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U.N. General Assembly 9/23/91 [OA 6036] [3]

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WHITE HOUSE STAFFING MEMORANDUM

DATE: 9/20/91 ACTION/CONCURRENCE/COMMENT DUE BY: SATURDAY, 9/21/91, 2:00pm

PRESIDENTIAL ADDRESS: THE UNITED NATIONS GENERAL ASSEMBLY
 SUBJECT: MONDAY, SEPTEMBER 23, 11:00 a.m.

	ACTION	FYI		ACTION	FYI
VICE PRESIDENT	☐	☒	HORNER	☐	☐
SUNUNU	☐	☒	MCCLURE	☒	☐
SCOWCROFT	☒	☐	PETERSMEYER	☐	☐
DARMAN	☒	☐	PORTER	☒	☐
BRADY	☐	☒	ROGICH	☒	☐
BROMLEY	☒	☐	SMITH	☒	☐
CARD	☐	☒	SNOW	☐	☒
DEMAREST	☒	☐	BOSKIN	☒	☐
FITZWATER	☐	☒		☐	☐
GRAY	☒	☐		☐	☐
HOLIDAY	☒	☐		☐	☐

REMARKS:

Please forward your comments directly to Tony Snow, Rm. 122, x2930, no later than 2:00 p.m., SATURDAY, SEPTEMBER 21, with a copy to this office. Thank you.

RESPONSE:

PHILLIP D. BRADY
 Assistant to the President
 and Staff Secretary
 Ext. 2702

Snow, McGroarty, Duggan
Grossman, Simon, Bunton
UN.TS
September 20, 1991
Draft One

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

*Declarations**North Korea?*

3

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

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

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

*For many
it doesn't
work.
This
should
not
be the
major
threat.
It should
be end
of cold
war -
not
internal
democracy*

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

US perm rep

4

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

*Places
were
closed*

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

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

*OK - but
please*

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

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

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

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

NO

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

The United Nations played a major role in ringing up the final curtain on communism. It now has a chance to ^{play a major} support a ~~role in bringing down the curtain on Res 3379.~~ Middle East peace. Repeal Resolution 3379. Give peace a chance.]

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

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

market economies

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

socialism?

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

Celphum

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

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

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

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

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

None of us can hide from this responsibility. The communications revolution and the evolution of weapons of mass destruction have made it impossible for nations to isolate themselves. As we become increasingly linked by ties of security and trade, it will become impossible to distinguish domestic policy from foreign policy. Increasingly, we all depend upon one another for our peace and our prosperity. *1?*

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

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

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

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

Freedom House48 East 21 Street
5th Floor
New York, NY 10010UNGA
fileFAX: (212) 477-4126
TEL: (212) 473-9691**FACSIMILE COVER SHEET**

Date: September 20, 1991

Time: 11:00am

sent _____

TO: MS. GROSSMAN

COMPANY: WHITE HOUSE

FAX: (202) 456-6218

FROM: BARBARA FUTTERMAN, assistant to Bruce McCollm

Number of PAGES: 24 approx INCLUDING THIS COVER SHEET.

COMMENTS:

Dear Ms. Grossman:

Here are the latest stats for 1990. For more information and clarification, please call Dr. JOSEPH E. RYAN at this number. We work on up-dates for the Annual Survey of Freedom in the World daily. Of course, the changes for 1991 will be reported in the next publication of the Survey (deadlines for publication at late December. Thanks for calling us. Hope to hear from you today concerning these stats.

1990

Table of Social and Economic Comparisons

Country	Human Development Index	Per Capita GNP (\$)	Life expectancy male/female		Country	Human Development Index	Per Capita GNP (\$)	Life expectancy male/female	
Gambia	0.094 (low)	220	34	37	Luxembourg	0.934 (high)	18,550	68	74
Germany (pre-merger)					Madagascar	0.440 (low)	210	49	50
East	0.953 (high/d)	7,180/d	69	75	Malawi	0.250 (low)	160	44	46
West	0.967 (high)	14,400	70	77	Malaysia	0.800 (high)	1,810	65	69
Ghana	0.360 (low)	390	50	54	Maldives	0.692 (medium)	300	53	50
Greece	0.949 (high)	4,020	72	76	Mali	0.143 (low)	210	40	44
Grenada	0.849 (high)	1,340	60	66	Malta	0.898 (high)	4,190	69	74
Guatemala	0.592 (medium)	950	57	61	Mauritania	0.208 (low)	440	42	46
Guinea	0.162 (low)	291*	39	42	Mauritius	0.788 (medium)	1,490	64	69
Guinea-Bissau	0.074 (low)	160	41	45	Mexico	0.876 (high/d)	1,830	64	68
Guyana	0.808 (high/d)	500	66	71	Mongolia	0.737 (medium)(GDP) 886/d*		60	64
Haiti	0.356 (low)	360	51	54	Morocco	0.489 (low)	610	57	60
Honduras	0.563 (medium)	810	58	62	Mozambique	0.239 (low)	170	44	46
Hungary	0.915 (high)	2,240	67	74	Namibia	0.404 (low) (GDP) 782*		47	50
Iceland	0.975 (high)	16,330	74	80	Nauru	Not in study	19,512*	na	na
India	0.439 (low)	300	56	55	Nepal	0.273 (low)	160	47	45
Indonesia	0.591 (medium)	450	52	55	Netherlands	0.984 (high)	11,860	73	80
Iran	0.660 (medium)(GDP) 3873*		57	57	New Zealand	0.966 (high)	7,750	71	77
Iraq	0.759 (medium)	3,020	62	63	Nicaragua	0.743 (medium)	830	59	61
Ireland	0.961 (high)	6,120	70	76	Niger	0.116 (low)	260	41	44
Israel	0.957 (high)	6,800	73	76	Nigeria	0.322 (low)	370	47	50
Italy	0.966 (high)	10,350	71	78	Norway	0.983 (high)	17,190	73	80
Ivory Coast (Cote D'Ivoire)	0.393 (low)	740	49	52	Oman	0.535 (medium)	5,810	51	54
Jamaica	0.824 (high/d)	940	70	76	Pakistan	0.423 (low)	350	51	49
Japan	0.996 (high)	15,760	74	80	Panama	0.883 (high/d)	2,240	69	73
Jordan	0.752 (medium)	1,560	62	66	Papua New Guinea	0.471 (low)	700	51	53
Kenya	0.481 (low)	330	51	55	Paraguay	0.784 (medium)	990	63	68
Kiribati	Not in study (GDP) 475*		50	54	Peru	0.753 (medium)	1,470	57	61
Korea					Philippines	0.714 (medium)	590	60	64
North	0.789 (medium)	1,209*	65	71	Poland	0.910 (high/d)	2,070	67	75
South	0.903 (high)	2,690	65	71	Portugal	0.899 (high)	2,830	68	75
Kuwait	0.839 (high)	14,610	70	74	Qatar	0.594 (medium)	12,510	65	70
Laos	0.506 (medium/u)	170	48	51	Romania	0.863 (high/d)	2,560/d	68	73
Lebanon	0.735 (medium)(GDP) 811*		63	67	Rwanda	0.304 (low)	300	45	48
Lesotho	0.580 (medium)	370	46	52	St. Christopher-Nevis (St. Kitts-Nevis)	0.801 (high)	1,700	66	70
Liberia	0.333 (low)	450	47	51	St. Lucia	0.789 (medium)	1,400	67	75
Libya	0.719 (medium)	5,460	57	60	St. Vincent and the Grenadines	0.775 (medium)	1,000	58	60

1990

Table of Social and Economic Comparisons

Country	Human Development Index	Per Capita GNP (\$)	Life expectancy male/female	
Sao Tome and Principe	0.576 (medium)	280	43	45
Saudi Arabia	0.702 (medium)	6,200	59	63
Senegal	0.274 (low)	520	42	45
Seychelles	0.817 (high)	3,120	66	73
Sierra Leone	0.150 (low)	300	33	36
Singapore	0.899 (high)	7,940	69	75
Solomon Islands	0.349 (low)	420	66 combined	
Somalia	0.200 (low)	290	39	43
South Africa	0.731 (medium)	1,890	52	55
Spain	0.965 (high)	6,010	71	78
Sri Lanka	0.789 (medium)	400	67	70
Sudan	0.255 (low)	330	47	49
Suriname	0.788 (medium)	2,270	66	71
Swaziland	0.329 (low)	700	47	50
Sweden	0.987 (high)	15,550	73	79
Switzerland	0.986 (high)	21,330	73	80
Syria	0.691 (medium)	1,640	61	64
Taiwan (China)	Not in study	3,143*	69	74
Tanzania	0.413 (low)	180	49	53
Thailand	0.783 (medium)	850	61	65
Togo	0.337 (low)	290	49	52
Tonga	Not in study	(GDP) 647*	57	61
Trinidad and Tobago	0.885 (high)	4,210	66	71

Country	Human Development Index	Per Capita GNP (\$)	Life expectancy male/female	
Tunisia	0.657 (medium)	1,180	60	61
Turkey	0.751 (medium)	1,210	60	63
Tuvalu	Not in study	513*	57	60
Uganda	0.354 (low)	260	47	51
USSR	0.920 (high/d)	4,550/d	67	75
United Arab Emirates	0.782 (medium)	15,830	65	70
United Kingdom	0.970 (high)	10,420	71	77
United States	0.961 (high)	18,530	71	78
Uruguay	0.916 (high)	2,190	67	74
Vanuatu	0.521 (medium)	880	63 combined	
Venezuela	0.861 (high)	3,230	66	72
Vietnam	0.608 (medium/d)	312*	57	61
Western Samoa	0.806 (high)	550	61	66
Yemen (pre-merger)				
North	0.328 (low)	590	47	50
South	0.369 (low)	420	47	50
Yugoslavia	0.913 (high)	2,480	68	74
Zaire	0.294 (low)	150	48	52
Zambia	0.481 (low)	250	50	53
Zimbabwe	0.576 (medium)	580	54	58

1990

Combined Average Ratings— Independent Countries

FREE

1

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

1.5

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

2

Argentina
Chile

Cyprus (T)

Czechoslovakia
Ecuador
The Gambia
Grenada
Hungary
Israel
Jamaica
Mauritius
Poland
Venezuela
Western Samoa

2.5

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

PARTLY FREE

3

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

3.5

Bulgaria
Colombia
El Salvador
Guatemala
Paraguay
Peru
Senegal
Suriname

4

Algeria
Gabon

Haiti

Madagascar
Mexico
Mongolia
Morocco
Nepal
Pakistan
Singapore

4.5

Egypt
Guyana
Malaysia
South Africa
Sri Lanka
Tunisia
USSR
Yugoslavia

5

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

5.5

Bahrain
Bhutan
Indonesia
Sierra Leone
Swaziland
Uganda
Yemen
Zambia

NOT FREE

5.5

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

Iran

Lebanon
Lesotho
Maldives
Mali
Niger
Romania
Tanzania
United Arab Emirates

6

Cameroon
Congo
Kenya
Mozambique
Oman
Qatar
Rwanda
Seychelles
Togo
Zaire

6.5

Albania
Burundi
Chad
Laos
Malawi
Mauritania
Saudi Arabia

7

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

1990

Combined Average Ratings—Related Territories

FREE

1

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

1.5

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

Falkland Islands (U.K.)
 Isle of Man (U.K.)
 Madeira (Portugal)
 Martinique (France)
 Melilla (Spain)
 Montserrat (U.K.)
 Norfolk Island (Australia)
 Palau (Belau) (U.S.)
 Pitcairn Islands (U.K.)
 St. Helena and Dependencies (U.K.)
 Turks and Caicos (U.K.)

