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NANCY DYONS = 5694

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THE WHITE HOUSE

Office of the Press Secretary
(New York, New York)

January 31, 1992

For Immediate Release

REMARKS BY THE PRESIDENT
TO THE UNITED NATIONS SECURITY COUNCIL

The Security Council Chamber
The United Nations
New York, New York

12:18 P.M. EST

THE PRESIDENT: Thank you, Mr. President, for your key role in convening this first-ever summit of the United Nations Security Council.

Fellow members and Mr. Secretary General, congratulations to you, sir, as you take office at this time of tremendous challenge and opportunity. And for the United States, it's a high honor to participate, to speak at this history-making event.

We meet at a moment of new beginnings for this institution and, really, for every member nation. And for most of its history, the United Nations was caught in a Cold War, cross-fire. And I think back to my days here in the early '70s as a Permanent Representative, of the way then-polemics displaced peacekeeping. And long before I came on to the scene and long after I left, the U.N. was all too often paralyzed by cruel ideological divisions and the struggle to contain Soviet expansion. And today all that's changed. And the collapse of imperial communism and the end of the Cold War breathe new life into the United Nations.

It was just one year ago that the world saw this new, invigorated United Nations in action as this Council stood fast against aggression, and stood for the sacred principles enshrined in the U.N. Charter. And now it's time to step forward again, make the internal reforms, accelerate the revitalization, accept the responsibilities necessary for a vigorous and effective United Nations.

I want to assure the members of this Council and the Secretary General the United Nations can count on our full support in this task.

Today, for these brief remarks, I'll talk not on the economic and social agenda so eloquently addressed by President Borja, but rather I'll mention the proliferation of mass destruction, regional conflicts, destabilizing renegade regimes that are on the horizon, terrorism, human rights -- they all require our immediate attention.

The world also challenges us to strengthen and sustain positive change. And we must advance the momentous movement toward democracy and freedom -- democratization I believe Boutros Ghali called this, our distinguished Secretary General -- and expand the circle of nations committed to human rights and the rule of law.

It's an exciting opportunity for our United Nations, and we must not allow it to slip away. Right now, across the globe, the U.N. is working night and day in the cause of peace. And never before in its four decades has the U.N.'s Blue Helmets and Blue Berets been so engaged in the noble work of peacekeeping, even to the

MORE

extent of building the foundation for free elections. And never before has the United Nations been so ready and so compelled to step up to the task of peacemaking, both to resolve hot wars and to conduct that forward-looking mission known as preventive diplomacy.

We must be practical as well as principled as we seek to free people from the specter of conflict. We recognize every nation's obligation to invest in peace. As conflicts are resolved and violence subsides, then the institutions of free societies can take hold. And as they do, they become our strongest safeguards against aggression and tyranny.

Democracy, human rights, rule of law -- these are the building blocks of peace and freedom. And in the lives of millions of men and women around the world its import is simple: it can mean the difference between war and peace, healing and hatred; and where there is fear and despair, it really can mean hope.

We look to the Secretary General to present to this Council his recommendations to ensure effective and efficient peacekeeping, peacemaking, and preventive diplomacy. And we look forward to exploring these ideas together.

We have witnessed change of enormous breadth and scope - all in but a few short years. A remarkable revolution has swept away the old regimes from Managua to Moscow. But everywhere, free government and the institutions that give it form will take time to flourish and mature.

Free elections give democracy a foothold, but true democracy means more than simply the rule of the majority. It means an irrevocable commitment to democratic principles. It means equal rights for minorities. And above all, it means the sanctity of even a single individual against the unjust power of the state.

The will of the majority must never degenerate into the whim of majority. This fundamental principle transcends all borders. Human dignity, the inalienable rights of man, these are not the possessions of the state. They're universal. In Asia, in Africa, in Europe, in the Americas, the United Nations must stand with those who seek greater freedom and democracy. And that is my deep belief; that is the belief of the American people. And it's the belief that breathes life into the great principle of the universal declaration of human rights.

