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Excerpts from Statements and Reports by
Boutros Boutros-Ghali
Secretary General of the United Nations
1 January 1992 - 31 December 1993
Includes cover Memorandum from
Robert Cohen, UNICEF Speech Writer, to Executive Staff

New York
27 April 1994

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MEMORANDUM

Date: April 27, 1994
To: Executive Staff
From: Robert Cohen *Bob*
Speech Writer
Subject: Quotes from SG

Attached for your information is a draft collection of quotes from Secretary-General Boutros Boutros-Ghali's speeches on a broad range of issues. It may be included in a forthcoming edition of Notes for Speakers issued by the UN's DPI.

You may find useful quotes for speeches and other purposes.

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QUOTES FOR SPEAKERS
An addendum to Notes for Speakers

Excerpts from Statements and Reports by
Boutros Boutros-Ghali
Secretary-General of the
United Nations

1 January 1992 - 31 December 1993*

* Note: quotes only
- thru end '93

Cc: Margaret Plunk
S-900 /x 4121

FOREWORD

In 1989, the UN Department of Public Information began publishing a series of background papers called "Notes For Speakers" for the use of people speaking or writing on topics of concern to the United Nations.

More recently, DPI has received requests from users of that series for a book containing excerpts from the policy statements of the Secretary-General on the central challenges that the United Nations is facing today.

In response to these requests, DPI has compiled the present collection. It consists of excerpts from speeches and reports by Secretary-General Boutros Boutros-Ghali between January 1992 and December 1993. They cover many of the major issues before the Organization, such as peace-keeping and peacemaking, democracy, human rights, the advancement of women, development, disarmament, Africa, the role of non-governmental organizations and the future of the United Nations. As such, this collection of excerpts deals with questions which involve us all.

As chief executive and chief administrative officer of the United Nations, the Secretary-General reports regularly to the Security Council, the General Assembly and other United Nations organs on items on their agendas and submits to the General Assembly a general annual report on the work of the Organization. But he is also the Organization's chief representative to the public, called upon to make numerous speeches every year to intergovernmental organizations, public affairs councils, universities and journalists' groups on general and specific topics. Taken together, his statements constitute a wide-ranging commentary on the problems faced by the international community and a permanent record of the United Nations efforts to realize the goals set down in its Charter.

These quotations are also coincidentally a guide to the diversity of issues that UN deals with, and they also provide a sense of the rapidly evolving role of the United Nations in the last two years.

It is our hope that this collection will provide an easy reference on the United Nations for speakers and writers, helping them to make its work better known and understood.

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THE ROLE OF THE UNITED NATIONS

"An Organization denied authority in the past is now called upon to act. We must decide when, and how, to make such action just, and sensible, and effective in the right kind of cause."

29 October 1993

"The United Nations is the only institution capable of comprehensively addressing global problems in all their political, humanitarian and socio-economic dimensions. In the new climate of international relations, we must not miss the opportunity to develop the necessary consensus and the necessary policy instruments to do this job."

Speech to Conference on Global
Development Cooperation, Carter Center,
Atlanta, GA., 4 December 1992
(SG/SM/4872).

"A new chapter in the history of the United Nations has begun. With newfound appeal the world Organization is being utilized with greater frequency and growing urgency. The machinery of the United Nations, which had often been rendered inoperative by the dynamics of the Cold War, is suddenly at the center of international efforts to deal with unresolved problems of the past decades as well as an emerging array of present and future issues...

"The spirit of the UN Charter was kept alive for decades under very difficult circumstances. Hope has been crucial; achievement is now required. Beyond declarations, beyond position-taking, the time is here to look at ideas as plans for action. Beyond restructuring, the culture of the United Nations must undergo a transformation."

Empowering the United Nations.
Foreign Affairs, Winter 1992/93.

"Today, in a new era, the United Nations is taking on unprecedented responsibilities. The limited peace-keeping role of the past is being expanded into new political fields: what I call peacemaking and peace-building. The old rigid compartmentalization --the divisions between security and development--is being superseded."

Speech at the United Nations University,
Tokyo, 18 February 1993 (SG/SM/4931)...

"When the cold war ended, a system of international relations also departed. When troubles arose, States turned to the United Nations. The United Nations was a foundation-stone already in place...

"There are three basic challenges to the international community: to understand the nature of the new post-cold war role of the United Nations; to make the commitment of human and financial resources necessary for the United Nations to do the job; and to give clear, comprehensive mandates to the Organization when new challenges arise."

Address to the American Publishers
Association, Washington, D.C.,
25 March 1993 (SG/SM/4952).

"The cold war is in the past. The present calls for a new framework of world cooperation. The problems of the past are not the same as the problems of today. In place of two opposing ideologies are many ethnic, cultural, linguistic and religious conflicts. In place of one vast nuclear threat are fears of ambush, rape and random shelling. In place of the competition to win the race for third world development, we find indifference and neglect. In place of deterrence and containment as strategies for global stability, the United Nations is expected to step in everywhere but rarely with the resources required to succeed."

Kreisky Lecture, entitled "The
Foundations of World Progress: A Fresh
Look", Vienna, 11 June 1993
(SG/SM/5007).

"We can see in recent events the relationship between the individual, the State and the global society in which we all now participate. In the course of the modern era one or another of these three has tended to be the primary focus, to the relative neglect of the others.

"At one time the individual was seen as having little need for State institutions. At other times the State has been exalted as the supreme object of human effort and sacrifice. And at still other times, the demise of the State has been predicted and an almost transcendental globalism has been promoted as the ultimate goal of life. We are fortunate today to see before us, in the theatre of history, a more integrated vision. The individual has been reaffirmed as the creative source of economic progress, political expression and artistic and intellectual achievement. States and their sovereignty are increasingly recognized as indispensable building-blocks of international order and problem-solving. **Cooperative global integration is now an inescapable fact and requirement for all the world's peoples. This is anything but utopian; it is an effort to address compelling problems by**

practical methods, to produce the cooperative community that can manage global change.

"The globalization now taking place requires a profoundly renewed concept of the State. Between the isolated individual and the world there must be an intermediate element, an organized community that enables the individual to participate in the life of the world. This element is the State and its national sovereignty. They respond to the need of all human beings for identification. In a world both impersonal and fragmented, such a need is greater than it ever has been in history.

"Individuals find identity in nations. And nations should find identity in universalism. There is no international community if there are no nations. So the opposition between nationalism and globalization is to a large extent false.

"In Chapter I of the Charter of the United Nations the founders proclaimed the intention 'to develop friendly relations among nations based on respect for the principle of equal rights... of peoples'. This is the foundation of a well-ordered internationalism. National sovereignty is the art of rendering unequal power equal. Without State sovereignty, the very instrument of international cooperation might be destroyed and international organization might itself become impossible. States are not the only actors in the international arena; they must be part of regional associations and global organizations. Together they provide the framework for collective security and cooperative progress.

"Thus from every angle of vision, chronological, practical, functional, conceptual, individual and institutional, we come to one conclusion: humanity's project is now truly universal, and to cope with it we must fashion comprehensive and integral projects, policies and efforts.

"The character of the challenges and realities I have outlined here make clear that the world Organization--the United Nations--is indispensable. Only the United Nations has the universal character, the global convening power and the extensive networks which cover virtually every international function in the service of all peoples."

Report of the Secretary-General on the Work of the Organization, September 1993.

"The world needs the United Nations. But the world is not sure what sort of United Nations it needs. Misconceptions and misunderstandings about the United Nations must be overcome.

"The United Nations is not, could not, and should not be a world government. Nor is it a legislative chamber for the redistribution of wealth. It is not a strong bureaucracy with an agenda of its own. It is not a sub-contracting agency for international security. It has no military capacity outside the authority and the forces which Member States provide.

"The United Nations is a political body. Its authority rests entirely upon the Charter. The United Nations is an instrument to be used. It is what its Member States decide it is. It represents what sovereign States agree it can do.

"In the past, the United Nations key asset was its moral authority, not its executive capacity...

"Today, the mandates given by the Members include Chapter VII enforcement measures. This means that the United Nations has been required to take forceful action on behalf of the international community. And people -- civilians as well as military personnel from Member States -- have been killed.

"This is unsettling for those accustomed to the old United Nations. But the new United Nations is simply being what it always has been: the instrument of its Members. An Organization denied authority in the past is now called upon to act. We must decide when, and how, to make such action just, and sensible, and effective in the right kind of cause."

Statement at the UNA-USA Global Leadership Award
in Washington, D.C., 29 October 1993
(SG/SM/5145/Rev.1).

"Governments of the world need the United Nations more than ever. That is the reality. In the world we face today, the United Nations is indispensable -- not only for the weak, but for the strong nations of the world. The reasons for this are increasingly clear:

"-- More and more problems are global. The United Nations is the global forum for issues such as environment and world health. It provides as well the mechanism and the network to address such issues on a global scale.

"-- With the end of the cold war competition, problems of development have less political appeal to powerful nations. But the United Nations is universal. It is able to speak to the needs of all, regardless of political gain.

"-- And we face a world in which local conflicts, however terrible, seem to pose no immediate threat to the national security of any single great Power.

"But some such conflicts must be addressed. If they are not, the entire fabric of international peace and security will weaken. Danger will come towards us step by step, over time. It will be no less dangerous for the indirect way in which it comes.

"Of course, the United Nations cannot, and should not take up every problem. But we are required to try to construct a realistic basis for international relations. And the United Nations offers a way to do so."

Statement at the UNA-USA Global Leadership Award, 29 October 1993 (SG/SM/5145/Rev.1).

"The United Nations will not be able to rise to the challenge it faces unless Member States meet their financial commitments. If we are to be successful, the Secretariat and Member States must work closely and harmoniously together. The United Nations cannot resolve the major problems on the international agenda without political will. And nothing is more indicative of the political will of Member States than their performance in meeting their financial obligations towards the Organization."

Statement to the General Assembly Fifth
Committee (Administrative and Budgetary),
24 November 1993 (SG/SM/5162).

"Our goals are clear: an end to the devastation of war, an end to poverty and underdevelopment, an end to dictatorship and autocracy. These have been characteristics of much of this century. Much of the causes of destruction are, unfortunately, still with us, yet the work of construction and reconstruction cannot wait. At the United Nations, we want to clear away the ruins of the past and build a new and firm foundation. We are fortunate that many nations are committed to this goal. Our methods are clear: a democratic, efficient United Nations, working for consensus-based action by Member States, through multilateralism, well understood.

"Multilateralism is joint action by the members of the international community. It does not mask the domination, economic or military, of one group of States. Nor should multilateralism allow States to benefit from global security without sharing their burden. Multilateralism is a way for all States to join in creating the post-cold-war order. It is the hope for today and the way of tomorrow. Multilateralism is the policy expression of the idea of the United Nations."

Statement to the Foreign Correspondents Club,
Tokyo, 20 December 1993 (SG/SM/5184).