2

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

2.5

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

PARTLY FREE

3

Macao (Portugal)

3.5

Hong Kong (U.K.)

4.5

Western Sahara (Morocco)

NOT FREE

5.5

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

6

Occupied Territories (Israel)
 Venda (South Africa)

6.5

East Timor (Indonesia)
 Irian Jaya (Indonesia)

7

Tibet (China)



NEWS FROM FREEDOM HOUSE

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The Tabulated Ratings

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

Political rights

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

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

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

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

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

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

Civil liberties

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

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

case, the country is otherwise generally free.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

The approach of the Survey

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

Survey Methodology

Joseph E. Ryan

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

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

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

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

Definitions and categories of the Survey

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

For traditional monarchies that have no parties or elector-

(Continued from page 6)

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

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

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

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

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

In the past American assistance packages appeared to

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

demonstrations of resistance by the remaining Kuwaiti population.

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

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

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

Reacting to the fall of Communist

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

Brunei freed political prisoners in 1990.

The most repressive regimes

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

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

Gains in Freedom without changing category

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

Declines in Freedom without changing category

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

Gains and Declines in Freedom without changing category

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

party factionalism, national unrest and a rash of strikes.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

The Survey 1991

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

The year in review

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

around the world has accelerated with a gale force.

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

Category changes

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

Countries that changed categories

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

Freedom in the World—1991

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

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

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

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

Record of the Survey (population in millions)

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

(continued on page 12)

The Comparative Survey of Freedom: 1991

The Democratic Moment

R. Bruce McColm

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

Note

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

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

WHITE HOUSE STAFFING MEMORANDUM
 91 SEP 20 P6:37

DATE: 9/20/91 ACTION/CONCURRENCE/COMMENT DUE BY: SATURDAY, 9/21/91, 2:00pm

PRESIDENTIAL ADDRESS: THE UNITED NATIONS GENERAL ASSEMBLY
 SUBJECT: MONDAY, SEPTEMBER 23, 11:00 a.m.

	ACTION	FYI		ACTION	FYI
VICE PRESIDENT	☐	☒	HORNER	☐	☐
SUNUNU	☐	☒	MCCLURE	☒	☐
SCOWCROFT	☒	☐	PETERSMEYER	☐	☐
DARMAN	☒	☐	PORTER	☒	☐
BRADY	☐	☒	ROGICH	☒	☐
BROMLEY <i>W/c</i>	☒	☐	SMITH	☒	☐
CARD	☐	☒	SNOW	☐	☒
DEMAREST	☒	☐	BOSKIN	☒	☐
FITZWATER	☐	☒		☐	☐
GRAY	☒	☐		☐	☐
HOLIDAY	☒	☐		☐	☐

REMARKS:

Please forward your comments directly to Tony Snow, Rm. 122, x2930, no later than 2:00 p.m., SATURDAY, SEPTEMBER 21, with a copy to this office. Thank you.

RESPONSE:

PHILLIP D. BRADY
 Assistant to the President
 and Staff Secretary
 Ext. 2702

Snow, McGroarty, Duggan
Grossman, Simon, Bunton
UN.TS
September 20, 1991
Draft One

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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MR. PRESIDENT, THANK YOU VERY MUCH. MR. SECRETARY
GENERAL, DISTINGUISHED DELEGATES TO THE UNITED NATIONS,
I AM HONORED TO SPEAK WITH YOU AS YOU OPEN THE 46TH
SESSION OF THE GENERAL ASSEMBLY.

I WOULD LIKE TO CONGRATULATE OUTGOING PRESIDENT
GUIDO DE MARCO OF MALTA, AND INCOMING PRESIDENT SAMIR
SHIHABI OF SAUDI ARABIA. I ALSO WANT TO SALUTE
SECRETARY GENERAL JAVIER PEREZ DE CUELLAR, WHO WILL
STEP DOWN IN JUST OVER THREE MONTHS. SECRETARY GENERAL
PEREZ DE CUELLAR HAS SERVED WITH GREAT DISTINCTION
DURING A PERIOD OF UNPRECEDENTED CHANGE AND TURMOIL.
FOR ALMOST TEN YEARS WE HAVE ENJOYED THE LEADERSHIP OF
THIS MAN OF PEACE; A MAN I FEEL PROUD TO CALL MY
FRIEND. \\ TODAY, LET US CONGRATULATE OUR FRIEND, AND
PRAISE HIS SPECTACULAR SERVICE TO THE UNITED NATIONS
-- AND THE PEOPLE OF THE WORLD. \\

LET ME ALSO WELCOME NEW MEMBERS TO THIS CHAMBER: ^{DEMOCRATIC} ~~PARTICULARLY OUR FRIENDS~~ ^{AND} ~~THE~~ ^{REPUBLIC OF} KOREA; THE REPUBLICS OF ~~THE~~ ^{REPUBLIC OF} ESTONIA, LATVIA AND LITHUANIA; AND NEW MISSIONS FROM THE MARSHALL ISLANDS AND MICRONESIA. JUST ONE WEEK AGO, 159 NATIONS ENJOYED MEMBERSHIP IN THE U.N. TODAY, THE NUMBER STANDS AT 166. THE PRESENCE OF THESE NEW MEMBERS ALONE PROVIDES REASON FOR US TO CELEBRATE. \\\

MY ADDRESS WILL NOT SOUND LIKE ANY YOU HAVE HEARD FROM A PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED STATES. I WILL NOT DWELL ON THE SUPERPOWER COMPETITION THAT DEFINED INTERNATIONAL POLITICS FOR A HALF CENTURY. INSTEAD, I WILL DISCUSS THE CHALLENGES OF BUILDING PEACE AND PROSPERITY IN A WORLD LEAVENED BY THE COLD WAR'S END AND THE RESUMPTION OF HISTORY.

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COMMUNISM HELD HISTORY CAPTIVE FOR YEARS. IT SUSPENDED ANCIENT DISPUTES; IT SUPPRESSED ETHNIC RIVALRIES, NATIONALIST ASPIRATIONS, AND OLD PREJUDICES. AS IT HAS DISSOLVED, SUSPENDED HATREDS HAVE SPRUNG TO LIFE. PEOPLE WHO FOR YEARS HAVE BEEN DENIED THEIR PASTS HAVE BEGUN SEARCHING FOR THEIR OWN IDENTITIES -- OFTEN THROUGH PEACEFUL AND CONSTRUCTIVE MEANS, OCCASIONALLY THROUGH FACTIONALISM AND BLOODSHED.

THIS REVIVAL OF HISTORY USHERS IN A NEW ERA, TEEMING WITH OPPORTUNITIES AND PERILS. LET'S BEGIN BY DISCUSSING THE OPPORTUNITIES.

FIRST, HISTORY'S RENEWAL ENABLES PEOPLE TO PURSUE THEIR NATURAL INSTINCTS FOR ENTERPRISE. COMMUNISM FROZE THAT PROGRESS -- UNTIL ITS FAILURES BECAME TOO MUCH FOR EVEN ITS DEFENDERS TO BEAR. NOW, CITIZENS THROUGHOUT THE WORLD HAVE CHOSEN ENTERPRISE OVER ENVY; PERSONAL RESPONSIBILITY OVER THE ENTICEMENTS OF THE STATE; PROSPERITY OVER THE POVERTY OF CENTRAL PLANNING.

THE U.N. CHARTER ENCOURAGES THIS ADVENTURE BY PLEDGING "TO EMPLOY INTERNATIONAL MACHINERY FOR THE PROMOTION OF THE ECONOMIC AND SOCIAL ADVANCEMENT OF ALL PEOPLES." I CAN THINK OF NO BETTER WAY TO FULFILL THIS MISSION THAN TO PROMOTE THE FREE FLOW OF GOODS AND IDEAS.

FRANKLY, IDEAS AND GOODS WILL TRAVEL AROUND THE GLOBE WITH OR WITHOUT OUR HELP. THE INFORMATION REVOLUTION HAS DESTROYED THE WEAPONS OF ENFORCED ISOLATION AND IGNORANCE.

IN MANY PARTS OF THE WORLD TECHNOLOGY HAS OVERWHELMED TYRANNY, PROVING THAT THE AGE OF INFORMATION CAN BECOME THE AGE OF LIBERATION -- IF WE LIMIT STATE POWER WISELY AND FREE OUR PEOPLE TO MAKE THE BEST USE OF NEW IDEAS, INVENTIONS, AND INSIGHTS.

BY THE SAME TOKEN, THE WORLD HAS LEARNED THAT FREE MARKETS PROVIDE LEVELS OF PROSPERITY, GROWTH AND HAPPINESS THAT CENTRALLY PLANNED ECONOMIES CAN NEVER OFFER. EVEN THE MOST CHARITABLE ESTIMATES INDICATE THAT IN RECENT YEARS THE FREE WORLD'S ECONOMIES HAVE GROWN AT TWICE THE RATE OF THE FORMER COMMUNIST WORLD.

GROWTH DOES MORE THAN FILL SHELVES. IT PERMITS EVERY PERSON TO GAIN -- NOT AT THE EXPENSE OF OTHERS, BUT TO THE BENEFIT OF OTHERS. PROSPERITY ENCOURAGES PEOPLE TO LIVE AS NEIGHBORS AND NOT AS PREDATORS.

ECONOMIC GROWTH CAN AID INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS IN THE SAME WAY. MANY NATIONS REPRESENTED HERE ARE PARTIES TO THE GENERAL AGREEMENT ON TARIFFS AND TRADE. THE URUGUAY ROUND, THE LATEST IN THE POSTWAR SERIES OF TRADE NEGOTIATIONS, OFFERS HOPE TO DEVELOPING NATIONS, MANY OF WHICH HAVE BEEN CRUELLY DECEIVED BY THE FALSE PROMISES OF TOTALITARIANISM.

HERE IN THIS CHAMBER WE HEAR ABOUT NORTH-SOUTH PROBLEMS. BUT FREE AND OPEN TRADE, INCLUDING UNFETTERED ACCESS TO MARKETS AND CREDIT, OFFER DEVELOPING COUNTRIES MEANS OF SELF-SUFFICIENCY AND ECONOMIC DIGNITY.