Our changed world is a more hopeful world, indeed, but it is not absent those who would turn back the clock to the darker days of threats and bullying. And our world is still a dangerous world, rife with far too many terrible weapons.

In my first address here to the United Nations as President, I challenged the Soviet Union to eliminate chemical weapons, and called on every nation to join us in this crusade -- his Majesty King Hassan of Morocco, making this point so well right here today. What greater cause for this great body, to make certain the world has seen the last of these terrible weapons. And so let us vow to make this year the year all nations at long last join to ban this scourge.

There is much more to do regarding weapons of mass destruction. Just three days ago, in my State of the Union message here, I announced the steps -- far-reaching, unilateral steps -- that we will take to reduce our nuclear arsenal. And these steps affect each element in our strategic triad -- the land, the sea and the air.

In addition to these unilateral steps, we are prepared to move forward on mutual arms reduction. I noted his constructive comments here today. And tomorrow, in my meeting with President Yeltsin, we will continue the search for common ground on this

MORE

vitaly important issue. He responded with some very serious proposals just the other day.

We welcome, the world welcomes, statements by several of the new states that won independence after the collapse of the USSR that they will abide by the Nuclear Nonproliferation Treaty. And yet, realism requires us to remain vigilant in this time of transition.

The danger of proliferation remains. And again, let me single out the earlier remarks by the President of the French Republic, President Mitterrand, on this subject, the clarion call to do something about it. We must act together so that from this time forward, people involved in sophisticated weapons programs redirect their energies to peaceful endeavors.

We'll do more in cooperation with our allies to ensure that dangerous materials and technology don't fall into the hands of terrorists or others. And we will continue to work with these new states to ensure a strong commitment in word and deed to all global nonproliferation standards.

Today, the threat of global nuclear war is more distant than at any time in the nuclear era. Drawing down the old Cold War arsenals will further ease that dread. But the specter of mass destruction remains all too real, especially as some nations continue to push to acquire weapons of mass destruction and the means to deliver them.

Our triumph in the Gulf is testament to the U.N.'s mission. Its security is a shared responsibility. Today, this institution spearheads a quarantine against the outlaw regime of Saddam Hussein. It is the strong belief of my country that we must keep sanctions in place and take the following steps to preserve our common security:

We must continue to focus on Iraq's capability to build or maintain weapons of mass destruction. And we must make clear to the world and, most important, to the people of Iraq, that no normalization is possible so long as Saddam Hussein remains there, remains in power.

As on all of the urgent issues I've mentioned today, progress comes from acting in concert, and we must deal resolutely with these renegade regimes, if necessary, by sanctions or stronger measures, to compel them to observe international standards of behavior. We will not be blind to the dangers we still face. Terrorists and their state sponsors must know there will be serious consequences if they violate international law.

Two weeks ago, this Council, in unity, sent a very strong message to Libya. And let me repeat today Resolution 731, passed unanimously by this body, by the Security Council, calls on Libya to comply fully with the requests of three states on this Council. And I would just like to use this meeting today to call on Libya to heed the call of the Security Council of the United Nations.

Last year in the Gulf, in concert, we responded to an attack on the sovereignty of one nation as an assault on the security of all. So let us make it our mission to give this principle the greatest practical meaning in the conduct of nations.

Today, we stand at another crossroads. Perhaps the first time since that hopeful moment in San Francisco, we can look at our charter as a living, breathing document. And, yes, after so many years, it may still be in its infancy, requiring a careful and vigilant nurturing of its parents, but I believe in my heart that it is alive and well.

- 4 -

Our mission is to make it strong and sturdy through increased dedication and cooperation, and I know that we are up to the challenge. The nations represented here, like the larger community of the U.N. represented by so many Permanent Reps here today, have it in their power to act for peace and freedom.

So may God bless the United Nations as it pursues its noble goal. Thank you, Mr. President. (Applause.)

END

12:30 P.M. EST

Fact
check
this
draft!

Page numbers!