PEACE

"Peace-keeping, development, and democracy are being redefined and extended in the post-cold war world. The connections between them are beginning to emerge. We will need a new level of understanding. And we will need a new depth of commitment..."

16 March 1993.

"Preventive diplomacy seeks to resolve disputes before violence breaks out; peacemaking and peace-keeping are required to halt conflicts and preserve peace once it is attained. If successful, they strengthen the opportunity for post-conflict peace-building, which can prevent the recurrence of violence among nations and peoples.

"These four areas for action, taken together, and carried out with the backing of all [UN] Members, offer a coherent contribution towards securing peace in the spirit of the Charter..."

"The demands on the United Nations for peace-keeping, and peace-building, operations will in the coming years continue to challenge the capacity, the political and financial will and the creativity of the Secretariat and Member States. Like the Security Council, I welcome the increase and broadening of the tasks of peace-keeping operations..."

"Peacemaking and peace-keeping operations, to be truly successful, must come to include comprehensive efforts to identify and support structures which will tend to consolidate peace and advance a sense of confidence and well-being among people..."

"There is an obvious connection between democratic practices--such as the rule of law and transparency in decision-making--and the achievement of true peace and security in any new and stable political order. These elements of good governance need to be promoted at all levels of international and national political communities."

An Agenda for Peace. Report of the Secretary-General, June 1992.

"Peace-keeping... was not specifically defined in the charter but evolved as a non-coercive instrument of conflict control at a time when Cold War constraints prevented the Security Council from taking the more forceful steps permitted by the charter..."

"One of the lessons learned during the recent headlong

expansion of U.N. peacekeeping is the need to accelerate the deployment of new operations. Under current procedures, three or four months can elapse between the Security Council's authorization of a mission and its becoming operational in the field. Action is required on three fronts: finance, personnel and equipment."

Empowering the United Nations.
Foreign Affairs, Winter 1992/93.

"Peace-keeping, development, and democracy are being redefined and extended in the post-cold war world. The connections between them are beginning to emerge. We will need a new level of understanding. And we will need a new depth of commitment."

Speech to World Affairs Council,
Boston, MA., 16 March 1993
(SG/SM/4944).

"The United Nations has launched more peace-keeping operations in the last four years than it did in the first 43. Today the United Nations is involved in 13 peace-keeping operations in five continents..."

"Rescuing failed States may become an inherent part of second-generation peace-keeping. It will require long, complex and costly missions which, by their very nature, involve the United Nations in the internal affairs of the country concerned. Complicated military tasks must be complemented by measures to strengthen institutions, encourage political participation, protect human rights, and promote economic and social development."

Address to the American Publishers
Association, Washington D.C., 25
March 1993 (SG/SM/4952).

"Peace-keeping operations must be followed and consolidated by peace-building measures designed to make peace a reality and reassure people.

"In this connection, I attach the utmost importance to the role of the United Nations in establishing democracy--democracy for all peoples and all nations. The United Nations is already actively involved in this general trend, inter alia, through the provision of electoral assistance to many States.

"Between October 1991 and March 1993, the United Nations

received more than 35 election-related requests for technical assistance or the sending of observers. This desire for democracy is shared by all continents: the African States, Asia, Eastern Europe and Latin America.

"It can never be repeated enough: democratic practices are the best guarantee of lasting peace."

Address to Great and General Council, Republic of San Marino, 16 April 1993 (SG/SM/4979).

"Peace-keeping operations are taking on new tasks, and little by little their nature is changing.

"Because of the magnitude of the tasks entrusted to them, these operations are often far more than peace-keeping exercises. They may also involve electoral assistance, humanitarian assistance, administration management, the promotion of democracy or the protection of human rights. Their scope has become such that it is no exaggeration to speak of the birth of a new generation of peace-keeping operations."

Speech to Grandes Conférences Catholiques, Brussels, 22 April 1993 (SG/SM/4985).

"Today we are beginning to see the task of the United Nations as indivisible: the promotion of peace and security in all its aspects. And as a key part of that view of the world, we are understanding that peace, development and democracy are interrelated, indeed mutually reinforcing."

Message to the Conference of the Rajiv Gandhi Foundation, New Delhi, 1 May 1993 (SG/SM/4989).

"The demands of peace require the support of all. The more clearly the United Nations is understood, the deeper will be the commitment of peoples to its work. Public support gives legitimacy to our diplomacy for peace.

Address to the Austrian Parliament, Vienna, Austria, 16 June 1993 (SG/SM/5014).

"The new face of peace operations involves several aspects: one, preventing the occurrence of conflicts through diplomatic missions, goodwill offices and arbitration; two, maintaining a cease-fire by separating the parties in a conflict and supervising their disarmament; three, supervising the delivery of humanitarian aid, protecting food and medicine convoys, escorting refugees and displaced persons into safety; four, enforcing the peace when the Security Council decides that such a step is required--if force is only the last resort, it is more, not less, likely to be required; five, rehabilitating the population, by supervising the return of refugees, assisting the most vulnerable, and helping put people back to work; and, six, building peace. In the first phase, this means reconstruction of infrastructure damaged in the fighting, demining the fields, supervising elections and helping in the transition to democratic government. Next must come structures to encourage understanding and interdependence, to remove the original causes of conflict."

Statement to the Foreign Correspondents Club,
Tokyo, 20 December 1993 (SG/SM/5184).

Nationalism and Sovereignty

"Now that the cold war has come to an end we must work to avoid the outbreak or resurgence of new conflicts. The explosion of nationalities, which is dividing countries with many ethnic groups, is a new challenge to peace and security. Could the United Nations discharge its responsibilities if, instead of being composed of 166 States, it had double that number of members? Nationalist fever will increase ad infinitum the number of communities claiming sovereignty, for there will always be dissatisfied minorities within those minorities that achieve independence. Peace, first threatened by ethnic conflicts and tribal wars, could then often be troubled by border disputes.

"The United Nations will have to adopt a new strategy to respond to the irredentist or pro-autonomy claims of ethnic and cultural communities. It will have to take into account the abundant supply of arms, the aggravation of economic inequalities between different communities and the flow of refugees."

Statement to the Summit Meeting of the
Security Council, 31 January 1992.
(SG/SM/4691/Rev.1).

"We have entered a time of global transition marked by uniquely contradictory trends. Regional and continental associations of States are evolving ways to deepen cooperation and ease some of the contentious characteristics of sovereign and nationalistic rivalries. National boundaries are blurred by

advanced communications and global commerce, and by the decisions of the States to yield some sovereign prerogatives to larger, common political associations. At the same time, however, fierce new assertions of nationalism and sovereignty spring up, and the cohesion of States is threatened by brutal ethnic, religious, social, cultural or linguistic strife. Social peace is challenged on the one hand by new assertions of discrimination and exclusion and, on the other, by acts of terrorism seeking to undermine evolution and change through democratic means."

An Agenda for Peace, Report of the Secretary-General, June 1992.

"While respect for the fundamental sovereignty and integrity of the state remains central, it is undeniable that the centuries-old doctrine of absolute and exclusive sovereignty no longer stands, and was in fact never so absolute as it was conceived to be in theory. A major intellectual requirement of our time is to rethink the question of sovereignty--not to weaken its essence, which is crucial to international security and cooperation, but to recognize that it may take more than one form and perform more than one function."

Empowering the United Nations.
Foreign Affairs, Winter 1992/93.

"Underneath these lessons we have learned in Somalia, lies the crucial concept of the State. We know that nationalism can be dangerous. We know that Sovereignty is not what it used to be. We know that new forms of international organization have come into play. But the state remains the foundation stone. And the international system of States, in formation since the seventeenth century, is the only way we have found to preserve world order and pursue justice and progress internationally."

Address to the Dag Hammarskjöld Fund
of the UN Correspondents Association,
21 September 1993 (SG/SM/5100).

Disarmament

"Few aspects of international life have changed more profoundly in recent years than the pursuit of arms regulation and disarmament.

"Traditionally, disarmament has been perceived as a relatively distinct subject which required its own separate organizational

framework. We now need to realize that disarmament constitutes an integral part of international efforts to strengthen international peace and security.

"Three concepts--integration, globalization and revitalization--can be the foundation-stones of an enhanced international effort in the field of disarmament and arms regulation. Conceptually, none of them is fundamentally novel. Many scholars and theorists have written about them for years. What is new is that these goals are now achievable, provided we take concerted and well-focused actions.

"What is required of States is concerted efforts and broad participation. Let us hope that as future generations look back on this period, they will say that we were truly able to make arms limitation and disarmament a commonplace part of international life.

"There is, in short, a constructive parallel between conflict resolution and disarmament: the two go hand in hand...

"A modest 10 per cent across-the-board reduction in world military spending would save \$95 billion per annum based on 1990 expenditures."

New Dimensions of Arms Regulation and Disarmament in the Post-Cold War Era. Report of the Secretary-General on the Occasion of Disarmament Week, 27 October 1992 (A/C.1/47/7).

"The Convention on Chemical Weapons is the first disarmament agreement negotiated within a multilateral framework. The scope of this multilateral Convention, the obligations assumed by the States parties, and the system of verification envisaged for its implementation are unprecedented. This breakthrough in the process of disarmament is the sign of a definite evolution -- a clearly favourable evolution -- of the international situation."

Speech at Convention on Prohibition of the Development, Production, Stockpiling and Use of Chemical Weapons and Their Destruction, Paris, 13 January 1993 (SG/SM/4900).

"The number of armed conflicts around the world is increasing. This has brought a renewed realization that the process of arms limitation and disarmament must embrace both the acquisition and the use of weapons...

"There is a growing concern over the dangers of nuclear proliferation. I also see tensions escalating in regions where large numbers of weapons have been left over from the cold war. The elimination of such weapons is a major part of the work of the United Nations in post-conflict peace-building in such countries as Cambodia and Somalia...

"Since the incidence of the actual use of weapons has continued, and increased in some parts of the world, measures must

be put in place to monitor trends in military procurement and spending. The establishment of a mechanism for that purpose should be hastened through measures such as the Arms Trade Register at United Nations Headquarters."

Statement to the First (Political and Security) Committee of the UN General Assembly, 9 March 1993 (SG/SM/4938).

"The end of the cold war greatly reduced the threat of nuclear conflagration. But it did not remove the need for disarmament. Conventional arms and weapons left over from the cold war are an important element in local conflicts in many parts of the world. And weapons of mass destruction continue to be produced in vast quantities and marketed to areas of dangerous tension...

"Arms do not create conflict, but when they are readily available--as they are today--they can help turn disputes into wars. Disarmament today has therefore to be seen as part of preventive diplomacy, peacemaking and peace-building. In situations in which the United Nations has brought parties together to negotiate peace, removing weapons--disarmament in its new sense--is a key element in building peace and creating confidence."

Message to the Conference of the Rajiv Gandhi Foundation, New Delhi, 1 May 1993 (SG/SM/4989).

