
--Paul Henri Spaak (1899-1972) presiding over the first General Assembly in '46 as President of the United Nations.

We should have made ratification of this defense agreement by such an institution a condition for implementation. Having failed to do so, we should now follow the agreement with a proper treaty that is openly debated and ultimately ratified by elected legislatures in both countries.

To that end, we must encourage our ally, the Emir of Kuwait, to hold elections in order to convene such a body, as his own citizens demand.

The 10-year agreement we have signed involves a commitment of U.S. resources. Under it, the U.S. will preposition military equipment, conduct joint military exercises with Kuwaiti

Jill Crystal teaches political science at the University of Michigan.

arrangements collapse after the fall of unstable nonelected leaders. Granted, Kuwait's Emir is not the Shah. This agreement does have genuine support among the Kuwaitis. Our embassy in Kuwait probably is our only third world outpost splattered with pro-American graffiti. Our forces were welcomed by Kuwaitis, who despised the Iraqi occupation. Our presence is still welcome, but will it continue to be?

Fortunately, there is a way to know. For most of its independent history, Kuwait has had an elected National Assembly, albeit one with limited suffrage (adult male nationals) and responsibilities. The Emir dissolved that assembly in 1986 and has not reconstituted it, despite popular demands to do so — demands that

the Kuwaitis' continuing support. After all, who knows if the Emir will be in power in 10 years? While the Kuwaiti Cabinet has approved the agreement, it is not enough to have such an accord ratified by an appointed Cabinet, half of whose members also belong to the Emir's family.

We need something more durable. We need to legitimize our continuing presence with the Kuwaiti people, not just their ruler, and we need a mechanism for assessing the continuing popularity of that presence.

We should make a democratically approved treaty — publically debated, popularly sanctioned — the basis of our presence in Kuwait, and we should make that kind of treaty the ideal toward which we work in the other gulf states. □

*The 1991 Innovator
in State and Local
Government Award
Winners*

*Ten Shining Examples
of Government At
Its Best*

Foreign Affairs

LESLIE H. GELB

Why the U.N. Dog Didn't Bark

Mr. Bush's incendiary theme.

Why didn't world leaders and diplomats applaud President Bush's speech to the U.N. on Monday? Wasn't he finally shelving stale cold war rhetoric and moving on to the new agenda in world politics — freedom, democracy and economic progress — the agenda so long so dear to U.N. members?

It may be because of a revolutionary message about humanitarian intervention barely audible throughout the text, a message nonetheless sensed by representatives of despots and democracies alike that frightened all with its implications — seemingly even Mr. Bush by the time he finished.

This explanation seems plausible because otherwise the U.N. dog should have barked at the sound of Mr. Bush's kindly words. His speech, after all, met the usual standards. It was general, pious, uncontaminated by specifics and delivered in the flaccid manner proven to animate diplomatic ovations.

True, Mr. Bush didn't promise to pay the hundreds of millions in back U.S. dues, and nobody likes rich deadbeats. Granted, he also failed to provide the obligatory five-point plan to resuscitate U.N. machinery.

A more grievous Bush error, to many U.N. members, was to propose that the U.N. rescind its resolution condemning Zionism as a form of racism. Most member states (unfamiliar as they are with ill treatment of their citizenry) were upset at the thought of lifting just about the only moral judgment they could ever agree upon.

It would seem that most U.N. mem-

bers wish U.N. interference in the internal affairs of states to end right there, with Israel. Full stop. But what Mr. Bush was sometimes saying and sometimes hinting was that he would go much further — to question and attack the centuries-old notion of sovereignty that permits states to do what they will with their own people within established borders.

When he spoke of "collective settlement of disputes," he was talking not only of joint action against external aggression but of "international co-operation" against internal feuds and injustices. That could apply to most U.N. member states where freedom and democracy are concepts to be debated only at international conferences far from home. Try China or Syria for starters.

Referring to "nationalist passions," Mr. Bush went on to say that no one can "promise that today's borders will remain fixed. ..." This must have been like a stake in the heart of most attendees. To begin with, think of Yugoslavia and Tibet, Spain and its Basque separatists, most African states or India.

"Despots ignore the heartening fact that the rest of the world is embarked upon a new age of liberty," Mr. Bush proclaimed. If he had stopped there, his listeners might have shrugged off the rhetoric. But

any doubts about his meaning must have been removed when he made clear that economic sanctions against Iraq would remain in force as long as Saddam Hussein "remains in power." His stated aim was not simply to roll back Iraqi aggression against Kuwait, but to eliminate an undesirable regime.

Mr. Bush was declaring for natural law, for "inalienable human rights" above the laws of states. He was telling his worried listeners that now is the time for the U.N. "to resume the important business of promoting the values that I've discussed today."

What could be more revolutionary, more threatening to the regimes that inhabit the U.N.? But who would decide when states offended natural rights? The U.N.? The U.S.? And who would intervene to protect the oppressed, and how?

Perhaps Bush speechwriters chose this challenging rhetoric without understanding its full implications. In any event, in the last-minute scramble over the draft, someone — perhaps Mr. Bush — must have glimpsed the nearing philosophical precipice. For at the end the text veered unexpectedly off in a contradictory and reassuring direction. Mr. Bush said the U.N. "should not dictate the particular forms of government" for nations, and that in his "new world order" no nation "must surrender one iota of its own sovereignty. ..."

The speech ended about there. Leaders and delegates applauded politely and respectfully. But they did not like what they thought they had heard, nor the debate it may inspire. □



Inno

Statement by Press Secretary Fitzwater on President Bush's Meeting in New York, New York, With President Václav Havel of Czechoslovakia

September 30, 1990

At 6:10 p.m. President Bush met with President Havel of Czechoslovakia. President Havel discussed the status of his country's economic reform measures. He indicated that considerable progress is being made.

President Bush thanked President Havel for their early support of the U.N. sanctions against Iraq, saying, "We understand your sacrifices in supporting the U.N. embargo,

and we are grateful."

President Bush informed President Havel that the United States will lift travel restrictions on Czechoslovakia's diplomats in the United States. These restrictions were imposed before Czechoslovakia's moves toward democracy.

President Bush said the U.S. interest in Czechoslovakia's success is very strong: "We want to see you succeed."

Address Before the 45th Session of the United Nations General Assembly in New York, New York

October 1, 1990

Mr. President, thank you very much. Mr. Secretary-General, distinguished delegates to the United Nations, it is really a great privilege to greet you today as we begin what marks a new and historic session of the General Assembly. My congratulations to the Honorable Guido De Marco on your election, sir, as President of the General Assembly. And on a personal note, I want to say that, having witnessed the unprecedented unity and cooperation of the past 2 months, that I have never been prouder to have once served within your ranks and never been prouder that the United States is the host country for the United Nations.

