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44th Session of the United Nations General Assembly 9/25/89 [OA 4390]

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SENSITIVE

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WHITE HOUSE STAFFING MEMORANDUM

DATE: 9/20/89

ACTION/CONCURRENCE/COMMENT DUE BY: 9/21/89 2:00 PM

SUBJECT: PRESIDENTIAL REMARKS: UN GENERAL ASSEMBLY

	ACTION FYI			ACTION FYI	
VICE PRESIDENT	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	MCCLURE	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
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CARD	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	WINSTON	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>
CICCONI	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	PINKERTON	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
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REMARKS:

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

RESPONSE:

September 21, 1989

TO: CHRISS WINSTON

NSC concurs, with the additions and changes marked.

CLOSE HOLD

SENSITIVE

Brent Scowcroft

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

cc: James W. Cicconi

SEP 22 1989 9:24



Possible CFE addition to the President's UNGA speech:

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

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

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

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

NSC Edits

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

09 SEP 20 P6:34

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

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

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

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

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

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mention
when

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

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

The United Nations was established forty-four years ago upon the ashes of war -- amidst great hopes. And the United Nations can do great things. No, the UN isn't perfect. It's not a panacea for the world's problems. But it is -- and must remain -- a vital forum where the nations of the world seek to replace ^{armed} conflict ^{with the peaceful resolution of disputes according to the law of the UN Charter.} ~~with consensus~~ ^{This organization has the strong support of the United States of America.} And the UN is moving closer to that ideal. In recent years -- certainly since my time here -- the war of words that has often echoed in this chamber is giving way to a new mood. We've seen a shift -- from polemics to peacekeeping. The result: the emergence of the United Nations as a force for peace.

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

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

There isn't
just common
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but better
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conduct
Explicit
endorsement

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

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

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

~~That idea is: Freedom.~~

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

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

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

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

See note on p. 2

edit

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

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

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

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

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

The world in this century has seen great change. Two world wars. The dissolution of the colonial system -- and the birth of dozens of new nations. And a battle in the **war of ideas** as well -- ~~between the~~ ideologies of right and left. One of these ideologies -- fascism -- ^{was} defeated almost a half century ago. ~~as~~

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

Battle is not between left + right, but freedom vs. extremes of both left + right

as freedom was assaulted by two great totalitarian

most of this century, captivated the minds of ~~some of the world's~~ ^{consumed or constricted the lives of} ~~(most)~~ powerful rulers -- and ~~enslaved~~ ¹ tens of millions of men and women around the globe.

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

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

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

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

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

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

[[Pause]]

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

INSERT TO BE PROVIDED

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

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

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

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

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

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PROVIDED

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

The challenge of preserving peace is a personal one for all of you here in this hall. [Mr. Secretary General, I know you have made it your own.] The United Nations can be a mediator -- ~~or it can express the support of the world community for the processes of a forum where parties in conflict come in search of peaceful diplomacy.~~ *or it can express the support of the world community for the processes of* ~~(solutions)~~

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

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

INSERT → (attached)

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

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

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

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

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

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

UNGA SPEECH: INSERT ON PAGE 10 --- CONTINUED

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

INSERT
(attached)
Mention
other UN
functions +
concerns

UNGA SPEECH: INSERT ON PAGE 11

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

#

NATIONAL SECURITY COUNCIL

September 21, 1989

NOTE FOR JIM CICCONI

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

cc: Chriss Winsto

89 SEP 22 09:24

PWRC edits
8:00 pm 9/21

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

09 SEP 20 P6:34

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

^{Opportunity for} ~~emergence of~~ the United Nations ^{to come into its own} as a force for peace.

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

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

A generation after decolonization, we are entering a new era of maturity and interdependence. Ideologies are discredited. Practical cooperation becomes the imperative. Basic humane values are proving their universality.

"Beyond polemics"?

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

Some broader historical perspective

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

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

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

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

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

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

We live in a world of sweeping change. Historic developments are taking place in Europe -- economic integration, East-West reconciliation, arms reduction, resurgence of the idea of democracy. It is a powerful example of the recognition of human interdependence, grounded in freedom.

But the same forces are at work today on every continent, developed and developing. The principles of justice, the yearning for freedom and peace, the laws of economics do not discriminate between North + South East + West.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

Overstated

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

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

Taiwan, Hong Kong # "nations"

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

We and our partners in the General Agreement on Trade and Tariffs are working now to complete the Uruguay Round. By year's end, we hope to have consensus on a system that promotes open, free and fair trade -- a system that ^{harnesses the power of commerce as the} ~~works to the benefit of all~~ engine of growth.

"The power of commerce" (President wants)

The United States imports more goods from the developing world -- billions of dollars more than either Western Europe or Japan. Last year those imports were 29 percent of the value of all our imports -- more than double the proportion of that of our industrial competitors. It is time that all the industrial powers ^{pull} their share in helping the developing countries.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

(NSC
files)

(NSC
files)

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

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

*INSERT
SUBSTITUTE
(attached)*

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

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

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

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

New para in middle of page 9

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

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

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

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

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

(Gates asked for)

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

#

73774

NATIONAL ORGANIZATION ON

DISABILITY

A private, non-profit organization



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Rep. Gus Yatron, PA

September 16, 1989

BY MESSENGER

The Honorable George Bush
The President of the United States
The White House
Washington, D.C. 20500

Dear Mr. President:

Recognizing that you will be addressing the United Nations General Assembly on September 25, I am taking the liberty of suggesting a brief inclusion in your speech, an inclusion which I have discussed with Ambassador Pickering.

The brief attached comment that I am suggesting would (1) advance the goals of the U.N. Decade of Disabled Persons (1983-1992), affecting a half billion disabled people worldwide, (2) inspire other nations to become more active, and (3) extend your current commitment to the Americans with Disabilities Act.

Respectfully,

Alan A. Reich
President

Attachment

Attachment

Suggested Brief Language for Inclusion
in UNGA Address by President Bush, 9/25/89

"As the members of this organization know, the period 1983-1992 was proclaimed the United Nations Decade of Disabled Persons. I am pleased to report today that our nation has undertaken a significant new initiative to expand the participation of 37 million American men, women and children with disabilities. This month, the United States Senate overwhelmingly passed civil rights legislation toward this goal -- the Americans with Disabilities Act.

I urge all nations to support the proposed 1992 ministerial-level U.N. conference on disability. I also recommend that the United Nations proclaim a second U.N. Decade of Disabled Persons, starting in 1993, to continue the momentum worldwide. A half billion people stand to gain. They want to contribute more to their societies. A forceful, realistic U.N. disability commitment will help release this enormous human potential for the good of all mankind."