DEMOCRACY

"Real development of a State must be based on the participation of its population; that requires human rights and democracy."

16 March 1993.

"Democratization at the national level dictates a corresponding process at the global level. At both levels, it aims at the rule of law. For national societies, democracy means strengthening the institutions of popular participation and consent, political pluralism and the defence of human rights, including those of minorities. For global society, it means the democratization of international relations and the participation of all States in developing new norms of international life."

Statement at the Summit Meeting of the
Security Council, New York, 31 January 1992
(SG/SM/4691/Rev.1).

"There is an obvious connection between democratic practices--such as the rule of law and transparency in decision-making--and the achievement of true peace and security in any new and stable political order. These elements of good governance need to be promoted at all levels of international and national political communities."

"Democracy within nations requires respect for human rights and fundamental freedoms, as set forth in the Charter. It requires as well a deeper understanding and respect for the rights of minorities and respect for the needs of the more vulnerable groups of society, especially women and children..."

"Democracy within the family of nations means the applications of its principles within the world Organization itself. This requires the fullest consultation, participation, and engagement of all States, large and small, in the work of the Organization... Democracy at all levels is essential to attain peace for a new era of prosperity and justice."

An Agenda for Peace, Report of the
Secretary-General, June 1992.

"Democratization has several dimensions:

"First, democracy within nations. National success in the age of information requires freedom of thought and communication. Social stability is needed for productive growth. This requires conditions in which people can express their will. Strong domestic institutions of participation are necessary.

"Second, democratization among nations. The urgent task of improving our individual societies necessitates peace and cooperation among Governments and their peoples. The United Nations is dedicated to this goal. It is a forum for consensus and a platform for action. The United Nations needs the full engagement of all its Members, large and small. If the present opportunity is to be seized, international cooperation is needed as never before.

"Third, democracy within the family of nations means that its principles must be applied within the world Organization itself....

"Fourth, each level of international activity, public and private, has a part to play. Non-governmental organizations, academics and business communities, the media and the public at large all must be involved."

Remarks to Parliamentarians for Global
Action, New York, 20 November 1992
(SG/SM/4856/Rev.1).

"It is not only because of the end of the cold war that democracy is favoured around the world. Democracy is seen in an increasingly positive light because the world has entered the age of information. Only democratic structures can foster the open intellectual environment that the economics of this new era demands. Today, economic progress requires access to information, right of expression and the necessity for popular participation.

"Democratization and communication thus are inseparable--and necessary for sustainable development."

Speech to Conference on Global Development
Cooperation, Carter Center, Atlanta, GA., 4
December 1992 (SG/SM/4872).

"Real development of a State must be based on the participation of its population; that requires human rights and democracy. To ensure such an achievement, democratization must not only take hold inside a State, but among States in the international community. Key factors are international law, human rights, and United Nations assistance to democratization...

"Without peace, there can be no development and there can be no democracy. Without development there can be no democracy and,

lacking basic well-being, societies will tend to fall into conflict. Without democracy, no real development can occur. And without such development, peace cannot long be maintained."

Speech to Boston World Affairs Council,
Boston, MA., 16 March 1993 (SG/SM/4944).

"Democracy is not a word that appears in the Charter. But with the opening words 'We the Peoples of the United Nations,' democratization is built into the world Organization. Whether or not its Member States are democracies themselves, they are joined in a structure of equal representation.

"Democratization is the thread which runs through all the work of the Organization. Within nations as much as within the family of nations, democracy should underpin the structures of international peace and security."

Address to the American Publishers
Association, Washington D.C., 25 March 1993
(SG/SM/4952).

"It can never be repeated enough: democratic practices are the best guarantee of lasting peace."

Address to Great and General Council,
Republic of San Marino, 16 April 1993
(SG/SM/4979).

"Throughout most of this century and the last, democracy was regarded as something possessed by a few fortunate States and practiced within their borders. The international scene was defined by power politics. A balance of power provided an international system for the nations of the world; democracy among States was not considered possible.

"The United Nations Charter offered a new vision. With its opening words, 'We the Peoples of the United Nations,' democratization was built into the world Organization. Even States which were not democratic joined a world parliament in which all were equal in their vote."

Kreisky Lecture, entitled "The
Foundations of World Progress: A Fresh
Look", Vienna, 11 June 1993 (SG/SM/5007).

"Only democracy, within States and within the community of States can truly guarantee human rights. It is through democracy that individual rights and collective rights, the rights of peoples and the rights of persons, are reconciled. It is through democracy that the rights of State and the rights of the community of States are reconciled."

Statement at the opening of the World Conference on Human Rights, Vienna, 14 June 1993 (SG/SM/5012).

CONFLICT AREAS

"If one State is allowed to fail, if the United Nations does not demonstrate resolve, we will soon face the breakdown of international order. The United Nations must preserve the survival of its Members in distress..."

21 September 1993.

Ethnic Conflict

"No country today, and particularly multi-ethnic countries, can afford to ignore ethnic conflict. Borders and oceans can no longer insulate people at home from the consequences of such violence abroad. 'Boat people' may become tomorrow a global problem.

"Just as biological disease spreads through a body, and as an epidemic spreads geographically, so also a political disease can spread through the world. When one State is endangered by ethnic conflict, others will be endangered as well."

Statement to the National Defense University,
Seminar on Ethnic Conflict, 8 November 1993
(SG/SM/5152/Rev.1).

"At least three types of internal conflicts can affect international interests. They call for the concern--and perhaps the action--of the international community. First, when conflict within a State threatens to cross borders. Second, when conflict within a State creates a grave humanitarian emergency. Third, when conflict challenges fundamental principles of the international order. If the international community fails to deal with such conflicts when they are small, it may have no choice but to deal with them when they are large."

Statement to the African-American Institute on the
occasion of the award to the Secretary-General of
the Arthur A. Houghton Jr. Star Crystal Award for
Excellence, 9 November 1993 (SG/SM/5153).

"The cold war is over. Today we look at a different landscape. Ethnic conflict now generates new and vicious forms of violence. Appalling barbarity, cruelty, human rights violations and crimes of war have taken place.

"The current wave of conflict is the consequence of the collapse of cold war security structures. The world was not prepared for it.

"What is the United Nations to do? When the United Nations was founded, the world accepted the principle of non-intervention in

"civil war" -- and any conflict within the borders of a State could be considered a civil war.

"The system of international security set forth at San Francisco in 1945 was based on the assumption that United Nations action can take place only when international peace and security is endangered:

- When one State attacked another;
- When civil war escalated into international war; or
- When whole populations were targeted for genocide.

"Today, we face a new question: is ethnic conflict a threat to international peace and security? ...

"All ethnic conflict is deplorable. But not all ethnic conflict threatens world peace. The United Nations cannot and should not try to solve every such problem.

"But ethnic conflict can cause a body politic to fail. It can cause a State to collapse.

"When ethnic conflict erupts, should the world Organization of States be concerned?

"What should the United Nations do? I see four categories for action: education, economics, human rights, military.

"There is the role of education. The United Nations can help States understand that diverse cultural patterns require recognition. This, in turn, requires a willingness to negotiate with and among such groups. Negotiations take time. They also require a long-term view of the future...

"The United Nations also has a vital economic role. Development in all its aspects may be the most pressing item on our agenda...

"Human rights are essential.

"Before conflict breaks out, an effective human rights environment, backed by international support, can ease tension and forestall violence.

"When conflict has broken out, urgent steps to provide human rights for oppressed populations must be part of any comprehensive effort to restore stability.

"And when conflict has been halted, strong measures are needed to call to account those who have systematically deprived others of human rights...

"Finally, the United Nations, under the Charter, has an inescapable military role. Meeting the new challenge of ethnic conflict will require a full range of techniques.

"These include:

"-- Peace-keeping as it has been created over recent decades - when a cease-fire has been agreed and parties to a conflict desire a United Nations presence;

"-- Preventive deployment, not only to discourage cross-border hostilities, but also in situations of crisis within a country. Such action could alleviate suffering, maintain security, and create conditions in which negotiations can take place;

"-- Observers to deter violence, build confidence, and monitor agreed arrangements between groups;

"-- And peace enforcement operations. If peaceful efforts

fail, the concept of collective security contained in the Charter calls for military action to maintain or restore international peace and security. Such action should only be taken after the most serious deliberation, and under clearly defined terms. But when such actions are taken, Member States must be aware of the dangers involved. And they should be prepared to stand up to the consequences and stay to the course".

Statement to the National Defense University and the Joint Center for Political and Economic Studies, Washington, D.C., 8 November 1993 (SG/SM/5152/Rev.1).

"When I took office as Secretary-General, the world eagerly turned to the United Nations to deal with these [ethnic] conflicts. But solutions have not come quickly, or easily, or without cost. In the face of continuing problems, many people now express second thoughts. They say that these conflicts are driven by forces -- cultural, religious, historical -- that outsiders cannot hope to understand or resolve. They say that lasting solutions are not possible. As one upheaval follows another, frustration seems endless.

"They say that burdens are unequal. The age of alliance solidarity seems part of the past. And they say that those helped are ungrateful. To sacrifice in such circumstances seems foolish...

"These are charges produced by frustration, not by fact. It would be a distinct error to suppose that no options exist between general inaction and widespread intervention. We must find the answer. We must locate the balance between prudence and over-extension.

"To this end I want to assess with you United Nations peace operations of the past two years. A multiplicity of operations is under way: Angola, Somalia, Cambodia, El Salvador, former Yugoslavia, Haiti, Mozambique...

"The press calls all these operations "peace-keeping". But each is different. Each is something more than traditional peace-keeping as it evolved through recent decades. So it is important to avoid confusion in terminology.

"-- Peace-making means negotiation. It seeks to bring hostile parties to agreement. It uses peaceful means, under Chapter VI of the Charter.

"-- Peace-keeping is a United Nations presence in the field, with the consent of the parties. It has generally been used to maintain a cease-fire.

"-- Peace enforcement may be needed when peaceful means fail. It may involve coercion and risk. It is provided for in Chapter VII of the Charter. Without a credible peace enforcement capability, collective security cannot become a reality.

"-- Peace-building is critical in the aftermath of conflict. It means support for structures which solidify peace and build

trust and interaction among former enemies.

"And peace-building can take the form of nation building -- to re-build a State capable of sustaining its sovereignty and serving its people...

"The key to our success is our understanding of, and commitment to, multilateralism and the multilateral force. To be effective, what should a multinational force be? And what should be its mandate? A United Nations peace operation:

"-- Must be recognized as impartial and representative. Therefore many nations must participate;

"-- Must appear free of political or economic motive. Therefore -- unless authorized by the Security Council -- no one country's forces or commanders should dominate the operation;

"-- Must achieve unity within multilateralism. This holds true where they must be one command, as in Somalia. But today there is more than one command in Somalia;

"And it holds true as well when several commanders are needed within one operation, as in the former Yugoslavia. There, peace-keeping, peace enforcement and preventive deployment are all taking in different locations in the same area of operations.