Forty-five years ago, while the fires of an epic war still raged across two oceans and two continents, a small group of men and women began a search for hope amid the ruins. And they gathered in San Francisco, stepping back from the haze and horror, to try to shape a new structure that might support an ancient dream. Intensely idealistic and yet tempered by war, they sought to build a new kind of bridge: a bridge between nations, a bridge that might help carry humankind from its darkest hour to its brightest day.

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

The Revolution of '89 swept the world almost with a life of its own, carried by a new breeze of freedom. It transformed the political climate from Central Europe to Central America and touched almost every corner of the globe. That breeze has been sustained by a now almost universal recognition of a simple, fundamental truth: The human spirit cannot be locked up forever. The truth is, people everywhere are motivated in much the same ways. And people everywhere want much the same things: the chance to live a life of purpose; the chance to choose a life in which they and their children can learn and grow healthy, worship freely, and prosper through the work of their hands and their hearts and their minds. We're not talking about the power of nations but the power of individuals, the power to choose, the power to risk,

the power to succeed.

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

The changes in the Soviet Union have been critical to the emergence of a stronger United Nations. The U.S.-Soviet relationship is finally beyond containment and confrontation, and now we seek to fulfill the promise of mutually shared understanding. The long twilight struggle that for 45 years has divided Europe, our two nations, and much of the world has come to an end.

Much has changed over the last 2 years. The Soviet Union has taken many dramatic and important steps to participate fully in the community of nations. And when the Soviet Union agreed with so many of us here in the United Nations to condemn the aggression of Iraq, there could be no doubt—no doubt then—that we had, indeed, put four decades of history behind us.

We are hopeful that the machinery of the United Nations will no longer be frozen by the divisions that plagued us during the cold war, that at last—long last—we can build new bridges and tear down old walls, that at long last we will be able to build a new world based on an event for which we have all hoped: an end to the cold war.

Two days from now, the world will be watching when the cold war is formally buried in Berlin. And in this time of testing, a fundamental question must be asked, a question not for any one nation but for the United Nations. And the question is this: Can we work together in a new partnership of nations? Can the collective strength of the world community, expressed by the United Nations, unite to deter and defeat aggression? Because the cold war's battle of ideas is not the last epic battle of this century.

Two months ago, in the waning weeks of one of history's most hopeful summers, the vast, still beauty of the peaceful Kuwaiti desert was fouled by the stench of diesel and the roar of steel tanks. Once again the sound of distant thunder echoed across a cloudless sky, and once again the world awoke to face the guns of August.

But this time, the world was ready. The United Nations Security Council's resolute response to Iraq's unprovoked aggression has been without precedent. Since the invasion on August 2d, the Council has passed eight major resolutions setting the terms for a solution to the crisis.

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

Let me take this opportunity to make the policy of my government clear. The United States supports the use of sanctions to compel Iraq's leaders to withdraw immediately and without condition from Kuwait. We also support the provision of medicine and food for humanitarian purposes, so long as distribution can be properly monitored. Our quarrel is not with the people of Iraq. We do not wish for them to suffer. The world's quarrel is with the dictator who ordered that invasion.

Along with others, we have dispatched military forces to the region to enforce sanctions, to deter and, if need be, defend against further aggression. And we seek no advantage for ourselves, nor do we seek to maintain our military forces in Saudi Arabia for 1 day longer than is necessary. U.S. forces were sent at the request of the Saudi Government, and the American people and this President want every single American soldier brought home as soon as this mission is completed.

Let me also emphasize that all of us here at the U.N. hope that military force will never be used. We seek a peaceful outcome, a diplomatic outcome. And one more thing: In the aftermath of Iraq's unconditional departure from Kuwait, I truly believe there may be opportunities for Iraq and Kuwait to settle their differences permanently, for the states of the Gulf themselves to build new arrangements for stability, and for all the states and the peoples of the region to settle the conflicts that divide the Arabs from Israel.

But the world's key task—now, first and

always—must be to demonstrate that aggression will not be tolerated or rewarded. Through the U.N. Security Council, Iraq has been fairly judged by a jury of its peers, the very nations of the Earth. Today the regime stands isolated and out of step with the times, separated from the civilized world not by space but by centuries.

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

As a world community, we must act not only to deter the use of inhumane weapons like mustard and nerve gas but to eliminate the weapons entirely. And that is why, 1 year ago, I came to the General Assembly with new proposals to banish these terrible weapons from the face of the Earth. I promised that the United States would destroy over 98 percent of its stockpile in the first 8 years of a chemical weapons ban treaty, and 100 percent—all of them—in 10 years, if all nations with chemical capabilities, chemical weapons, signed the treaty. We've stood by those promises. In June the United States and the Soviet Union signed a landmark agreement to halt production and to destroy the vast majority of our stockpiles. Today U.S. chemical weapons are being destroyed.

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

The United Nations can help bring about a new day, a day when these kinds of terrible weapons and the terrible despots who would use them are both a thing of the past. It is in our hands to leave these dark

machines behind, in the Dark Ages where they belong, and to press forward to cap a historic movement towards a new world order and a long era of peace.

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

And as we look to the future, the calendar offers up a convenient milestone, a signpost, by which to measure our progress as a community of nations. The year 2000 marks a turning point, beginning not only the turn of the decade, not only the turn of the century, but also the turn of the millennium. And 10 years from now, as the 55th session of the General Assembly begins, you will again find many of us in this hall, hair a bit more gray perhaps, maybe a little less spring in our walk; but you will not find us with any less hope or idealism or any less confidence in the ultimate triumph of mankind.

I see a world of open borders, open trade and, most importantly, open minds; a world that celebrates the common heritage that belongs to all the world's people, taking pride not just in hometown or homeland but in humanity itself. I see a world touched by a spirit like that of the Olympics, based not on competition that's driven by fear but sought out of joy and exhilaration and a true quest for excellence. And I see a world where democracy continues to win new friends and convert old foes and where the Americas—North, Central, and South—can provide a model for the future of all humankind: the world's first completely democratic hemisphere. And I see a world building on the emerging new model of European unity, not just Europe but the whole world whole and free.

This is precisely why the present aggression in the Gulf is a menace not only to one region's security but to the entire world's vision of our future. It threatens to turn the

dream of a new international order into a grim nightmare of anarchy in which the law of the jungle supplants the law of nations. And that's why the United Nations reacted with such historic unity and resolve. And that's why this challenge is a test that we cannot afford to fail. I am confident we will prevail. Success, too, will have lasting consequences: reinforcing civilized standards of international conduct, setting a new precedent in international cooperation, brightening the prospects for our vision of the future.