IF THE URUGUAY ROUND SHOULD FAIL, A NEW WAVE OF PROTECTIONISM COULD DESTROY OUR HOPES FOR A BETTER FUTURE. HISTORY SHOWS ALL TOO CLEARLY THAT PROTECTIONISM CAN DESTROY WEALTH WITHIN COUNTRIES AND POISON RELATIONS BETWEEN THEM. THEREFORE, I CALL UPON ALL MEMBERS OF GATT TO REDOUBLE THEIR EFFORTS TO REACH A SUCCESSFUL CONCLUSION FOR THE URUGUAY ROUND.

I CANNOT STRESS THIS ENOUGH: ECONOMIC PROGRESS WILL PLAY A VITAL ROLE IN ^{THIS} ~~THE~~ NEW WORLD. IT SUPPLIES THE SOIL IN WHICH DEMOCRACY GROWS BEST.

PEOPLE EVERYWHERE SEEK GOVERNMENT OF, BY AND FOR THE PEOPLE; THEY WANT TO ENJOY THEIR INALIENABLE RIGHTS TO FREEDOM OF PROPERTY AND PERSON. ~~IN ONE OF HISTORY'S RICH IRONIES SO-CALLED PEOPLE'S REPUBLICS HAVE BEEN TOPPLED BY THE PEOPLE THEMSELVES. MORE THAN A DOZEN SUCH REPUBLICS HAVE SURRENDERED TO FREER SYSTEMS IN JUST THE LAST YEAR.~~

CHALLENGES TO DEMOCRACY ~~WERO~~ HAVE FAILED. JUST LAST MONTH COUP PLOTTERS IN THE SOVIET UNION TRIED TO DERAIL THE FORCES OF LIBERTY AND REFORM, BUT SOVIET CITIZENS REFUSED TO FOLLOW. MOST OF THE NATIONS IN THIS CHAMBER STOOD WITH THE FORCES OF REFORM, LED BY MIKHAIL GORBACHEV AND BORIS YELTSIN -- AND AGAINST THE COUP PLOTTERS.

THE CHALLENGE FACING THE SOVIET PEOPLES NOW -- THAT OF BUILDING POLITICAL SYSTEMS BASED UPON INDIVIDUAL LIBERTY, MINORITY RIGHTS, DEMOCRACY AND FREE MARKETS -- MIRRORS EVERY NATION'S RESPONSIBILITY FOR ENCOURAGING PEACEFUL, DEMOCRATIC REFORM. BUT IT ALSO TESTIFIES TO THE EXTRAORDINARY POWER OF THE DEMOCRATIC IDEAL.

AS DEMOCRACY FLOURISHES, SO DOES THE OPPORTUNITY FOR A THIRD HISTORICAL BREAKTHROUGH: INTERNATIONAL COOPERATION. A YEAR AGO, THE SOVIET UNION JOINED THE UNITED STATES AND A HOST OF OTHER NATIONS IN DEFENDING A TINY COUNTRY AGAINST AGGRESSION -- AND OPPOSING SADDAM HUSSEIN. FOR THE VERY FIRST TIME ON A MATTER OF MAJOR IMPORTANCE, SUPERPOWER COMPETITION WAS REPLACED WITH INTERNATIONAL COOPERATION.

THE UNITED NATIONS, IN ONE OF ITS FINEST MOMENTS, CONSTRUCTED A MEASURED, PRINCIPLED, DELIBERATE AND COURAGEOUS RESPONSE TO SADDAM HUSSEIN. IT STOOD UP TO AN OUTLAW WHO INVADED KUWAIT, WHO THREATENED MANY STATES WITHIN THE REGION, WHO SOUGHT TO SET A MENACING PRECEDENT FOR THE POST COLD WAR WORLD.

THE COALITION EFFORT ESTABLISHED A MODEL FOR THE COLLECTIVE SETTLEMENT OF DISPUTES. MEMBERS SET A GOAL -- THE LIBERATION OF KUWAIT -- AND DEvised A COURAGEOUS, UNIFIED MEANS OF ACHIEVING IT.

NOW, FOR THE FIRST TIME, WE HAVE A REAL CHANCE TO FULFILL THE U.N. CHARTER'S AMBITION OF WORKING "TO SAVE SUCCEEDING GENERATIONS FROM THE SCOURGE OF WAR...TO REAFFIRM FAITH IN FUNDAMENTAL HUMAN RIGHTS, IN THE DIGNITY AND WORTH OF THE HUMAN PERSON, IN THE EQUAL RIGHTS OF MEN AND WOMEN AND NATIONS LARGE AND SMALL ... TO PROMOTE SOCIAL PROGRESS AND BETTER STANDARDS OF LIFE IN LARGER FREEDOM."

WE WILL NOT REVIVE THESE IDEALS IF WE FAIL TO
ACKNOWLEDGE THE CHALLENGES THAT THE RENEWAL OF HISTORY
PRESENTS.

IN EUROPE AND ASIA, NATIONALIST PASSIONS HAVE
FLARED ANEW, CHALLENGING BORDERS, STRAINING THE FABRIC
OF INTERNATIONAL SOCIETY. AT THE SAME TIME, AROUND THE
WORLD MANY AGE OLD CONFLICTS STILL FESTER. YOU SEE
SIGNS OF THIS TUMULT HERE. THE UNITED NATIONS HAS
MOUNTED MORE PEACE-KEEPING MISSIONS IN THE LAST 36
MONTHS THAN DURING ITS FIRST 43 YEARS. ALTHOUGH WE NOW
SEEM MERCIFULLY LIBERATED FROM THE FEAR OF NUCLEAR
HOLOCAUST, THESE SMALLER, VIRULENT CONFLICTS SHOULD
TROUBLE US ALL.

WE MUST FACE THIS CHALLENGE SQUARELY: FIRST, BY
PURSUING THE PEACEFUL RESOLUTION OF DISPUTES NOW IN
PROGRESS; SECOND, AND MORE IMPORTANTLY, BY TRYING TO
PREVENT OTHERS FROM ERUPTING.

NO ONE HERE CAN PROMISE THAT TODAY'S BORDERS WILL REMAIN FIXED FOR ALL TIME. BUT WE MUST STRIVE TO ENSURE THE PEACEFUL, NEGOTIATED SETTLEMENT OF BORDER DISPUTES.

WE ALSO MUST PROMOTE THE CAUSE OF INTERNATIONAL HARMONY BY ADDRESSING OLD FEUDS. WE SHOULD TAKE SERIOUSLY THE CHARTER'S PLEDGE "TO PRACTICE TOLERANCE AND LIVE TOGETHER IN PEACE WITH ONE ANOTHER AS GOOD NEIGHBORS."

U.N.G.A. RESOLUTION 3379, THE SO-CALLED "ZIONISM IS RACISM" RESOLUTION, MOCKS THIS PLEDGE AND THE PRINCIPLES UPON WHICH THE U.N. WAS FOUNDED. I CALL FOR ITS
~~UPON YOU TO REPEAL IT WITHOUT DELAY.~~ URGENT REPEAL

ZIONISM IS NOT A POLICY; IT IS THE IDEA THAT LED TO THE CREATION OF A HOME FOR THE JEWISH PEOPLE, TO THE STATE OF ISRAEL. TO EQUATE ZIONISM WITH THE INTOLERABLE SIN OF RACISM IS TO TWIST HISTORY, AND FORGET THE TERRIBLE PLIGHT OF JEWS IN WORLD WAR II, AND INDEED THROUGHOUT HISTORY. TO EQUATE ZIONISM WITH RACISM IS TO REJECT ISRAEL ITSELF -- A MEMBER IN GOOD STANDING OF THE UNITED NATIONS.

THIS BODY CANNOT CLAIM TO SEEK PEACE AND AT THE SAME TIME CHALLENGE ISRAEL'S RIGHT TO EXIST. BY REPEALING RESOLUTION 3379 UNCONDITIONALLY, THE U.N. WILL ENHANCE ITS CREDIBILITY AND SERVE THE CAUSE OF PEACE.

AS WE WORK TO MEET THE CHALLENGE POSED BY THE RESUMPTION OF HISTORY, WE ALSO MUST DEFEND THE CHARTER'S EMPHASIS ON INALIENABLE HUMAN RIGHTS.

GOVERNMENT HAS FAILED IF CITIZENS CANNOT SPEAK THEIR MINDS; IF THEY CANNOT FORM POLITICAL PARTIES FREELY AND ELECT GOVERNMENTS WITHOUT COERCION; IF THEY CANNOT PRACTICE THEIR RELIGION FREELY; IF THEY CANNOT RAISE THEIR FAMILIES IN PEACE; IF THEY CANNOT ENJOY A JUST RETURN FROM THEIR LABOR; IF THEY CANNOT LIVE FRUITFUL LIVES AND, AT THE END OF THEIR DAYS, LOOK UPON THEIR ACHIEVEMENTS AND THEIR SOCIETY'S PROGRESS WITH PRIDE.

POLITICIANS WHO TALK ABOUT "DEMOCRACY" AND "FREEDOM" BUT PROVIDE NEITHER EVENTUALLY WILL FEEL THE STING OF PUBLIC DISAPPROVAL, AND THE POWER OF PEOPLE'S YEARNING TO LIVE FREE.

SOME NATIONS STILL DENY PEOPLE THEIR BASIC RIGHTS, AND TOO MANY VOICES CRY OUT FOR FREEDOM. FOR EXAMPLE, THE PEOPLE OF CUBA SUFFER OPPRESSION AT THE HANDS OF A DICTATOR WHO HASN'T GOTTEN THE WORD, THE LONE HOLD-OUT IN AN OTHERWISE DEMOCRATIC HEMISPHERE; A MAN WHO HASN'T ADAPTED TO A WORLD THAT HAS NO USE FOR TOTALITARIAN TYRANNY. ELSEWHERE, DESPOTS IGNORE THE HEARTENING FACT THAT THE REST OF THE WORLD HAS EMBARKED UPON A NEW AGE OF LIBERTY.

THE RENEWAL OF HISTORY ALSO IMPOSES AN OBLIGATION TO REMAIN VIGILANT ABOUT NEW THREATS AND OLD.

WE MUST EXPAND OUR EFFORTS TO CONTROL NUCLEAR PROLIFERATION. WE MUST WORK TO PREVENT THE SPREAD OF CHEMICAL AND BIOLOGICAL WEAPONS, AND THE MISSILES TO DELIVER THEM. IT IS FOR THIS REASON THAT I PUT FORWARD MY MIDDLE EAST ARMS INITIATIVE -- A COMPREHENSIVE APPROACH TO STOP, AND WHERE POSSIBLE, REVERSE THE ACCUMULATION OF ARMS IN THAT PART OF THE WORLD MOST PRONE TO VIOLENCE.

WE MUST REMEMBER THAT SELF-INTEREST WILL TUG NATIONS IN DIFFERENT DIRECTIONS, AND THAT STRUGGLES OVER PERCEIVED INTERESTS WILL FLARE SOMETIMES INTO VIOLENCE.