" -- And an accepted time-frame is highly desirable for a peace-keeping operation. Troop-contributing countries are entitled to know, to the extent possible, the length of their obligations. By the same token, they should be expected to carry out that obligation in full...

"As we survey the range of peace operations, one point requires our particular attention: when peace-keeping must become peace enforcement -- and when a peace enforcement operation should shift back to peace-keeping. This is the area between Chapter VI and Chapter VII. For the first time in United Nations history, we are mapping that area today. What the past two years demonstrate is the need for pre-arranged flexibility. Peace-keeping may need to become peace enforcement, as in Bosnia and Somalia. And in some situations peace enforcement may need to be transformed into peace-keeping.

"While all this goes on, peacemaking must never stop. The search for a political solution is a continuing imperative. As every local politician knows, political solutions do not occur in a vacuum. Peace-building comes first. Then nation building is essential. There have been many frustrations and failures of nation building in the past. But nation building is indispensable for international peace and security...

"The United Nations must use its influence and resources with great caution and care. But when governments face the most dire circumstances of disaster, as in Cambodia, or when all semblance of a State simply vanishes, as in Somalia, then the international society of States and its United Nations instrument, must be concerned to act."

Statement at the United States Military Academy,
West Point, 18 November 1993 (SG/SM/5159).

Cambodia

"The successful conduct of the recent election in Cambodia represents an affirmation of the important contribution United Nations peace-keeping operations can make to resolving complicated situations even in the face of serious obstacles."

Report of the Secretary-General on the Work of the Organization, September 1993.

El Salvador

"The case of El Salvador is a prime example of the need for a fully integrated approach by the United Nations system as a whole to the requirements of peace-building in countries emerging from long years of armed conflict. A cease-fire and a successful election are not enough to claim success that is only assured when the necessary political, economic and social measures have been taken to eradicate the underlying causes of the original conflict."

Report of the Secretary-General on the Work of the Organization, September 1993.

Former Yugoslavia

"In the former Yugoslavia, 54 United Nations soldiers and civilians have been killed. Over 585 soldiers and civilians have been wounded. More than 24,000 soldiers and over 3,000 civilians serve under the United Nations flag. Through the efforts and sacrifice of these men and women from all parts of the world, the United Nations has: assisted 3.6 million refugees; fed 2.3 million people; supplied desperately needed help for thousands of sick and wounded; and delivered over 145,000 tons of food and medicine. The cost to the United Nations already has exceeded \$2.5 billion.

"The United Nations remains engaged. Much has been accomplished. More is needed. So long as human misery is politically exploited, so long as human suffering remains a deliberate aim, the United Nations will speak out. Those who are responsible for the crimes must be pursued. They must be punished. The international community must show it has the will to match its words.

"The rape of women must be stopped. The targeting of

civilians must be stopped. The execution of prisoners must be stopped. The slaughter of infants, the sick and the elderly must be stopped. Most horribly, these atrocities are committed as a matter of policy. They must be stopped."

Remarks by the Secretary-General at opening of the exhibition on the former Yugoslavia, "Faces of Sorrow", jointly sponsored by TIME Magazine and the United Nations, New York, 21 September 1993 (SG/SM/5101).

"In the former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia, for the first time ever in United Nations history, military units have been deployed as a measure of preventive diplomacy."

Report of the Secretary-General on the Work of the Organization, September 1993.

"For the first time in the history of the United Nations, the Security Council decided, on the basis of Chapter VII [of the UN Charter]--which deals with the enforcement of peace--to create a Tribunal for war crimes. This Tribunal (the International Tribunal for the Prosecution of Persons Responsible for Serious Violations of International Humanitarian Law Committed in the Territory of the Former Yugoslavia since 1991) will be limited to the crimes which have been committed in former Yugoslavia since 1991 until such time as the Council decides the end of the mission of the tribunal. We have asked different Member States to propose a list of judges. The choices will be presented to the General Assembly, which will select from among a number of judges. The final decision will be taken by the Security Council. We will have to name a Prosecutor."

Transcript of press conference following address to Austrian Parliament, 16 June 1993, (SG/SM/5023).

"The experience of UNPROFOR [UN Protection Force] in Bosnia and Herzegovina and, to a lesser extent, in Croatia has raised serious questions about the wisdom of deploying blue helmets in situations where the parties are unable or unwilling to honour commitments they enter into and where the peace-keepers themselves become targets of attack..."

"In Bosnia and Herzegovina, the considerable peace-keeping and humanitarian effort of the international community has not brought an end to the brutal conflict, and the daily horrors inflicted on suffering civilians remain an affront to the world's conscience."

Report of the Secretary-General on the Work of the Organization, September 1993.

Somalia

"There are five lessons we have drawn from Somalia...

"First, the media contributed, to a very large extent, to bringing the Somali problem to world public attention. The country was in chaos. There was famine, disease, murder and mayhem. Yet apart from the voluntary aid agencies and the United Nations, few seemed concerned. Then the journalists came in, the camera crews landed and Somalia became the important story that it is today. It may not be too much to say that hundreds of thousands of Somalis owe their lives today to the work of the world media...

"A second lesson of Somalia is that there is no money-back guarantee of success. It is a hard task which we have set ourselves. This time last year 3,000 people were dying every day in Somalia. This year, we have proceeded with food deliveries, people in most of the country have started to organize themselves, agriculture is gradually getting restarted and the country is beginning to rebuild. In south Mogadishu, the situation is different. We cannot proceed with peace-keeping and later with peace-building efforts before the militias are disarmed. That takes time, and it has a cost in human life--a cost that will always be too high. There have been setbacks in Mogadishu, and there have been successes elsewhere in the country...

"Third, in Somalia we confront a novel situation: the Failed State. In Somalia, what we saw was the disappearance of a Member State of the United Nations. The United Nations cannot morally or politically stand by as forces of chaos and corruption bring a legitimate state to an end. We are bound by universal ethical principles, and by the terms of our Charter. We are obliged to help restore the sovereignty, integrity and independence of Somalia. This reconstruction involves disarming militias, providing relief, and helping rebuild a war-torn society. Before the State, Hobbes said, life was 'nasty, brutish and short'. The international system of States cannot let chaos return to the world.

"Fourth, the Somalia operation presents us deep-rooted difficulties. We must have the staying power to see the operation to its end.

"If the forces of chaos and corruption conclude that the United Nations is short of breath, they will prevail by waiting for the world to turn its attention elsewhere. And one Somalia would be followed by others... If one State is allowed to fail, if the United Nations does not demonstrate resolve, we will soon face the breakdown of international order. The United Nations must preserve the survival of its Members in distress...

"Fifth and finally, the United Nations must have the resources to do the job. We face a paradox. Even as the world expects the United Nations to be stronger, it allows it to grow financially weaker. Earlier, more decisive and comprehensive action for Somalia would have reduced the need for the size and cost of the operation required today...

"Underneath these lessons we have learned in Somalia, lies the crucial concept of the State. We know that nationalism can be

dangerous. We know that sovereignty is not what it used to be. We know that new forms of international organization have come into play. But the State remains the foundation stone. And the international system of States, in formation since the seventeenth century, is the only way we have found to preserve world order and pursue justice and progress internationally ."

Address to the Dag Hammarskjöld Fund of the UN Correspondents Association, 21 September 1993 (SG/SM/5100).

"While everyone has seen the images of unrest on the streets of south Mogadishu, most people do not see the images of peace and reconciliation that prevail elsewhere in Somalia. They do not see the rebuilding and reconstruction...

"In Baidoa, in Bardhera, in Belet, in Marka, and elsewhere, we have shown that collective action can be an active force for good, and not merely a defensive shield against evil. Starvation has ceased. Schools are beginning to function again. Children are being vaccinated against disease...

"Baidoa illustrates why the United Nations presence in Somalia does matter. It demonstrates that beyond the international spotlight now focused on South Mogadishu, peace and reconstruction is genuinely taking place in Somalia."

Statement to the African-American Institute on the occasion of the award to the Secretary-General of the Arthur A. Houghton Jr. Star Crystal Award for Excellence, 9 November 1993 (SG/SM/5153).

Liberia

"The peace process in Liberia poses a special opportunity to the United Nations in that UNOMIL [UN Observer Mission in Liberia] would be the first peace-keeping operation undertaken by the United Nations in cooperation with a peace-keeping mission already set up by another organization, in this case a subregional organization [the Economic Community of West African States (ECOWAS)]."

Report of the Secretary-General on Liberia, 9 September 1993 (S/26422).

South Africa

"The United Nations -- which is committed to facilitating the negotiating process (in South Africa) has spared no effort in bringing about peace and reconciliation. In July 1992, while the country was engulfed in endless recriminations, turmoil and politically motivated violence, the Security Council offered a

forum to South African political leaders to state their positions. At the same time, it urged them to renounce violence and remove the remaining obstacles to resume negotiations. At the request of the Council, I deployed United Nations observers to assist in the strengthening of the mechanism of the National Peace Accord. Other international and regional organizations were invited likewise to send their own observers.

"Today, it is generally recognized that these timely decisions and actions by the United Nations and other international organizations have helped in reducing political tension in South Africa. They have also had a positive impact on the political situation in the country...

"We are at the dawn of a new era in South Africa. An era marked by a desire for reconciliation and renewed determination to overcome difficulties of all kinds through negotiation and dialogue, which have already resumed.

"Chance mishaps, admittedly, have occurred in the past. No one can predict the future. One fact is certain: for the first time, one can see the light at the end of the tunnel in South Africa...

"The day will come when South Africa, a land that is so rich and so tormented, will have overcome the upheaval of the transition. In its restored dignity, the abundance of its means and the commitment of a people reconciled with itself. South Africa will be able then to look to the future with confidence. Its victory, of course, will, first of all, be the victory of all South Africans, and all Africans. But it will also be the victory of mankind as a whole."

Statement to the Special Committee
Against Apartheid in observance of the
International Day for the Elimination
of Racial Discrimination, 22 March 1993
(SG/SM/4948/Rev.1).

Question of Palestine

"It has long been held that the search for a comprehensive, just and lasting settlement in the Middle East should be accompanied by an effective role by the international community in promoting economic and social development in the occupied Palestinian territories...

"A concerted effort by the international community, including the United Nations, regional organizations, donor countries and non-governmental organizations is essential in order to help resuscitate the economy of the occupied territories. Urgent needs are evident in all sectors, both in terms of policy guidance and operational assistance. Well-conceived and clearly targeted action,

if undertaken swiftly, could stem further economic decline and social fragmentation and lay the basis for the recovery and sustainable growth of the Palestinian economy."

Message to the United Nations Seminar on Assistance to the Palestinian People, held at UNESCO Headquarters, Paris, 26 April 1993 (SG/SM/4988).