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

August 8, 1989

*copy - Chris
good points
by jim
XX*

MEMORANDUM FOR DAVID DEMAREST

FROM: Jim Cicconi *jc*

SUBJECT: Themes for the President's Speech to the
United Nations General Assembly

Attached is an NSC paper which may be helpful in planning for the President's September speech to the UN General Assembly.

The paper has been reviewed by Brent, and reflects (broadly speaking) his conversations with the President. A few thoughts, though, which I've discussed with Bob Gates and which may be of help:


1. It is hard to recall a memorable UN speech by a President. Part of the reason, I feel, is that the bureaucracy insists on loading up the speech with every foreign policy subject on the UN agenda. This tends to make the speech more a disjointed laundry list of statements than something with a theme.
2. The attached paper has a number of good ideas, but needs to be more closely connected. The theme of "free politics, free markets" is one we laid out at Leyden, and which could easily be developed beyond the European framework. If we apply that theme to the rest of the world, especially the Third World, the speech could have a good deal of resonance.
3. Thus, my suggestion is to build upon the Leyden speech, expanding application of its theme. This is an opportunity to once again position America as standing for certain immutable principles throughout the world-- always our greatest strength on the global stage.

NATIONAL SECURITY COUNCIL
WASHINGTON, D.C. 20508

5676 Add-on
1989 AUG - 7 AM 10:30

August 7, 1989

MEMORANDUM FOR JAMES W. CICCONI

FROM: G. PHILIP HUGHES 

SUBJECT: Themes for the President's United Nations General Assembly (UNGA) Speech

Attached for the use of the President's speechwriters are some suggested themes for the President's address to the United Nations General Assembly (UNGA) in September. They reflect NSC ideas, some of which have been discussed with the President.

The objective is to project a vision of Third World trends that is as sophisticated and path-breaking as the President's major speeches on European and East-West relations. The speech needs to acknowledge the importance of the developing world to the international system and to sketch the powerful forces of change that are at work in the developing world just as in the industrialized world. In this framework the President can expound U.S. policy on a variety of global political, economic, and security issues.

Attachment

Tab A Suggested Themes for the President's
UNGA Speech in September

Themes for UNGA Speech

- We live in a world of sweeping political and economic change. Historic developments are taking place in Europe -- economic integration, East-West reconciliation, arms reduction, resurgence of the idea of democracy. It is a powerful example of the recognition of interdependence, grounded in freedom.

- But the same forces at work today are affecting every continent, developed and developing.

- The principles of justice, the yearning for freedom and peace, the laws of economics do not discriminate. We see now, clearer than ever, that they apply equally to all -- North and South, East and West.

- In the political dimension, we see the spread of democracy and the growing challenges to dictatorship, whether in Eastern Europe or China or South Africa or Central America. (Day of the dictator is over.) A tragic century and a half of the cruel experiment of totalitarianism may be coming to an end.

- Pluralist democracy, under law, is what people want.

- It's the best system for solving problems and for ensuring human rights. (Cite Universal Declaration of Human Rights.)

- Successful examples: from the Philippines and Republic of Korea to Latin America (hope even in Chile). Elections show the people's will -- now even recognized (to a degree) in Eastern Europe.

- Setbacks only temporary; the tide cannot be reversed.

- In the economic dimension, we see the utter discrediting of Marxism and State socialism around the world and the growing rediscovery of economic freedom.

- The Information Revolution breaks down both economic and political barriers.

- We see the power of commerce -- the vital global trading system that we must protect against protectionism. The Uruguay Round. The U.S. imports more goods from the Third World -- billions of dollars more -- than either Western Europe or Japan. And last year those imports from the Third World were 29% of the

value of all our imports, as compared to 13% of those of all our industrial competitors.

- We see the genius of the market in nurturing production, innovation, distribution, and social progress.
- In the last analysis, what countries want is a fair chance to earn their way. Brady Plan on debt will help. U.S. will fight to keep markets open (EC).
- In the security dimension, the historic easing of East-West tensions has its benefit (and reflection) in the easing of some conflicts in regions of the developing world and in prospects for future cooperation.
 - U.N. peacekeeping also becomes a more effective tool as big-power conflicts ease. Also, ICJ will be strengthened by U.S. initiative.
- As the world becomes more secure against the traditional dangers, we see a new dimension of unconventional dangers demanding global cooperation. Developing world must take part.

- The global environment is the developing world's patrimony as well.
 - Drugs menace the political as well as physical health of all nations (not just industrial countries).
 - Refugee needs, relief of victims of natural and man-made disasters call for cooperation (International Conference on Indochina Refugees, Armenia earthquake cooperation).
- Other serious problems, too:
- Proliferation of high-tech weaponry (CW, ballistic missiles, as well as nuclear). Libya; others in Mideast.
 - State-sponsored terrorism (Pan Am 103); evil of hostage-taking.
 - Unresolved regional conflicts where forces of tyranny haven't yet given way (Nicaragua), or where dangerous conflicts fester (Arab-Israeli); U.S. actively seeks diplomatic solutions.
 - Trade protectionism could endanger growth.

- Excessive resources spent by developing nations on weapons rather than their people's needs. In 1987, this amounted to over \$170 billion.

- Broad conclusion: Overall, more than a generation after decolonization, we are entering a new era of maturity and interdependence. Ideologies are discredited; practical cooperation becomes the imperative; basic humane values prove their universality.

- Could make unprecedented progress toward a world as envisioned by the U.N. Charter -- of order under law.

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

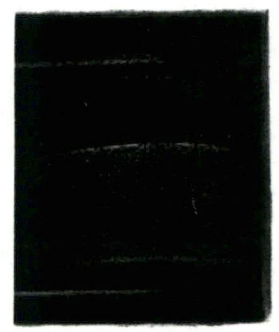
DATE: _____ 9/18

*for
UN
file*

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:

89 SEP 18 P 2 : 31

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

September 15, 1989

*DM - Ch...
See below
and over*

INFORMATION

MEMORANDUM FOR THE PRESIDENT

THROUGH: CHRISS WINSTON *cw*
FROM: DANIEL MCGROARTY *DM*
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 ground 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 P12:18

THE WHITE HOUSE
Office of the Press Secretary
(New York, New York)

EMBARGOED FOR RELEASE
UNTIL 11:45 A.M. EDT
MONDAY, SEPTEMBER 25, 1989

ADDRESS BY THE PRESIDENT
TO THE 44TH SESSION
OF THE UNITED NATIONS GENERAL ASSEMBLY

United Nations Headquarters
New York, New York

September 25, 1989

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

I would like to congratulate Joseph Garba of Nigeria -- a distinguished diplomat -- on his election as President of this session of the General Assembly, and I wish him success in his Presidency.