WE CAN NEVER SAY WITH CONFIDENCE WHERE THE NEXT CONFLICT MAY ARISE. AND WE CANNOT PROMISE ETERNAL PEACE -- NOT WHILE DEMAGOGUES PEDDLE FALSE PROMISES TO PEOPLE HUNGRY WITH HOPE; NOT WHILE TERRORISTS USE OUR CITIZENS AS PAWNS, AND DRUG DEALERS DESTROY OUR PEOPLE. AS A RESULT, WE MUST BAND TOGETHER TO OVERWHELM AFFRONTS TO BASIC HUMAN DIGNITY.

IT IS NO LONGER ACCEPTABLE TO SHRUG AND SAY THAT ONE MAN'S TERRORIST IS ANOTHER MAN'S FREEDOM FIGHTER. LET'S PUT THE LAW ABOVE THE CRUDE AND COWARDLY PRACTICE OF HOSTAGE-HOLDING. //

IN A WORLD DEFINED BY CHANGE, WE MUST BE AS FIRM IN PRINCIPLE AS WE ARE FLEXIBLE IN OUR RESPONSE TO CHANGING INTERNATIONAL CONDITIONS.

THAT IS ESPECIALLY TRUE TODAY OF ~~THE CURRENT REGIME~~ IRAQ. SIX MONTHS AFTER THE PASSAGE OF U.N. SECURITY COUNCIL RESOLUTIONS 687 AND 688, SADDAM CONTINUES TO REBUILD HIS WEAPONS OF MASS DESTRUCTION AND SUBJECT THE IRAQI PEOPLE TO BRUTAL REPRESSION.

SADDAM'S CONTEMPT FOR U.N. RESOLUTIONS -- FIRST DEMONSTRATED IN AUGUST 1990. ^{IT IS THE U.S. VIEW THAT} ~~IT SHOWS~~ THAT WE MUST KEEP U.N. SANCTIONS IN PLACE AS LONG AS HE REMAINS IN POWER. IT ALSO SHOWS THAT WE CANNOT COMPROMISE FOR A MOMENT IN SEEING THAT IRAQ DESTROYS ALL ITS WEAPONS OF MASS DESTRUCTION, AND THE MEANS TO DELIVER THEM. AND WE WILL NOT COMPROMISE.

(Hold) IRAQ'S REFUSAL TO COMPLY WITH SECURITY COUNCIL RESOLUTION 707 AND ALLOW HELICOPTERS TO FLY AS NECESSARY IS BUT ONE MORE TEST OF OUR RESOLVE -- AND WE WILL NOT BE FOUND LACKING.

THIS IS NOT TO SAY THAT WE SHOULD PUNISH THE IRAQI PEOPLE. LET ME REPEAT: OUR ARGUMENT HAS NEVER BEEN WITH THE PEOPLE OF IRAQ. ^{WAS AND} IT [^] IS WITH A BRUTAL DICTATOR WHOSE ARROGANCE DISHONORS THE IRAQI PEOPLE. SECURITY COUNCIL RESOLUTION 706 CREATED A RESPONSIBLE MECHANISM FOR SENDING HUMANITARIAN RELIEF TO INNOCENT IRAQI CITIZENS. WE MUST PUT THAT MECHANISM TO WORK.

WE MUST NOT ABANDON OUR PRINCIPLED STAND AGAINST SADDAM'S AGGRESSION. THIS COOPERATIVE EFFORT HAS LIBERATED KUWAIT; NOW IT CAN LEAD TO A JUST GOVERNMENT IN IRAQ. WHEN IT DOES, THE IRAQI PEOPLE CAN LOOK FORWARD TO BETTER LIVES; FREE AT HOME, FREE TO ENGAGE IN THE WORLD BEYOND THEIR BORDERS.

THE RESUMPTION OF HISTORY ALSO PERMITS THE UNITED NATIONS TO RESUME THE IMPORTANT BUSINESS OF PROMOTING THE VALUES I HAVE DISCUSSED TODAY. THIS BODY CAN SERVE AS A VEHICLE THROUGH WHICH WILLING PARTIES CAN SETTLE OLD DISPUTES. IN THE MONTHS TO COME, I LOOK FORWARD TO WORKING WITH SECRETARY GENERAL PEREZ DE CUELLAR AND HIS SUCCESSOR AS WE PURSUE PEACE IN SUCH DIVERSE AND TROUBLED LANDS AS AFGHANISTAN, CAMBODIA, CYPRUS, EL SALVADOR, AND THE WESTERN SAHARA.

THE U.N. CAN ENCOURAGE FREE-MARKET DEVELOPMENT THROUGH ITS INTERNATIONAL LENDING AND AID INSTITUTIONS.

HOWEVER, THE UNITED NATIONS SHOULD NOT DICTATE THE PARTICULAR FORMS OF GOVERNMENTS THAT NATIONS SHOULD ADOPT. BUT IT CAN AND SHOULD ENCOURAGE THE VALUES UPON WHICH THIS ORGANIZATION WAS FOUNDED.

TOGETHER, WE SHOULD INSIST THAT NATIONS SEEKING OUR ACCEPTANCE MEET BASIC STANDARDS OF HUMAN DECENCY.



WHERE INSTITUTIONS OF FREEDOM HAVE LAIN DORMANT, THE UNITED NATIONS CAN OFFER THEM NEW LIFE. THESE INSTITUTIONS PLAY A CRUCIAL ROLE IN OUR QUEST FOR A NEW WORLD ORDER -- AN ORDER IN WHICH NO NATION MUST SURRENDER ONE IOTA OF ITS SOVEREIGNTY; AN ORDER CHARACTERIZED BY THE RULE OF LAW, RATHER THAN THE RESORT TO FORCE; THE COOPERATIVE SETTLEMENT OF DISPUTES, RATHER THAN ~~THE~~ ANARCHY AND BLOODSHED; AND AN UNSTINTING BELIEF IN HUMAN RIGHTS.

FINALLY, YOU MAY WONDER ABOUT AMERICA'S ROLE IN THE NEW WORLD I HAVE DESCRIBED. LET ME ASSURE YOU, THE UNITED STATES HAS NO INTENTION OF STRIVING FOR A PAX AMERICANA. HOWEVER, WE WILL REMAIN ENGAGED. WE WILL NOT RETREAT INTO ISOLATIONISM. WE WILL OFFER FRIENDSHIP AND LEADERSHIP. IN SHORT, WE SEEK A PAX UNIVERSALIS BUILT UPON SHARED RESPONSIBILITIES AND ASPIRATIONS.

MY FRIENDS, WE HAVE AN OPPORTUNITY TO SPARE OUR SONS AND DAUGHTERS THE SINS AND ERRORS OF THE PAST; WE CAN BUILD A FUTURE MORE SATISFYING THAN ANY OUR WORLD HAS EVER KNOWN.

THE FUTURE LIES UNDEFINED BEFORE US, FULL OF PROMISE; LITTERED WITH PERIL. WE CAN CHOOSE THE KIND OF WORLD WE WANT: ONE BLISTERED BY THE FIRES OF WAR AND SUBJECTED TO THE WHIMS OF COERCION AND CHANCE, OR ONE MADE PEACEFUL BY REFLECTION AND CHOICE.

TAKE THIS CHALLENGE SERIOUSLY. INSPIRE FUTURE GENERATIONS TO PRAISE AND VENERATE YOU -- TO SAY: ON THE RUINS OF CONFLICT, THESE BRAVE MEN AND WOMEN BUILT AN ERA OF PEACE AND UNDERSTANDING; THEY INAUGURATED A NEW WORLD ORDER, AN ORDER WORTH PRESERVING FOR THE AGES.

GOOD LUCK. THANK YOU VERY, VERY MUCH.

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[UN-1-
VER-ES]
SML

September 18, 1991

INFORMATION

MEMORANDUM FOR NANCY BEARG DYKE

FROM: TONY WAYNE *fw*

SUBJECT: Themes for the President's UNGA Speech

Your analysis and suggested themes for the President's speech are very good. Recognizing that this is a very late contribution, we suggest that the speech will be more effective if it focuses on one central theme. Our candidate is conflict resolution and the need for the international community to make clear that violence is not be an acceptable means for nations or groups to resolve disputes.

The speech could still open by describing the dramatic changes underway in the world, as your outline suggests. The President could fairly briefly discuss the key ongoing struggles of the world's peoples -- for democracy, for economic well-being, and for peaceful resolution of conflict (which again fits well with the analysis and themes you have developed). The President would then focus on the latter topic. He could develop the following points, among others:

-- The end of the Cold War has allowed us to settle some disputes (e.g. Angola) and to respond vigorously to aggression elsewhere (e.g. Iraq), but it seems to have opened the door for new conflicts (e.g. Yugoslavia). It has also left to be defined the attitudes and approaches of the world community to conflicts in a world no longer characterized by two powerful blocs and by the worry that local conflict could easily escalate into major East-West confrontation.

-- We do not want the new international order to be typified by a new freedom to turn to violence to resolve conflicts. Such a pattern could well destroy the hopeful opportunities now evident to further spread and deepen democracy and to build free market economies with the potential to uplift the economic status of all mankind.

-- Whether it be the desire for a recognized ethnic or national identity, the quest for democracy, greed, ambition or any other of the myriad of reasons for conflicts, the international community must make clear that it will not reward the resort to violence to resolve disputes between states or within them. The cost of turning to violence must be made very high as the UN

pls fax to Tony Snow - <sup>please
put in
UN
File</sup>
note that this
is Classified L.O.U.

demonstrated in the case of Iraq, and which it must continue to demonstrate faced with Iraqi intransigence.

-- The international community must work hard to create opportunities for peaceful resolution of conflicts. It must recognize legitimate desires and do its best to find effective means to satisfy those desires. (Cite examples here of Middle East, Cambodia, Central America.) This will require cooperative diplomacy and at times a willingness to act forcefully, as was required to reverse Iraq's invasion of Kuwait.

-- But, as the Kuwait experience reminds us, the community of nations also needs to strengthen its ability to engage in preventive diplomacy, mediation and conflict prevention. This requires a new look at available mechanisms in the UN and regional organizations and a willingness of like-minded nations to act in concert to restore or preserve peace on an ad hoc basis, if need be. It requires a new commitment of the international community to get involved energetically before violence spreads, and it requires a continued commitment to act in concert to punish aggressors.

-- We want to demonstrate that a world can exist where conflict is neither rampant nor moderated primarily by fear of global warfare, but where conflicts are contained and averted by the existence of effective, international means to resolve the issues in dispute and to deny any reward to those who resort to violence or aggression in hope of achieving their ends.

Many of these ideas are already in your outline. But, to reiterate, we think they will have more impact if focussed around one central theme rather than several. I hope this is of use.

