
“NEW WORLD ORDER”

- **Where did the phrase originate?**
- **What does it mean?**

1. Was it dreamed up by President Bush and Brent Scowcroft during an August 1990 speedboat ride off Kennebunkport, Maine?

2. Is it a slogan that has been used for generations by individuals seeking one-world socialist rule?

A new world order: Bush's vision still fuzzy



One August morning in Kennebunkport, Maine, Bush took his national security adviser, Brent Scowcroft, for a ride on the presidential speedboat, Fidelity. Four hours later, the president came ashore with a ringing slogan that Scowcroft had offered: "The new world order."

-Doyle McManus (L.A. Times)
Carried by Milwaukee Journal
February 24, 1991

AP photo

PRESIDENT BUSH last week: Gulf crisis is his vision's first test

By DOYLE McMANUS
Los Angeles Times service

Washington, D.C. — Two years ago, when the Bush administration was young, a group of junior officials tried to brainstorm a snappy slogan that would sum up their president's vision for the world — a "Bush Doctrine."

"We spent months," recalled Francis Fukuyama, a State Department policy planner at the time, "but nothing seemed to work."

The Bush administration was heading into history without a theme.

Then came an unlikely rescuer: Saddam Hussein and his invasion of Kuwait. After Bush dispatched 200,000 US troops to defend Saudi Arabia, he needed a concept, a vision, to explain his assertive new policy.

One August morning in Kennebunkport, Maine, Bush took his national security adviser, Brent Scowcroft, for a ride on the presidential speedboat, Fidelity. Four hours later, the president came ashore with a ringing slogan that Scowcroft had offered: "The new world order."

Ever since, the goal of a "new world order" has been the theme of Bush's foreign policy pronouncements. He summoned it in September, telling Congress why he had sent the troops; he used it again in November, when he turned the defensive troop commitment into an offensive force; and he invoked it in his State of the Union address, explaining why he thought the burden of world leadership must fall to the United States.

The concept suffers from only one problem: Almost no one, even

"I can tell you what I think it is, but I'm not sure that's the same as what the president thinks it is."

Senior US official

inside the administration, is certain what it means.

"Go ask them upstairs," urged a senior State Department official whose job, at least on paper, includes building large parts of the new world order. "Nobody around here knows."

"I can tell you what I think it is," another senior official confessed, "but I'm not sure that's the same as what the president thinks it is."

And among those who think they know, not everyone agrees that the slogan is a good one. "It's Wilsonian nonsense," said a White House aide from the conservative wing, recalling Woodrow Wilson's doomed crusade for the League of Nations.

CONCEPT EXPLAINED FAIRLY WELL

In fact, Bush and his aides have explained the new world order fairly well. The idea has three parts:

■ US-Soviet cooperation on international issues, instead of the old Cold War conflict.

■ "Collective security," meaning joint action by many nations against aggression.

■ And American leadership to make sure it all gets done.

"What is at stake [in the Persian Gulf] is more than one small country," Bush said in his State of the Union address. "It is a big idea: a new world order, where diverse nations are drawn together to achieve the universal aspirations of mankind: peace and security, freedom and the rule of law."

"As Americans," he added, "we know there are times when we must step forward and accept our responsibility to lead. Only the US has both the moral standing and the means to back it up."

But beyond those principles, Bush's vision is distinctly fuzzy. Will the new world order require the dispatch of US and allied forces to dozens of Third World trouble spots? Will the US really entrust decisions on collective security to the United Nations?

The president himself has occasionally muddied the waters by offering different versions, sometimes stressing multilateral action, sometimes the single leadership of the US.

Administration officials, alarmed by all the attention, have tried gently to reduce expectations a bit.

"I think we run the danger of overselling this," a senior official said last week. "It wasn't really designed for the load that it's carrying. It's just a notion."

"In part, it's Bush's 'vision thing,'" he added — using Bush's own description of the policy overview he has had difficulty articulating. "It's a way of thinking about things right now, more than a concrete program."

"I don't think there is a single

Please see Order page 3

THE NEW WORLD ORDER

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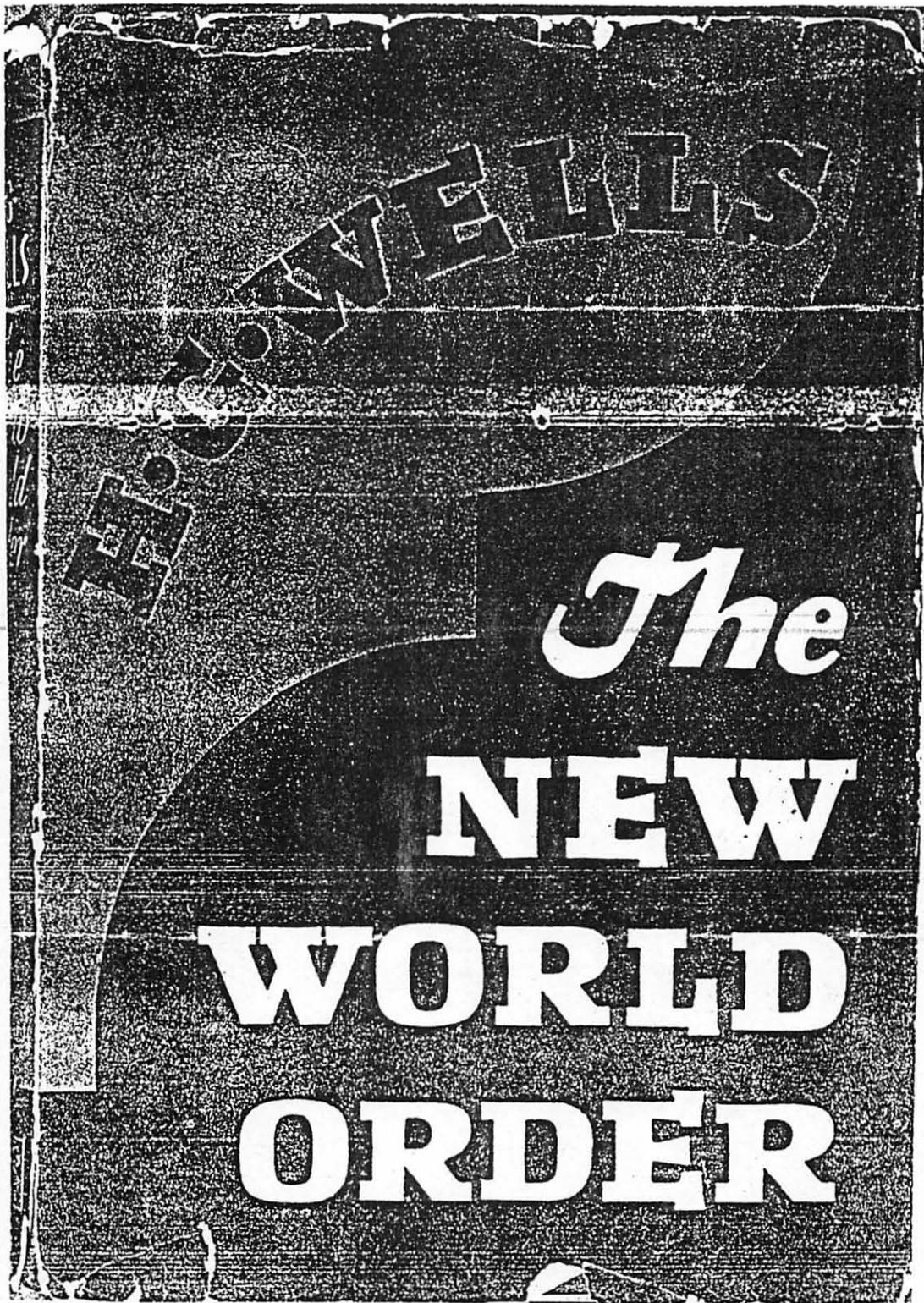
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OCTOBER 1967

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ASIA AFTER VIET NAM

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scapegoats for the present ills of their societies. If dissatisfied with conditions as they see them, the young tend to blame those now in power.