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

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

Today, I would like to begin by recognizing the current permanent representatives with whom I served. Roberto Martinez-Ordonez. Blaise Rabetafika. Permanent Observer John Dube.

It's wonderful to look around and see so many familiar faces -- foreign ministers, members of the Secretariat, delegates. And of course Mr. Secretary General -- you were Permanent Representative for your country when we served together and Under Secretary Abby Arach -- you were a Permanent Representative back then, too. It's an honor to be back with you in this historic hall.

The United Nations was established 44 years ago upon the ashes of war -- and amidst great hopes. And the United Nations can do great things. No, the UN isn't perfect. It's not a panacea for the world's problems. But it is a vital forum where the nations of the world seek to replace conflict with consensus -- and it must remain a forum for peace.

- 2 -

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

- more -

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

Two hundred years ago today, the United States Congress proposed the Bill of Rights -- fundamental freedoms belonging to every individual. Rights no government can deny. Those same rights have been recognized in this congress of nations -- in the words of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, "a common standard of achievement for all peoples and all nations."

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

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

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

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

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

Our challenge is to strengthen the foundations of freedom -- encourage its advance, and face our most urgent challenges. The global challenges of the 21st Century: economic health, environmental well-being, and the great questions of war and peace.

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

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

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

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

- 4 -

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

We must move forward to limit -- and eliminate -- weapons of mass destruction. Five years ago, at the UN Conference on Disarmament in Geneva, I presented a U.S. draft treaty outlawing chemical weapons. Since then, progress has been made -- but time is running out. The threat is growing. More than 20 nations now possess chemical weapons or the capability to produce them. These horrible weapons are now finding their way into regional conflicts. This is unacceptable.

For the sake of mankind, we must halt and reverse this threat. Today, I want to announce steps the U.S. is ready to take -- steps to rid the world of these truly terrible weapons -- towards a treaty that will ban, eliminate, all chemical weapons from the earth ten years from the day it is signed.

- more -

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This initiative contains three major elements:

First, in the first eight years of a chemical weapons treaty, the U.S. is ready to destroy nearly all -- 98% -- of our chemical weapons -- stockpile -- provided the Soviet Union joins the ban. I think they will.

Second, we are ready to destroy all of our chemical weapons -- 100%, every one -- within ten years, once all nations capable of building chemical weapons sign the total ban treaty.

And third, the U.S. is ready to begin now. We'll eliminate more than 80% of our stockpile -- even as we work to complete a treaty -- if the Soviet Union joins us in cutting chemical weapons to an equal level, and we agree on inspections to verify that stockpiles are destroyed.

We know that monitoring a total ban on chemical weapons will be a challenge. But the knowledge we've gained from our recent arms control experience -- and our accelerating research in this area -- makes me believe we can achieve the level of verification that gives us confidence to go forward with the ban.

The world has lived too long in the shadow of chemical warfare. Let us act together -- beginning today -- to rid the earth of this scourge.

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

And the United States is convinced that open and innovative measures can move disarmament forward -- and also ease international tensions. That's the idea behind the Open Skies proposal the Soviets have now indicated they are willing to pursue. It's the idea behind the Open Lands proposal -- permitting, for the first time ever, free travel for all Soviet and American diplomats throughout each other's countries. Openness is the enemy of mistrust -- and every step towards a more open world is a step towards the new world we seek.

And let me make this comment on our meetings with Soviet Foreign Minister Shevardnadze over the past few days. I am very pleased by the progress we made. The Soviet Union removed a number of obstacles to progress on conventional and strategic arms reductions. We reached agreements in principle on issues from verification to nuclear testing. And of course, we agreed to a summit in the spring or early summer of 1990.

Each of these achievements is important in its own right -- but they are more important still as signs of a new attitude that prevails between the U.S. and USSR. Serious differences remain -- but the willingness to deal constructively and candidly -- with those differences is news that we -- and indeed the world -- must welcome.

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

- more -

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

The challenge of preserving peace is a personal one for all of you here in this hall. The United Nations can be a mediator -- a forum where parties in conflict come in search of peaceful solutions.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

- more -

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There's a painting that hangs on the wall of my office in the White House. It pictures President Lincoln and his generals, meeting near the end of a war that remains the bloodiest in American history. Outside, at that moment, a battle rages. And yet what we see in the distance is a rainbow -- a symbol of hope, of the passing of the storm. That painting is called "The Peacemakers." For me, it is a constant reminder that our struggle -- the struggle for peace -- is a struggle blessed by hope.

I do remember sitting in this hall. I remember the mutual respect among all of us proudly serving as representatives. I remember the almost endless speeches, Security Council sessions. The receptions and receiving lines. The formal meetings of this Assembly -- and the informal discussions in the Delegates' Lounge.

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

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

I believe we can. I know we must.

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

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

* * *

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

MR. PRESIDENT, MR. SECRETARY-GENERAL,
DISTINGUISHED DELEGATES OF THE UNITED NATIONS: I AM
HONORED TO SPEAK TO YOU TODAY AS YOU OPEN THE 44TH
SESSION OF THE GENERAL ASSEMBLY.

I WOULD LIKE TO CONGRATULATE JOSEPH GARBA OF
NIGERIA -- A DISTINGUISHED DIPLOMAT -- ON HIS ELECTION
AS PRESIDENT OF THIS SESSION OF THE GENERAL ASSEMBLY,
AND I WISH HIM SUCCESS IN HIS PRESIDENCY. [[PAUSE]]

I FEEL A GREAT PERSONAL PLEASURE ON THIS OCCASION.
THIS IS A HOMECOMING FOR ^{Both ~ Barbara.} ME, THE MEMORIES OF MY TIME
HERE IN 1971 AND 1972 ARE STILL WITH ME TODAY -- THE
HUMAN MOMENTS -- THE HUMOROUS MOMENTS -- THAT ARE PART
OF EVEN THE HIGHEST UNDERTAKING.

[Handwritten signature]
P. J. F. C.