Concurrence: David Gomper *(signature)*

NATIONAL SECURITY COUNCIL

Don -
Some good thoughts
but I wouldn't want
us to only focus too
conflict on the too
European. To be
open to include
economic well-being /
concern for individual
+ some philosophy &
principles. Many.

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

September 20, 1991

MEMORANDUM FOR THE PRESIDENT

THROUGH: TONY SNOW *TS*
FROM: CURT SMITH *CS*
SUBJECT: U.N. TOAST

I. SUMMARY

On Monday, September 23, at 2:00 p.m., you will give a toast at a luncheon with Secretary General Perez de Cuellar in the U.N. Delegates Lounge. About 100 heads of government, foreign ministers, permanent representatives, and U.N. officials will attend.

II. DISCUSSION

The toast (5 minutes, on cards) praises the U.N.'s strengthened role in global peace and Perez de Cuellar's effective leadership. It also calls for the repeal of the "Zionism is racism" resolution.

(Smith/Grossman)
September 20, 1991
Draft Two
PEREZ.TS

PRESIDENTIAL REMARKS: DE CUELLAR LUNCHEON
UNITED NATIONS
MONDAY, SEPTEMBER 23, 1991
2:00 P.M.

Mr. Secretary General, members of the United Nations community, ladies and gentlemen, dear friends. / For many years, Barbara and I have regarded this as our second home. / Thank you for making today's homecoming a wonderful reunion. //

A writer once observed, "The character of a people is embodied in its leaders." / Mr. Secretary General, as I mentioned to the General Assembly, the character of the United Nations is embodied in you. //

You and other leaders have witnessed great changes in the past several years -- changes that brought an end to the superpower rivalry which poisoned the international arena. / The passing of this rivalry, in turn, has enabled the U.N. to assume its proper role on the world stage -- the role envisioned by its founders 45 years ago. //

History will record that at the onset of this decade, the United Nations regained the faith of its founders by responding with courage and vision to the Iraqi invasion of Kuwait. You helped the nations of the world restore peace and stability to the Gulf by reversing the tide of aggression against a member state. //

The founders of the U.N. were also determined, in the words of the prologue of the Charter, "to reaffirm faith in fundamental human rights, in the dignity and worth of the human person, in the equal rights of men and women and of nations large and small." //

Sadly, that faith is today diminished by the continued existence of General Assembly Resolution 3379, the offensive resolution which equates Zionism with racism. // This resolution has undercut the moral authority of the U.N. / We strongly believe that it is time to repeal Resolution 3379 -- and bring the deeds of the General Assembly into closer harmony with the noble words of its Charter. //

A new wave of freedom now sweeps the globe. In virtually every corner of the world, repressive governments have been swept aside. In their place have sprung up democracies -- fragile, admittedly -- but democracies which can and must be nurtured to withstand the daunting difficulties they confront. //

Our task is to strengthen these democracies -- affirming the rights of the individual while truly responding to the collective will of the people. / Only then, Mr. Secretary General, can we truly live your words: "Resolution of conflicts, observance of human rights and the promotion of development together weave the fabric of peace. If one of these strands is removed, the tissue will unravel." //

My friend, you have played a central role in binding the fabric of peace. // You have helped lessen tensions around the

world in a time of tremendous change. // Thirty years ago, one of your predecessors, Dag Hammarskjold, was killed in a tragic plane crash. Today, we remember how he said: "Only he who keeps his eye fixed on the far horizon will find his right road." //

By keeping your eye fixed on the horizon, you have helped the United Nations find the road to peace. I thank you on behalf of freedom-loving peoples. I congratulate you for a job well done. In that spirit, let us raise our glasses:

- To the cause of peace;
- To the health of my dear friend;
- And to the liberty we can, and must, achieve for the children of the world.

#

Setting and Speech

Last year at the UNGA, UN members were drawing together to combat aggression, while sweeping democratic change and progress on settlement of regional conflicts was apparent in many parts of the globe. All of these events combined to strengthen the United Nations and advance hope for realization of a better, more stable world. However, events of 1991 are even more stunning and hopeful, providing the clear and historic watershed between the Cold War period and the future. The clearest lesson to carry forward is that government only works when it is of the people, by the people, and for the people.

This moment provides an opportunity for you, standing on the world stage of the UNGA as the undisputed world leader, to give the keynote for a new era and to invite participation in building a community of nations built on cooperation and principle. The UN, international, and domestic audiences are awaiting your speech and all will be searching for the meaning that applies to them. I believe what you say will be relevant to all because the bottom line will be a more stable world with greater individual liberties, assisted by all who are willing to join in the effort. It should be clear that we have no hegemonic ambitions. Complimenting and pressing forward the UN to live up to its Charter and dreams of its founders can be a thread woven throughout, even as continuing dangers such as Saddam Hussein's flaunting of UNSC resolutions are cited as challenges and threats to the new order.

VII. United Nations

- The UN is at a historic juncture. The Cold War is over for the UN too. After 45 years of underachievement, largely due to the Cold War, the UN has been reinvigorated as it takes on difficult problem-solving worldwide. The UN and particularly the Secretary General has been engaged in a broad array of activity in addition to the Persian Gulf situation, including seeking a solution on Cyprus and addressing the Middle East hostage issue, looking for peace in El Salvador, and closing conflict in the Western Sahara and Cambodia.

- On the eve of electing a new UNSYG the UN is on the threshold of rising to the vision of its founders. In the New World Order, the UN must enhance collective security by measures to keep the peace and must address the political, economic, social, and humanitarian issues that confront us. The true measure of success must be improvements in the lives of the people of the United Nations, not the strengthening of member governments. Some specifics:

- UN Security Council

- o Resisting aggression - The experience of dealing with Iraq's aggression has clearly strengthened the UNSC and given it new vitality. The UN's collective security role has been carried out through the principled use of force to protect and defend the peace. This is a useful model, not a new status quo. *We are heartened by the performance of the UNSC.*
- o Preventive diplomacy - In the past, UN diplomacy has focused chiefly on ending conflicts once started. Now it is reasonable to aspire to equal success in conflict prevention. Now it should be possible for the UNSYG to be kept fully informed of the status of existing or potential situations which may lead to conflict and to reinforce his capacity to communicate with the parties to a dispute and to seek solutions. *We should consider with the UNSYG studies of*
 - 1) the use of peacekeeping forces as a means of forestalling conflict before the outbreak of hostilities, such as by deployment to the border of a threatened states and
 - 2) advantages & problems in arranging for agreement on forces under Article 43 between member states & the UNSC

- UN Peacekeeping - Demands for UN peacekeepers -- the blue helmets -- are growing, as durable solutions are being shaped for some of the most protracted conflicts in nearly every region. This year alone, at least five new peacekeeping missions are in the field or on the drawing board. The US is fully committed to support peacekeeping and strengthen it institutionally in the UN.

- Arms Control - We warmly endorse the efforts of the EC and Japan to establish a UN arms transfer registry. We will work closely with them to ensure the passage of a resolution designed to bring needed transparency to the global arms trade.

✓ - UN Election Assistance - (Bush initiative announced at UNG last year) We believe that the UN can play an important role in furthering democratization around the globe by providing electoral assistance to those countries that specifically request it. We look forward to the Secretary General's report on UN electoral assistance and hope to work with other member states in sponsoring an appropriate resolution on the topic.

- UN Emergency Humanitarian Response -

- o Note need for faster startup and coordinated response. UN and world community have a responsibility.
- o Urge action now, not waiting for more comprehensive reforms.
- o Strongly urge creation of humanitarian czar working in closest conjunction with the UN Secretary General to direct and coordinate the international response to disasters and to arrange better coordination of financial appeals and faster mobilization of resources.
- o Recommend that the GA set up a humanitarian response start up fund by authorizing use of the Working Capital Fund to finance expenses incurred at the outset of a humanitarian mission, as is done with peacekeeping. Expenditures would be controlled by the humanitarian czar.
- o US would like to see part of its arrearage payments used for these humanitarian purposes, to reach suffering people faster.
- o Hope General Assembly would task humanitarian czar to work with member states to identify military and civilian assets that could be called upon when natural or manmade humanitarian disaster strikes.

o *We propose a UN register of non-UN experts to assist in humanitarian emergency*

- UN Reform - We must reform and strengthen the United Nations system, to make it more effective and responsive to the goals of its members and the world agenda. The convergence of world events and the forthcoming election of a new Secretary General -- to replace our distinguished and revered incumbent -- offers an opportunity for progress and furtherance of these goals. We should not miss this narrow window of opportunity to press ahead in:

- o strengthening the system, particularly through restructuring the Secretariat. *This might take the form of appointing a small number of high level department heads*
- o reviewing and tightening coordination among the various elements of the UN system playing to prevent overlapping programs to ensure efficient use of resources.

working with the UNSYG to lead the efforts of particular areas of the Secretariat

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UNGA SPEECH OUTLINE

Setting: Forty sixth UN General Assembly. End of Cold War, threshold of new era. Everyone is looking to the President for a State of the World speech and his definitions of the New World Order. He can claim victory about advancement of the individual. It need not be a gloating victory speech, as the "losers" are winning by joining in the opportunities generated for individuals and societies by democracy and a more cooperative world community. It is the right time internationally and domestically for the president to set out an agenda for the future to the multiple audiences, to demonstrate his (unquestioned) leadership. It can be a world agenda and an irresistible bipartisan agenda.

Audience: World leaders, citizens everywhere, international media, the UN, domestic audience, domestic media

Speech objectives:

- o Set forth a vision of a world community based on democratic values.
- o Advance U.S. claim to lead a world community increasingly committed to democracy, market economics and the peaceful resolution of disputes--within and among states.
- o Set out building blocks of the New World Order as the agenda for the future.
- o Counter any suggestion of U.S. hegemonic ambitions or inordinate concern with Eastern Europe and developments in the Soviet Union by emphasizing and illustrating the universality of democratic values, market principles, and our commitment to cooperate with all who share them.
- o Increase understanding and support for New World Order by broadening it to social and economic aspects, including advancement of the individual.
- o reaffirm the legitimacy of international involvement in the internal affairs of countries to promote and protect basic human rights.
- o Rally U.S. domestic support for an active foreign policy, greater international cooperation, and rejection of the false choice raised by Administration critics who assert the country needs a "domestic president" in 1991.
- o Promote further reform and enhanced effectiveness of the UN and its specialized agencies, along with the complementary efforts by the international financial institutions, regional organizations and other less formal efforts to solve problems collectively.