As the sharp anticolonial focus blurs, the old nationalism is evolving into a more complex, multi-layered set of concepts and attitudes. On the one hand are a multitude of local and tribal identifications—the Montagnards in Viet Nam, the Han tribes in Burma, the provincial and linguistic separatisms that constantly claw at the fabric of Indian unity. On the other hand, there is a reaching-out by the governing élites, and particularly the young, for something larger, more like an Asian regionalism.

The developing coherence of Asian regional thinking is reflected in a disposition to consider problems and loyalties in regional terms, and to evolve regional approaches to development needs and to the evolution of a new world order. This is not excessively chauvinistic, but rather in the nature of a coalescing confidence, a recognition that Asia can become a counterbalance to the West, and an increasing disposition to seek Asian solutions to Asian problems through cooperative action.

Along with the rising complex of national, subregional and regional identification and pride, there is also an acute sense of common danger—a factor which serves as catalyst to the others. The common danger from Communist China is now in the process of shifting the Asian governments' center of concern. During the colonial and immediately post-colonial eras, Asians stood opposed primarily to the West, which represented the intruding alien power. But now the West has abandoned its colonial role, and it no longer threatens the independence of the Asian nations. Red China, however, does, and its threat is clear, present and repeatedly and insistently expressed. The message has not been lost on Asia's leaders. They recognize that the West, and particularly the United States, now represents not an oppressor but a protector. And they recognize their need for protection.

This does not mean that the old resentments and distrusts have vanished, or that new ones will not arise. It does, however, mean that there has been an important shift in the balance of their perceptions about the balance of danger, and this shift has important implications for the future.

One of the legacies of Viet Nam almost certainly will be a deep reluctance on the part of the United States to become involved once again in a similar intervention on a similar basis. The war

Goal Of Rockefeller— 'A New World Order'

WASHINGTON (AP) — New York Gov. Nelson A. Rockefeller says as president he would work toward international creation of "a new world order" based on East-West cooperation instead of conflict. — The Republican presidential

contender said he would begin a dialogue with Red China, if elected, to "improve the possibilities of accommodations" with that country as well as the Soviet Union.

Rockefeller said he would work to end the arms race and

said this country and the Soviets must cooperate to prevent small wars in areas such as the Middle East from mushrooming into big ones.

Despite a long Communist record of broken commitments and the fact that Communist ideology remains hostile, he said, "we must also face the fact that the imperatives of the modern age impose the necessity for peace.

"We have no need to be mesmerized by our perils," Rockefeller said. "The possibility to build the new order we all seek is limited only by our imagination and dedication."

But he said there is no way to know when a "basic accommodation" would become possible. He said a new world order must be established by international cooperation; it cannot be created by any one nation.

Rockefeller spoke to the Inter-

national Platform Association, an organization of professional lecturers.

Sen. Eugene J. McCarthy, a Democratic presidential aspirant, indicated meanwhile he will drop hopes of meeting with North Vietnamese diplomats in Paris to learn first hand the prospects for settlement of the Vietnam war.

McCarthy said in view of the Honolulu communique issued Sunday by President Johnson and South Vietnamese President Nguyen Van Thieu, "the chances of my doing any good are significantly reduced."

He said the communique indicating this country will not further reduce its military action in South Vietnam until North Vietnam makes some concessions laid out a position "quite different" from his own.

On the Republican side Sen

1972

AS SENT VIA UPI 2-25-72

TEXTS 2-25 WA

PEKING (UPI) --TEXT OF PRESIDENT NIXON'S REMARKS AT TONIGHT'S BANQUET: "MR. PRIME MINISTER, AND OUR VERY DISTINGUISHED GUESTS OF THE PEOPLES REPUBLIC OF CHINA AND THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA.

"IT'S A GREAT PRIVILEGE THAT WHILE WE ARE GUESTS IN YOUR COUNTRY TO BE ABLE TO WELCOME YOU AND THE CHINESE WHO ARE PRESENT HERE AS OUR GUESTS THIS EVENING, AND ON BEHALF OF MRS. NIXON AND ALL OF THE MEMBERS OF OUR OFFICIAL PARTY, I WANT TO EXPRESS MY DEEP APPRECIATION FOR THE BOUNDLESS AND GRACIOUS HOSPITALITY WHICH YOU HAVE EXTENDED TO US.

"AS YOU KNOW IT IS THE CUSTOM IN OUR COUNTRY THAT THE MEMBERS OF THE PRESS HAVE THE RIGHT TO SPEAK FOR THEMSELVES AND THAT NO ONE IN GOVERNMENT CAN SPEAK FOR THEM. BUT I AM SURE THAT ALL THOSE FROM THE AMERICAN PRESS WHO ARE HERE TONIGHT WILL GRANT ME THE RARE PRIVILEGE OF SPEAKING FOR THE PRESS IN EXTENDING THEIR APPRECIATION TO YOU AND YOUR GOVERNMENT FOR THE MANY COURTESIES YOU HAVE EXTENDED TO THEM.

"YOU HAVE MADE IT POSSIBLE FOR THE STORY OF THIS HISTORIC VISIT TO BE READ, SEEN AND HEARD BY MORE PEOPLE ALL OVER THE WORLD THAN ON ANY PREVIOUS OCCASION IN HISTORY. YESTERDAY, ALONG WITH HUNDREDS OF MILLIONS OF VIEWERS ON TELEVISION WE SAW WHAT IS TRULY ONE OF THE WONDERS OF THE WORLD -- THE GREAT WALL.

"AS I WALKED ALONG THE WALL, I THOUGHT OF THE SACRIFICES THAT WENT INTO BUILDING IT. I THOUGHT OF WHAT IT SHOWED ABOUT THE DETERMINATION OF THE CHINESE PEOPLE TO RETAIN THEIR INDEPENDENCE THROUGHOUT THEIR LONG HISTORY. I THOUGHT ABOUT THE FACT THAT THE WALL TELLS US THAT CHINA HAS A GREAT HISTORY AND THAT THE PEOPLE WHO BUILT THIS WONDER OF THE WORLD ALSO HAVE A GREAT FUTURE.

"THE GREAT WALL IS NO LONGER A WALL DIVIDING CHINA FROM THE REST OF THE WORLD. BUT IT IS A REMINDER OF THE FACT THAT THERE ARE MANY WALLS STILL EXISTING IN THE WORLD WHICH DIVIDED NATIONS AND PEOPLE. THE GREAT WALL IS ALSO A REMINDER THAT FOR ALMOST A GENERATION THERE HAS BEEN A WALL BETWEEN THE PEOPLES REPUBLIC OF CHINA AND THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA. IN THESE PAST FOUR DAYS, WE HAVE BEGUN THE LONG PROCESS OF REMOVING THAT WALL BETWEEN

"WE BEGAN OUR TALKS RECOGNIZING THAT WE HAVE GREAT DIFFERENCES. BUT WE ARE DETERMINED THAT THOSE DIFFERENCES NOT PREVENT US FROM LIVING TOGETHER IN PEACE.

"IT IS NOT OUR COMMON BELIEFS THAT HAVE BROUGHT US TOGETHER HERE, BUT OUR COMMON INTERESTS AND OUR COMMON HOPES. THE INTERESTS THAT EACH OF US HAS TO MAINTAIN OUR INDEPENDENCE AND THE SECURITY OF OUR PEOPLE AND THE HOPE THAT EACH OF US HAS TO BUILD A NEW WORLD ORDER IN WHICH NATIONS OF PEOPLE WITH DIFFERENT SYSTEMS AND DIFFERENT VALUES CAN LIVE TOGETHER IN PEACE, RESPECTING ONE ANOTHER WHILE DISAGREEING WITH ONE ANOTHER, LETTING HISTORY RATHER THAN THE BATTLEFIELD BE THE JUDGE OF THEIR DIFFERENT IDEAS.