There are 10 more years until this century is out, 10 more years to put the struggles of the 20th century permanently behind us, 10 more years to help launch a new partnership of nations. And throughout those 10 years, and beginning now, the United Nations has a new and vital role in building towards that partnership. Last year's General Assembly showed how we can make greater progress toward a more pragmatic and successful United Nations. And for the first time, the U.N. Security Council is beginning to work as it was designed to work. And now is the time to set aside old and counterproductive debates and procedures and controversies and resolutions. It's time to replace polemic attacks with pragmatic action.

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

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

But the world also remains a hopeful place. Calls for democracy and human rights are being reborn everywhere, and

these calls are an expression of support for the values enshrined in the United Nations Charter. They encourage our hopes for a more stable, more peaceful, more prosperous world.

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

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

Building on these and other initiatives, we must join together in a new compact—all of us—to bring the United Nations into the 21st century, and I call today for a major long-term effort to do so. We should build on the success—the admirable success—of our distinguished Secretary-General, my longtime friend and yours, my longtime colleague I might also say, Javier Perez de Cuellar. We should strive for greater effectiveness and efficiency of the United Nations.

The United States is committed to playing its part, helping to maintain global security, promoting democracy and prosperity. And my administration is fully committed to supporting the United Nations and to paying what we are obliged to pay by our commitment to the Charter. International peace and security, and international freedom and prosperity, require no less.

The world must know and understand: From this hour, from this day, from this hall, we step forth with a new sense of pur-

Oct. 1 / Administration of George Bush, 1990

pose, a new sense of possibilities: We stand together, prepared to swim upstream, to march uphill, to tackle the tough challenges as they come not only as the United Nations but as the nations of the world united.

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

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

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

Thank you very, very much.

Note: The President spoke at 11:44 a.m. in the General Assembly Hall at the United Nations.

Statement by Press Secretary Fitzwater on United States Emergency Military Assistance for Israel

October 1, 1990

On September 30, the President decided to provide two Patriot air defense fire units to Israel on an urgent basis under provisions of the law that allow for emergency military assistance from U.S. military stocks. The President's decision followed notification of Congress on September 29. The Patriot system will help Israel to upgrade its air defenses, including against an increased threat from ballistic missiles in the Iraqi in-

ventory. In making this decision, the President reaffirmed his strong commitment to U.S.-Israel friendship and to the security of Israel.

Note: Presidential Determination No. 90-40 of September 30, which authorized the emergency military assistance, was printed in the "Federal Register" of October 24.

Statement by Press Secretary Fitzwater on the Release of Shiite Moslem Prisoners in Lebanon

October 1, 1990

We welcome the release of the 40 Shiite Moslem prisoners in Lebanon. It is consistent with our position that, for humanitarian reasons, all persons being detained without legal basis in the Middle East should be released immediately. Our particular concern is, quite naturally, the Americans

being held hostage in Lebanon; and we call upon all parties to use their influence to effect their immediate and unconditional release. As President Bush has indicated, the release of American hostages would help improve our relations with countries contributing to that release.

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

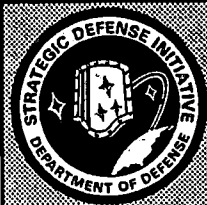
6. Public Papers of the Presidents, Nominations Submitted to the Senate, The following list does not include promotions of members of the Uniformed Services, nominations of the Service Academies, or nominations of Foreign Service officers 25 Weekly Comp. Pres. Doc. 1483, September 29, 1989, 344 words

7. Public Papers of the Presidents, Checklist of White House Press Releases, The following list contains releases of the Office of the Press Secretary that are neither printed as items nor covered by entries in the Digest of Other White House Announcements, 25 Weekly Comp. Pres. Doc. 1484, September 29, 1989, 268 words

8. Public Papers of the Presidents, Statement by Press Secretary Fitzwater on the Meeting With President Virgilio Barco Vargas of Colombia, 25 Weekly Comp. Pres. Doc. 1467, September 28, 1989, 410 words

9. Public Papers of the Presidents, Remarks to the Staff of the United States Mission to the United Nations in New York City, 25 Weekly Comp. Pres. Doc. 1434, September 25, 1989, 624 words

10. Public Papers of the Presidents, Address Before the 44th Session of the United Nations General Assembly, 25 Weekly Comp. Pres. Doc. 1435, September 25, 1989, 3398 words



STRATEGIC DEFENSE INITIATIVE ORGANIZATION

INFORMATION PAPER

20 MAY 92

THE PROLIFERATION PROBLEM

Today, over 15 nations have ballistic missile capabilities. By the year 2000, this number could increase to twenty. As this proliferation continues, the trend will be toward missiles with longer ranges and greater accuracy. }

A few countries could achieve intercontinental ranges through the conversion of space launch vehicles, thereby directly threatening the United States. Since 1957, the number of countries capable of building and launching space launch vehicles has increased by about one every 4 years.

Many of the countries that are developing and / or acquiring ballistic missiles are also acquiring weapons of mass destruction. By the end of this decade, as many as 5 to 10 developing countries could have nuclear weapons, up to 20 could have chemical weapons, and 10 could possess a biological weapon capability. }

ADMINISTRATION STATEMENTS

"...I have asked for your support in funding a program to protect our country from limited nuclear missile attack. We must have this protection because too many people in too many countries have access to nuclear arms." (President George Bush, *State of the Union Address*, January 1992.)

"Future Secretaries of Defense are going to have to be able to deploy defenses against Ballistic Missiles - whether against the kind of theater threat we face today against scuds, or the far more sophisticated threats we anticipate in the future." (Comments of Secretary Of Defense Cheney before the Senate Armed Services Committee, February 15, 1991)

Senator Glenn: "...How many Third World ballistic missiles will be able to reach the U.S., say in this decade or by the year 2000?"

CIA Director Gates: "...As I have indicated, I think that we do anticipate that at least some will have the capability of reaching the United States by the end of the decade. I don't know in terms of numbers." (Hearing before the Senate Government Affairs Committee, January 15, 1992.)

CONGRESSIONAL STATEMENTS

"From whatever source, nuclear proliferation poses three distinct security challenges to the United States. First, proliferators may threaten nuclear use to deter the U.S. and the international community from taking actions that are in our interests...The second security challenge...is the high potential that the proliferators may lose control of their weapons, resulting in accidental or unauthorized use, or loss to third parties...The third and perhaps the most problematic security challenge arises from situations in which deterrence may not operate." (Congressman Les Aspin, Chairman, House Armed Services Committee., *From Deterrence to Denuking: Dealing with Proliferation in the 1990s*. February 18, 1992.)