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I. Courtesies

- Greet very good friend and distinguished Secretary General, Javier Perez de Cuellar. Pay special tribute to him in his tenth and final year as UNSYG.
- Greet UNGA President.
- Welcome new members to this rejuvenated world body. Several have waited a long time for this recognition (refers especially to Baltics and Republic of Korea). You have joined the UN on the brink of a new age.
- Greet countries large and small, who are members. All have an important role in the future of the organization

II. Introduction/Historical Context

- Extraordinary world changes have given rise to genuine optimism about the future. We are at a turning point in history.
 - o Melting of Cold War and walls and divisions, allowing greater individual freedoms and international cooperation.
 - o Also have accomplished critically important task of setting a standard of behavior in the world community (Iraq).
- Highlight recent events/achievements involving varied and reinforcing forms of international cooperation that point in the direction of the New World Order, to wit: **promoting peace and security** with the victory in the Gulf through the UN, the progress in resolving regional conflicts (e.g. Angola, ECOWAS/Liberia, Western Sahara, Cambodia), new commitments (by China and South Africa) to abide by the Non-Proliferation Treaty; **spreading democracy** (not only in EE and the Soviet Union but across much of Africa, Mongolia, and, now in all of Latin America except Cuba), early September CSCE human rights conference in Moscow; **economic and other forms of cooperation** (including the environment, health, etc.)
- These winds of change allow the focus of our energies to change because we are in a new world of cooperation, not the old world of conflict. We are building a New World Order that will bring us into the 21st Century, based on lessons of 1991:
 - o Aggression will not be tolerated
 - o Freedom and democracy are irresistible
 - o International cooperation works.

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- The **principles** that underlie these changes are liberty, democracy, peaceful settlement of disputes, human rights, rule of law, caring, cooperation.

- o Shared values - domestic bridge.

- Lessons of the 20th Century - A brief section should provide historical context. The overarching political, social, economic and moral lesson of the 20th Century is the cruelty and failure of the modern totalitarian state and the success of democracy. Dictators are on the run and have no where to hide. We are on the brink of a new age of enlightenment.

- Prospects for the 21st Century - If the 20th Century tested the limits of the state, the lodestar of the 21st Century will be **advancement of the individual**. (Many of the themes that the President has raised domestically, about self-help, empowerment of individuals, equal opportunity, the boundless potential of the human spirit regardless of race, religion, or culture now have unmatched resonance internationally.) Powerful forces to devolve or evolve the role of states are accelerating -- often simultaneously -- around the world. Increasingly, judgments regarding the merits of such changes will be made in terms of their likely impact on all individuals directly concerned.

- o Individual becoming more important
 - o Governments giving more power to the people -- or the people taking it to themselves
 - o Cautionary note about orderliness

III. Soviet Union

- The birth of freedom and democracy in the Soviet Union marks the end of a great civil conflict that has divided the world community for generations. Most remarkably, this struggle was primarily in the minds of ordinary people. The idea that the state knows better and can govern without the consent of those it purports to serve is dead at last. Never before has there been a turning point in history so profound, far-reaching, peacefully effected, and focused fundamentally on advancing the rights and obligations of individual citizens.

- People have spoken - want less government. Want democracy, having tasted it and because of modern communications the power of information helped give power to the people.

- US is not committed to set of particular institutions but to the basic values and principles of democracy. Put peoples of Soviet Union on notice that we will be holding them to CSCE standards.

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- US role: Continue to work with responsible government on problem solving, such as Afghanistan, arms control and control of arms. Note importance of continued cooperation on Middle East peace.

- o Humanitarian
- o International financial institutions
- o National initiative like extending Democracy Corps to Soviet Union?
- o Anything else to announce?

IV. New World Order

- From bi-polar to **world community of nations** - The bi-polar order that has existed since World war II will not be replaced by a uni-polar one. Today's victor is not one country or one leader but an ideal. The coalition of democratic nations whose values have prevailed have no hegemonic presumptions. We do, however, seek a world that is increasingly receptive to democracy, market economics, and cooperation against aggression. Recent history shows that such a community can only be forged and successfully sustained through voluntary cooperation, with members acting in accordance with the expressed will of their peoples.

- In the New World Order, the Soviet Union is a member of the community of nations. Benefits to Soviet peoples and to the world will be enormous with new opportunities for their own society and economic development and for international cooperation.

- Some nations are still outside community of nations; leadership has not thrown off old ways. Iraq, Cuba, Vietnam, Burma, others. A New World Order seeks to bring them in, not by imposing it from the outside but by letting the idea of freedom work.

- Say to the others: Come and join us in freedom and cooperation toward a better life for all. This is not a "Pax Americana" as some have said. It is a peace of the world. It is universal.

- NWO is fundamentally a more democratic world based on rule of law

- o Where cooperation has replaced conflict and where peace has a better chance.
- o Where force is condoned only when used after other means have failed, for the principle of protecting and defending peace
- o Where governments derive their just powers from the consent of the governed (where governments govern for the people and by the people)

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- o Where people and their daily needs matter
- o Where we strive to give every child a better future
- o Where human rights are a priority
- o Where the rights of the individual are respected
- o Where free markets thrive, generating economic growth and development.
- o Where nations cooperate to tackle global problems such degradation of the environment, drugs, terrorism.

- In the emerging NWO, we see a major opportunity that solutions to regional conflict will allow millions of refugees, some of whom have been refugees for a decade or more, to return home to rebuild their lives and their countries.

- o Have already seen this in Namibia and Nicaragua. Now there is concrete progress in Cambodia, Western Sahara, South Africa, and the Horn of Africa -- where famine adds to the misery of refugees and displaced. In Afghanistan, we believe with international cooperation an end to the protracted conflict and tragedy of 5 million refugees can be found.
- o Will require major repatriation programs and assistance to successfully return the people, which the international community should generously support.
- o Believe we can dare to hope that by the middle of the decade the 16 million refugees now in camps can be reduced by half.

- Yes, it is a new world of hope, but building the New World Order is not simple, quick, or easy. It will take time for the New World Order to evolve and we must expect some progress, some difficulties. The world remains a dangerous place with ethnic antagonisms, national rivalries, spreading weaponry, personal ambitions and lingering authoritarianism. End of Cold War and central repression can unmask old rivalries among peoples. In some cases will generate -- has generated -- bloodshed, refugees. We need a new code of decency to deal with problems rather than open warfare.

- International community through the UN and regional organizations must be ready to work compassionately toward solutions without imposing solutions to internal problems as long as peace and security are not threatened. UN's diplomatic, peacekeeping, and humanitarian efforts are well known. Also recognize the historic initiative by the Economic Community of West Africa (ECOWAS) in deploying regional peacekeeping forces to Liberia, and we salute the EC's ongoing efforts to bring peace in Yugoslavia.

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V. Iraq

- Irresponsible aggressive international behavior put Iraq outside standards of behavior of the international community. The international community through the United Nations took the necessary steps based on principle and the UN Charter to counter the behavior. We - the world collectively - did not let aggression stand. Crucible of the New World Order.

- o Recount briefly UN role - all done by votes: counter aggression, control weapons of mass destruction, care for refugees and displaced.
- o There is still work to be done in the Persian Gulf; the UN is still engaged in following through on all aspects to ensure peace and stability and meet humanitarian concerns.
- o Six months after the passage of UNSCR 687 and 688 we are confronted with a pattern of serious violations of the cease fire by Saddam and his regime. Saddam clearly is determined to rebuild his weapons of mass destruction arsenal in flagrant violation of 687 while subjecting his people to brutal repression despite 688.
- o Iraq's contempt for U.N. resolutions -- first demonstrated in August 1990 and now illustrated virtually every day -- means we must keep UN sanctions in place as long as this regime stays in power.
- o UNSCR 706 created a responsible mechanism for providing humanitarian relief to the people of Iraq created and it should now be implemented.
- o The United States looks forward to the day when Iraq has new leadership and can be integrated back into the world community. A new Iraqi leadership that indicates its willingness to live at peace with its neighbors, respects U.N. resolutions, and provides its own people with basic civil rights and an opportunity for political participation will be met with warmth by the U.S. and its neighbors in the region.
- o The Iraqi people have suffered more than anyone else from their dictator's actions and we look forward to the day when their agony ends.

VI. United Nations

- The experience of dealing with Iraq's aggression has clearly strengthened the UN and given it new vitality. The UN's collective security role has been carried out through the principled use of force to protect and defend the peace. This is a useful model, not a new status quo.

- The UN is at a historic juncture, as it reflects the world. After 45 years of underachievement, largely due to the Cold War, the UN is reinvigorated as it takes on difficult problem-solving

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worldwide. The UN and particularly the Secretary General has been engaged in a broad array of activity in addition to the Persian Gulf situation, including seeking a solution on Cyprus and addressing the Middle East hostage issue, looking for peace in El Salvador, and closing conflict in the Western Sahara and Cambodia.

-On the eve of electing a new UNSYG the UN is on the threshold of rising to the vision of its founders. In the New World Order, the UN must enhance collective security by measures to keep the peace and must address the political, economic, social, and humanitarian issues that confront us. The true measure of success must be improvements in the lives of the people of the United Nations, not the strengthening of member governments. Some specifics:

- Preventive Diplomacy - In the past, UN diplomacy has focused chiefly on ending conflicts once started. Now it is reasonable to aspire to equal success in conflict prevention. The US will pursue the following objectives on preventive diplomacy with the new Secretary General and the Security Council:

- o that the Secretary General, by informal information sharing or by such other means as states may decide, be kept fully informed of the status of existing or potential situations which may lead to international friction;
- o that the Secretary General shall take all necessary steps to reinforce his capacity to communicate with the parties to a dispute and to seek solutions, including enhanced use of special representatives in good offices and quiet diplomacy missions to help resolve issues which may lead to conflict;
- o that consideration be given to the use of peacekeeping troops as a means of forestalling conflict before the outbreak of hostilities, such as by deployment to the border of a threatened state;
- o We call on member states to assist in every way possible to support efforts of the Secretary General and his special representatives to settle disputes that threaten the peace.

- UN Peacekeeping - Demands for UN peacekeepers -- the blue helmets -- is growing, as durable solutions are being shaped for some of the most protracted conflicts in nearly every region. This year alone, at least five new peacekeeping missions are in the field or on the drawing board. The US is fully committed to support peacekeeping and strengthen it institutionally in the UN.

- Arms Control - We warmly endorse the efforts of the EC and Japan to establish a UN arms transfer registry.

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We will work closely with them to ensure the passage of a resolution designed to bring needed transparency to the global arms trade.

- UN Election Assistance - (Bush initiative announced at UNG last year) We believe that the UN can play an important role in furthering democratization around the globe by providing electoral assistance to those countries that specifically request it. We look forward to the Secretary General's report on UN electoral assistance and hope to work with other member states in sponsoring an appropriate resolution on the topic.

- UN Emergency Humanitarian Response -

- o Note need for faster startup and coordinated response. UN and world community have a responsibility.
- o Urge action now, not waiting for more comprehensive reforms.
- o Strongly urge creation of humanitarian czar working in closest conjunction with the UN Secretary General to direct and coordinate the international response to disasters and to arrange better coordination of financial appeals and faster mobilization of resources.
- o Recommend that the GA set up a humanitarian response start up fund by authorizing use of the Working Capital Fund to finance expenses incurred at the outset of a humanitarian mission, as is done with peacekeeping. Expenditures would be controlled by the humanitarian czar.
- o US would like to see part of its arrearage payments used for these humanitarian purposes, to reach suffering people faster.
- o Hope General Assembly would task humanitarian czar to work with member states to identify military and civilian assets that could be called upon when natural or manmade humanitarian disaster strikes.