"MR. PRIME MINISTER, YOU HAVE NOTED THAT THE PLANE WHICH BROUGHT US HERE IS NAMED THE SPIRIT OF '76. JUST THIS WEEK WE HAVE CELEBRATED IN AMERICA THE BIRTH OF GEORGE WASHINGTON, THE FATHER OF OUR COUNTRY, WHO LED AMERICA TO INDEPENDENCE IN OUR REVOLUTION AND SERVED AS OUR FIRST PRESIDENT. HE BADE FAREWELL AT THE CLOSE OF HIS TERM WITH THESE WORDS TO HIS COUNTRY: 'OBSERVE GOOD FAITH AND JUSTICE TOWARD ALL NATIONS. CULTIVATE PEACE AND HARMONY WITH ALL.'

"IT IS IN THAT SPIRIT, THE SPIRIT OF '76, THAT I ASK YOU TO RISE AND JOIN ME IN A TOAST TO CHAIRMAN MAO, TO PREMIER CHOU, THE PEOPLE OF OUR TWO COUNTRIES AND TO THE HOPE OF OUR CHILDREN THAT PEACE AND HARMONY CAN BE THE LEGACY OF OUR GENERATION TO THEM."

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BOSTON HERALD-TRAVELLER

James Reston

MAY 21, 1971

Nixon's Cautious Strategy

(C) New York Times News Service.

WASHINGTON — In his statement on the U.S.-Soviet strategic arms talks, President Nixon noted that the compromise on how to proceed with the negotiations had been taken "at the highest levels," meaning that he had personally decided on this course of action for the United States.

It is very difficult to get enough facts about what the two great powers are doing in this field even to have an informed opinion about the substance and balance of the arms race, but one thing is fairly clear.

Nixon was confronted with troubling and even alarming evidence of an intensive new Soviet missile and missile launching program in Kazakhstan in Central Asia and in the western areas of the Soviet Union, but nevertheless decided that the risks of this energetic Soviet building program were not as great as the risks of abandoning the SALT talks and launching a new missile crash program of his own.

WHAT THIS will do to the world balance of power, with the Soviet strategic missile program proceeding at a faster rate than the American, only the scientists and missile experts can tell, but it helps put the President on the

side of taking risks for peace, and this is a factor in the political balance of power, which last winter was swinging against him.

Aside from politics, Nixon would obviously like to pre-empt the creation of a new world order, and believes he sees an opportunity to do so in the last 20 months of his first term. It is far too early to talk about "major breakthroughs" in the arms talks or anything else, but the signs of greater flexibility in world politics are now fairly plain.

The withdrawal of American troops from Vietnam is proceeding on the President's own schedule. China is beginning to take a more friendly attitude toward the Western peoples, if not their governments. The Soviet Union is talking about mutual troop reductions in Central Europe. The forces for peace in the Middle East are stronger now than they have been in many months, and that is not all.

WEST GERMANY, under great difficulties, is experimenting with a policy of compromise with Moscow and Eastern Europe. Most important, France, troubled by the mounting economic power of West Germany, is taking a more receptive attitude toward bringing Britain into the European economic community.

In short there is movement in the world now, and some of Nixon's advisers think these are very deceptive movements designed to sweet-talk Washington into very dangerous concessions.

But the President seems less convinced by the risks of negotiation than he used to be, and is clearly willing to make limited concessions for a limited accommodation with both China and the USSR.

AS IN HIS personal intervention to proceed with the SALT talks with the Soviet Union, so he is known to have authorized influential travelers in China to indicate his willingness to ease the tensions with that country.

Likewise, he has been taking the initiative for a compromise settlement between Israel and the Arab states, and again despite the doubts of some of his advisers, has been encouraging Chancellor Willy Brandt to try for limited accommodations with the Warsaw Pact countries.

It will be a long time before the strategic consequences of all this are clear, but the political consequences are already apparent. Nixon managed to rally the elders of the Democratic party in defense of his arms policy in Europe. He was widely praised even by most of the Democratic presidential candidates for reaching agreement with the

Russians on the agenda for the strategic arms talks, and even the pro-Israeli congressmen are beginning to say that maybe his efforts at mediation in the Middle East might eventually be useful.

SO WHEN the attorney general says that Nixon has passed through some low days but is starting up again politically, even Mitchell's critics would have to agree on the trend.

A couple of months ago, the economy and foreign policy were both hurting him badly, but now the Republicans are talking about running on the old Democratic theme of "Peace and Prosperity."

Well, there will be a lot of leaps and dips in the coming year, and much will depend on the substance, rather than the tactics and atmosphere of Nixon's strategy.

It takes two to end the war in Vietnam, and more than that to get arms control in Europe and an accommodation in the Middle East and a settlement with China.

But Nixon increasingly seems to be moving toward these goals, and nobody is watching his movements with more attention or less enthusiasm than the Democratic presidential candidates.

'New world order' puzzles old world's leaders

By Richard Whitely
Special to The Daily Morning News

WASHINGTON — Visiting China last month, U.S. foreign policy expert John Steinbruner was surprised that so many Chinese scholars he met posed the same question.

"They wanted to know what 'new world order' meant," recalled the Brookings Institution's director of foreign policy studies. "They wanted to know if we thought this is a rhetorical phrase hiding a plan for American hegemony. But they also

asked, 'What's in it for us?'"

Decision-makers and academics around the world are intrigued and perplexed by the phrase, which President Bush began using last year during the months before the Persian Gulf war.

"They don't ask this much about just every phrase he uses," noted Mr. Steinbruner.

Since he first employed it publicly on Sept. 11, Mr. Bush has elevated the expression to a foreign policy term of art, increasing its importance by

using it in several key speeches. The first was an address to the United Nations General Assembly last Oct. 1.

"We have a vision of a new partnership of nations that transcends the Cold War," the president told the U.N. delegates. "A partnership based on consultation, cooperation and collective action, especially through international and regional organizations. A partnership united by principle and the rule of law and sustained by an equitable sharing of both cost and commitment."

Such talk reminds many of President Woodrow Wilson's idealistic quest after World War I to do away with international conflict by constructing the ill-fated League of Nations. Yet no one knows exactly what Mr. Bush means or how his quest for a new world order might reshape U.S. actions abroad.

"It's a hot issue. In the sense that everybody's curious about what the content of this 'new world order' phrase is, and is there a concept behind it? Please see NEWS on Page 27A."

'New world order' a puzzle

blind?" said Samuel Wells, deputy director of the Woodrow Wilson International Center for Scholars in Washington.

"If the Chinese find out," he added, "I hope they'll tell us." David Tresek, former chief liaison of the State Department, said experts within the government are equally in the dark.

"Talking to my friends around the world, there's a lot of discussion of this," he said. "It's been very vague as to what the content of this is."

"The curious should get some enlightenment Wednesday, when the president is to deliver a commencement address at the U.S. Air Force Academy in Colorado Springs, Colo. Academy President, his press secretary, William Plimster, his press secretary's press secretary, said he would "call this as a defense and a new world order" speech, "said another White House official.

"Critical, manuable, are setting how the president can discuss any new order in the world again."

The Soviet Union is beset by economic and political crises that threaten its collapse as a nation, which could mean chaos and suffering throughout Europe and Asia.

The road from communism to capitalism in Eastern Europe has proven full of potholes, from rising unemployment to ethnic and national rivalries that are spreading unrest and violence.

President Saddam Hussein remains in power in Iraq — and has turned his wrath on his country's Kurds — despite Mr. Bush's statements that the dictator must go.

Talks on a comprehensive Middle East peace have gone nowhere, despite hopes that the war had altered the regional political equation and despite four exhausting rounds of shuttle diplomacy by Secretary of State James Baker.

"I can't see, and I can't order and it doesn't quite cover the world," grumbled Richard Perle, former assistant secretary of defense and a leading conservative thinker. "It is a speech-writer's slogan. I think it is part of the effort to justify the war."

"One thing is clear. When it was first declared, there was absolutely nothing behind it. And if there's been any subsequent definition, it's been in fits and starts."

The White House official said the phrase arose as the president and his national security adviser, Brent Scowcroft, were studying the world situation last August at Mr. Bush's Ketchikanport, Maine, vacation home.

On Aug. 8, six days after Iraq's troops took over Kuwait, the president listed only four policy objectives in sending U.S. troops to the Gulf: an Iraqi withdrawal from Kuwait; restoration of Kuwait's government; security and stability in the Middle East and the protection of American lives.