"The global proliferation of ballistic missile technology and weapons of mass destruction has become one of the most immediate and dangerous threats to U.S. national security in the post Cold War era. Over time, this threat will most likely evolve from today's shorter-range, inaccurate missiles in the direction of more sophisticated, longer-range and increasingly accurate systems." *Defense for a New Era: Lessons of the Persian Gulf War*, House Armed Services Committee Report, April 1991

FORMER SOVIET UNION

"We realistically appraise that by the year 2000, about 15-20 more governments and states will have their own ballistic rockets and launchers. Half of these governments will have missiles with more than a 5,000- or up to a 5,000-mile range. I think this is a very serious source of threats in the future." (Maj Gen. V. Samoilov, Ministry Of Defense, ISC Conference, Washington, D.C. October 7, 1991)

4TH STORY of Level 1 printed in FULL format.

Proprietary to the United Press International 1983

March 15, 1983, Tuesday, AM cycle

ADVANCED-DATE: March 14, 1983, Monday, AM cycle

SECTION: Regional News

DISTRIBUTION: Nebraska

LENGTH: 366 words

DATELINE: LINCOLN, Neb.

KEYWORD: Igor

BODY:

Soviet defector Dr. Igor Glagolev Monday night urged the United States to terminate arms reduction negotiations with the Soviets and Americans to reject the nuclear freeze movement.

"I suggest we eliminate ACTA (Arms Control and Disarmament Agency), stop negotiations and restore the strategic balance of power," said Glagolev, who served for a time as a consultant to the Soviet SALT team before defecting to the United States in 1976.

Glagolev, who served the Soviet government for 37 years, said the United States was in "mortal danger" of a first nuclear strike by the Soviets because of efforts by the nuclear freeze movement.

He told a University of Nebraska audience the nuclear freeze movement was created by the Soviet KGB, specifically by its former chief and now Soviet leader Yuri Andropov.

"The idea of a nuclear freeze sounds very good; but this is only a slogan...the Soviet Union is not going to freeze anything," Glagolev said.

Glagolev said nuclear freeze movement leaders "deal not with realities but with disinformation" fostered through the KGB.

The United States, he said, is vulnerable to a Soviet-first strike because America has fewer nuclear warheads than the Soviets and U.S. sea and air-based nuclear missiles lack sufficient deterrent.

Rather than bolster the U.S. nuclear force with MX missiles, Glagolev said he favored deploying Persian II and Cruise missiles outside the continental United States -- "in Greenland, Alaska or Okinawa...let them contaminate the Soviet Union. The closer to the Soviet Union the better."

Many of Glagolev's statements were challenged by UNL physics professor Dr. Leo Sartori, who served with ACTA from 1978-1981 and was an adviser to the United States in SALT II Negotiations.

Sartori said accuracy and not numbers was a key to weighing the U.S.-Soviet nuclear balance.

Proprietary to the United Press International, March 15, 1983

Sartori said the United States has made its missiles "much more effective and more accurate...we've purposely reduced for military reasons."

"They can kill us but only at the risk of their own suicide," Sartori said of the Russians.

Giagulev is on a six-day tour of Nebraska sponsored by the Nebraska Young Americans for Freedom.

Countries Moving from Communism/Authoritarianism Towards Democracy

Europe/Eurasia

Russia * 290.9
 Ukraine *
 Belarus
 Moldova *
 Kazakhstan
 Kyrgyzstan *
 Armenia *
 Georgia
 Azerbaijan *
 Turkmenistan
 Tajikistan
 Uzbekistan
 Latvia *
 Lithuania *
 Estonia *
 Poland * 37.8
 E. Germany * 17.0
 Hungary * 10.6
 Czechoslovakia * 15.7
 Rumania 23.3
 Bulgaria * 8.9
 Albania * 3.3
 Slovenia * 2.0
 Croatia 4.8
 Bosnia * 4.3
 Macedonia * 2.0

Latin America

Nicaragua * 3.7
 Paraguay * 4.6
 Chile * 13.1
 Panama * 2.4

Africa

Namibia * 1.4
 Angola * 8.5
 Benin * 4.7
 Togo 3.6
 Congo * 2.2
 Zambia * 8.1
 South Africa 39.5
 Mozambique 14.6
 Ethiopia 51.7