LET ME SHARE ONE STORY -- FROM ONE OF THE MANY SESSIONS OF THE SECURITY COUNCIL. I WAS 45 MINUTES LATE GETTING TO THE MEETING -- AND ALL 45 MINUTES WERE FILLED BY THE FIRST SPEAKER TO TAKE THE FLOOR. WHEN I WALKED IN AND TOOK MY SEAT, THE SPEAKER PAUSED AND SAID WITH GREAT COURTESY: "I WELCOME THE PERMANENT REPRESENTATIVE OF THE UNITED STATES, AND NOW -- FOR HIS BENEFIT -- I WILL START MY SPEECH ^{All over} AGAIN -- FROM THE BEGINNING." [[PAUSE]] AT THAT MOMENT, DIFFERENCES OF ALLIANCE AND IDEOLOGY DIDN'T MATTER. THE UNIVERSAL GROAN THAT WENT UP AROUND THE TABLE -- FROM EVERY MEMBER PRESENT -- AND THE LAUGHTER THAT FOLLOWED -- UNITED US ALL. [[PAUSE]]

TODAY, I WOULD LIKE TO BEGIN BY RECOGNIZING THE CURRENT PERMANENT REPRESENTATIVES WITH WHOM I SERVED. ^{Ambassador} ~~ROBERTO MARTINEZ-ORDONEZ [OR BOE-NYEZ].~~ ^{Amb.} ~~BLAISE [BLEZ] RABETAFIKA. [RAH-BAY-TA-FEE-KAI]~~ PERMANENT OBSERVOR JOHN DUBE. [DOO-BAY]

~~And of course the Sec. General was Amb. de Guallarbach then and Mr. Sec. Farah was Amb. Abby Farah then~~

IT'S WONDERFUL TO LOOK AROUND AND SEE SO MANY FAMILIAR FACES -- FOREIGN MINISTERS, MEMBERS OF THE SECRETARIAT, DELEGATES. AND OF COURSE MR. SECRETARY-GENERAL -- YOU WERE PERM REP FOR YOUR COUNTRY WHEN WE SERVED TOGETHER. [^] IT'S AN HONOR TO BE BACK WITH YOU IN THIS HISTORIC HALL.

*you were
AND UNDER SECTY Abby Fovak - ~~was~~ a Penn
Rep back
then, too*

THE UNITED NATIONS WAS ESTABLISHED FORTY-FOUR YEARS AGO UPON THE ASHES OF WAR -- AND AMIDST GREAT HOPES. AND THE UNITED NATIONS CAN DO GREAT THINGS. NO, THE UN ISN'T PERFECT. IT'S NOT A PANACEA FOR THE WORLD'S PROBLEMS. BUT IT IS A VITAL FORUM WHERE THE NATIONS OF THE WORLD SEEK TO REPLACE CONFLICT WITH CONSENSUS -- AND IT MUST REMAIN A FORUM FOR PEACE.

THE UN IS MOVING CLOSER TO THAT IDEAL. AND IT HAS THE SUPPORT OF THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA. IN RECENT YEARS -- CERTAINLY SINCE MY TIME HERE -- THE WAR OF WORDS THAT HAS OFTEN ECHOED IN THIS CHAMBER IS GIVING WAY TO A NEW MOOD. WE'VE SEEN A WELCOME SHIFT -- FROM POLEMICS TO PEACEKEEPING.

4

UN PEACEKEEPING FORCES ARE ON DUTY RIGHT NOW --
AND OVER THE YEARS, MORE THAN 700 PEACEKEEPERS HAVE
GIVEN THEIR LIVES IN SERVICE TO THE UNITED NATIONS.
TODAY, I WANT TO REMEMBER ONE OF THESE SOLDIERS OF
PEACE. AN AMERICAN -- ON A MISSION OF PEACE UNDER THE
UN FLAG -- ON A MISSION FOR ALL THE WORLD. A MAN OF
UNQUESTIONED BRAVERY AND UNSWERVING DEDICATION TO THE
UN IDEAL: LT. COL. WILLIAM RICHARD HIGGINS. [[PAUSE]]

I CALL ON THE GENERAL ASSEMBLY ~~(TO BUILD ON THE~~
~~SECURITY COUNCIL'S CONDEMNATION OF ALL ACTS OF HOSTAGE~~
~~TAKING)~~ TO CONDEMN THE MURDER OF THIS SOLDIER OF PEACE
-- AND CALL ON THOSE RESPONSIBLE TO RETURN HIS REMAINS
TO HIS FAMILY. AND LET US ALL RIGHT NOW -- RIGHT HERE
-- REDEDICATE OURSELVES AND OUR NATIONS TO THE CAUSE
THAT COLONEL HIGGINS SERVED SO SELFLESSLY.

5

THE FOUNDERS OF THIS HISTORIC INSTITUTION BELIEVED THAT IT WAS HERE THAT THE NATIONS OF THE WORLD MIGHT COME TO AGREE THAT LAW -- NOT FORCE -- SHALL GOVERN. AND THE UNITED NATIONS CAN PLAY A FUNDAMENTAL ROLE IN THE CENTRAL ISSUE OF OUR TIME. FOR TODAY, THERE IS AN IDEA AT WORK AROUND THE GLOBE -- AN IDEA OF UNDENIABLE FORCE. THAT IDEA IS: FREEDOM.

FREEDOM'S ADVANCE IS EVIDENT EVERYWHERE. IN CENTRAL EUROPE: IN HUNGARY -- WHERE STATE AND SOCIETY ARE NOW IN THE MIDST OF A MOVEMENT TOWARDS POLITICAL PLURALISM AND A FREE MARKET ECONOMY. WHERE THE BARRIER THAT ONCE ENFORCED AN UNNATURAL DIVISION BETWEEN HUNGARY AND ITS NEIGHBORS TO THE WEST HAS BEEN TORN DOWN -- TORN DOWN -- REPLACED BY A NEW HOPE FOR THE FUTURE -- NEW HOPE IN FREEDOM.

7
~~BECAUSE WHERE THERE IS HOPE OF FREEDOM AT HOME --
NO ONE MUST FLEE TO FIND IT ELSEWHERE.~~

37
Sol. Jans

WE SEE FREEDOM AT WORK IN POLAND -- WHERE, IN DEFERENCE TO THE WILL OF THE PEOPLE, THE COMMUNIST PARTY HAS RELINQUISHED ITS MONOPOLY ON POWER. AND IN THE SOVIET UNION -- WHERE THE WORLD HEARS THE VOICES OF PEOPLE NO LONGER AFRAID TO SPEAK OUT, OR TO ASSERT THE RIGHT TO RULE THEMSELVES.