By Sept. 11, he had told Congress: "Out of these troubled times, our fifth objective — a new world order — can emerge: a new era, free from the threat of terror, stronger in the pursuit of justice, and more secure in the quest for peace."

Three weeks later, Mr. Bush gave his U.N. speech, urging the organization "to press forward to erp a historic movement toward a new world order and a long era of peace."

On March 6, the president returned to the phrase in a postwar victory speech to a joint session of

Congress.

"Until now, the world we've known has been a world divided — a world of hatred, war and concrete block conflict and Cold War," Mr. Bush said. "Now we see a new world coming into view. A world in which there is a very real prospect of a new world order."

In the words of Winston Churchill, "A world order in which the principles of justice and fair play protect the weak against the strong. A world where the United Nations — freed from Cold War restraints — is poised to fulfill the historic vision of its founders."

But in a speech five weeks later at the Air War College in Montgomery, Ala., Mr. Bush seemed to be backpedaling from any implication in his March 6 address that in the future the United States would be willing to defer to the United Nations in international crises.

"I'm not talking here of a blueprint that will govern the conduct of nations or some supernatural structure or institution," he assured his Air Force audience.

Mr. Tresek theorizes that such assurances are meant to soothe conservatives who distrust the United Nations or the notion that the world can be organized through such organizations.

Many conservatives have insistently recalled from Mr. Bush's talk of a new world order for just that reason. Among them is Kim Holston, director of foreign policy and defense studies at the Heritage Foundation.

"It's just misleading, and it raises expectations for things that cannot happen," he added. "It was used to raise expectations about possibly having a new world order in the Middle East, and that is not going to

happen. It implies almost limited interventionism on our part."

For that reason, the phrase also sounds suspicious to some Europeans who, like the Chinese, wonder whether 'new world order' isn't just Mr. Bush's way of saying the United States — freed of the Soviet threat and emboldened by the war with Iraq — is ready to reprise its pre-World War I global role.

Robert Gates, deputy national security adviser and Mr. Bush's nominee for CIA director, appeared to be answering that concern when he gave a speech in Vancouver, British Columbia, on May 7 to the American Newspaper Publishers Association.

"The new world order is neither a Pan American nor a euphemism for the U.S. as world policeman," he insisted.

Mr. Wells of the Wilson Center speculates that Mr. Bush has seized on the idea of a new world order in part because of the criticism he endured early in his administration, when he was accused of having no "vision." But like Mr. Holston of the Heritage Foundation, Mr. Wells worries that the result could be disappointing.

Mr. Steinbruner, however, contends that Mr. Bush has come up with an excellent way both to acknowledge the end of the Cold War and to convey the idea that in just countries can cooperate in arms control, economics and settling disputes between nations.

In fact, he said, many experts are so taken with new world order that they're hard at work trying to dig Mr. Bush's definition and preserve it.

"So far, it's basically a slogan that became important in the course of explaining 'why we're in this war,' but don't knock that," Mr. Steinbruner said. "Most of the future of this phrase is in the hands of it."

**This invitation was sent to Republican contributors
throughout the United States in May 1991.**

*President and Mrs. George Bush
Vice President and Mrs. Dan Quayle
and*

*The Republican Members of the
United States Senate
and House of Representatives
cordially invite you to attend*

The 1991 President's Dinner

*on
Thursday, the thirteenth of June
Nineteen hundred and ninety-one
at*

*The Washington Convention Center
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*Six p.m. Cocktail Reception
Seven p.m. Dinner
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★ THE PRESIDENT'S DINNER ★

Over the past decade, The President's Dinner has become the premiere political event at which Republicans from across our great nation gather to honor our President and First Lady.

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Your support and participation in The 1991 President's Dinner is essential if we are to show that America stands behind George Bush and the values which made our victory possible.

George Bush's leadership has reinvigorated America. He's bolstered our pride. He's given us back our ability to defend our principles and our beliefs. And he's done it without hesitation and without compromise.

Now, our President faces greater tasks. And he must have help from like-minded men and women in the U.S. House of Representatives and the U.S. Senate who can help him establish the "new world order" he seeks. Each dollar raised at The President's Dinner, goes directly to helping these candidates. Those who will use their votes to help our President promote the policies and principles that are guiding America into the next century.

Please join us in thanking President and Mrs. Bush by taking an active role in making this year's President's Dinner a victorious celebration!

FOREIGN AFFAIRS

AN AMERICAN QUARTERLY REVIEW



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decision to the 15 men at The Hague, as may be seen from the very few countries that are willing to accept the Court's compulsory jurisdiction without crippling reservations. In the two cases now before the Court—one involving the "cod war" between Iceland and the United Kingdom, the other the French nuclear tests in the Pacific—the "defendant" countries, Iceland and France, have even refused to appear. In part, this reluctance to accept the Court's jurisdiction reflects lack of confidence in the competence and independence of some of its judges, but even if all of them had the intellectual and moral qualities of Solon of Athens the deeper problem would still remain. Nations are reluctant to risk adverse judgments at the hands of third parties they cannot control; moreover, they are reluctant to commit themselves to have their controversies decided according to rules of international law that may be of doubtful legitimacy, incapable of alteration as circumstances change, and uncertain of general enforcement.

If instant world government, Charter review, and a greatly strengthened International Court do not provide the answers, what hope for progress is there? The answer will not satisfy those who seek simple solutions to complex problems, but it comes down essentially to this: The hope for the foreseeable future lies, not in building up a few ambitious central institutions of universal membership and general jurisdiction as was envisaged at the end of the last war, but rather in the much more decentralized, disorderly and pragmatic process of inventing or adapting institutions of limited jurisdiction and selected membership to deal with specific problems on a case-by-case basis, as the necessity for cooperation is perceived by the relevant nations. Such institutions of limited jurisdiction will have a better chance of doing what must be done to make a "rule of law" possible among nations—providing methods for changing the law and enforcing it as it changes and developing the perception of common interests that is the prerequisite for successful cooperation.

In short, the "house of world order" will have to be built from the bottom up rather than from the top down. It will look like a great "booming, buzzing confusion," to use William James' famous description of reality, but an end run around national sovereignty, eroding it piece by piece, will accomplish much more than the old-fashioned frontal assault. Of course, for political as well as administrative reasons, some of these specialized

AUGUST 3, 1975

BOSTON, MASS.

SUNDAY HERALD ADVERTISER.

James Reston

Fear of WWII Eases

By JAMES RESTON

(C) New York Times News Service

WASHINGTON — At the end of the Helsinki "summit" conference, which was billed as the most spectacular gathering of world leaders since the Congress of Vienna, the main story in the New York Times was that the New York subway fare was going up to 50 cents, and the top headlines in Boston were that Turkey had turned

News Commentary

(Continued on Page Fourteen)

(Continued from Page One)

down a \$50 million handout from the United States and that the Boston Red Sox had won a doubleheader from the Detroit Tigers.

This tells us something about the modern world. The fear of a major world war is no longer the dominating force in people's minds. They apparently are pleased to see by satellite television their political leaders getting out of limousines and smiling through swinging doors, and talking about peace rather than war, but they are more interested in jobs, prices, and other tangible things nearer home.

So it is easy to be skeptical and even cynical about the noble principles of the Helsinki Summit Conference. They were little more than a repetition of the promises of the United Nations Charter, which have been ignored and violated for more than a generation, but probably there is nothing wrong in repeating them now, and they can be put to the test in an atmosphere that is quite different from the mood of the San Francisco Conference 30 years ago.

The immediate test lies in Portugal and the Middle East. The "spirit of Helsinki," like the "spirit of Camp David" under Eisenhower, and the "spirit of Glassboro, N.J." under President Johnson was that the big powers should forget the past and work together for a new world order, but the atmosphere of suspicion is almost as great now as it was in 1945.

At that time, the Soviet Union was suffering from the effects of the most savage war in history, with tens of millions of its people killed and most of its industrial plants destroyed. It was living under the dominion of fear, and determined to believe that the United States was bent on its destruction.