"I have also been seriously alarmed by the reports of the rapid worsening of the socio-economic situation in the occupied territories. As the Palestinian economy is weak and highly dependent on that of Israel, the livelihood of the Palestinian communities suffered further damage when Israel closed off the occupied territories in March 1993. I have appealed to the international community to provide greater economic assistance to the occupied territories."

Economic and Social Consequences of the Establishment of Settlements by Israel in the Palestinian Territory, including Jerusalem, Occupied since 1967, and the Syrian Golan. Report of the Secretary-General, 8 July 1993 (A/48/188).

"The Secretary-General warmly welcomes the agreement on mutual recognition that has been reached by the Government of Israel and the Palestinian Liberation Organization. This is an historic achievement which deserves the wholehearted support of the entire world community. The conflict, which for decades preceded this breakthrough, was a cause for the most serious concern with regard to the maintenance of international peace and security.

"The United Nations stands ready to assist the parties as the process represented by this achievement proceeds towards a just and lasting peace throughout the Middle East."

Statement issued by the Spokesman for the Secretary-General, 10 September 1993 (SG/SM/5082).

HUMAN RIGHTS

"The Charter not only recognizes the importance of fundamental human rights, equality and the intrinsic value of each and every human being: it sees them as the essential foundation of true progress and lasting development..."

26 March 1993.

"Full human dignity means not only freedom from torture, but also freedom from starvation. It means freedom to vote as it means the right to education. It means freedom of belief as it means the right to health. It means the right to enjoy all rights without discrimination. And true development requires a solid basis of democracy and popular participation."

Message on the occasion of the observance
of Human Rights Day, 10 December 1992
(SG/SM/4878/Rev.1).

"Human rights, equal rights and government under law are important attributes of democracy. With participation, social and economic development become meaningful; with freedom of speech and of thought civil institutions become durable. Individual involvement in the political process enhances the accountability and responsiveness of governments. Governments which are responsive and accountable are likely to be stable and to promote peace."

Address to the American Publishers
Association, Washington D.C., 25 March 1993
(SG/SM/4952).

"In recent years, the United Nations has ventured into an entirely new field: long-term, nationwide monitoring of human rights. The first example was in El Salvador, in the context of the peace agreement which brought an end to the armed conflict in that country. A second is under way, with the Organization of American States (OAS), in Haiti. A similar endeavor is foreseen as part of the Vance-Owen plan for Bosnia and Herzegovina."

Speech to World Affairs Council,
Boston, MA., 16 March 1993
(SG/SM/4944).

"Human rights, as viewed at the universal level, bring us face-to-face with the most challenging dialectical conflict ever: between 'identity' and 'otherness', between the 'same' and 'the other'. They teach us in a direct, straightforward manner that we are at the same time identical and different...

"As an absolute yardstick, human rights constitute the common language of humanity. Adopting this language allows the peoples of the United Nations to understand others and to be the authors of their own history. Human rights, by definition, are the ultimate norm of all politics...

"Every day we see how discredited human rights and the United Nations itself would be, in the eyes of the world, if the declarations, covenants, charters, conventions and treaties that we draft in order to protect human rights remained theoretical or were constantly violated. Human rights should therefore be covered by effective mechanisms and procedures to guarantee and protect them and to provide sanctions."

Statement at the Opening of the World
Conference on Human Rights, Vienna,
14 June 1993 (SG/SM/5012).

UN efforts on behalf of human rights

"The United Nations Commission on Human Rights and the United Nations Centre for Human Rights are examples of the United Nations as both advocate and actor.

"In addition to conducting research and providing information on human rights, the Centre increasingly has contributed to the implementation of conventions and participated in the investigation of human rights abuses. A growing number of requests have come from Member States for human rights assistance and technical advice. These include preparing for elections, drafting constitutions, strengthening domestic human rights laws, enhancing judicial structures and providing training and other support facilities for human rights officials.

"Within the Secretariat, electoral assistance has been a high priority. The Electoral Assistance Unit of the Department of Political Affairs has now provided assistance to 36 Member States. These efforts have helped bring an end to conflict. They have facilitated decolonization. They have supported self-determination. And they have smoothed the transition to democracy."

Remarks to the 46th Annual Conference of the
Department of Public Information for NGOs,
8 September 1993 (SG/SM/5076).

Apartheid

"Apartheid and violence are blood brothers. Eliminating apartheid and eliminating violence are part of the same process. Apartheid creates a special desperation. Replacing its legacy of violence with a new spirit of trust and cooperation must be our main challenge now."

Statement to the Special Committee against
Apartheid on the International Day of
Solidarity with South African Political
Prisoners, 12 October 1992 (SG/SM/4832).

Racism

"Opposition to racism and racial discrimination is inherent to the United Nations and its Charter. The Charter not only recognizes the importance of fundamental human rights, equality and the intrinsic value of each and every human being; it sees them as the essential foundation of true progress and lasting development..."

"The struggle against racism is not confined to southern Africa, and it must not be limited to words only. Human rights, including protection against racial discrimination, need to be put into law, and monitored and upheld in practice."

Statement to the Special Committee against
Apartheid, in observance of the International
Day for the Elimination of Racial
Discrimination, 22 March 1993 (SG/SM/4948).

Indigenous Peoples

"The way indigenous people are treated by States and the international community will be a major test of the seriousness of our commitment to a genuinely universal human rights regime. If we are serious about development, political participation and human rights, we must address the special situation of indigenous people."

Statement at the opening ceremonies for the
International Year of the World's Indigenous
People, Human Rights Day, 10 December 1992
(SG/SM/4878/Rev.1).

WOMEN

"Today--more than ever--the cause of women is the cause of all humanity."

8 March 1993

"...promoting the economic capacities of poor rural women is indispensable for development. Without eliminating poverty in the rural areas and discrimination against women, the larger objectives of human development and peace cannot be achieved. Discrimination feeds poverty and poverty feeds conflict. Conflict and poverty reinforce discrimination...

"I come from a continent where women play a central role, perhaps even more than elsewhere, in agricultural activity and providing food for their families. I still have in my mind the vivid images of the face of poverty in the African women and children uprooted because of drought. There is no question that the increasing burden of rural poverty falls most heavily on women. At the same time, poverty cannot be eradicated without the contribution of women."

Statement to the Summit on the
Economic Advancement of Rural Women,
Geneva, 25 February 1992 (SG/SM/4702/Rev.1)

"It may well be that the most far-reaching revolution among the vast social transformations of our time is the large-scale emergence of women in all professions, including public and governmental affairs. It is evident that efforts to improve the status of women in the Secretariat in recent years have not reached anticipated levels. This is not only a matter of equity. The world can no longer afford to deprive its public life of the talents of half of all humanity.

"Entry-level recruitment show excellent results, but this cannot remedy the shortage of women in managerial posts or of female candidates at the political level. For my part, I intend to do all I can to bring the balance in policy-level positions as close to 50-50 as possible by the fiftieth anniversary of the United Nations."

Statement to Fifth (Financial) Committee of
the General Assembly, 12 November 1992
(ST/IC/1992/73).

"While there has been steady progress in the articulation and implementation of women's rights in many countries, a reversion to barbarism has occurred in others. Some countries have seen the use of systematic sexual violence against women as a weapon of war to degrade and humiliate entire populations. Rape is the most despicable crime against women; mass rape is an abomination. It is a symptom of the unrestrained and vicious new form of warfare which is appearing in the wake of the cold war. War today involves more civilian deaths and casualties--including women--than at any time in history. The eradication of such criminal forms of warfare is high on the Agenda for Peace of the United Nations.

We look forward to the Fourth World Conference on Women, to be held in Beijing in 1995. On that occasion, I hope to be able to report progress in the struggle for peace, women's rights and social justice. I hope that the world will, well before then, have taken steps to stop the new barbarism and punish those responsible. The struggle for women's rights, and the task of creating a new United Nations, able to promote peace and the values which nurture and sustain it, are one and the same. Today -- more than ever -- the cause of women is the cause of all humanity."

Message for International Women's Day,
8 March 1993 (SG/SM/4935).

"The disadvantaged position of women in the family, community and society is a major obstacle to improving the quality of life of the population at large. Improvements in the role and status of women, in particular their health, education and participation in economic activity and decision-making at all levels, are central to the achievement of the goals of sustainable development, and to ensuring healthy and productive future generations".

Message to the Ministerial Conference of the South Asian Association for Regional Cooperation (SAARC),
Kathmandu, Nepal, 21 November 1993.

HUMANITARIAN ASSISTANCE

"...it is essential that the United Nations should develop the ability to link humanitarian action and protection of human rights with peacemaking, peace-keeping and peace-building."

September 1993.

"The 1990s have given peace-keeping another new task: the protection of the delivery of humanitarian supplies to civilians caught up in a continuing conflict. This is currently underway in Bosnia-Herzegovina and Somalia, member States whose institutions have been largely destroyed in a confused and cruel web of civil conflicts. This task tests the established practices of peace-keeping, especially the circumstances in which UN soldiers may open fire. Existing rules of engagement allow them to do so if armed persons attempt by force to prevent them from carrying out their orders. This license, used sparingly in the past, may be resorted to more frequently if the United Nations is to assert the Security Council's authority over those who, for personal gain or war objectives, try to rob or destroy humanitarian supplies destined for suffering civilian populations."

Empowering the United Nations.
Foreign Affairs, Winter 92/93.

"Humanitarian emergencies, by causing the mass exodus of people, may constitute threats to international peace and security, or aggravate existing threats; conversely, disturbances of the peace may give rise to humanitarian crises. I stress again that it is essential that the United Nations should develop the ability to link humanitarian action and protection of human rights with peacemaking, peace-keeping and peace-building. In formulating the response to humanitarian emergencies, we cannot ignore the infrastructural requirements of the societies in need. Rehabilitation and reconstruction must accompany emergency relief."

Report of the Secretary-General on the Work of the Organization, September 1993.

"Thus far in 1993, the new coordination arrangements under the [UN] Department of Humanitarian Affairs, have helped launch 17 inter-agency consolidated appeals for over \$4 billion for relief and rehabilitation programmes in some 20 countries, involving assistance to more than 20 million affected people. Only a quarter of the resources appealed for were forthcoming, however, which has considerably hampered the effective implementation of humanitarian programmes...

"From January 1992 to June 1993, the Department of Humanitarian Affairs coordinated the international response to more than 90 natural disasters, including earthquakes or floods in Egypt, Turkey, Indonesia, Kazakhstan and Pakistan. Coordination mechanisms such as search and rescue teams and on-site coordination of relief activities have been strengthened. The ultimate objective is to increase national and local capacities to deal with disasters. Efforts to prevent and mitigate disasters must begin at the grass-roots level if they are to be effective in minimizing the harm caused by natural disasters."

Report of the Secretary-General on the Work of the Organization, September 1993.

Refugees

"The world's refugee population now stands at a staggering 19 million, and the number of internally displaced persons is 25 million. Such is the magnitude of the problem the world faces in 1993. This is a particularly difficult challenge, and the human and material resources of the UN system have been stretched to the limit."