BUT FREEDOM'S MARCH IS NOT CONFINED TO A SINGLE CONTINENT -- OR TO THE DEVELOPED WORLD ALONE.

WE SEE THE RISE OF FREEDOM IN LATIN AMERICA -- WHERE, ONE BY ONE, DICTATORSHIPS ARE GIVING WAY TO DEMOCRACY.

WE SEE IT ON THE CONTINENT OF AFRICA -- WHERE MORE AND MORE NATIONS SEE IN THE SYSTEM OF FREE ENTERPRISE, SALVATION FOR ECONOMIES CRIPPLED BY EXCESSIVE STATE CONTROL.

EAST AND WEST -- NORTH AND SOUTH: ON EVERY CONTINENT, ON EVERY HORIZON, WE CAN SEE THE OUTLINES OF A NEW WORLD OF FREEDOM.

OF COURSE, FREEDOM'S WORK REMAINS UNFINISHED. THE TREND WE SEE IS NOT YET UNIVERSAL. SOME REGIMES STILL STAND AGAINST THE TIDE. SOME RULERS STILL DENY THE RIGHT OF THE PEOPLE TO GOVERN THEMSELVES. BUT NOW, THE POWER OF PREJUDICE AND DESPOTISM IS CHALLENGED. NEVER BEFORE HAVE THESE REGIMES STOOD SO ISOLATED AND ALONE -- SO OUT OF STEP WITH THE STEADY ADVANCE OF FREEDOM.




TODAY, WE ARE WITNESSING AN IDEOLOGICAL COLLAPSE -- THE DEMISE OF THE TOTALITARIAN IDEA OF THE OMNISCIENT, ALL-POWERFUL STATE.

THERE ARE MANY REASONS FOR THIS COLLAPSE. BUT IN THE END, ONE FACT ALONE EXPLAINS WHAT WE SEE TODAY: ADVOCATES OF THE TOTALITARIAN IDEA SAW ITS TRIUMPH WRITTEN IN THE LAWS OF HISTORY. THEY FAILED TO SEE THE LOVE OF FREEDOM WRITTEN IN THE HUMAN HEART.

200 YEARS AGO TODAY, THE UNITED STATES CONGRESS PROPOSED THE BILL OF RIGHTS -- FUNDAMENTAL FREEDOMS BELONGING TO EVERY INDIVIDUAL. RIGHTS NO GOVERNMENT CAN DENY. THOSE SAME RIGHTS HAVE BEEN RECOGNIZED IN THIS CONGRESS OF NATIONS -- IN THE WORDS OF THE UNIVERSAL DECLARATION OF HUMAN RIGHTS, "A COMMON STANDARD OF ACHIEVEMENT FOR ALL PEOPLES AND ALL NATIONS."

FROM WHERE WE STAND -- ON THE THRESHOLD OF THIS NEW WORLD OF FREEDOM -- THE TREND IS CLEAR ENOUGH. IF, FOR THOSE WHO WRITE THE HISTORY OF OUR TIMES, THE 20TH CENTURY IS REMEMBERED AS THE CENTURY OF THE STATE -- THE 21ST MUST BE AN ERA OF EMANCIPATION -- THE AGE OF THE INDIVIDUAL.



MAKE NO MISTAKE: NOTHING CAN STAND IN THE WAY OF FREEDOM'S MARCH. THERE WILL COME A DAY WHEN FREEDOM IS SEEN THE WORLD OVER TO BE THE UNIVERSAL BIRTHRIGHT OF EVERY MAN AND WOMAN -- OF EVERY RACE AND WALK OF LIFE. EVEN UNDER THE WORST OF CIRCUMSTANCES, AT THE DARKEST OF TIMES, FREEDOM HAS ALWAYS REMAINED ALIVE -- A DISTANT DREAM, PERHAPS, BUT ALWAYS ALIVE.

TODAY, THAT DREAM IS NO LONGER DISTANT. FOR THE FIRST TIME, FOR MILLIONS AROUND THE WORLD -- A NEW WORLD OF FREEDOM IS WITHIN REACH. TODAY -- IS FREEDOM'S MOMENT.

YOU SEE, THE POSSIBILITY NOW EXISTS FOR THE CREATION OF A TRUE COMMUNITY OF NATIONS -- BUILT ON SHARED INTERESTS AND IDEALS. A TRUE COMMUNITY -- A WORLD WHERE FREE GOVERNMENTS AND FREE MARKETS MEET THE RISING DESIRE OF THE PEOPLE TO CONTROL THEIR OWN DESTINY: TO LIVE IN DIGNITY, AND TO EXERCISE FREELY THEIR FUNDAMENTAL HUMAN RIGHTS.

IT IS TIME WE WORKED TOGETHER TO DELIVER THAT DESTINY INTO THE HANDS OF MEN AND WOMEN EVERYWHERE.
[[PAUSE]]

OUR CHALLENGE IS TO STRENGTHEN THE FOUNDATIONS OF FREEDOM -- ENCOURAGE ITS ADVANCE, AND FACE OUR MOST URGENT CHALLENGES. THE GLOBAL CHALLENGES OF THE 21ST CENTURY: ECONOMIC HEALTH, ENVIRONMENTAL WELL-BEING, AND THE GREAT QUESTIONS OF WAR AND PEACE.

FIRST, GLOBAL ECONOMIC GROWTH. DURING THIS DECADE, A NUMBER OF DEVELOPING NATIONS HAVE MOVED INTO THE RANKS OF THE WORLD'S MOST ADVANCED ECONOMIES -- ALL OF THEM -- EACH AND EVERY ONE -- POWERED BY THE ENGINE OF FREE ENTERPRISE.

IN THE DECADE AHEAD, OTHERS CAN JOIN THEIR RANKS. BUT -- FOR MANY NATIONS -- BARRIERS STAND IN THE WAY. IN THE CASE OF SOME COUNTRIES, THESE ARE OBSTACLES OF THEIR OWN MAKING: UNNEEDED RESTRICTIONS AND REGULATIONS THAT ACT AS DEAD WEIGHTS ON THEIR OWN ECONOMIES AND OBSTACLES TO FOREIGN TRADE.

BUT OTHER BARRIERS TO GROWTH EXIST, AND THOSE TOO REQUIRE EFFECTIVE ACTION. TOO MANY DEVELOPING COUNTRIES STRUGGLE TODAY UNDER A BURDEN OF DEBT THAT MAKES GROWTH ALL BUT IMPOSSIBLE. THE NATIONS OF THE WORLD DESERVE A BETTER OPPORTUNITY TO ACHIEVE A MEASURE OF CONTROL OVER THEIR OWN ECONOMIC FATE, AND BUILD BETTER LIVES FOR THEIR OWN PEOPLE.