- UN Reform - We must reform and strengthen the United Nations system, to make it more effective and responsive to the goals of its members and the world agenda. The convergence of world events and the forthcoming election of a new Secretary General -- to replace our distinguished and revered incumbent -- offers an opportunity for progress and furtherance of these goals. We should not miss this narrow window of opportunity to press ahead in:

- o strengthening the system, particularly through restructuring the Secretariat
- o reviewing and tightening coordination among the various elements of the UN system playing to prevent overlapping programs to ensure efficient use of resources.

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- o adapting of existing institutions to the future requirements of peacekeeping, peacemaking and the economic and social welfare of all UN members.

VII. **Agenda for the Future** - to act on now and into the future. Unparalleled opportunities and challenges to do the **hard work of freedom**--nationally, regionally and globally. These are the **building blocks of the New World Order**.

- **Assure peace and stability worldwide** - We must tackle problems of international peace and security by bringing rapidly to bear concerted diplomacy and peacekeeping where possible and effective collective military action where necessary and through arms control. Through cooperative efforts, we must:

- o Promote diplomatic solutions to regional conflicts, including preventive diplomacy. Regional organizations and the UN have key roles.
- o Strongly support UN peacekeeping
- o Follow through with international support and assistance to rebuild countries and repatriate refugees following conflict, to build foundations of stability.
- o Arms Control:
 - Reduce size of military arsenals while still maintaining the legitimate rights of self defense to deter and defend against military aggression.
 - Stop the global proliferation of nuclear, chemical and biological weapons through bilateral and multilateral agreements.
 - US/Soviet agreement to cut deeply their nuclear arsenals
 - We support ban on chemical weapons.
 - We are working in UNSC to negotiate guidelines for restraining destabilizing transfers of conventional arms.
 - Stress importance of adherence to arms control agreements. The international community must demonstrate the seriousness with which it views violations of arms control agreements, as is being done in holding Iraq to UN Resolutions 687 and 706.
- o Reduce military spending -- Too many countries spend too much on weapons of war. The United States is setting an example that other nations should follow. In response to the reduced threat from the Warsaw Pact, the United States is making significant defense cuts. By 1995 we will:
 - devote a smaller share of our economy to defense than at any time in more than half a century;
 - reduce our military forces by 25 percent;
 - significantly cutting the size of our strategic nuclear forces.

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- o If other nations would follow this trend, the world could become a more peaceful place with greater resources available for economic development.

- Promote and consolidate democratic values - History shows democracies to be less aggressive, more prosperous, more humane, and more cooperative with other nations than conceivable alternatives.

- o Assist transitions to democracy.
- o Devise ways to advance democracy and help build democratic institutions which accompany them.
- o Advance human rights. With the developments of the past year, there can no longer be any justification--ideological, political or necessity--for any government to violate the basic human rights of its citizens.
 - Note that in UN action regarding massive humanitarian abuse of Iraqi Kurds by the Iraqi government, world community recognized acts of genocide or other massive humanitarian abuses as threats to international peace and security. Such acts are of direct and immediate concern to the world community, which can act to deal with them through the Security Council.
 - President has asked US Congress to speed the process toward ratification of the UN Covenant on Civil and Political Rights which embodies the essential freedom of opinion and expression.
 - Note that US action on Torture Treaty is nearly complete and we strongly oppose torture anywhere it occurs.

- Promote market economics - Free market economies are the engine of growth. An open and expanding international economy, (based on market principles, stable currencies, and broadly respected rules for managing and resolving economic disputes) is essential.

- o Encourage the growth of capitalism and limitation of central government control.
- o Support aid, trade, and investment policies that promote economic development.
- o encourage free trade and development of a community of free-trading nations.
- o Foster individual enterprise.
- o Utilize fully international financial institutions in facilitating reform and cooperation.

- Improve individuals lives. Free market economies, a sense of community, and a spirit of caring can begin to address problems of well-being, leading to better lives. The international

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11

community can only benefit by strengthening the well-being of the people, economies, and societies of all its members.

- o Continue bilateral and multilateral international aid programs, with greater coordination to insure effective use of resources
- o Devise ways to more effectively institutionalize the international capacity to help peoples and countries in need.
- o Renew our solemn commitments undertaken one year ago at the historic World Summit for Children. The goals must be met --reduce the terrible toll and tragedy of child mortality, increase education, and ensure a better future for all children because they are our future.
- o Emphasize education
- o Emphasize democracy and market principles to increase productivity and economic activity, leading to greater self sufficiency and lessening need for international aid.

- Respond to urgent humanitarian needs - This is a responsibility. The international community has repeatedly demonstrated its readiness and capacity to meet critical humanitarian needs caused by natural or man-made disasters. This capability and compassion will continue to be needed.

- o Strengthen international ability to respond to massive humanitarian needs where natural or man-made disaster strikes.
- o Do not flag in providing assistance
- o Enlarge donor community

- Reduce global/transnational threats. These are longer-term threats that transcend borders and require international cooperation to be conquered.

- o Systematically and aggressively address:
 - degradation of the environment,
 - health issues such as AIDs and a children's vaccine
 - drug trafficking and the social and criminal problems involved in narcotics
 - terrorism

Ending: Winds of change, winds of hope on every continent. Move forward with vigilance to a **world community of cooperation based on democratic values and universal principles**. Truly a defining moment in history on brink of third millennium. Can build the bridges necessary for a lasting peace and a better world for all. Let us work together -- large nations and small -- to make the dream a reality.

DRAFT

Freedom House48 East 21 Street
5th Floor

New York, NY 10010

DANCA file

91 SEP 20

FAX: (212) 477-4126
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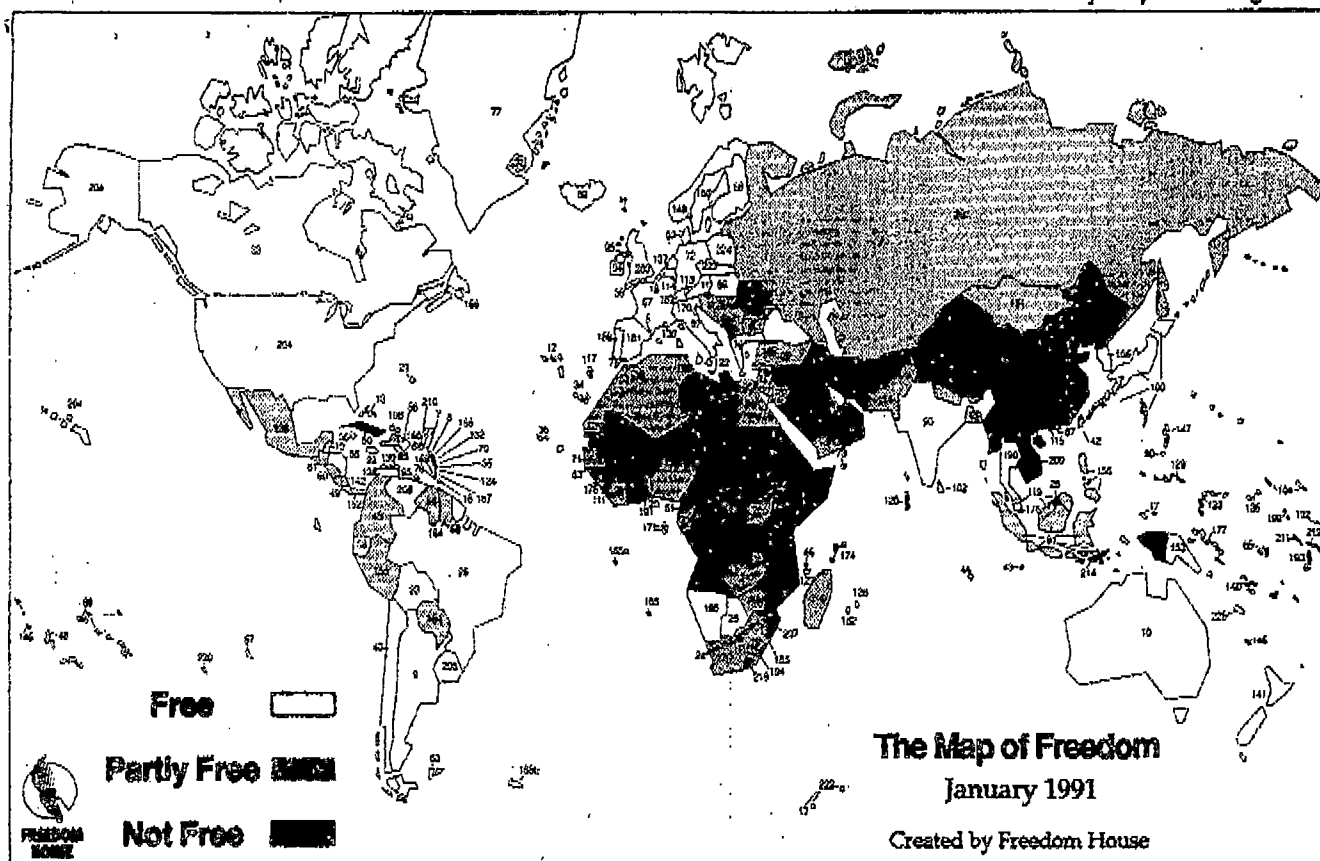
FROM: BARBARA FUTTERMAN, assistant to Bruce McColm

Number of PAGES: 24 approx INCLUDING THIS COVER SHEET.

COMMENTS:

Dear Ms. Grossman:

Here are the latest stats for 1990. For more information and clarification, please call Dr. JOSEPH E. RYAN at this number. We work on up-dates for the Annual Survey of Freedom in the World daily. Of course, the changes for 1991 will be reported in the next publication of the Survey (deadlines for publication at late December. Thanks for calling us. Hope to hear from you today concerning these stats.