THE TRAGEDY OF these last years of the third quarter of the century is that the Soviet Union consistently misjudged the mind and policy of America. It simply could not believe that the United States, with a monopoly of atomic weapons, would not keep on producing them. (After the Hiroshima and Nagasaki bombs, Washington's stockpile, despite its monopoly, was exactly zero). Moscow could not understand that the most powerful nation in the world would rebuild the enemy countries of Japan and Germany, unless it intended to encircle and destroy the Soviet Union.

Even when the USSR was invited to join in the reconstruction of both Western and Eastern Europe under the Marshall Plan, it refused to do so in the fear that America, like France in the days of Napoleon and Germany in the days of Hitler, was out to destroy Russia, even after Eisenhower, against Churchill's advice, held his troops back from deep penetration into Eastern Europe.

A Declaration Of INTERdependence

WHEN IN THE COURSE OF HISTORY the threat of extinction confronts mankind, it is necessary for the people of The United States to declare their interdependence with the people of all nations and to embrace those principles and build those institutions which will enable mankind to survive and civilization to flourish.

Two centuries ago our forefathers brought forth a new nation; now we must join with others to bring forth a new world order. On this historic occasion it is proper that the American people should reaffirm those principles on which the United States of America was founded, acknowledge the new crises which confront them, accept the new obligations which history imposes upon them, and set forth the causes which impel them to affirm before all peoples their commitment to a Declaration of Interdependence.

We hold these truths to be self-evident: that all men are created equal; that the inequalities and injustices which afflict so much of the human race are the product of history and society, not of God or nature; that people everywhere are entitled to the blessings of life and liberty, peace and security and the realization of their full potential; that they have an inescapable moral obliga-

tion and the health and happiness of mankind.

WE AFFIRM that a world without law is a world without order, and we call upon all nations to strengthen and to sustain the United Nations and its specialized agencies, and other institutions of world order, and to broaden the jurisdiction of the World Court, that these may preside over a reign of law that will not only end wars but end as well that mindless violence which terrorizes our society even in times of peace.

WE can no longer afford to make little plans, allow ourselves to be the captives of events and forces over which we have no control, consult our fears rather than our hopes. We call upon the American people, on the threshold of the third century of their national existence, to display once again that boldness, enterprise, magnanimity and vision which enabled the founders of our Republic to bring forth a new nation and inaugurate a new era in human history. The fate of humanity hangs in the balance. Throughout the globe, hearts and hopes wait upon us. We summon all Mankind to unite to meet the great challenge.

— Henry Steele Commager
October 24, 1975

The Boston Globe

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Toward a new world order

Ever since the onset of the Cold War, the world has been waiting for a Soviet leader to say some of the things Mikhail Gorbachev said yesterday at the United Nations.

Gorbachev's speech was suffused with a sense of historical change. Conditions in the world are changing so swiftly, he said, that old modes of international relations have become not merely obsolete, but suicidal.

He called for a "new world order" founded not on force, but on dialogue. As a good-faith gesture, he announced unilateral cuts in Soviet troops and conventional weapons in Europe, promising to convert the remaining forces to a purely defensive posture.

He offered proposals for international cooperation in disarmament, settling regional conflicts, healing environmental wounds, and management of a debt crisis that burdens both developed and developing countries.

The changes Gorbachev has already wrought within the Soviet Union and in the Kremlin's foreign policies lend plausibility to his invocation of "an era when progress will be shaped by universal human interests."

In an appeal to reason, he cited nuclear

weapons, the global economy, environmental ravages, and the integrating influence of international mass media as conditions that obligate world leaders to accept the principle of "unity in diversity."

His pursuit of arms-control accords is a response to the nuclear threat. The domestic thaw that he calls glasnost supports his assertion that modern communications rules out "the preservation of any kind of closed society." His call for an international conference to foster a demilitarized and neutral Afghanistan after Soviet troops depart illustrates his paraphrase of John Donne: "The bell of every regional conflict tolls for all of us."

Of course, the next US administration cannot make policy based on noble sentiments expressed in a speech to the General Assembly. George Bush and his advisers will have to evaluate Gorbachev's concessions and proposals.

Nevertheless, the next American president must realize that new hope for a more peaceful world order has been raised by a Soviet leader who grasps the need to "seek a different road to the future."

BB
12/8/88

2/25/90

New World Order Galloping Into Position

By Don Oberdorfer
Washington Post Staff Writer

"History has suddenly picked up," Soviet President Mikhail Gorbachev said last week. He was speaking about Germany, but the sensation of remarkable historic change goes far beyond that one nation.

A new world order is taking shape so fast that governments as well as private citizens find it difficult just to absorb "the gallop of events," in the apt phrase of Soviet journalist Stanislav Kondrashev. It seems almost impossible to see where they are leading some of the world's most important countries and people.

Some things, though, are fairly clear, even at this early date:

■ A united Germany, a seeming impossibility a year ago and officially "not on the agenda" of European leaders three months ago, is a virtual certainty within a short time, perhaps as early as this spring or summer. "It's like a train hurtling at 60 miles per hour down the tracks and there is no engineer," said a senior U.S. official, who called the German situation President Bush's greatest immediate challenge.

■ The victorious allies of World War II—the United States, Soviet Union, Britain and France—have resurrected their wartime alliance in a four-power framework to deal with the international repercussions of German unity. Meanwhile, the Soviet postwar alliance known as the Warsaw Pact is collapsing and its western counterpart, the NATO alliance, is under stress, searching for new arrangements in Germany and a justification for continued U.S. military involvement.

■ The Soviet Union is undergoing traumatic internal change, referred to by experts of the U.S. Atlantic Council as a "general crisis of Soviet society," which has sharply diminished Moscow's ability to apply military or political power beyond Soviet borders and has raised major questions about the future Soviet role in the world.

■ East European countries, cut loose from control of Moscow after four decades of subservience, are struggling to establish new policies and relationships. To some extent, said a U.S. policy-maker, they are reverting to historical patterns, "like actors coming back from a 40-year intermission" and resuming their pre-World War II roles.

The post-Cold War era in Europe is in some respects similar to the adjustment periods that followed the battles of World War I and World War II, a senior U.S. official said. As before, there is a tendency

involved, including Gorbachev, has claimed authorship of the "two-plus-four" formula by which the four wartime allies will deal with the two Germanies. Secretary of State James A. Baker III took the key role in negotiating the accord announced by the six governments in Ottawa Feb. 13. Baker's role in Ottawa and Bush's NATO troop cut proposals last May and this January suggest that U.S. political leadership continues to be expected and perhaps required in the new era. But the United States has yet to find a way to stay ahead of fast-unfolding events.

Neither the United States nor its global rival, the Soviet Union, today has anything like the predominant power it exercised in the 1940s and 1950s.

The United States, beset by vast budgetary and trade deficits, is increasingly dependent on others for its economic health. According to former assistant secretary of the Treasury Fred Bergsten, the emergence of a unified Germany at the center of an economically united Europe will mean that five or 10 years from now the United States will be just one of three relatively equal and competitive economic superpowers, along with the new Germany and Japan.

The Bonn government's reported decision last week to extend its currency, the mark, into East Germany on a one-to-one basis with the ostmark touched off alarms in Washington as well as European capitals because of the potential impact on global financial markets, including the market for the U.S. government bonds that support the U.S. budget deficit. "We still talk as if we were an autonomous economy," said Princeton Prof. Robert Gilpin, "but our interest rates are now determined by the rest of the world." And, he added, "Germany will be in the driver's seat in Europe."

Only three months ago, Bush and Gorbachev agreed at Malta that any move toward German unification should be a gradual process, not to be accelerated by outside forces. Heedless of the international consensus, however, the German process plunged ahead at unexpected and uncontrolled speed since then.

The hectic pace has been set, not by governments but by the thousands of East Germans who have fled to the west each day, close to 100,000 since Jan. 1, threatening a collapse of the East German regime even before the March 18 election which is widely expected to bring a surge toward unification. In response, the Bonn government moved quickly with emergency steps, including the currency neom-

U.S. officials said this weekend's Bush-Kohl meetings at Camp David are an effort to explore emerging issues with Bonn before policy lines are set. To that extent, the sessions may be an antidote to the German tendency to act first and consult later, a pattern that to some is a disturbing omen for Germany's new era.