McGroarty/Bunton
January 29, 1992
1:30 pm
[UNSC]

PRESIDENTIAL REMARKS: THE SECURITY COUNCIL OF THE UNITED NATIONS
NEW YORK, NEW YORK
JANUARY 31, 1992
11:00 AM

Mr. Secretary General {Boutros-Ghali}: congratulations to you, sir, as you take office at this time of tremendous opportunity. / Mr. President {Security Council President, Prime Minister Major}, fellow members: It is a high honor to speak today at this history-making event -- the first-ever summit of the UN Security Council.

We meet at a moment of new beginnings -- for this institution and every member-nation. For most of its history, the UN was caught in the crossfire. I think back to my days here as Perm Rep: of the way polemics displaced peacekeeping. Long before I came here, and long after I left, the UN was all too often paralyzed by the larger struggle between the superpowers.

//

Today, all that has changed.

! like this sentence,

The collapse of communism and the end of the Cold War breathed new life into the UN and the ideals it represents. Just one year ago, the world saw the new UN in action. In the weeks and months after Saddam Hussein swept into Kuwait, this Council stood fast against aggression -- stood for the sacred principles enshrined in the UN Charter.

Our triumph in the Gulf is testament to the UN's new-found powers -- to a renewed sense that security is a shared responsibility. The challenge now is to move forward -- to continue the internal reforms, the revitalization that will make the UN more responsive and more responsible. / I assure the members of this Council and Secretary General Boutros-Ghali: the UN can count on America's full support in this task.

An effective United Nations is even more urgent now. Since the beginning, the UN's blue helmets and blue berets took an active part in peacekeeping. In the future, the United Nations will increasingly be called on to undertake the task of peacemaking. This can include the exercise of the Secretary General's good offices in disputes before they break into open, armed conflict. ←

Here in the corridors of this building, this forward-looking mission goes by the name "preventive diplomacy." In the lives of millions of men and women around the world, its meaning is simple: it can be the difference between war and peace / life and death / healing and hatred. That difference is hope. //

The future will see an increase in UN peacekeeping operations. We support and welcome these missions -- this shared responsibility for fostering world stability.

Each nation here understands the need to invest in peace. But each one of us also owes it to our own people to carry out this mission with an eye to efficiency. / We look to the Secretary General to present to this Council his plans to ensure effective and efficient peacekeeping, peacemaking and preventive

diplomacy. We will work with everyone at this table to explore these ideas together. We must be practical as well as principled as we seek to free people from the specter of conflict. //

Nations working toward the same ideal can help keep the peace. But ultimately, the strongest safeguard against aggression remains democratic rule.

Look at the changes we've witnessed and worked for this past year -- the revolution that's swept away the old regimes from Managua to Moscow. This revolution is grounded in a bedrock belief in democratic values -- values that put the individual at the epicenter of change.

Nation after nation has broken free to democracy. But everywhere, free government -- and the institutions that give it form -- will take time to flourish and grow. Free elections give democracy a foothold -- but true democracy means more than simply the rule of the majority. It means an irrevocable commitment to democratic principles. It means equal rights for minorities -- and above all, it means the sanctity of even a single individual against the unjust power of the state.

For the sake of true democracy, the nations of the world must work together in the name of human rights. Together, we must resolve to uphold the rule of law -- so that majority will never degenerates into majority whim. That means enlisting the powers of the United Nations to defend the powerless -- to protect the fundamental rights of freedoms of all people everywhere. //

Human dignity knows no borders. In Asia, in Africa or in the Americas, the United Nations must stand with those who seek greater freedom and democracy. / That is my deep belief. / That is the belief of the American people. / And it is the belief that breathes life into the great principles of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights. //

The UN must also enlist itself in the effort to eliminate weapons of mass destruction. In my first address as President to the United Nations, I challenged the Soviet Union to eliminate chemical weapons -- and I called on every nation to join us in this crusade. // Let us work to make certain the world has seen the last of these terrible weapons. Let us make this the year all nations at long last join to ban this scourge. //