THE APPROACH THE U.S. HAS PUT FORWARD -- THE BRADY PLAN -- WILL HELP THESE NATIONS REDUCE THAT DEBT -- AND AT THE SAME TIME ENCOURAGE THE FREE MARKET REFORMS THAT WILL FUEL GROWTH.

IN JUST TWO DAYS I WILL BE SPEAKING TO THE INTERNATIONAL MONETARY FUND AND WORLD BANK. I'LL DISCUSS THERE IN MORE DETAIL STEPS OUR NATIONS CAN TAKE IN DEALING WITH THE DEBT PROBLEM. BUT I CAN SAY NOW: THE NEW WORLD OF FREEDOM IS NOT A WORLD WHERE A FEW NATIONS LIVE IN COMFORT, WHILE OTHERS LIVE IN WANT.

THE POWER OF COMMERCE IS A FORCE FOR PROGRESS. OPEN MARKETS ARE THE KEY TO CONTINUED GROWTH IN THE DEVELOPING WORLD. TODAY, THE UNITED STATES BUYS OVER ONE HALF OF THE MANUFACTURED EXPORTS THAT ALL ~~THE~~ DEVELOPING NATIONS COMBINED SELL TO THE INDUSTRIALIZED WORLD. IT'S TIME FOR THE OTHER ADVANCED ECONOMIES TO FOLLOW SUIT -- TO CREATE EXPANDED OPPORTUNITIES FOR TRADE.

I BELIEVE WE'LL LEARN IN THE CENTURY AHEAD THAT MANY NATIONS OF THE WORLD HAVE BARELY BEGUN TO TAP THEIR TRUE POTENTIAL FOR DEVELOPMENT. THE FREE MARKET AND ITS FRUITS ARE NOT THE SPECIAL PRESERVE OF A FEW. THEY ARE A HARVEST EVERYONE CAN SHARE.

BEYOND THE CHALLENGE OF GLOBAL GROWTH LIES ANOTHER ISSUE OF GLOBAL MAGNITUDE: THE ENVIRONMENT. NO LINE DRAWN ON A MAP CAN STOP THE ADVANCE OF POLLUTION. THREATS TO OUR ENVIRONMENT HAVE BECOME AN INTERNATIONAL PROBLEM. WE MUST DEVELOP AN INTERNATIONAL APPROACH TO URGENT ENVIRONMENTAL ISSUES -- ONE THAT SEEKS COMMON SOLUTIONS TO COMMON PROBLEMS.

THE UNITED NATIONS IS ALREADY AT WORK. ON THE QUESTION OF GLOBAL WARMING. IN THE EFFORT TO PREVENT OIL SPILLS AND OTHER DISASTERS FROM FOULING OUR SEAS AND THE AIR WE BREATHE.

13

AND I WILL TELL YOU NOW: THE UNITED STATES WILL DO ITS PART. WE'VE COMMITTED OURSELVES TO THE WORLD-WIDE PHASE-OUT OF ALL CHLOROFLOUROCARBONS BY THE YEAR 2000. WE'VE PROPOSED AMENDING OUR CLEAN AIR ACT TO ENSURE CLEAN AIR FOR OUR CITIZENS WITHIN A SINGLE GENERATION. WE'VE BANNED THE IMPORT OF IVORY TO PROTECT THE ELEPHANT AND RHINOCEROS FROM THE HUMAN PREDATORS WHO EXTERMINATE THEM FOR PROFIT.

AND WE HAVE BEGUN TO EXPLORE WAYS TO WORK WITH OTHER NATIONS -- WITH THE MAJOR INDUSTRIALIZED DEMOCRACIES, IN POLAND AND IN HUNGARY -- TO MAKE COMMON CAUSE FOR THE SAKE OF OUR ENVIRONMENT.

THE ENVIRONMENT BELONGS TO ALL OF US. IN OUR NEW WORLD OF FREEDOM, THE WORLD'S CITIZENS MUST ENJOY THIS COMMON TRUST FOR GENERATIONS TO COME.

GLOBAL ECONOMIC GROWTH -- THE STEWARDSHIP OF OUR PLANET -- BOTH ARE CRITICAL ISSUES. BUT AS ALWAYS, QUESTIONS OF WAR AND PEACE MUST BE PARAMOUNT TO THE UNITED NATIONS.

14

WE MUST MOVE FORWARD TO LIMIT -- AND ELIMINATE -- WEAPONS OF MASS DESTRUCTION. FIVE YEARS AGO, AT THE UN CONFERENCE ON DISARMAMENT IN GENEVA, I PRESENTED A U.S. DRAFT TREATY OUTLAWING CHEMICAL WEAPONS. SINCE THEN, PROGRESS HAS BEEN MADE -- BUT TIME IS RUNNING OUT. THE THREAT IS GROWING. MORE THAN 20 NATIONS NOW POSSESS CHEMICAL WEAPONS OR THE CAPABILITY TO PRODUCE THEM. AND THESE HORRIBLE WEAPONS ARE NOW FINDING THEIR WAY INTO REGIONAL CONFLICTS. THIS IS UNACCEPTABLE.

FOR THE SAKE OF MANKIND, WE MUST HALT AND REVERSE THIS THREAT. TODAY, I WANT TO ANNOUNCE STEPS THE U.S. IS READY TO TAKE -- STEPS TO RID THE WORLD OF THESE TRULY TERRIBLE WEAPONS -- TOWARDS A TREATY THAT WILL BAN, ELIMINATE, ALL CHEMICAL WEAPONS FROM THE EARTH TEN YEARS FROM THE DAY IT IS SIGNED.

THIS INITIATIVE CONTAINS THREE MAJOR ELEMENTS:

FIRST, IN THE FIRST EIGHT YEARS OF A CHEMICAL WEAPONS TREATY, THE U.S. IS READY TO DESTROY NEARLY ALL -- 98% -- OF OUR CHEMICAL WEAPONS -- STOCKPILE -- PROVIDED THE SOVIET UNION JOINS THE BAN. I THINK THEY WILL.

15

SECOND, WE ARE READY TO DESTROY ALL OF OUR CHEMICAL WEAPONS -- 100%, EVERY ONE -- WITHIN TEN YEARS, ONCE ALL NATIONS CAPABLE OF BUILDING CHEMICAL WEAPONS SIGN THE TOTAL BAN TREATY.