The epicenter of change in Eastern and Central Europe is Moscow, whose reversal of positions permitted the dramatic realignments in East Germany, Poland, Hungary, Czechoslovakia, Bulgaria and Romania, the other members of the Soviet-led Warsaw Pact.

But in the past three months, the Soviet Union itself has been shaken as never before by domestic tremors: strong and probably unstoppable drives toward accession in the three Baltic states annexed by Moscow in a deal with the Nazis in 1939; the outbreak of ethnic violence between Moslem Azerbaijanis and Christian Armenians that was suppressed by massive and bloody domestic use of the Red Army; the national political upheaval led by Gorbachev that is downgrading the role of the Soviet Communist Party and creating new centers of power in a real legislature and, Gorbachev hopes, a strong presidency.

"The colossal metamorphosis in the Soviet Union seems to have no limit," said an official who recently accompanied Baker to Moscow. "The greatest surprise, he said, is that there seems to be almost nothing the Soviets won't consider—'the red lines simply aren't there' in either internal or foreign policy, the official said.

The Soviet Union will not be as important as before in international politics because it has lost the ability to maintain aggressive armies outside its borders, according to Walter Russell Mead, of the World Policy Institute, the author of a recent article on shifts in Europe. Nonetheless, Mead added, "any place with 10,000 nuclear warheads cannot be ignored."

As was often the case with imperial Russia, Mead said, the Soviet Union will continue to have a major voice in a multi-power Europe, being able to throw its weight to one or the other side of an issue that is weighing in the balance, such as Germany's future military relationships. Moreover, a U.S. official noted, Moscow continues to have significant influence in Central America, Africa, Asia and other areas of the global periphery because, like the United States, it remains a global power with important connections.

Starting with the Malta summit

not to confront or embarrass the Soviet leaders as they continue their reformist ways.

To some extent the "two-plus-four" framework for working on external aspects of German reunification was an effort to assure the Soviet Union of a respected voice in establishing the new international era, according to a senior State Department official. In the several months preceding the Ottawa announcement of the new forum, Moscow sent at least a half-dozen diplomatic messages to Washington asking for convening of four-power talks about aspects of the German future.

The dramatic changes in Eastern Europe have all but eliminated the buffer zone of compliant and comradely regimes that had been created and preserved by the exercise of Soviet power since World War II. Largely because of the overwhelming Soviet preoccupation with its own internal developments, the shifts seem to have had less impact in Moscow than in the West.

"If I were to tell you that we were glad to see communist parties retreating from their positions, it would not be honest," Soviet Foreign Minister Eduard Shevardnadze said in a recent interview in Moscow. "We do feel sorry and unhappy, but we respect the choice made by the people. We intend to cooperate with the governments that will be elected . . . I don't think anything of catastrophic impact will happen."

It seems likely that Social Democrats, traditionally the bitter enemies of Communists, will come to power in most of the East European countries in this year of elections, and perhaps in Germany as well. But Shevardnadze did not find this a daunting prospect for Europe's new age.

Noting that Leninism grew out of Social Democratic roots, Shevardnadze said the split between the two political movements "is the subject of special consideration" in Moscow. "Our paths went apart in the past, but maybe some time in the future they'll converge again."

Gorbachev already has gone a long way toward eliminating the "democratic centralism," or dictatorial control, that made Bolshevism so very different from political systems of the West. The recent Central Committee plenum in Moscow, which voted to eliminate the Communist Party's leading role in government and society, adopted a "humane, democratic socialism" as its principal slogan. Several days later Central Committee spokesman Nikolai Shishlin said in an interview with Religion International

Bush holds secret to 'new world order'

AFA speech likely to be enlightening

By Richard Whittle
Dallas Morning News

WASHINGTON — Visiting China last month, U.S. foreign policy expert John Steinbruner was surprised that so many Chinese scholars he met posed the same question.

"They wanted to know what 'new world order' meant," said Steinbruner, director of foreign policy studies at the Brookings Institution, a non-partisan public policy institute in Washington.

"They wanted to know if we thought this is a rhetorical phrase hiding a plan for American hegemony."

David Trask, former chief historian of the State Department, said experts with-

speeches. The first was an address to the U.N. General Assembly on Oct. 1.

"We have a vision of a new partnership of nations that transcends the Cold War," Bush told the U.N. delegates, "a partnership based on consultation, cooperation and collective action, especially through international and regional organizations, a partnership united by principle and the rule of law and supported by an equitable sharing of both cost and commitment."

Such talk reminds many of President Woodrow Wilson's idealistic quest after World War I to do away with international conflict by constructing the ill-fated League of Nations. Yet no one knows exactly what Bush means or how his quest for a new world order might reshape U.S. actions abroad.

"It's a hot issue, in the sense that everybody's curious about what the content of this 'new world order' phrase is, and is there a concept behind it?" said Samuel Wells, deputy director of the Woodrow Wilson International Center for Scholars in Washington.

"If the Chinese find out," he added, "I hope they'll tell us."

"It isn't new, and it isn't order and it doesn't quite cover the world," said Richard Perle, former assistant secretary of defense and a leading conservative thinker. "It is a speechwriter's slogan. I think it was part of the effort to justify the war."

"One thing is clear: When it was first declared, there was absolutely nothing behind it. And if there's been any subsequent definition, it's been in fits and starts."

The White House official said the phrase arose as Bush and his national security adviser, Brent Scowcroft, were studying the world situation in August at Bush's Kennebunkport, Maine, vacation home.



'We have a vision of a new partnership of nations that transcends the Cold War . . . a partnership united by principle and the rule of law and supported by an equitable sharing of both cost and commitment.'

President Bush

SPECIAL REPORT

in the government are equally in the dark.

"Talking to my friends around who are part of the national security apparatus, there's a lot of discussion of this," he said. "He's been very vague as to what the content of this is."

The curious should get some enlightenment tomorrow, when Bush is to deliver a commencement address at the U.S. Air Force Academy in Colorado Springs.

Marlin Fitzwater, his press secretary, has "billed this as a defense and 'new world order' speech," said another White House official.

Decision-makers and academics around the world are intrigued and perplexed by the phrase, which President Bush began using last year during the months before the Persian Gulf war.

"They don't ask this much about just every phrase he uses," Steinbruner said.

Since he first used it publicly on Sept. 11, Bush has elevated the expression to a foreign policy term of art, increasing its importance by using it in several key

THIS IS ORDER?

- **THE SOVIET UNION** is beset by economic and political crises that threaten its collapse as a nation, which could mean chaos and suffering throughout Europe and Asia.
- **THE ROAD FROM** communism to capitalism in Eastern Europe has proven full of potholes, from rising unemployment to ethnic and nationalist feuds.
- **PRESIDENT SADDAM HUSSEIN** remains in power in Iraq.
- **TALKS ON A** comprehensive Middle East peace have gone nowhere.

Please see ORDER on 9A

DENVER POST TUES, MAY 28, 1991

**Use of the phrase
“new world order”
continues.**

**Questions about its meaning
also continue.**

The Post-Register

East Idaho
★ Final ★

EAST IDAHO'S HOME PAPER — 99 YEARS OF SERVICE

Idaho Falls, Idaho, Friday, Oct. 12, 1979

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2 Sections — 20 Cents



AP Wirephoto

Demands 'new world order'

UNITED NATIONS' — Cuban President Fidel Castro gestures Friday as he addresses the United Nations General Assembly.

Mineral price increase could

Fidel Castro demands 'new world order'

By JOHN BAUSMAN
Associated Press Writer

UNITED NATIONS (AP) — Fidel Castro, finger waving in the air and angry fist thumping the lectern, demanded a "new world order" and dressed down the United States today for "aggressive" and "exploitative" policies around the world.