Sept 23
89

Just three days ago in the State of the Union, I announced the steps my country will take / unilaterally / to reduce our nuclear arsenals. These steps affect each element in our strategic triad -- land, sea, and air. / We will stop B-2 production after the purchase of 20 planes and halt the purchase of advanced cruise missiles. We will cease production of new warheads for our sea-based ballistic missiles. We will stop altogether new production of the land-based Peacekeeper, and we'll cancel the small ICBM program. //

→

Check against Appl. of Union

In addition to these unilateral steps, the U.S. is prepared to move forward on mutual arms reductions. This weekend, at Camp David, I will meet with President Yeltsin of the Russian Federation. The question of nuclear arms reductions will be at

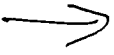
from 8/27/89

Brenda in NSC



the top of our agenda, and I feel confident we'll make progress in the search for common ground. //

Today, the threat of global nuclear war is more distant than at any other time in the nuclear era. Drawing down the old Cold War arsenals will ease the dread of global war. But the specter of mass destruction will remain all too real -- especially as renegade regimes work to acquire weapons of mass destruction and the means to deliver them.



In 1990, in the great hall of the General Assembly, I called on all nations to work to strengthen non-proliferation efforts.

The world community rose to meet that challenge. Newly-free Lithuania, South Africa and other African states joined the Nuclear Non-Proliferation Treaty. France and China also committed to join that Treaty. Argentina and Brazil adopted international safeguards over all their nuclear activities. And the U.S. and other nations strengthened controls over the export of technologies related to the nuclear, chemical and biological weapons and the missiles used to deliver these deadly weapons.

NSC
Check w/ NSC

And under my Middle East Arms Control initiative, the five leading conventional arms suppliers agreed to observe restraint in their exports to that troubled region -- and will meet in Washington next month to continue their work.

NSC Prox?

But the progress we've made cannot blind us to the dangers we still face. We welcome -- the world welcomes -- statements by several of the former Soviet republics that they will abide by the Non-Proliferation Treaty. Yet realism requires us to remain vigilant in this time of transition. So long as the drama in the

6

former lands of the Soviet Union is far from over, the danger of proliferation remains. The U.S. will continue to work with the former Soviet republics to ensure a strong commitment in word and deed to non-proliferation.

We must act together so that people involved in sophisticated weapons programs devote their energies from this time forward to peaceful endeavors. We will do more, in cooperation with our allies, to ensure that dangerous materials in the former USSR do not fall into the hands of terrorists.

Terrorists and their state sponsors must know there will be serious consequences ~~(for both)~~ if they violate international law.

We must deal resolutely with such renegades -- if necessary by sanctions or stronger measures -- to compel them to observe international norms. Two weeks ago this Council sent such a message to Libya. Let me repeat today: Resolution 731 -- passed unanimously by the Security Council -- calls on Libya to comply fully with the requests of three states on this Council. I call on Libya today to heed the will of the world community. //

We must work together to secure the world against the actions of renegade regimes. Today, this institution spearheads a quarantine against the outlaw regime of Saddam Hussein. It is the strong belief of my country that we must keep sanctions in place -- and take the following steps to preserve our common security:

First, we must continue to focus on Iraq's capability to build or maintain weapons of mass destruction. Following the groundbreaking step of this Council in setting up the UN Special

NSC INSERT

Commission, we must monitor the destruction of these deadly weapons. We will accept nothing short of full disclosure -- nothing short of complete compliance. //

Second, we call on Iraq to abide by all Security Council Resolutions. The hardship and suffering of the innocent people of Iraq pains us all. We stand ready to provide humanitarian assistance -- under the terms of Security Council Resolutions 706 and 712 -- the moment Saddam accepts the will of the world community.