AND THIRD, THE U.S. IS READY TO BEGIN NOW. WE'LL ELIMINATE MORE THAN 80% OF OUR STOCKPILE -- EVEN AS WE WORK TO COMPLETE A TREATY -- IF THE SOVIET UNION JOINS US IN CUTTING CHEMICAL WEAPONS TO AN EQUAL LEVEL, AND WE AGREE ON THE CONDITIONS -- INCLUDING INSPECTIONS -- UNDER WHICH STOCKPILES ARE DESTROYED.

WE KNOW THAT MONITORING A TOTAL BAN ON CHEMICAL WEAPONS WILL BE A CHALLENGE. BUT THE KNOWLEDGE WE'VE GAINED FROM OUR RECENT ARMS CONTROL EXPERIENCE -- AND OUR ACCELERATING RESEARCH IN THIS AREA -- MAKES ME ~~CONFIDENT~~ BELIEVE WE CAN ACHIEVE THE LEVEL OF VERIFICATION THAT GIVES US CONFIDENCE TO GO FORWARD WITH THE BAN.

THE WORLD HAS LIVED TOO LONG IN THE SHADOW OF CHEMICAL WARFARE. LET US ACT TOGETHER -- BEGINNING TODAY -- TO RID THE EARTH OF THIS SCOURGE. [PAUSE]

16

WE ARE SERIOUS ABOUT ACHIEVING CONVENTIONAL ARMS REDUCTIONS AS WELL. THAT'S WHY WE TABLED NEW PROPOSALS JUST LAST THURSDAY AT THE CONVENTIONAL FORCES IN EUROPE NEGOTIATIONS IN VIENNA -- PROPOSALS THAT DEMONSTRATE OUR COMMITMENT TO ACT RAPIDLY TO EASE MILITARY TENSIONS IN EUROPE, AND MOVE THE NATIONS OF THAT CONTINENT ONE STEP CLOSER TO THEIR COMMON DESTINY: A EUROPE WHOLE AND FREE.

AND THE UNITED STATES IS CONVINCED THAT OPEN AND INNOVATIVE MEASURES CAN MOVE DISARMAMENT FORWARD -- AND ALSO EASE INTERNATIONAL TENSIONS. THAT'S THE IDEA BEHIND THE OPEN SKIES PROPOSAL ABOUT WHICH THE SOVIETS HAVE NOW EXPRESSED A POSITIVE ATTITUDE. IT'S THE IDEA BEHIND THE OPEN LANDS ^{PROPOSAL} ~~AGREEMENT WE HAVE CONCEDED~~ -- PERMITTING, FOR THE FIRST TIME EVER, FREE TRAVEL FOR ALL SOVIET AND AMERICAN DIPLOMATS THROUGHOUT EACH OTHER'S COUNTRIES. OPENNESS IS THE ENEMY OF MISTRUST -- AND EVERY STEP TOWARDS A MORE OPEN WORLD IS A STEP TOWARDS THE NEW WORLD WE SEEK.

is this done?

17

AND LET ME MAKE THIS COMMENT ON OUR MEETINGS WITH SOVIET FOREIGN MINISTER SHEVARDNADZE OVER THE PAST FEW DAYS. I AM VERY PLEASED BY THE PROGRESS WE MADE. THE SOVIET UNION REMOVED A NUMBER OF OBSTACLES TO PROGRESS ON CONVENTIONAL AND STRATEGIC ARMS REDUCTIONS. WE REACHED AGREEMENTS IN PRINCIPLE ON ISSUES FROM VERIFICATION TO NUCLEAR TESTING. AND OF COURSE, WE AGREED TO A SUMMIT IN THE SPRING OR EARLY SUMMER OF 1990.

EACH OF THESE ACHIEVEMENTS IS IMPORTANT IN ITS OWN RIGHT -- BUT THEY ARE MORE IMPORTANT STILL AS SIGNS OF A NEW ATTITUDE THAT PREVAILS BETWEEN THE U.S. AND USSR. SERIOUS DIFFERENCES REMAIN -- BUT THE WILLINGNESS TO DEAL CONSTRUCTIVELY AND CANDIDLY -- WITH THOSE DIFFERENCES IS NEWS THAT WE -- AND INDEED THE WORLD -- MUST WELCOME.

18

WE HAVE NOT ENTERED AN ERA OF PERPETUAL PEACE. THE THREATS TO PEACE THAT NATIONS FACE MAY TODAY BE CHANGING -- BUT THEY HAVE NOT VANISHED. IN FACT, IN A NUMBER OF REGIONS AROUND THE WORLD, A DANGEROUS COMBINATION IS NOW EMERGING: REGIMES ARMED WITH OLD AND UNAPPEASABLE ANIMOSITIES -- AND MODERN WEAPONS OF MASS DESTRUCTION.



THIS DEVELOPMENT WILL RAISE THE STAKES WHENEVER WAR BREAKS OUT. REGIONAL CONFLICT MAY WELL THREATEN WORLD PEACE AS NEVER BEFORE.

THE CHALLENGE OF PRESERVING PEACE IS A PERSONAL ONE FOR ALL OF YOU HERE IN THIS HALL. [MR. SECRETARY GENERAL, I KNOW YOU HAVE MADE IT YOUR OWN.] THE UNITED NATIONS CAN BE A MEDIATOR -- A FORUM WHERE PARTIES IN CONFLICT COME IN SEARCH OF PEACEFUL SOLUTIONS.

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FOR THE SAKE OF PEACE, THE UN MUST REDOUBLE ITS SUPPORT FOR THE PEACE EFFORTS NOW UNDERWAY IN REGIONS OF CONFLICT ALL OVER THE WORLD. AND LET ME ASSURE YOU: THE U.S. IS DETERMINED TO TAKE AN ACTIVE ROLE IN SETTLING REGIONAL CONFLICTS. SOMETIMES, OUR ROLE IN REGIONAL DISPUTES IS AND WILL BE HIGHLY PUBLIC. SOMETIMES, LIKE MANY OF YOU, WE WORK QUIETLY -- BEHIND THE SCENES. BUT ALWAYS -- WE ARE WORKING FOR POSITIVE CHANGE AND LASTING PEACE.