But the bearded Cuban president, addressing the U.N. General Assembly for the first time since he spoke here as a brash young revolutionary leader 19 years ago, declared: "I have not come here as a prophet of revolution; nor have I come here to ask or wish that the world be violently convulsed."

He said that instead he was here "to speak of peace and cooperation among the peoples, and I have come to warn that, if we do not peacefully and wisely solve and eliminate the present injustices and inequalities, the future will be apocalyptic."

Applause

Castro's two-hour address, which dwelt at length on the disparities between the world's rich and poor, drew applause more than a dozen times and ended to a 1½-minute standing ovation and shouts of "Fidel! Fidel!" from the 152-member Assembly, which is dominated by Third World nations.

U.S. Ambassador Donald F. McHenry and other members of the U.S. delegation stayed

at 47th Street, four blocks north of the U.N. entrance, and supporters of the Cuban president were confined to a site one block south of the entrance, at 42nd Street.

By 11 a.m., a half-hour before the speech was scheduled to start, a few thousands anti-Castro protesters had gathered in the plaza.

See also story on A-12.

Following his speech, Castro had a lunch date with U.S. Ambassador Donald McHenry and 30 other dignitaries.

For Castro's scheduled 4½ hours at the United Nations, hundreds of America, Cuban and United Nations security men blanketed the East River headquarters and the surrounding streets. U.N. grounds were closed to the public today.

Patrol river

New York police boats will patrol the river to head off any incidents similar to the 1964 attack on Ernesto "Che" Guevara, Castro's industry minister. As Guevara addressed the General Assembly, anti-Castro Cubans fired a bazooka at the U.N. complex from across the water. The shell fell short and splashed harmlessly into the water. Guevara was killed in 1967 leading a revolutionary band in Bolivia.

Milwaukee Sentinel

In Sports:

- Penn State officially in Big Ten
- Selig elected to Packer board



Jack Gilford, known for his role in 'Cocoon,' died at age 82 Monday.

Wausau

Family in fire to get \$4.5 million / Page 5

TUESDAY MORNING / June 5, 1990

★ ★ EDITION

Gorbachev urges 'new world order'

Soviet president calls for US as partner to work toward goal

Full coverage:

● Gorbachev, hat in hand, comes off as man of the moment.

● Baker heads to Copenhagen to take up with Shevardnadze a plan to allow the USSR to keep troops in East Germany.

● Raisa Gorbachev and Nancy Reagan, meeting in San Francisco, were warmer than they used to be.

● Continuing human rights violations by Soviets condemned in Moscow by watchdog group.

● The initial endowment for the Gorbachev institute in Minnesota is paltry.

See PAGE 2

Sentinel wire services

San Francisco, Calif. — Saying the world should not debate who won the Cold War, Soviet President Mikhail S. Gorbachev called Monday for the United States and Soviet Union to be partners in building "a new world order."

In a speech at Stanford University in the last hours of his six-day visit to the US, Gorbachev said the time was near when nations would dissolve their Cold War alliances and work together "for the whole of our civilization."

Gorbachev, who met earlier in the day with former President Ronald Reagan and later with South Korean President Roh Tae-woo, said the world was approaching a time when the very principle of alliance building "should mean unity to create conditions for a life worthy of a human being — protect the environment, combat hunger, diseases, drug addiction and ignorance."

"In our cooperation to build a bet-

departure the fact that the Cold War is now behind us," Gorbachev said. "And let us not wrangle over who won it, who won the Cold War."

"There can be no winners in the Cold War, just like in a nuclear war ... So any kind of talk about the Cold War being useful to some countries, I think is just political cheating and irresponsibility," Gorbachev told the students, who interrupted him several times with applause and gave him a standing ovation at the conclusion of his speech.

"We must all change," he said, calling for a world marked by "patience and tolerance."

"Tolerance is the alpha and omega of a new world order," Gorbachev said. "Without tolerance and respect for one's partner, without understanding each other's concerns and problems, we are bound to fail. And that calls for the development of a new approach to the structures of security and cooperation and even alliance-building."



AP photo

Former President Ronald Reagan (left), Soviet President Mikhail S. Gorbachev, former first lady

balcony overlooking San Francisco Bay during a sentimental reunion at the Soviet consul general's residence Monday in California.

International

Gorbachev says if West doesn't aid USSR new world order out

Associated Press

OSLO, Norway — Mikhail Gorbachev said yesterday in his Nobel Peace lecture that Western failure to heed his call for economic aid could dash hopes for a peaceful new world order.

Gorbachev also said he expected to sign an arms pact soon to slash superpower nuclear arsenals, and aides said the Soviet president would play host to President Bush in Moscow in the last week of June.

In his most cogent appeal yet for Western aid, Gorbachev said, "To me, it is self-evident that if Soviet perestroika succeeds, there will be a real chance of building a new world order."

"And if perestroika fails, the prospect of entering a new peaceful period of history will vanish, at least for the foreseeable future," he said, using a Russian word for his reforms.

Two hecklers interrupted the Nobel lecture and police said they arrested 30 people who staged street protests against Gorbachev's refusal to allow the Baltic republics to secede.

Gorbachev's delivery of the long-delayed Nobel lecture and news of the summit underscored the resurgence of his domestic and international standing after the bloody Baltic crackdown last January.

Gorbachev seemed to have won Bush's backing to be present in London next month when the Group of Seven leading industrial nations meet. A U.S. source said the Soviet leader likely would meet with the Western leaders outside the actual summit.

The independent Russian Information Agency news service reported the Moscow summit would be held June 25-27. A U.S. source said the dates would be June 24-27.



Soviet President Mikhail Gorbachev makes a point during a joint press conference with Norwegian Prime Minister Harlem Brundtland in Oslo, Norway. Gorbachev's adviser said at the end of the conference that Moscow will host Bush for a summit near the end of June.

On 14A

See editorial, "Gorbachev's pleas should apply at home."

A close aide to Gorbachev, accompanying the Soviet leader to Oslo, Norway, for the Nobel Peace Prize lecture, said, "It'll be at the end of the month. That's sure."

Gorbachev was awarded the 1990 Nobel Peace Prize in December for his part in ending the Cold War by concluding arms pacts, allowing East Europe to shed unpopular Communist regimes, and curtailing proxy wars in Asia, Africa and Latin America.

Ethnic, economic and political crises in the Soviet Union had prompted Gorbachev to postpone his Nobel lecture from its original date of Dec. 10.

And the superpower summit, once set for February, was delayed by the Gulf War and lingering disputes on conventional and nuclear arms.

In his Nobel lecture, Gorbachev reaffirmed his commitment to the peaceful solution of domestic Soviet problems despite the violence sparked by some aspects of perestroika. But he cautioned Western leaders against expecting the Soviet Union to imitate them slavishly.

"Our task is to stay the course while also addressing current everyday problems — which are literally tearing this policy apart — in such a way as to prevent a social and political explosion," he said.

"We are now approaching what might be called the crucial point, when the world community, and above all the states with the greatest potential to influence world developments, will have to decide on their stance with regard to the Soviet Union," Gorbachev said.

It is, he said, "futile and dangerous to set conditions, to say: 'We'll understand and believe you as soon as you, the Soviet Union, come completely to resemble us.'" ■

Valley Times

Saturday, May 18, 1991

(PLEASANTON, CAL.)

Shevardnadze touts U.N.

Soviet statesman sees new role in new era

By Jeanie R. Wakeland
Staff writer

SAN FRANCISCO — Saying "the new era we're in will define the edges of national sovereignty," former Soviet foreign minister Eduard Shevardnadze called for a stronger role for the United Nations in settling world affairs.

Shevardnadze spoke through an interpreter Friday night before several thousand people at the Marriott Hotel. His speech was sponsored by the World Affairs Council and the Tamalpais Institute.

Shevardnadze said the United Nations cannot do anything if its decisions aren't carried out by all members. Nations can be made to feel they "lose" if they go against a U.N. position, Shevardnadze said. "If we can rely on the (U.N.) position, we can build on this for a new world order."



“The new era we're in will define the edges of national sovereignty.”

— Eduard Shevardnadze

"On a global, planetary, ecological, legal basis we must be unified," he said.