Finally, we must make clear to the world -- and most important, to the people of Iraq -- that the international community remains united against Saddam Hussein. All of us await the day we can welcome Iraq once more into the community of nations. But no normalization is possible so long as Saddam remains in power. //

In Iraq, as on all of the urgent issues I've mentioned today, progress comes from acting in concert. / In the Gulf War, we responded to an attack on the sovereignty of one nation as an assault on the security of all. Let us make it our mission to give this principle the greatest practical meaning in the conduct of nations. //

The nations represented here -- like the larger community of the UN -- have it in their power to act for peace. May God bless the United States of America -- and all nations united in pursuit of this noble goal.

#

To Jeannie
 Date 1/24 Time 3:35p

WHILE YOU WERE OUT

M. _____
 of Robert Huggins
 Phone 047 00 42
Area Code Number Extension

TELEPHONED	PLEASE CALL	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>
CALLED TO SEE YOU	WILL CALL AGAIN	
WANTS TO SEE YOU	URGENT	

RETURNED YOUR CALL

Message Re: Info. earlier
[Michael Scharf]

 Operator MR



AMPAD
EFFICIENCY®

23-021

CARBONLESS

To Jeannie
 Date 1/24 Time 3:35

WHILE YOU WERE OUT

M. nancy byke's office
 of _____
 Phone _____
Area Code Number Extension

TELEPHONED	PLEASE CALL	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>
CALLED TO SEE YOU	WILL CALL AGAIN	
WANTS TO SEE YOU	URGENT	

RETURNED YOUR CALL

Message per secretary
called said she
got a meeting & will
call you back ASAP

 Operator MR



AMPAD
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23-021

CARBONLESS

State of the Union: A Statistical Look

As President Bush prepares to present his State of the Union Message tomorrow, many gauges of the nation's health show reasons for concern.



Source: Census Bureau

More charts and an article on what the President is expected to say, page A16.

U.N.'S FUND CRISIS WORSENS AS ROLE IN SECURITY RISES

PEACEKEEPING COST GROWS

Member Nations' Unpaid Dues for Prevention of Conflicts Are Put at \$377 Million

NYT
1/27/90 By PAUL LEWIS
Special to The New York Times

UNITED NATIONS, Jan. 26 — At a meeting here on Friday, President Bush and the leaders of the 14 other members of the Security Council are expected to call on the United Nations to play a growing role in preserving peace in trouble spots around the globe. But the organization finds itself facing a deepening financial crisis because many of these same member nations are not paying their share for the operations.

The United Nations has been called upon to mount eight new peacekeeping operations since 1988, compared with 13 in its previous 43 years of existence. This year it is planning ambitious new operations in Cambodia and Yugoslavia involving some 15,000 troops and policemen and which could double the organization's peacekeeping budget to more than \$1 billion.

This means that the United States, which pays 30.38 per cent of these bills under a formula assessing members according to their wealth, could see its assessments for peacekeeping rise from around \$197 million last year to at least \$300 million.

\$377 Million Debt

But no one here knows whether the members will pay the new assessments. The United States and other leading members already owe the United Nations hundreds of millions of dollars in unpaid peacekeeping dues. At the end of last year, member nations collectively owed the United Nations \$377 million in overdue peacekeeping assessments. While this debt was less than the record \$444.1 million they owed at the end of 1989, the figure still represents the second highest peacekeeping arrearage on record.

The declaration that Mr. Bush and the others plan to issue this week is full of appeals to expand the organization's peacemaking role, but at present it contains no pledge to pay these unpaid bills. "The world's leaders are coming here to tell us to work harder," said a senior United Nations official who asked not to be identified. "But will they remember their checkbooks?"

China Is Paid Up


The United States remains the biggest single delinquent on peacekeeping, owing \$140.9 million at the end of last year.

But of the other four members with permanent Security Council seats, only China, which has the smallest share of the five, had paid its peacekeeping bills in full. Russia, which has taken over the debts and the Security Council seat

Continued on Page A8, Column 1

Photo Copy Preservation

Unpaid Bills at the U.N.
The five largest debtors through December 31, 1991
Total is shown at right.