Report of the Secretary-General on the Work of the Organization, September 1993.

DEVELOPMENT

"A new vision of development is emerging. Development is becoming a people-centred process whose ultimate goal must be the improvement of the human condition."

4 December 1992

"Although aid remains important for some purposes, it often goes to the wrong countries and is used for the wrong purposes.

"This needs to be changed. It is imperative that aid flows be used for productive purposes, particularly the development of human, physical and institutional infrastructure. At the present time, only a small fraction of official development assistance (ODA) flows are used for human development, widely recognized as a crucial ingredient of development...

"Global development cooperation is obstructed when national and international agencies number in the hundreds and each goes its own way. Despite conflicting mandates and bureaucratic competition, coordination among donors is possible--and essential. Coordination needs to take place at the regional and field levels. The United Nations system also needs to be better coordinated...

"A new vision of development is emerging. Development is becoming a people-centred process whose ultimate goal must be the improvement of the human condition...

"Through many ups and downs, through many failures and too few successes, the spirit of development as a great human cause has been kept alive. Now we must do everything we can to turn that spirit into practical, visible progress for people in Africa, and people everywhere."

Speech to Conference on Global Development
Cooperation Development, Carter Center,
Atlanta, GA., 4 December 1992 (SG/SM/4872).

"The United Nations also has a vital economic role. Development in all its aspects may be the most pressing item on our agenda. The human dimension of development is crucial. We must never neglect it, yet we must also recognize that it can only be achieved through sound economic practice. Without this recognition, development could become just another form of dependency.

"In this era of ethnic revival, we must ensure that marginal populations are not overlooked in the progress of a State towards development. The United Nations must be on the side of the underdog. As an intergovernmental Organization, the United Nations cannot impose its views on Member States but must use persuasion, consensus-building and collective action. To be lasting and

effective, such effort must be comprehensive. The United Nations is uniquely placed to serve the world's many peoples in this regard."

Statement to the National Defense University,
Seminar on Ethnic Conflict, 8 November 1993
(SG/SM/5168).

"Development can help prevent conflict from breaking out. By engaging people's energies positively, development can absorb the impact of differences, can ease confrontations and can help avoid economic and social deterioration...

"Under conditions of conflict, development cannot go forward. In its place come humanitarian relief and assistance to people made hungry, driven from their homes or otherwise harmed by the fighting. Such relief efforts, even when successful, conclude with a situation that is worse than before conflict began.

"When conflict has stopped, true development once again has a chance to take root. Post-conflict peace-building can start. But the development effort must not simply continue from the point reached when conflict began. New approaches are needed. Devastation, however terrible, will have cleared the way for new ideas and a fresh start."

Kreisky Lecture, entitled "The
Foundations of World Progress: A Fresh
Look", Vienna, 11 June 1993 (SG/SM/5007).

"Beyond an 'Agenda for Peace'--peace-keeping, peace-making and peace-building--the United Nations is working on 'An Agenda for Development'. Peace-keeping has been and remains the most prominent United Nations activity. But development has, over the years, been some 80 per cent of United Nations activity.

"Here too, in the field of development, comes a new recognition. Development, too, requires a comprehensive approach. Social, political and environmental dimensions must be integrated with economic efforts."

Statement to the Parliament of Ukraine,
Kiev, 18 June 1993 (SG/SM/5018).

"Development is now understood to involve far more than economic policy and resources. Political, social, educational and environmental factors must be considered. The old models of development have proved inadequate. A new, workable and widely agreed concept of development still escapes us. Until it is

achieved, the United Nations will lack a complete foundation for the future.

"Development must be based on the participation of the people. That requires human rights and democracy. Democracy must be a feature of political organization. It must also take hold among States in the international community. Democracy within States can be fully sustained over time only if it is linked to expanding democratization among States. And democracy must run through all levels of the international system."

Statement to the Foreign Correspondents Club,
Tokyo, 20 December 1993 (SG/SM/5184).

Hunger

"Hunger is a global issue. Its existence violates that most basic of human rights -- the right to survival. And it is our responsibility as an international community to guarantee that right. The United Nations is central to this task because the solutions must be comprehensive. Food security requires an across-the-board effort. Its political, social, economic and technological factors all must be involved and integrated. Above all, food security must be guided by a political consensus on the need for action, as well as its nature and scope.

"Often, in responding to hunger, dividing-lines between relief and development work have become blurred. Some agencies are involved on both sides, others only on one. The General Assembly, in its resolution 47/150 of 31 March 1993, dealt with the issue of coordination. It affirmed the critical importance of establishing the most effective arrangements for the management and coordination of the United Nations response to world food and hunger problems...

"Today, some 800 million people suffer from insufficient or poor nutrition. We have the experience and the resources to feed them all. We do not always have the political will to do so. I am most encouraged that the political will is emerging."

Address to the World Bank conference
"Overcoming Global Hunger", Washington, D.C.,
30 November 1993 (SG/SM/5168).

Sustainable development

"Sustainable development... may be defined as development that meets the needs of the present as long as resources are renewed, or, in other words, does not compromise the development of future generations.

Address to the UN Conference on the
Environment, Rio de Janeiro,
3 June 1992 (SG/SM/4762).

Social development

"Poverty, homelessness, unemployment and disease afflict at least 1 billion people worldwide. They are an affront to human dignity, and they are preventable. A World Summit for Social Development will be convened in 1995 -- the fiftieth anniversary of the United Nations. It can provide leadership at the highest level and act as a source of inspiration for new ideas, such as the concept of sustainable development which emerged from the Conference on Environment and Development at Rio in 1992."

United Nations University, Tokyo,
18 February 1993 (SG/SM/4931).

"The United Nations promotes social development in many ways. Through Governments, through NGOs and directly, the United Nations seeks to help Member States advance their social development needs. Our approach is 'people oriented.' We measure progress by results."

Address to the 46th Annual Conference
of the Department of Public Information
for NGOs, 8 September 1993 (SG/SM/5076).

The Family

"On the eve of its fiftieth anniversary, the United Nations will be observing a major global event--the International Year of the Family proclaimed by the General Assembly for 1994. Thus, the family of nations pays tribute to families all over the world as the basic unit of societies.

"Through the International Year of the Family we are reminded of the rich diversity of the human experience, and of the common problems we share as a global community. Everywhere and throughout history, families have been essential to the fabric of human society. Many different forms of family exist, not only across cultures, but within national societies as well. **The diversity of family forms does not diminish its universal importance; diversity enriches us and is the basis for dialogue in meeting common challenges...**

"In order to assume fully their responsibilities with the community, families must be accorded protection and assistance. The basis is laid in existing United Nations instruments, including the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, the International Covenants on Human Rights, the Declaration on Social Progress and Development, the Convention on the Elimination of Discrimination against Women, and the Convention on the Rights of the Child."

Message to the Regional Preparatory
Meeting for the International Year
of the Family, Tunis, March 1993.

"There is no single definition of a family. There is no one model. The diversity of society is fully reflected in the diversity of our families.

"We celebrate the family in all of its many cultural and social forms. We strive to enhance its vitality -- a vitality that comes from the sense of community that families create.

"In emphasizing the importance of the family however, we do not detract from the priority placed on individual rights. Support for the family is not an alternative to, or a way around these rights.

"Indeed, our focus on the role of the family must also take into account the many responsibilities of families. Children have the right to be fed and protected within the family. Women have the right to be respected within the family, and the right to be allowed to contribute their full talents to society. The disabled are entitled to have access to the means of reaching their full potential."

Statement in the General Assembly on
the occasion of the launching of the
International Year of the Family, 7
December 1993 (SG/SM/5171/Rev.1).

"In the change and confusion of the modern world, families are a source of stability and promise. Families can help to bridge ethnic and political divisions. They can enhance economic potential. They can promote social welfare and social responsibility.

"Politically, by forging links between communities, families help promote tolerance. By building closer ties between peoples, families deepen understanding throughout society.

"Economically, by creating a wider pool of human and financial resources, families promote economic progress. Through economic cooperation, families achieve together what their individual members could not achieve alone.

"Socially, by caring for family members, and by teaching positive social behaviour, families promote greater social welfare."

Statement in the General Assembly on
the occasion of the launching of the
International Year of the Family,
7 December 1993 (SG/SM/5171/Rev.1).

The Disabled

"An integrated approach to disability has been one of the most welcome developments over the last 10 years. The concerns, rights and needs of disabled persons should be addressed not only every day of the year, but also in every sector and at every level.

"The United Nations of the future will be people-centered, based on a new partnership between the United Nations and its agencies, Governments and non-governmental organizations. We must work to transform a period of hope into an era of fulfilment, in which all human beings--including people with disabilities--will be enabled to live rich and full lives."

Message on the Occasion of the First
International Day of Disabled Persons,
3 December 1992 (SG/SM/4865).

Ageing

"The world's population is ageing. From the year 1950 to 2025, it is projected to increase by a factor of three; those aged 60 and above by a factor of six; and those aged 80 and above by a factor of ten. A steady stream of 1 million persons crosses the threshold of age 60 every month, 80 per cent of them in developing countries...

"The ageing of populations offers new opportunities and new challenges. The global blueprint for responding to these is set out in the 1982 International Plan of Action on Ageing. The Plan of Action has, since 1991, a companion document: the United Nations Principles for Older Persons."

Message for the International Day for the
Elderly, 1 October 1992 (SG/SM/4823).

Drugs

"In the post-cold-war era, the international community faces a number of new and difficult challenges to peace and security. None is more insidious or more far-reaching than illicit drug production, trafficking and consumption. Hardly a country, ethnic group or community has been spared its effects.

"Energetic, coordinated international action is needed to tackle this global menace. New approaches are needed. Until recently, international efforts concentrated mainly on supply reduction. While there must be no lessening of efforts in the other areas of drug control, the emphasis must now shift to demand reduction.

"Demand reduction should be part of a comprehensive balanced preventive approach. Just as in the field of international peace

and security, the value of preventive diplomacy in averting conflict is now generally recognized, so preventive action must become a crucial element in the long-range goal of eliminating drug abuse."

Message for the International Day against
Drug Abuse and Illicit Trafficking,
26 June 1993 (SG/SM/5025).

AIDS

"No HIV-infected person should be stigmatized. All those affected need understanding and practical support. AIDS kills mothers and fathers, sons and daughters, children and babies. AIDS affects women and men, old and young. In sum, human beings...

"By the year 2000, the virus will have invaded the bodies of 30 million to 40 million people... Action at the planetary level is the only answer: to educate, to understand, to care and, above all, to find a cure."

Message for World AIDS Day 1992,
1 December 1992 (SG/SM/4864/Rev.1).

ENVIRONMENT

"At Rio in 1992, the leaders of the Member States of the United Nations agreed that every nation's domestic economic policy must take into account its impact on the global environment."

11 June 1993

"A porous ozone shield could pose a greater threat to an exposed population than a hostile army."