Near East/South Asia

Nepal * 19.1
 Bangladesh * 118.4
 Afghanistan 15.8

East Asia

Mongolia * 2.2

Countries Moving Away from Democracy

721.1 734.2
 13.5 13.8%

Latin America

Peru 21.9
 Haiti 5.9

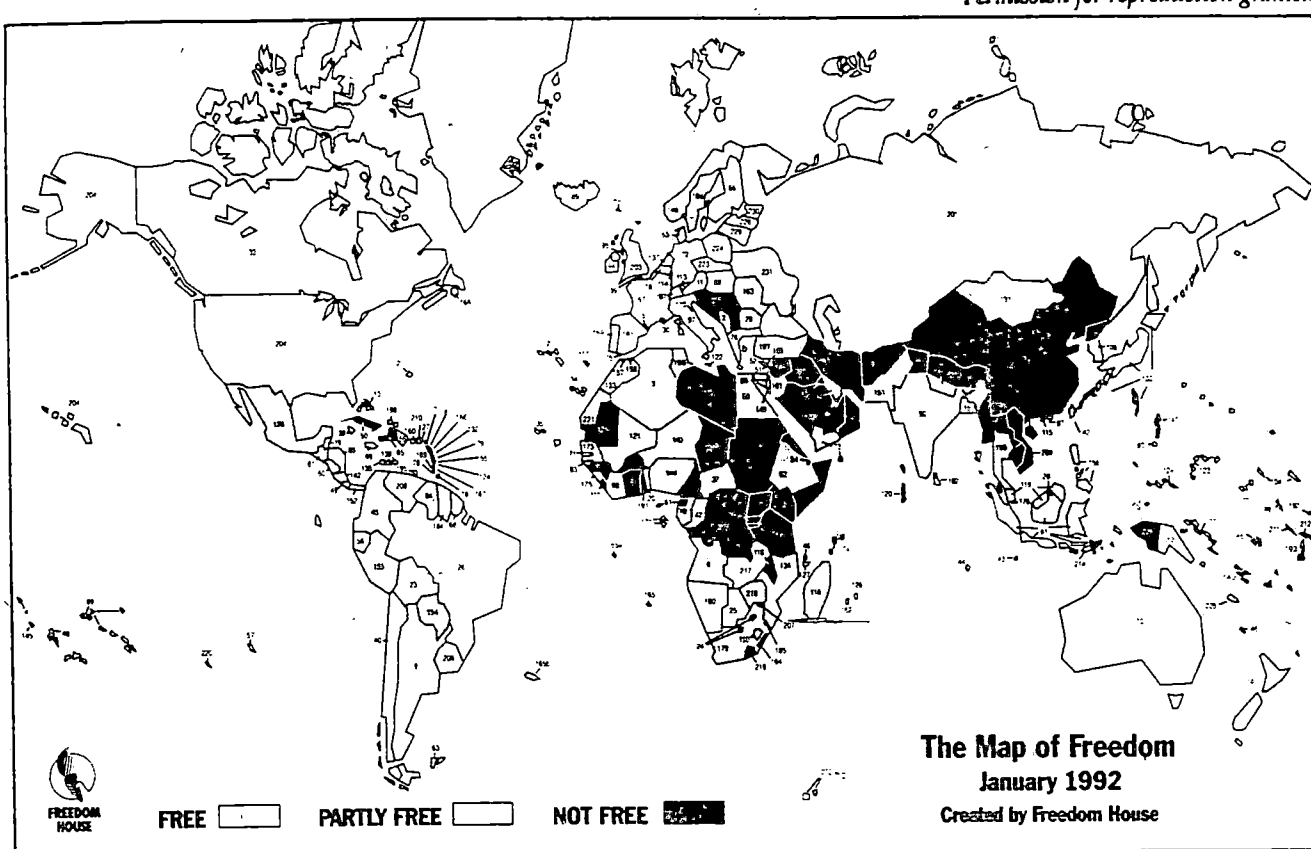
Africa

Sudan 25.2

53.0 681.2
 668.1
 12% 12.8%
 .5

Note: "*" indicates countries which have held free and fair elections.

Janet
 Bogue
 x0609



This map is based on data developed by Freedom House's Comparative Survey of Freedom. The Survey analyzes factors such as the degree to which fair and competitive elections occur, individual and group freedoms are guaranteed in practice, and press freedom exists. In some countries, the category reflects active citizen opposition rather than political rights granted by a government. More detailed and up-to-date Survey information may be obtained from Freedom House.

FREE STATES

9	Argentina
10	Australia
11	Austria
13	Bahamas
15	Bangladesh
16	Barbados
18	Belgium
19	Belize
20	Benin
23	Bolivia
25	Botswana
26	Brazil
29	Bulgaria
33	Canada
35	Cape Verde Isls.
40	Chile
49	Costa Rica
51	Cyprus (G)
52	Cyprus (T)
223	Czechoslovakia
53	Denmark
55	Dominica
56	Dominican Republic
58	Ecuador
230	Estonia
66	Finland
67	France
71	The Gambia
72	Germany
76	Greece
78	Grenada
86	Honduras
88	Hungary
89	Iceland
94	Ireland
96	Israel
97	Italy
99	Jamaica
100	Japan
104	Kiribati
106	Korea (S)
228	Latvia
229	Lithuania
114	Luxembourg
122	Malta
123	Marshall Islands
126	Mauritius
129	Micronesia
131	Mongolia
180	Namibia
135	Nauru
136	Nepal
137	Netherlands
141	New Zealand
148	Norway
153	Papua New Guinea
224	Poland
159	Portugal
166	St. Christopher-Nevis
167	St. Lucia
169	St. Vincent and the Grenadines
171	Sao Tome & Principe
177	Solomon Isls.
181	Spain
186	Sweden
187	Switzerland
195	Trinidad & Tobago
199	Tuvalu
203	United Kingdom
204	United States
206	Uruguay
140	Vanuatu
208	Venezuela
212	Western Samoa
217	Zambia

RELATED TERRITORIES

4	Amer. Samoa (US)
5	Andorra (Fr-Sp)
7	Anguilla (UK)
138	Aruba (Ne)
12	Azores (Port)

21	Bermuda (UK)
27	Br. Vir. Is. (UK)
34	Canary Isls. (Sp)
36	Cayman Isls. (UK)
157	Ceuta (Sp)
39	Channel Isls. (UK)
43	Christmas Is. (Austral.)
44	Cocos (Keeling Isls.) (Austral.)
48	Cook Isls. (NZ)
57	Rapanui/Easter Is. (Chile)
63	Falkland Is. (UK)
64	Faeroe Isls. (Den)
68	French Guiana (Fr)
69	French Polynesia (Fr)
222	French Southern & Antarctic Terr. (Fr.)
75	Gibraltar (UK)
77	Greenland (Den)
79	Guadeloupe (Fr)
80	Guam (US)
95	Isle of Man (UK)
113	Liechtenstein (Swz)
117	Madeira (Port)
127	Mahore (Fr)
124	Martinique (Fr)
158	Melilla (Sp)
130	Monaco (Fr.)
132	Montserrat (UK)
139	N. Antilles (Ne)
225	New Caledonia (Fr)
145	Niue (NZ)
146	Norfolk Is. (Austral.)
147	No. Marianas (US)
17	Belau (Palau) (US)
220	Pitcairn Islands (UK)
160	Puerto Rico (US)
162	Reunion (Fr)
165	St. Helena and Dependencies (UK)
165a	Ascension

165b	Tristan da Cunha
168	St. Pierre-Mq. (Fr)
170	San Marino (It)
192	Tokelau (NZ)
198	Turks & Caicos. (UK)
210	Virgin Isls. (US)
211	Wallis & Futuna Isls. (Fr)

PARTLY FREE STATES

2	Albania
3	Algeria
6	Angola
8	Antigua & Barbuda
14	Bahrain
22	Bhutan
37	Central African Republic
45	Colombia
46	Comoros
47	Congo
59	Egypt
60	El Salvador
62	Ethiopia
65	Fiji
70	Gabon
81	Guatemala
83	Guinea-Bissau
84	Guyana
90	India
91	Indonesia
98	Ivory Coast
101	Jordan
109	Lebanon
110	Lesotho
116	Madagascar
119	Malaysia
121	Mali
128	Mexico
133	Morocco
134	Mozambique
142	Nicaragua
143	Niger

144	Nigeria
151	Pakistan
152	Panama
154	Paraguay
155	Peru
156	Philippines
163	Romania
173	Senegal
175	Sierra Leone
176	Singapore
179	South Africa
182	Sri Lanka
184	Suriname
185	Swaziland
42	Taiwan (China)
190	Thailand
193	Tonga
196	Tanzania
197	Turkey
231	Ukraine
201	USSR
73	Yemen
218	Zimbabwe