	Regular budget	Peacekeeping	Total
United States	\$266.4	\$140.9	\$407.3
Soviet Union (Russia)	46.0	126.7	172.7
South Africa	45.0	61.5	61.5
Brazil	17.8	1.0	18.8
Ukraine	5.7	12.4	18.2

* Russia has assumed debts accumulated by the Soviet Union.
† South Africa cannot participate in the General Assembly.

The New York Times

U.N.'s Fund Crisis Worsens As Role in Security Rises

Continued From Page A1

of the former Soviet Union, owed \$126.7 million for peace keeping at the end of last year, while France and Britain owed \$10.4 million and \$4 million respectively.

Of other leading contributors to the United Nations peacekeeping budget, Germany's unpaid assessments totaled \$17 million, Ukraine owes \$12.4 million, Poland \$10 million and Italy \$5 million.

In addition to unpaid peace keeping dues, all United Nations members owed another \$439.3 million to the organization's regular budget which again was the second highest figure on record, though slightly lower than their cumulative debts at the end of 1989.

These unpaid regular budget contributions worsen the United Nations' budget crisis, officials say, by tightening the overall financial situation and making it harder to juggle funds between accounts.

U.S. Debt \$739 Million

Counting unpaid assessments for the regular budget, including the debt for this year, the United States' total debt to the United Nations now stands at

The leading member nations are still far behind in dues.

\$739.4 million. Not counting this year's assessment, the United States owed \$407.3 million, at the end of last year.

These mounting debts have surprised and angered many top United Nations officials because the organization's peacekeeping role has been widely praised by governments and parliaments in recent years. In 1988 the United Nations was awarded the Nobel Peace Prize for its peacekeeping efforts.

"It is a great irony," Secretary General Javier Pérez de Cuéllar said before stepping down last month, "that the United Nations is on the brink of insolvency at the very time the world community has entrusted the organization with new and unprecedented responsibilities. It is the member states who must collectively bear the responsibility for this most unfortunate situation."

Sir Brian Urquhart, the former Under Secretary General in charge of peacekeeping, complained that peacekeeping operations have always been "run on a shoestring" and argued that governments must be prepared "to put adequate resources behind global and regional security systems."

Formula for Peacekeeping

While countries are assessed contributions to the United Nations regular budget according to their wealth, peacekeeping contributions are divided

differently, with the five permanent Security Council members paying relatively more on account of their special responsibility under the Charter for preserving international security.

Thus, while the United States pays 25 percent of the regular budget, its percentage of keeping bills is 30.38. Similarly, Russia pays 11.44 percent of peacekeeping costs but 9.41 percent of the budget. The comparable shares for Britain are 6.10 and 5.02 percent; for France 7.29 and 6.00 percent; and for China 0.94 and 0.77 percent.

Calculating the cost of peacekeeping operations on a year-by-year basis is difficult, budget officials say, because the Security Council frequently mandates a force for a portion of a year or for a period bridging parts of two years. Start-up costs also usually boost expenditure at the beginning of an operation, allowing it to tail away later.

But the cost of the new Cambodian peacekeeping operation, where in addition to sending troops and police, the United Nations must virtually take over the administration of the country as it organizes elections, is informally estimated at between \$750 million and \$1 billion for the first full year.

Start-up costs will be particularly heavy because of the lack of basic infrastructure, such as roads, bridges, airstrips and communications destroyed by years of civil war.

As a result, officials believe the United Nations could find itself spending \$800 million to \$700 million during the remainder of this year in Cambodia alone, assuming the operation gets fully underway by the start of the rainy season in May.

In addition the Security Council is considering sending a 10,000-strong force into Yugoslavia to oversee the present fragile cease-fire at a cost estimated at between \$350 million and \$400 million in a full year, bringing the total cost of both operations to about \$1 billion. This would be double the roughly \$500 million the United Nations spent last year on peacekeeping operations in Lebanon, the Israeli-annexed Golan Heights, Kuwait, Western Sahara, Angola, Central America and El Salvador.