An Agenda for Peace. Report of the Secretary-General, June 1992.

"The United Nations Conference on Environment and Development [3 June 1992] is about economic choices. It is about how people and societies use and conserve scarce resources in ways which will both facilitate essential growth and development, especially in the Third World, and sustain the fragile resource base of our planet on which this growth must be based. It is, to be sure, about clean air and clear water, global warming, biodiversity, preserving forests, and other essential environmental concerns. But it is also about poverty, about the continuing degradation of much of humanity, a condition which must be addressed if the poor world is to join the rich world in taking the essential steps to save and renew Planet Earth."

Speech to American Newspaper Publishers Association, New York, 5 May 1992
(SG/SM/4744).

"'The time of the finite world' has come, a world in which we are 'under house arrest': what this means is simply that nature no longer exists in the classic sense of the term, that henceforth nature lies within the hands of man. It also means that man has triumphed over his environment, a triumph nevertheless fraught with danger... Finally it means that there are no more oases to discover, no more 'new frontiers,' and that every new triumph over nature will in fact be a triumph over ourselves. progress, then, is not necessarily compatible with life; we may no longer take the logic of the infinite for granted. It is this great epistemological break which the 'Earth Summit' may ultimately symbolize for historians.

"This meeting is historic for a second, no less exalting reason: we are looking at a time-frame that extends far beyond the span of our individual lives. The reflection and, especially the action for which we are to lay the political foundation here will not be undertaken for ourselves, or even for our

contemporaries. For we can still waste the planet's resources at our current pace for a few decades more. We can still live, for a few years or a few decades more, with the acid rain that is only gradually destroying our forests, lakes, works of architecture and even ourselves; we can stand it if the climate heats up by a few degrees, if the biological diversity of our planet diminishes, if the pollution of our waters continues, if the desertification of the planet accelerates--we will always have enough forests, enough water, enough natural resources. But we must realize that one day, when we as individuals have ceased to exist, it will no longer be possible to let things go on, or let things go, and that, ultimately, the storm will break on the heads of future generations. For them, it will be too late...

"One point must be clearly stated: one cannot protect a natural resource by denying its use to those who depend on it for survival: the link between environmental protection and poverty does not only concern large-scale production, but also everyday life, particularly that of women, who have to provide for domestic needs, for water or wood. That is why, in many countries, action against poverty helps protect the environment.

"Let us stop, then making a distinction between two aspects of the same question--economy on the one hand and ecology on the other. Any ecological disaster is an economic disaster."

Address to the Conference on the
Environment, Rio de Janeiro,
3 June 1992 (SG/SM/4762/Rev. 1).

"In the immediate future, Governments should begin the implementation of 'Agenda 21,' adopted at Rio [Conference on the Environment, June 1992], which provides for a series of concrete steps to integrate environment and development. In the longer term, building on the process begun at Rio, I intend to continue to strengthen the arrangements for cooperation and coordination within the United Nations system on environment and development-related issues."

Address to the United Nations
University, Tokyo, 18 February 1993
(SG/SM/4931).

"At Rio in 1992, the leaders of the Member States of the United Nations agreed that every nation's domestic economic policy must take into account its impact on the global environment. In this way, the Rio Conference added to the body of established principles, expressed in law, that bind us all. Abuse of the environment for economic gain subverts its very purpose; it kills the goose that lays the golden egg. Sustainable development will be central to development's new definition."

Kreisky Lecture, Vienna, 11 June 1993
(SG/SM/5007).

AFRICA

"In recent years, a remarkable and commendable process of democratization has spread throughout much of Africa. Democracy is central to the maintenance of international peace and security, and the promotion of sustainable economic and social development...

"Never since they came to be known as developing countries have the African countries experienced so many difficulties! The more Africa strives to become a part of what we call 'the modern world' and to open its frontiers, the more its place in that modern world seems to shrink. The more it adopts development technology, the greater the drop in per capita food production--down 20 percent in 20 years, according to the World Bank report.

"In short, my dear friends, we clearly need to give new meaning to the word development--and perhaps even be bold enough to give it a fresh configuration."

Statement to the Organization
of African Unity (OAU), Dakar,
29 June 1992 (SG/SM/4774/Rev.1).

"Regional cooperation and integration is a growing necessity everywhere. But in the case of Africa, it is absolutely essential for effective economic development. By reason of their size and geographic location, the vast majority of African countries will remain economically unviable if they do not cooperate and coordinate with one another, particularly with their neighbours.

Statement to Conference on Global
Development Cooperation, Carter Center,
Atlanta, GA., 4 December 1992
(SG/SM/4872).

"We have to make time so that Africa can prepare for the future without always having its back to the wall and always having to deal with one dreadful emergency after another...

"Africa, with its diversity and wealth, holds out formidable promise. From Cairo to Windhoek, from Dakar to Nairobi. It took Europe centuries to prepare for and engage in capitalism, an exchange of goods whose goal is profit. Since decolonization, the time given to Africa and the patience the powerful say they have shown towards Africans are diminutive when contrasted with the centuries of capitalist history of the modern West."

Statement to the Panel of High-Level
Personalities on African Development,
Geneva, 28 December 1992
(SG/SM/4887/Rev.1).

"As Secretary-General of the United Nations, and as an African, the marginalization of Africa is of the utmost concern to me. But unless Africa shows a clear political determination to achieve solutions, the international community will sharply reduce its support."

Statement to the African-American Institute on the occasion of the award to the Secretary-General of the Arthur A. Houghton Jr. Star Crystal Award for Excellence, 9 November 1993 (SG/SM/5153).

"It is clear that peace will be fragile if political institutions are not accountable, if political participation is not widespread, or if human rights are not respected. Long-term development in Africa cannot be achieved in an atmosphere of instability and conflict. A stable modus vivendi must be found for each society. Achieving this objective will enable Africa to develop her full potential--politically, socially and economically...

"Development is a political undertaking, as well as an economic undertaking. Development strategies that fail to take the political dimension of development into account are certain to fail. Unless there is the political will to pursue policies that are conducive to development, development in Africa is certain to stagnate. Political reform, economic adjustment, regional integration and the promotion of economic justice require a strong political commitment if they are to succeed."

Statement made to the meeting of the Panel of High-level Personalities on African Development, New York, 2 December 1993 (SG/SM/5170).

"Long-term development in Africa requires new priorities. There must be a shift away from excessive expenditures on armaments and defence. Greater emphasis must be placed on more productive sectors of society. Health, education and nutrition are basic and necessary infrastructures of development.

"Structural adjustment is not popular on the streets of Africa. The fruits of these efforts have yet to ripen, but the hardships they have brought are already very apparent. Dislocation, unemployment and declining living standards are only a few of the immediate difficulties that many countries are now experiencing.

"In the face of such challenges, reform has required both courage and political conviction. Governments must be encouraged to stay the course. Greater care must also be taken to help Governments address the dire human consequences of such reforms.

"Unfortunately for Africa, political will alone cannot guarantee results. Africa requires assistance. The international community must do its part by addressing the issues that impede Africa's ability to compete on fair terms. Critical questions such

as access to markets, debt relief, technology transfer and the reorientation of bilateral assistance must be addressed by the international community as a whole.

"While Africa strives to put her own political and economic house in order, the international community must not remain idle or indifferent. A constructive engagement is needed and necessary. The international community must show its support for Africa's reforms by its actions, as well as by its words."

Statement made to the meeting of the Panel of High-level Personalities on African Development, New York, 2 December 1993 (SG/SM/5170).

Arms flow to Africa

"Steps towards development will go nowhere in the long run so long as the continent is filled with weapons -- arms that at any time can be used to tear down what has just been built up. Take Somalia, for example. There is a greater availability of arms than of food in Somalia. These arms were not manufactured in Somalia -- they have no factories for arms. These arms were not even bought by Somalia -- they were given by the outside world, to serve outside interests. The result is that in Somalia today there is no rule of law...The situation is criminal. Those who provide arms could be considered as partners to the crime. The flow of arms to the developing world must be stopped."

Statement to Conference on Global Development Cooperation, Carter Center, Atlanta, GA., 4 December 1992 (SG/SM/4872).

Debt burden

"There is widespread consensus that the debt burden of many African countries is unsustainable. **External debt is a millstone around the neck of Africa...** External debt is a major obstacle to the return of private investment to Africa. Removing that burden must be a priority for the international community....

"Any programme for Africa faces numerous difficulties. These difficulties include the crushing weight of external debt, the worsening terms of trade and the negative capital flows. They make for a scandalous situation if one looks at it closely since, in the final analysis, it is the poor who are financing the rich."

Statement to Panel of High-Level Personalities on African Development, Geneva, 28 December 1992 (SG/SM/4887/Rev.1).

Education

"Education is desperately needed in Africa. Democracy requires an informed body of citizens able to communicate with each other and with their Governments and to interact with the outside world. Democratization within a country creates a demand for education. A well-trained population attracts investment, stimulates demand and supports technological change. In this sense, democratization is not only demanded by donors but welcomed by its ultimate recipients."

Statement to Conference on Global Development Cooperation, Carter Center, Atlanta, Georgia, 4 December 1992 (SG/SM/4872).

An African success story

"It is especially heartening for me to be able to conclude this survey of United Nations activities with a genuine and remarkable success story from Africa. Quick and exemplary international cooperation to deal with the devastating drought in southern Africa averted a widely predicted catastrophe. Commentators had compared the southern African drought to the deadly drought that gripped Ethiopia and the Sudan in 1984-85, and it was predicted that hundreds of thousands of people would likely perish due to famine and disease.

"Ten countries in southern Africa were involved, and approximately 20 million people spread over 2 million square miles were affected. Total food output throughout the region dropped to less than half that of previous years, and 4 million tons of food aid was needed from donor countries. Emergency non-food needs were estimated to approach \$200 million.

"Led by the countries of the region, coordinated by the United Nations system and matched by a quick donor response, disaster was averted. The 10 Southern African Development Community (SADC) countries mobilized to battle the disaster with extraordinary speed. The SADC early warning units had alerted the world to the looming famine at a very early stage, and the Food and Agriculture Organization (FAO) and the World Food Programme (WFP) jointly mounted multiple crop and food supply assessment missions confirming the enormity of the problem the region faced. The newly established Department of Humanitarian Affairs prepared the United Nations system's first-ever famine relief appeal, issued jointly by the United Nations and a regional body, SADC.

"Donors responded immediately with food aid pledges covering virtually all the assistance that was needed. The seriousness and commitment demonstrated by SADC, as well as donor satisfaction with the procedures initiated by the United Nations to keep donors abreast of developments in all sectors, encouraged the fast donor response and facilitated this impressive mobilization of resources and effort."

Statement to OAU Summit,
Cairo, 28 June 1993 (SG/SM/5029).

NON-GOVERNMENTAL ORGANIZATIONS (NGOs)

"The UN has much to learn from NGOs. There is also much that NGOs can learn from the UN."