RELATED TERRITORIES

87	Hong Kong (UK)
115	Macao (Port)
221	Western Sahara (Mor)

NOT FREE STATES

1	Afghanistan
28	Brunei
205	Burkina Faso
30	Burma (Myanmar)
31	Burundi
102	Cambodia
32	Cameroon
38	Chad
41	China (PRC)
50	Cuba
54	Djibouti
61	Equatorial Guinea
74	Ghana

82	Guinea
85	Haiti
92	Iran
93	Iraq
103	Kenya
105	Korea (N)
107	Kuwait
108	Laos
111	Liberia
112	Libya
118	Malawi
120	Maldives
125	Mauritania
150	Oman
161	Qatar
164	Rwanda
172	Saudi Arabia
174	Seychelles
178	Somalia
183	Sudan
188	Syria
189	Tanzania
191	Togo
200	Uganda
202	United Arab Emirates
209	Vietnam
215	Yugoslavia
216	Zaire

RELATED TERRITORIES

24	Bophuthatswana (SA)
219	Ciskei (SA)
214	East Timor (Indo.)
232	Eritrea
226	Indian Jaya (Indo.)
227	Kashmir (India)
149	Occupied Territories (Isr.)
213	Tibet (China)
194	Transkei (SA)
207	Venda

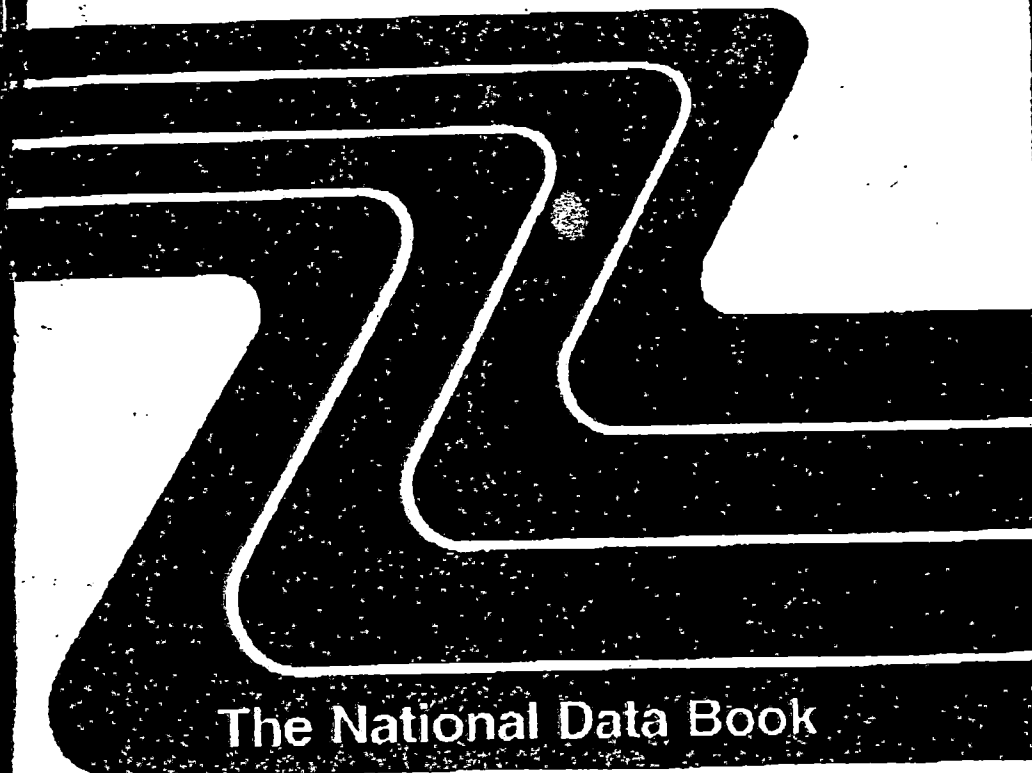
COUNTRIES WHICH HAVE MOVED FROM COMMUNISM OR AUTHORITARIANISM
TOWARDS DEMOCRACY SINCE PRESIDENT BUSH TOOK OFFICE

✓ALBANIA	3,300,000
✓AFGHANISTAN	15,800,000
✓ANGOLA	8,500,000
✓BANGLADESH	118,400,000
✓BENIN	4,700,000
✓BULGARIA	8,900,000
CAMBODIA	7,000,000
✓CHILE	13,100,000
✓CONGO	2,200,000
✓CZECHOSLOVAKIA	15,700,000
✓E. GERMANY	17,000,000
✓ETHIOPIA	51,700,000
✓HUNGARY	10,600,000
X <u>KUWAIT</u>	2,100,000
MONGOLIA	2,200,000
✓MOZAMBIQUE	14,600,000
✓NAMIBIA ✓	1,400,000
✓NEPAL	19,100,000
✓NICARAGUA	3,700,000
NIGERIA	118,800,000
✓PANAMA	2,400,000
✓PARAGUAY	4,600,000
✓POLAND	37,800,000
✓ROMANIA	23,300,000
✓SOUTH AFRICA	39,500,000
✓FORMER U.S.S.R.	290,900,000 ←
<i>Serbia (?)</i> → <u>YUGOSLAVIA</u>	23,800,000
✓ZAMBIA	8,100,000

TOTAL 869,200,000

111th Edition

Statistical Abstract of the United States 1991



The National Data Book

U.S. Department of Commerce
Economics and Statistics Administration
BUREAU OF THE CENSUS

No. 1454. Population and Area, by Region and Country, 1980 and 1990, and Projections, 2010 and 2010

[illegible]