As he did in his press conference Wednesday, Shevardnadze opened the possibility of United Nations assistance in settling disputes within his own country, but he discounted the possibility of a civil war.

"With every passing day, I believe the threat of struggle in our own country is declining," he said.

Although it may still be possible for right wing forces in the Soviet Union to retreat into a dictatorship, he said pro-democracy forces' strengths were increasing.

As an example, he cited the agreement of Soviet President Mikhail Gorbachev and the Russian republic president to work together. The union treaty among nine of the 15 Soviet republics was also a step forward in democratization, he said.

As for the other six republics, "we confirm the rights of others' self-determination and freedom of choice."

Shevardnadze thanked the American people for \$1.5 billion in agriculture credits, saying the "Soviet people won't forget the assistance which was extended in a time of crisis."

He urged U.S. business to invest in his country. "The (Soviet) market may emerge more rapidly than you expect. Conditions of the past are being corrected."

Please see VISIT, Page 5A

-
- **President Bush and Mr. Scowcroft did not dream up the phrase in August 1990.**
 - **Mr. Bush has used the phrase extensively without fully explaining what he means by it.**
 - **To convey the notion that he and his national security adviser created the phrase in August 1990 suggests that the president is attempting to hide its true meaning and significance.**
-



President Bush always mentions the United Nations with a “new world order.”

- “Out of these troubled times, our fifth objective — a new world order — can emerge.... We are now in sight of a United Nations that performs as envisioned by its founders.”

— *September 11, 1990*

- “I think what’s at stake here is the new world order... a reinvigorated United Nations.”

— *January 7, 1991*

- [The Gulf crisis] has to do with a new world order. And that world order is only going to be enhanced if this newly activated peacekeeping function of the United Nations proves to be effective.”

— *January 9, 1991*

- When we are successful, and we will be, we have a real chance at this new world order, an order in which a credible United Nations can use its peacekeeping role to fulfill the promise and vision of the UN’s founders.”

— *January 16, 1991*

SELECTED WARNINGS ABOUT A “NEW WORLD ORDER”

From the *Bulletin* of the John Birch Society

Written by Robert Welch

May 1972, Page 10

Or, as fellow *Insider* Mr. James Reston of the *New York Times* enthusiastically puts it, deliberately using the two-hundred years old language and slogan of the Conspiracy — Mr. Nixon cannot become the head of “a new world order” (*Novus Ordo Seclorum*) unless the Communist nations are brought into that world order....

September 1972, Page 29

This plan is to establish — very soon — the first stages of a “new world order.” This will be the *novus ordo seclorum* for which a self-perpetuating inner circle of Conspirators has been working and scheming relentlessly during some six generations....

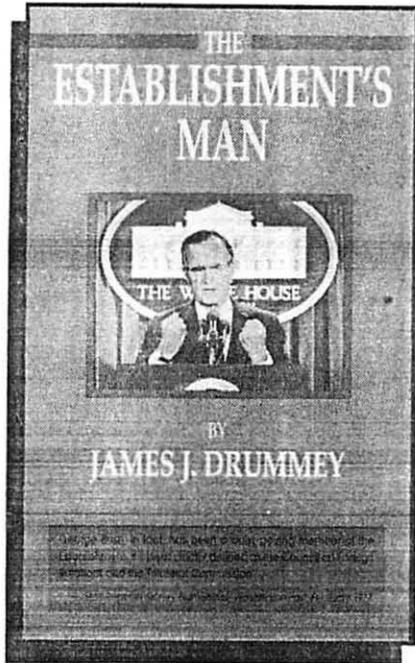
October 1974, Page 28

There should be no surprise for longtime readers of the *Bulletin*, of *American Opinion*, and of *The Review Of The News*, that those plans include the conversion of the United States into a socialist nation...and the merger of that enslaved segment of mankind with other Communist nations into a *New World Order*. That goal, under that very name — originally written in bastardized Latin as *novus ordo seclorum* — has been envisioned by a Master Conspiracy for the past two hundred years as the ultimate product of all its crimes against humanity, and of all its subversive onslaughts against western civilization.



The founder of The John Birch Society repeatedly warned about a conspiracy's plan to create a "new world order."

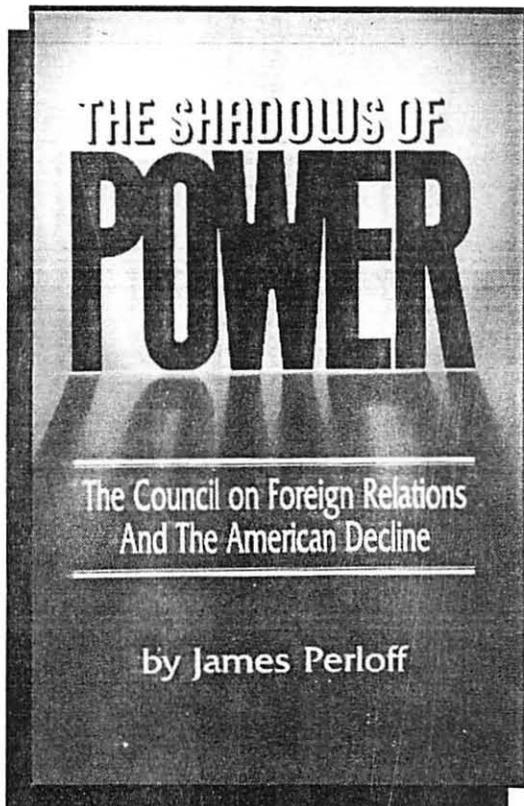
He knew that the phrase meant socialistic world government.



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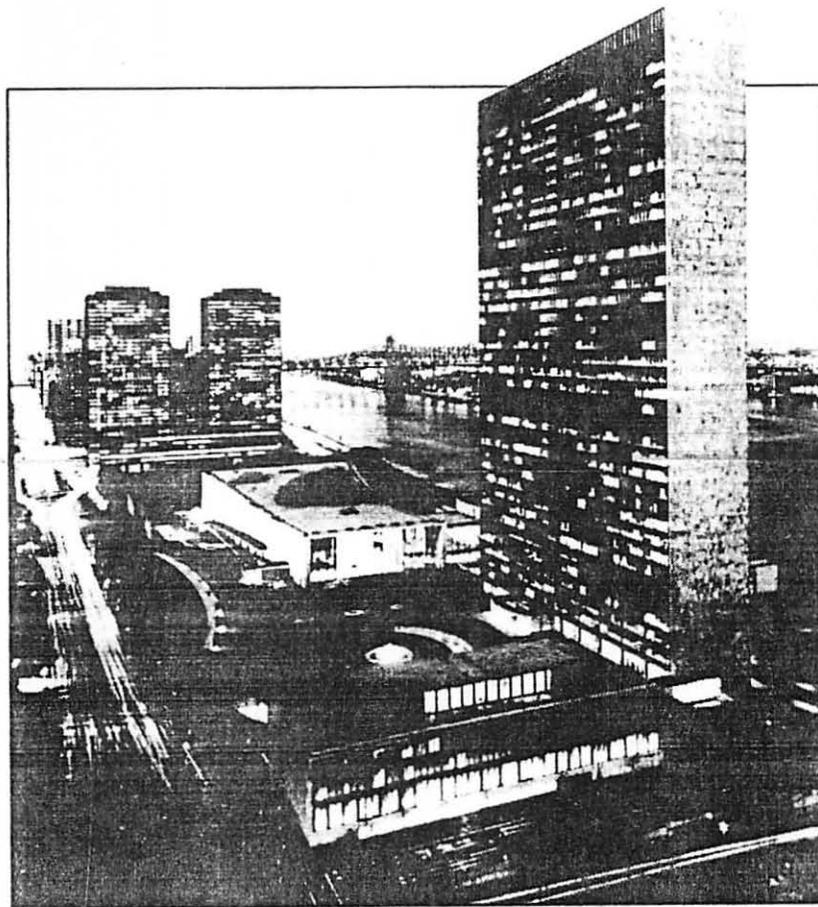
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“A New World Order” Means World Government

by John F. McManus



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