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

FREE STATES

8	Antigua & Barbuda	126	Mauritius
9	Argentina	180	Nauru
10	Australia	135	Nevis
11	Austria	137	Netherlands
13	Bahamas	141	New Zealand
16	Barbados	148	Norway
18	Belgium	153	Papua New Guinea
19	Belize	224	Poland
23	Bolivia	159	Portugal
25	Botswana	165	St. Christopher-Nevis
26	Brazil	167	St. Lucia
33	Canada	169	St. Vincent and the Grenadines
40	Chile	177	Solomon Is.
49	Costa Rica	181	Spain
51	Cyprus (G)	186	Sweden
52	Cyprus (I)	187	Switzerland
223	Czechoslovakia	190	Thailand
53	Denmark	195	Trinidad & Tobago
55	Dominica	199	Tuvalu
56	Dominican Republic	203	United Kingdom
58	Ecuador	204	United States
66	Finland	206	Uruguay
67	France	140	Vanuatu
71	The Gambia	208	Venezuela
72	Germany	212	Western Samoa
76	Greece		
78	Grenada		
86	Honduras		
88	Hungary		
89	Iceland		
90	India		
94	Ireland		
96	Israel		
97	Italy		
99	Jamaica		
100	Japan		
104	Kiribati		
106	Korea (S)		
114	Luxembourg		
122	Malta		

RELATED TERRITORIES

4	Amer. Samoa (US)
5	Andorra (Fr-Sp)
7	Anguilla (UK)
138	Aruba (Ne)
12	Azores (Port)
21	Bermuda (UK)
27	Br. Vir. Is. (UK)
34	Canary Is. (Sp)
36	Cayman Is. (UK)
157	Ceuta (Sp)
39	Channel Is. (UK)
43	Christmas Is. (Austral.)

44	Cocos (Keeling) Is. (Austral.)
48	Cook Is. (NZ)
57	Rapaunui/Easter Is. (Chile)
63	Falkland Is. (UK)
64	Faeroe Is. (Den)
68	French Guiana (Fr)
69	French Polynesia (Fr)
222	French Southern & Antarctic Terr. (Fr.)
75	Gibraltar (UK)
77	Greenland (Den)
79	Guadeloupe (Fr)
80	Guam (US)
95	Ile of Man (UK)
113	Liechtenstein (Swz)
117	Madeira (Port)
127	Mahore (Fr)
123	Marshall Is. (US)
124	Martinique (Fr)
158	Melilla (Sp)
129	Micronesia (US)
130	Monoac (Fr.)
132	Montserrat (UK)
139	N. Antilles (Ne)
225	New Caledonia (Fr)
145	Niue (NZ)
146	Norfolk Is. (Austral.)
147	No. Marianas (US)
17	Belau (Palau) (US)
220	Pitcairn Islands (UK)
160	Puerto Rico (US)
162	Reunion (Fr)
165	St. Helena and Dependencies (UK)
165a	Ascension
165b	Tristan da Cunha
168	St. Pierre-Mq. (Fr)
170	San Marino (It)
192	Tokelau (NZ)
198	Turks & Caicos (UK)
210	Virgin Is. (US)

PARTLY FREE STATES

3	Algeria
14	Bahrain
15	Bangladesh
20	Benin
22	Bhutan
29	Bulgaria
35	Cape Verde Is.
45	Colombia
46	Comoros
59	Egypt
60	El Salvador
65	Fiji
70	Gabon
81	Guatemala
84	Guyana
85	Haiti
91	Indonesia
98	Ivory Coast
101	Jordan
116	Madagascar
119	Malaysia
128	Mexico
131	Mongolia
133	Morocco
136	Nepal
142	Nicaragua
144	Nigeria
151	Pakistan
152	Panama
154	Paraguay
155	Peru
156	Philippines
171	Sao Tome & Principe
173	Senegal
175	Sierra Leone
176	Singapore
179	South Africa
182	Sri Lanka

RELATED TERRITORIES

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

NOT FREE STATES

1	Afghanistan
2	Albania
6	Angola
28	Brunei
205	Burkina Faso
30	Burma (Myanmar)
31	Burundi
102	Cambodia
32	Cameroon
37	Central African Republic
38	Chad
41	China (PRC)
47	Congo
50	Cuba
54	Djibouti
61	Equatorial Guinea
62	Ethiopia
74	Ghana
82	Guinea
83	Guinea-Bissau
92	Iran
93	Iraq

103	Kenya
105	Korea (N)
107	Kuwait (Iraq-Occupied)
108	Laos
109	Lebanon
110	Lesotho
111	Liberia
112	Libya
118	Malawi
120	Maldives
121	Mali
125	Mauritania
134	Mozambique
143	Niger
150	Oman
161	Qatar
163	Romania
164	Rwanda
172	Saudi Arabia
174	Seychelles
178	Somalia
183	Sudan
188	Syria
189	Tanzania
191	Togo
202	United Arab Emirates
209	Vietnam
216	Zaire

RELATED TERRITORIES

24	Beaufortlands (SA)
219	Ciskei (SA)
214	East Timor (Indo.)
226	Isle of Jura (Indo.)
227	Kashmir (India)
149	Occupied Territories (Isr.)
213	Tibet (China)
194	Transkei (SA)
207	Vandaa (SA)

When people want to find out what happened in countries around the world during the watershed year of 1990, and why more people were living in freedom than ever before, this is the work they would turn to.

Long acknowledged as a standard reference work for those interested in human rights, the annual *Freedom in the World* has been thoroughly reimagined. It continues to rank each country in the world according to the degree of political rights and civil liberties that its citizens enjoy—or are deprived of. It now also offers a full overview of each country, identifies its political and economic systems, and gives information about life expectancy, population, ethnic composition and significant events during the year. The individual country reports are highly informative and can serve as brief introductions to the present state of freedom in the country and its likely political trajectory.

This text is accompanied by the renowned annual Map of Freedom, charts, tabulated ratings and other graphic tools that allow immediate comparisons between countries.

Freedom in the World is the work of a Survey team coordinated by R. Bruce McColm, executive director of Freedom House.

The annual Survey does not replace those of previous years; each volume offers new information, and individual readers as well as schools, libraries, and human rights organizations will want to have each volume in this continuing series.

The individual country reports are accompanied by regional reports written by recognized area experts.

FREEDOM IN THE WORLD



"With forthright analysis Freedom in the World lays bare the state of political rights and civil liberties around the world. It provides a candid assessment of how far nations have come in realizing fundamental human rights for their citizens, and how far they must yet go."

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United States Senator,
New York

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The New Republic

"Freedom in the World...contains a tremendous amount of information and is especially helpful as our world goes through such immense change."

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Vice-Chairman
Knight Ridder, Inc.

"Freedom in the World...is careful, balanced and objective and...therefore of great value. I find it a privilege to be on your list of recipients."

—David Welsh,
University of Cape Town
South Africa

"Making the true state of affairs known is not easy...we will always differ over what is the true state of affairs, but Freedom House comes as near to doing a persuasive and intellectually coherent job as probably can be done."

—Jonathan Power,
The International Herald Tribune (also syndicated)

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Freedom in the World 1990-1991—\$19.95.
Postage and handling, \$2.50 each copy
Overseas handling, \$3.50 each copy.
Air printed matter, \$19.25 each copy

(New York State residents must add 8% sales tax.)

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Freedom in the World Political Rights & Civil Liberties 1990-1991

Freedom House Survey Team

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Freedom House

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NEWS FROM FREEDOM HOUSE

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

FOR IMMEDIATE RELEASE:

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

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

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

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

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

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

Significant Gains in Freedom

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

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

Shaky transitions and reversals

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

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

Advance of liberal democracy

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

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

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

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

For additional information: R. Bruce McColm

Joseph Ryan

at (212)473-9691.

Foreword

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

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

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

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

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

journalists, security forces and insurgent movements where they existed.

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

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

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

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

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

Introduction to Country Reports

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

1990

Table of Independent Countries Comparative Measures of Freedom

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

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Table of Independent Countries Comparative Measures of Freedom

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

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

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

* Indicates merger.

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Table of Related Territories Comparative Measures of Freedom

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

** Indicates territories added to this years' survey.

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Combined Average Ratings— Independent Countries

FREE

1

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

1.5

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

2

Argentina
Chile

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

2.5

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

PARTLY FREE

3

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

3.5

Bulgaria
Colombia
El Salvador
Guatemala
Paraguay
Peru
Senegal
Suriname

4

Algeria
Gabon

Haiti
Madagascar
Mexico
Mongolia
Morocco
Nepal
Pakistan
Singapore

4.5

Egypt
Guyana
Malaysia
South Africa
Sri Lanka
Tunisia
USSR
Yugoslavia

5

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

5.5

Bahrain
Bhutan
Indonesia
Sierra Leone
Swaziland
Uganda
Yemen
Zambia

NOT FREE

5.5

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

Iran
Lebanon
Lesotho
Maldives
Mali
Niger
Romania
Tanzania
United Arab Emirates

6

Cameroon
Congo
Kenya
Mozambique
Oman
Qatar
Rwanda
Seychelles
Togo
Zaire

6.5

Albania
Burundi
Chad
Laos
Malawi
Mauritania
Saudi Arabia

7

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

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Combined Average Ratings—Related Territories

FREE

1
 American Samoa (U.S.)
 Anguilla (U.K.)
 Aruba (Netherlands)
 Bermuda (U.K.)
 Canary Islands (Spain)
 Faeroe Islands (Denmark)
 Gibraltar (U.K.)
 Greenland (Denmark)
 Guam (U.S.)
 Liechtenstein (Switzerland)
 Marshall Islands (U.S.)
 Micronesia (U.S.)
 Netherlands Antilles
 (Netherlands)
 Northern Marianas (U.S.)
 Puerto Rico (U.S.)
 San Marino (Italy)
 U.S. Virgin Islands (U.S.)

1.5
 Andorra (France-Spain)
 Azores (Portugal)
 British Virgin Islands (U.K.)
 Cayman Islands (U.K.)
 Ceuta (Spain)
 Channel Islands (U.K.)
 Cocos (Keeling) Islands
 (Australia)

Falkland Islands (U.K.)
 Isle of Man (U.K.)
 Madeira (Portugal)
 Martinique (France)
 Melilla (Spain)
 Montserrat (U.K.)
 Norfolk Island (Australia)
 Palau (Belau) (U.S.)
 Pitcairn Islands (U.K.)
 St. Helena and Dependencies (U.K.)
 Turks and Caicos (U.K.)

2
 Cook Islands (New Zealand)
 French Guiana (France)
 French Polynesia (France)
 French Southern and Antarctic
 Territories (France)
 Guadeloupe (France)
 Mayotte (Mahore) (France)
 Monaco (France)
 New Caledonia (France)
 Niue (New Zealand)
 Reunion (France)
 St. Pierre and Miquelon (France)
 Tokelau (New Zealand)

2.5
 Christmas Island (Australia)
 Rapanui (Easter Island) (Chile)
 Wallis and Futuna Islands (France)

PARTLY FREE

3
 Macao (Portugal)

3.5
 Hong Kong (U.K.)

4.5
 Western Sahara (Morocco)

NOT FREE

5.5
 Bophutatswana (South Africa)
 Ciskei (South Africa)
 Kashmir (India)
 Transkei (South Africa)

6
 Occupied Territories (Israel)
 Venda (South Africa)

6.5
 East Timor (Indonesia)
 Irian Jaya (Indonesia)

7
 Tibet (China)

Table of Independent Countries

Comparative Measures of Freedom

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

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Table of Independent Countries Comparative Measures of Freedom

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

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

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

* Indicates merger.

Table of Social and Economic Comparisons

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

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

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