COUNTRY	MIDYEAR POPULATION (1960)				1960, population in '000	ANNUAL RATE OF GROWTH		1960, population in '000	Area, sq. miles
	1960	1965	1970	1975		1960-1969	1970-1979		
World total	4,478,687	5,910,111	7,271,259	8,244,101	191	1.7	1.6	82,444,281	
Africa	450,361	581,361	721,579	818,579	161	2.9	2.9	11,952,973	
North America	251,941	277,069	307,863	337,257	100	1.0	0.7	5,730,018	
Latin America	52,189	114,524	165,250	217,234	100	2.4	1.4	17,730,018	
Europe	250,048	312,223	371,961	431,961	100	2.2	2.2	10,180,018	
Asia	1,410,141	1,938,124	2,466,107	3,000,107	100	2.2	1.7	42,873,043	
Oceania	14,121,141	1,777,781	2,171,820	2,568,086	100	1.2	1.2	4,999,043	
South America	44,121,141	44,121,141	44,121,141	44,121,141	100	0.3	0.3	1,401,771	
Europe	280,410	280,410	280,410	280,410	100	0.9	0.7	3,340,446	
North America	22,010	22,010	22,010	22,010	100	1.9	1.4	3,397,209	
COUNTRIES									
Algeria	14,365	15,803	17,241	18,679	100	0.0	4.7	248,869	
Angola	2,673	3,270	3,867	4,464	109	2.0	1.6	11,109	
Argentina	18,680	21,680	24,680	27,680	100	2.6	2.6	118,667	
Australia	34	63	92	121	106	4.4	2.8	159	
Austria	6,766	8,634	10,502	12,370	106	2.7	2.7	115	
Belgium	69	84	99	114	181	0.7	0.7	590	
Brazil	28,237	32,811	37,385	41,959	180	1.1	1.1	649	
Bulgaria	80	84	87	91	180	0.8	0.8	649	
Canada	14,019	16,923	19,827	22,731	135	1.5	1.5	235	
Chad	7,540	7,540	7,540	7,540	135	0.1	0.1	2,817,704	
China, P.R.	11	48	83	118	169	1.5	1.1	5,389	
Colombia	5,077	5,077	5,077	5,077	169	4.9	2.9	1,923	
Congo	118,433	133,867	149,301	164,735	154	0.5	0.7	65,168	
Cuba	203	263	323	383	157	3.9	2.6	1,230	
Czechoslovakia	9,004	9,004	9,004	9,004	166	8.1	8.1	840	
Denmark	147	228	309	390	157	4.9	3.2	358	
Dominican Republic	3,444	4,074	4,704	5,334	166	2.1	2.1	10,999	
Ecuador	1,261	1,568	1,875	2,182	184	2.9	2.9	1,012	
El Salvador	6,303	6,707	7,111	7,515	186	2.2	2.2	431,162	
France	903	1,225	1,547	1,869	188	3.9	2.4	231,864	
Germany, F.R.	182,402	182,402	182,402	182,402	187	2.8	2.8	40	
Ghana	185	373	561	749	187	7.9	4.1	2,228	
Greece	6,844	6,844	6,844	6,844	171	0.1	0.1	1,889	
Haiti	10,009	10,009	10,009	10,009	170	2.7	3.2	1,171	
Honduras	3,078	3,078	3,078	3,078	164	1.9	1.9	1,182	
Hungary	4,277	4,277	4,277	4,277	164	3.1	3.1	1,100	
India	4,198	4,198	4,198	4,198	164	2.1	2.1	1,100	
Indonesia	6,062	6,062	6,062	6,062	164	2.1	2.1	1,100	
Iran	4,077	4,077	4,077	4,077	164	2.1	2.1	1,100	
Ireland	4,077	4,077	4,077	4,077	164	2.1	2.1	1,100	
Israel	4,077	4,077	4,077	4,077	164	2.1	2.1	1,100	
Italy	4,077	4,077	4,077	4,077	164	2.1	2.1	1,100	
Jamaica	4,077	4,077	4,077	4,077	164	2.1	2.1	1,100	
Japan	4,077	4,077	4,077	4,077	164	2.1	2.1	1,100	
Kenya	4,077	4,077	4,077	4,077	164	2.1	2.1	1,100	
Korea, S.	4,077	4,077	4,077	4,077	164	2.1	2.1	1,100	
Laos	4,077	4,077	4,077	4,077	164	2.1	2.1	1,100	
Lebanon	4,077	4,077	4,077	4,077	164	2.1	2.1	1,100	
Libya	4,077	4,077	4,077	4,077	164	2.1	2.1	1,100	
Luxembourg	4,077	4,077	4,077	4,077	164	2.1	2.1	1,100	
Mali	4,077	4,077	4,077	4,077	164	2.1	2.1	1,100	
Mexico	4,077	4,077	4,077	4,077	164	2.1	2.1	1,100	
Morocco	4,077	4,077	4,077	4,077	164	2.1	2.1	1,100	
Netherlands	4,077	4,077	4,077	4,077	164	2.1	2.1	1,100	
Nigeria	4,077	4,077	4,077	4,077	164	2.1	2.1	1,100	
Poland	4,077	4,077	4,077	4,077	164	2.1	2.1	1,100	
Portugal	4,077	4,077	4,077	4,077	164	2.1	2.1	1,100	
Romania	4,077	4,077	4,077	4,077	164	2.1	2.1	1,100	
Saudi Arabia	4,077	4,077	4,077	4,077	164	2.1	2.1	1,100	
Senegal	4,077	4,077	4,077	4,077	164	2.1	2.1	1,100	
Singapore	4,077	4,077	4,077	4,077	164	2.1	2.1	1,100	
Slovakia	4,077	4,077	4,077	4,077	164	2.1	2.1	1,100	
Slovenia	4,077	4,077	4,077	4,077	164	2.1	2.1	1,100	
Sudan	4,077	4,077	4,077	4,077	164	2.1	2.1	1,100	
Switzerland	4,077	4,077	4,077	4,077	164	2.1	2.1	1,100	
Taiwan	4,077	4,077	4,077	4,077	164	2.1	2.1	1,100	
Tanzania	4,077	4,077	4,077	4,077	164	2.1	2.1	1,100	
Togo	4,077	4,077	4,077	4,077	164	2.1	2.1	1,100	
Tunisia	4,077	4,077	4,077	4,077	164	2.1	2.1	1,100	
Turkey	4,077	4,077	4,077	4,077	164	2.1	2.1	1,100	
Uganda	4,077	4,077	4,077	4,077	164	2.1	2.1	1,100	
Ukraine	4,077	4,077	4,077	4,077	164	2.1	2.1	1,100	
United Kingdom	4,077	4,077	4,077	4,077	164	2.1	2.1	1,100	
United States	4,077	4,077	4,077	4,077	164	2.1	2.1	1,100	
Uruguay	4,077	4,077	4,077	4,077	164	2.1	2.1	1,100	
Venezuela	4,077	4,077	4,077	4,077	164	2.1	2.1	1,100	
Yemen	4,077	4,077	4,077	4,077	164	2.1	2.1	1,100	
Zambia	4,077	4,077	4,077	4,077	164	2.1	2.1	1,100	
Zimbabwe	4,077	4,077	4,077	4,077	164	2.1	2.1	1,100	

See footnote at end of table.

No. 1439. Population and Area, by Region and Country, 1960 and 1960, and Projections, 2000 and 2010—Continued

Don't Hesitate, Invest Now

[illegible]

X Not applicable. 2 Less than .05 percent of A. 3 Computed by the exponential method. For explanation of average annual percent change, see Guide to Tibaldi Presentation. 4 Data from U.S. Central Intelligence Agency, The World Factbook, Annual and Special Reports, U.S. Department of State, Bureau of the World's Nations, periodic and Statistical Office of the United Nations, New York, NY, Demographic Yearbook. Includes Bermuda, Canada, Greenland, St. Pierre and Miquelon, and United Kingdom. Excludes Seychelles, an area subject to dispute over sovereignty. Includes the Indian-held part of Jammu and Kashmir. Excludes the Pakistani-held part of Jammu and Kashmir. Includes only the Republic of Poland. Source: Except as noted, U.S. Bureau of the Census, Unpublished data.