17 April 1993

"The World Conference on Human Rights, held in Vienna two and a half months ago, raised United Nations-NGO relations to a new level of cooperation. One hundred and sixty-two NGOs actively participated in the general debate and first readings of the preparatory sessions. For the first time in United Nations history, NGOs held activities parallel to the World Conference at the Conference site itself. The NGO Human Rights Forum was attended by more than 2,000 individuals.

"For the first time, the results of the NGO Forum were presented to Governments in a formal meeting of the Conference's Drafting Committee. A significant event was the international colloquium on human rights convened by the Carter Center, in collaboration with the United Nations and other international human rights organizations. The colloquium produced an important declaration of principles. It also published an impressive series of practical proposals for strengthening the United Nations human rights system. The 'Atlanta Statement,' though not an official regional document, was important to the debate that was conducted in Vienna. It influenced the outcome of the Conference in a positive manner.

"In its final declaration, the Conference expressed its appreciation for the contributions of NGOs. And it emphasized the importance of continued dialogue and cooperation between Governments and NGOs on the subject of human rights."

Remarks to the forty-sixth Annual Conference
of the Department of Public Information for
NGOs, 8 September 1993 (SG/SM/5076).

"Many of the strengths of NGOs are well known. You have a special ability to reach targeted groups. Your organizations have more flexible and informal structures. You have access to private funds, an ability to by-pass red tape, and highly motivated staffs. NGOs can also mobilize public support for securing donor assistance and for influencing the use of such assistance.

"It is important, however, to be realistic about the limitations of NGOs. NGOs can supplement, but they cannot replace the activities of Governments. NGOs make a considerable impact, but

the scale of their operations has its limits. NGOs reach only 20 per cent of the 1.3 billion people living in absolute poverty in developing countries. The \$7.2 billion channelled to NGOs accounts for only 13 per cent of net disbursements of official aid and 2.5 per cent of total resource flows to developing countries.

"These facts do not diminish the vital role played by NGOs. They should remind us that social development must be a cooperative effort."

Remarks to the forty-sixth Annual
Conference of the Department of Public
Information for NGOs, 8 September 1993
(SG/SM/5076).

"One of the ways to mobilize and sensitize international public opinion is contact with NGOs. Here I must acknowledge that the NGOs are very difficult institutions. They do not have the responsibilities of Governments; thus, they are very aggressive. They have a paternalistic attitude: when you talk to them, they explain what you have to do and what you have not done, but we have to accept them as we accept the Member States, which create complications for our work. We have to accept them because, first, they have enormous financial capacities -- and this is very important -- and we will need this financial assistance more and more.

"The NGOs have played a very important role in some regions. They were more important in Somalia than the agencies of the United Nations. When the agencies of the United Nations were afraid of the situation, the NGOs were already on the ground and did a wonderful job.

"Secondly, NGOs represent a kind of couloir de transmission, a catalyst between public opinion and the United Nations system. And we need the support of public opinion. Without that support we will not be able to raise the money. Without that support we will not take the necessary decisions concerning certain problems."

Statement to the inter-agency meeting
in Bangkok on 10 April 1993
(SG/SM/4975).

"The relationship between United Nations programmes and agencies and NGOs is naturally a cooperative one. It must not be allowed to degenerate into a competitive one. The UN has much to learn from NGOs. There is also much that NGOs can learn from the UN. United Nations programmes and agencies must take the initiative in offering assistance, and in coordinating with NGOs."

Statement to the meeting of the Panel
of High-Level Personalities on
African Development, Rome, 17 April
1993.

UN REFORM

"I have initiated a major restructuring of the Secretariat by eliminating 14 top posts and concentrating the decision-making process in seven key departments at Headquarters, thus streamlining the chain of command. This is just a first step and I hope to be able in the next year to complete this operation. The restructuring is part of my continuing search for increased efficiency within the Organization. My aim is to achieve greater flexibility and increase the capacity of the Organization to meet new demands, while fulfilling long-standing mandates. In particular, the new structure comprising fewer departments with wider responsibilities more closely responds to the nature of the issues Member States now wish us to address."

Statement to Association of Former
International Civil Servants, New
York, 20 May 1992 (SG/SM/4754/Rev.1).

"Reform is a continuing process and improvement can have no limit. Yet there is an expectation, which I wish to see fulfilled, that the present phase in the renewal of this Organization should be complete by 1995, its fiftieth anniversary. The pace set must therefore be increased if the United Nations is to keep ahead of the acceleration of history that characterizes this age."

An Agenda for Peace. Report of the Secretary-
General, June 1992.

"At a time when the United Nations is being asked to do more than ever, it is being shortchanged by the member States who have breached their legal obligations and deprived the United Nations of necessary resources."

"Empowering the United Nations." Foreign
Affairs, Winter 1992/93.

"To initiate reform from within I launched, soon after taking office a year ago, a process of restructuring the U.N. Secretariat. My first short-term aim was to eliminate duplication, redundancy and excessive layering of offices and duties at Headquarters. This process has brought results and must continue toward a coherent institutional strategy..."

"The proliferation of institutions that characterize U.N. work

in the economic, social and environmental fields has been another product of previous decades. Member States often pressed for measures on a piecemeal basis. Bureaucracies were sometimes set up as substitutes for problem-solving and served, in some cases, to camouflage problems rather than expose them to serious attention...

"The spirit of the U.N. Charter was kept alive for decades under very difficult circumstances. Hope has been crucial; achievement is now required. Beyond declarations, beyond position-taking, the time is here to look at ideas as plans for action. Beyond restructuring, the culture of the United Nations must undergo a transformation."

"Empowering the United Nations."
Foreign Affairs, Winter 1992/93.

"The main problem of the United Nations is not the number of critical situations, it is not the fact that we have difficulty in finding the troops that are ready to fight and, regrettably, sometimes be killed in favour of peace. The first difficulty is a financial one. Member States were supposed to pay their contributions to the normal budget in January of each year. I believe that no more than 26 countries out of 183 countries have done this. The same problem exists with the peace-keeping budget. They owe us over \$1 billion. So, we have a real difficulty."

Press Conference, Vienna,
11 June 1993 (SG/SM/5008/Rev.1).

"The objective of restructuring has been to introduce simpler, streamlined structures to support each of the basic functions of the Organization: in the political field, in the economic and social sectors, and in administration and management.

"In the political sector, the new structures strengthen the work of the Organization in such fields as preventive diplomacy, peace-keeping, peace-making and peace-building.

"In the development field, restructuring has encompassed all of the economic and social sector of the Organization. A basic distinction has been made between those Secretariat functions which are best performed at Headquarters, and those best undertaken by other global and regional entities within the Organization.

"In administration and management, the aim is to introduce an integrated approach to all interrelated functions.

"In general, my objective has been to introduce clearer lines of responsibility and reporting, greater managerial accountability, and, overall, a greater sense of unity of purpose...

"In the recent past, we have seen a six-fold increase in the personnel and costs of United Nations peace-keeping operations. Yet, the resources available in the Secretariat to support these operations have not increased commensurately.

"In recognition, therefore, of the clear need for a stronger capacity at Headquarters to supervise and direct missions, I am proposing a strengthening of the Department of Peace-keeping Operations [DPKO], including its senior management structure.

"In order to improve and strengthen the quality of administrative and logistic support provided to missions, the Field Operations Division has been incorporated within the DPKO. A 24-hour situation room linked to all missions is also in operation...

"In order to enable the United Nations to play an even more effective role in the coordination of humanitarian assistance, the institutional arrangements and capacities of the Organization in this area must be enhanced. A well-coordinated response requires a broad global approach to humanitarian diplomacy, early warning, disaster mitigation, relief preparedness and mobilization of resources. The United Nations must have the means to translate humanitarian ideals into tangible assistance to those who are in desperate need...

"At all times, the Organization must strive for the proper use of resources, and the promotion of greater efficiency and effectiveness. My aim, in establishing an Office of Inspections and Investigations, was to further these aims and to increase transparency...

"Earlier this year, I intervened personally, at the highest levels, to seek timely payments from Member States. It was clear to me that the Organization was being required to operate on an unprecedented scale without adequate resources. Our ability to discharge our mandates was, indeed, in jeopardy.

"The volume and complexity of United Nations operations are now so great that I am convinced the time has come for a new approach. I hope that Member States and the Secretariat will work closely together to introduce measures which will provide a sound and reliable financial foundation for the Organization."

Statement to Fifth Committee,
24 November 1993 (SG/SM/5162).

"The democratization of States is only one part of our goal. The other part is the democratization of the international system. This should start within the United Nations. Already, the reform of the Organization, including the decentralization of decision-making, has taken place.

"This reform needs to be met by reform in the intergovernmental organs of the United Nations. In the area of development policy, strengthening the Economic and Social Council will ensure that Member States, great and small, donors and recipients, are all heard with equal clarity. The donor nations feel that the numerical strength of the recipients often allows the imposition of unrealistic development goals, goals for which resources are lacking. Recipient States argue that the voice of the donors is louder in the multilateral financial institutions. This is a dangerous situation.

"Both donors and recipients have valid arguments. The challenge of reform of the United Nations system is to balance these arguments. To replace the cold war legacy with a true spirit of cooperation. Some problems will only be solved on a multilateral basis: the environment, the narcotics trade, population growth and international migration, international financial and commercial flows, technological cooperation, disease--all these are examples of issues which require cooperation, not confrontation. They require multilateralism, not bloc behaviour. They require, in short, democracy.

"In the political arena, the reform of the Security Council is high on the agenda. The world today is no longer what it was at San Francisco. The issue of expanding the membership of the Security Council, and the question of veto rights, cannot be ignored. A truly representative Security Council is an important step towards multilateralism. Democracy at the United Nations leads to democracy in the international system."

Statement to the Foreign Correspondents Club,
Tokyo, 20 December 1993 (SG/SM/5184).

Staff Security

"Rest assured that my principal concern is to work unceasingly to protect the security of all those who, on behalf of the United Nations, work throughout the world to maintain peace, guarantee human rights and promote development.

"My thoughts often embrace the thousands of staff members of the Organization who, in perilous or hostile regions, separated from their families, continue to uphold the principles and values of the world Organization. I am thinking here of the members of the United Nations Secretariat who, in Mogadishu, Sarajevo, Angola, Mozambique, Haiti, Tajikistan, and in so many other parts of the world, in the field, discharge difficult missions in peace-keeping, development and peace... I am aware of their difficult working and living conditions. I am well aware, having met them as often as possible in my journeys abroad, of the lengths to which their self-denial can go.

"Even, at times, to self-sacrifice! We all know the heavy price paid by United Nations staff members in the service of the Organization. Let this Staff Day also be an occasion to honour the victims of this sense of duty instilled in us by those who drafted the Charter."

Statement on the Occasion of UN Staff
Day, 10 September 1993 (SCB/1146).

(END)

(17,757 words)