OUR WORLD FACES OTHER, LESS CONVENTIONAL THREATS -- NO LESS DANGEROUS TO INTERNATIONAL PEACE AND STABILITY. ILLEGAL DRUGS ARE A MENACE TO SOCIAL ORDER AND A SOURCE OF HUMAN MISERY WHEREVER THEY GAIN A Foothold. THE NATIONS WHO SUFFER THIS SCOURGE MUST JOIN FORCES IN THE FIGHT. AND WE ARE. LET ME SALUTE THE COMMITMENT AND EXTRAORDINARY COURAGE OF ONE COUNTRY IN PARTICULAR -- COLOMBIA -- WHERE WE ARE WORKING WITH THE PEOPLE AND THEIR PRESIDENT, VIRGILIO BARCO, TO PUT THE DRUG CARTELS OUT OF BUSINESS, AND BRING THE DRUG LORDS TO JUSTICE.

FINALLY, WE MUST JOIN FORCES TO COMBAT THE THREAT OF TERRORISM. EVERY NATION -- AND THE UNITED NATIONS -- MUST SEND THE OUTLAWS OF THE WORLD A CLEAR MESSAGE: HOSTAGE TAKING AND THE TERROR OF RANDOM VIOLENCE ARE METHODS THAT CANNOT WIN THE WORLD'S APPROVAL. TERRORISM OF ANY KIND IS REPUGNANT TO ALL VALUES A CIVILIZED WORLD HOLDS IN COMMON. AND MAKE NO MISTAKE: TERRORISM IS A MEANS THAT NO END -- NO MATTER HOW JUST -- CAN SANCTIFY.

WHATEVER THE CHALLENGE, FREEDOM GREATLY RAISES THE CHANCES OF OUR SUCCESS. FREEDOM'S MOMENT IS A TIME OF HOPE FOR ALL THE WORLD. BECAUSE FREEDOM -- ONCE SET IN MOTION -- TAKES ON A MOMENTUM OF ITS OWN.

AS I SAID THE DAY I ASSUMED THE PRESIDENCY: "WE DON'T HAVE TO TALK LATE INTO THE NIGHT ABOUT WHICH FORM OF GOVERNMENT IS BETTER." WE KNOW THAT FREE GOVERNMENT -- DEMOCRACY -- IS BEST.

I BELIEVE THAT IS THE HARD-WON TRUTH OF OUR TIME -- THE UNASSAILABLE FACT THAT STILL STANDS AT THE END OF A CENTURY OF GREAT STRUGGLE AND HUMAN SUFFERING.

AND THIS IS TRUE NOT BECAUSE ALL OUR DIFFERENCES MUST GIVE WAY TO DEMOCRACY -- BUT BECAUSE DEMOCRACY MAKES ROOM FOR ALL OUR DIFFERENCES. IN DEMOCRACY, DIVERSITY FINDS ITS COMMON HOME.

AT THE VERY HEART OF THE DEMOCRATIC IDEAL IS RESPECT -- FOR FREEDOM OF BELIEF, FREEDOM OF THOUGHT AND ACTION IN ALL ITS DIVERSITY -- FOR HUMAN RIGHTS. THE WORLD HAS EXPERIENCED ENOUGH OF THE IDEOLOGIES THAT HAVE PROMISED TO REMAKE MAN IN SOME NEW AND BETTER IMAGE. WE'VE SEEN THE COLOSSAL TRAGEDIES AND DASHED HOPES. WE KNOW NOW THAT FREEDOM AND DEMOCRACY HOLD THE ANSWERS. WHAT MEN AND NATIONS WANT IS THE FREEDOM TO LIVE BY THEIR OWN LIGHTS, AND A CHANCE TO PROSPER IN PEACE. [[PAUSE]]

WHEN I BEGAN TODAY, I SPOKE TO YOU ABOUT PEACEKEEPING. I WANT TO SPEAK TO YOU NOW ABOUT PEACEMAKING. WE MUST BRING PEACE TO THE PEOPLE WHO HAVE NEVER KNOWN ITS BLESSINGS.

THERE'S A PAINTING THAT HANGS ON THE WALL OF MY OFFICE IN THE WHITE HOUSE. IT PICTURES PRESIDENT LINCOLN AND HIS GENERALS, MEETING NEAR THE END OF A WAR THAT REMAINS THE BLOODIEST IN AMERICAN HISTORY. OUTSIDE, AT THAT MOMENT, A BATTLE RAGES. AND YET WHAT WE SEE IN THE DISTANCE IS A RAINBOW -- A SYMBOL OF HOPE, OF THE PASSING OF THE STORM. [PAUSE] THAT PAINTING IS CALLED THE PEACEMAKERS. [PAUSE] FOR ME, IT IS A CONSTANT REMINDER THAT OUR STRUGGLE -- THE STRUGGLE FOR PEACE -- IS A STRUGGLE BLESSED BY HOPE. [[PAUSE]]

I DO REMEMBER SITTING IN THIS HALL. I REMEMBER THE MUTUAL RESPECT AMONG ALL OF US PROUDLY SERVING AS REPRESENTATIVES. I REMEMBER THE ALMOST ENDLESS SPEECHES, SECURITY COUNCIL SESSIONS. THE RECEPTIONS AND RECEIVING LINES. THE FORMAL MEETINGS OF THIS ASSEMBLY -- AND THE INFORMAL DISCUSSIONS IN THE DELEGATES' LOUNGE.

AND I REMEMBER SOMETHING MORE. SOMETHING BEYOND
THE FRANTIC PACE AND SOMETIMES FRUSTRATING EXPERIENCES
OF DAILY LIFE HERE: THE HEARTBEAT OF THE UNITED
NATIONS -- THE QUIET CONVICTION THAT WE COULD MAKE THE
WORLD MORE PEACEFUL. MORE FREE.

WHAT WE SOUGHT THEN, NOW LIES WITHIN OUR REACH. I
ASK EACH OF YOU HERE IN THIS HALL: CAN WE NOT BRING A
UNITY OF PURPOSE TO THE UNITED NATIONS? CAN WE NOT
MAKE THIS NEW WORLD OF FREEDOM THE COMMON DESTINY WE
SEEK?

I BELIEVE WE CAN. I KNOW WE MUST. [[PAUSE]]

MY SOLEMN WISH TODAY IS THAT HERE -- AMONG THE
UNITED NATIONS -- THAT SPIRIT WILL TAKE HOLD, AND THAT
ALL MEN AND ALL NATIONS WILL MAKE FREEDOM'S MOMENT
THEIR OWN.

THANK YOU, GOD BLESS YOU, AND MAY GOD BLESS THE
WORK OF THE UNITED NATIONS.

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Mangalyn Dugersuren
(mann-ga-lyn Doo ger soo ren)
Mongolia

Tim McBride
No - to done