Source: U.S. Bureau of the Census, International Data Base.

that is budgetarily sound, and that is—where we have offsets and we stay within the budget agreement. So, that's what I've been concentrating on.

Now, as I leave, I'll be focusing in the United Nations on these other questions.

Q. Mr. President, do you think—

The President. Well, I'm going to be focusing on all that when we get up there, and I'll have something to say about it later this morning.

Note: The President spoke at 10:05 a.m. on the South Lawn at the White House. During this exchange, a reporter referred to President Saddam Hussein of Iraq. Robert Dole is Senate Minority Leader. A tape was not available for verification of the content of this exchange.

**Address to the 46th Session of the
United Nations General Assembly in
New York City
September 23, 1991**

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

I'd first like to congratulate outgoing President Guido De Marco of Malta and salute our incoming President Samir Shihabi of Saudi Arabia. I also want to salute especially Secretary-General Javier Perez de Cuellar, who will step down in just over 3 months. But let me say, Secretary-General Perez de Cuellar has served with great distinction during a period of unprecedented change and turmoil. For almost 10 years we've enjoyed the leadership of this man of peace, a man that I, along with many of you, feel proud to call friend. So today, let us congratulate our friend and praise his spectacular service to the United Nations and to the people of the world. Mr. Secretary-General.

Let me also welcome new members to this chamber: two delegations representing Korea, particularly our democratic friends, the Republic of Korea; the Republics of Estonia, Latvia, and Lithuania; and new mis-

sions from the Marshall Islands and Micronesia.

Twenty years ago, when I was the Permanent Representative here for the United States, there were 132 U.N. members. Just 1 week ago, 159 nations enjoyed membership in the United Nations. Today, the number stands at 166. The presence of these new members alone provides reasons for us to celebrate.

My speech today will not sound like any you've heard from a President of the United States. I'm not going to dwell on the superpower competition that defined international politics for half a century. Instead, I will discuss the challenges of building peace and prosperity in a world leavened by the cold war's end, the resumption of history.

Communism held history captive for years. It suspended ancient disputes, and 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 perils. And let's begin by discussing the opportunities.

First, history's renewal enables people to pursue their natural instincts for enterprise. Communism froze that progress until its failures became too much for even its defenders to bear. And 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." And 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 tyr-



anny, 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 years 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, not as predators. Economic growth can aid international relations in exactly 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. History shows all too clearly that protectionism can destroy wealth within countries and poison relations between them. And therefore, I call upon all members of GATT to redouble their efforts to reach a successful conclusion for the Uruguay round. I pledge that the United States will do its part.

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. People everywhere seek government of and by the people. And they want to enjoy their inalienable rights to freedom and property and person.



Challenges to democracy 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 Mik-

hail 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. 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 was replaced with 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 the goal, the liberation of Kuwait, and devised a courageous, unified means of achieving that goal.

And 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." Those are the words from the charter. We will not revive these ideals if we fail to acknowledge the challenge that the renewal of history presents.

In Europe and Asia, nationalist passions have flared anew, challenging borders, straining the fabric of international society. At the same time, around the world, many age-old conflicts still fester. You see signs of this tumult right here. The United Nations has mounted more peacekeeping missions in the last 36 months than during its first 43 years. And although we now seem merciful-

ly 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 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 United Nations was founded. And I call now for its repeal. 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. And 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 of 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 this resolution unconditionally, the United Nations 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 can't form political parties freely and elect governments without coercion, if they can't practice their religion freely, if they can't raise their families in peace, if they can't enjoy a just return from their labor, if they can't 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 their basic rights to the people. And too many voices cry out

for freedom. For example, 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. It is for this reason that I put forward my Middle East arms initiative, a comprehensive approach to stop and, where possible, reverse the accumulation of arms in that part of the world most prone to violence.

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 peoples. We, 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's especially true today of 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. Saddam's contempt for U.N. resolutions was first demonstrated back in August of 1990. And it continues even as I am speaking. His government refuses to permit unconditional helicopter inspections and right now is refusing to allow U.N. inspectors to leave inspected



premises with documents relating to an Iraqi nuclear weapons program.

And it is the United States view that we must keep the United Nations sanctions in place as long as he remains in power. And this also shows that we cannot compromise for a moment in seeing that Iraq destroys all of its weapons of mass destruction and the means to deliver them. And we will not compromise.

This is not to say, and let me be clear on this one, that we should punish the Iraqi people. Let me repeat, our argument has never been with the people of Iraq. It was and is with a brutal dictator whose arrogance dishonors the Iraqi people. Security Council Resolution 706 created a responsible mechanism for sending humanitarian relief to innocent Iraqi citizens. We must put that mechanism to work.

We must not abandon our principled stand against Saddam's aggression. This cooperative effort has liberated Kuwait, and now it can lead to a just government in Iraq. And when it does, when it does, the Iraqi people can look forward to better lives, free at home, free to engage in a world beyond their borders.



The resumption of history also permits the United Nations to resume the important business of promoting the values that I've discussed today. This body 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 such diverse and troubled lands as Afghanistan, Cambodia, Cyprus, El Salvador, and the Western Sahara.

The United Nations can encourage free-market development through its international lending and aid institutions. However, the United Nations should not dictate the particular forms of government 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 standards of human decency.



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 must surrender

one iota of its own sovereignty, an order characterized by the rule of law rather than the resort to force, the cooperative settlement of disputes rather than anarchy and bloodshed, and an unstinting belief in human rights.

Finally, you may wonder about America's role in the new world that I have described. Let me assure you, the United States has no intention of striving for a *Pax Americana*. However, we will remain engaged. We will not retreat and pull back into isolationism. We will offer friendship and leadership. And in short, we seek a *Pax Universalis* built upon shared responsibilities and aspirations.

To all assembled, 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 more 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 to each and every one of you. And thank you very, very much.

Note: President Bush spoke at 12:44 p.m. in the General Assembly Hall at the United Nations. In his address, he referred to outgoing U.N. General Assembly President Guido De Marco and incoming President Samir Shihabi, Secretary-General Javier Perez de Cuellar de la Guerra of the United Nations, President Mikhail Gorbachev of the Soviet Union, President Boris Yeltsin of the Republic of Russia, President Saddam Hussein of Iraq, and President Fidel Castro Ruz of Cuba.