2 Operations to End

This year the cost of these seven operations will fall slightly with the Central American observer group's activity scheduled to end in April and the Angola operation scheduled to end in October.

But United Nations peacekeeping costs in El Salvador will rise sharply as its forces start overseeing the new truce and disarmament agreements there.

The United Nations also runs three peacekeeping operations which are not financed through the United Nations peacekeeping accounts.

The force deployed in Cyprus, which costs about \$31 million a year, is paid for by voluntary contributions from member states. But the United Nations truce observer mission based in Jerusalem and the observer mission on the India-Pakistan border, which together cost another \$35 million a year, are paid from the regular budget.

Photo Copy Preservation

Nancy in mtg @ 1:10p. for @ least 1 hr.

1/24/92

State will be showing over report/memo

State Proc of over docs 1/24/92 2p

Jeannie -- for UN speech, will need language for article 99 of un charter....

① ✓

LAW LIBRARY ✓

② will also need run-down of nations that have recently signed the Non-Proliferation Treaty or pledged to do so.

③ also, places where U.N. peacekeeping forces are now active.

R.B. getting back

Thanks.

DMcG

state faxed over docs. 2p 1/24/92

another com on soon

- ① • ANGOLA
- ① • CAMBODIA
- ① • CYPRUS
- ① • EL SALVADOR
- ① • PERSIAN GULF

- ① • INDIA/PAKISTAN
- ③ • MID-EAST [ISRAELI SENIORS 3 TEAMS
- ① WESTERN SAHARA

□ Amb. Pickering → 647-3972

□ WILL EMBRY → UN POL. AFFAIRS 647-2641

↓ " IN MTG @ 1:25p.

□ ROB HUGHES → 647-2641


↓ NEWAL HIGHTSMITH - LEGAL OFFICE 647-1043

TO FAX OVER THE INFO ON #2

NATIONAL SECURITY COUNCIL
WASHINGTON, D.C. 20506

January 17, 1992

MEMORANDUM FOR TONY SNOW

FROM: WILLIAM F. SITTMANN 

SUBJECT: UN Security Council Speech Themes

General Scowcroft has asked me to forward the attached themes for the President's speech at the United Nations Security Council meeting January 31.

Attachment

Tab A UNSC Summit Speech Themes

THEMES FOR UN SECURITY COUNCIL SUMMIT SPEECH

-- World is shifting from paralysis of world division/Cold War to cooperation. (Long historic review unnecessary.) Hope for the New World Order (or the new world) and realization of the UN Charter. Looking around the table and recalling recent UNSC actions beginning with Gulf, see amazing reaffirmation of UN Charter. Comment on Gulf cooperation/ triumph.

-- World growing closer as Cold War fades. More shared goals because values we have always espoused are increasingly shared. So many nations of the world (can't say all UNSC because of China) moving to democracy and greater freedoms -- "commonwealth of freedom." Our values are increasingly shared by other nations on every continent.

-- Human rights as a fundamental value. Be as clear as possible in including or alluding to continuing human rights abuses in China.

-- Importance of shared responsibility to meet challenges which inevitably still remain and some of which are reappearing, and some of which are to come. UNSC as preeminent international organization, though some challenges can be addressed in regional organizations; not every problem requires UN efforts and resources. UN peacekeeping and peacemaking importance. UN as a problem solver. US commitment to the UN reaffirmed.

-- Important role of the UN Secretary General in peacemaking, including potential in preventive diplomacy. Also challenge he has and trust US reposes in him to foster UN reform for greater efficiency and effectiveness across the board. US commitment to work with him.

-- Importance of commitment to nonproliferation of weapons of mass destruction and related technology and knowhow -- perhaps the greatest challenge we face now. Some nations are facing this responsibly. Momentum in nations signing NPT. Continuing emphasis on missile proliferation (China). No compromises where nuclear technology and weapons of mass destruction are concerned.

-- One of the challenges is renegade states. They are not responsible and are outside the developing community of cooperation.

-- Unfinished business with Iraq

- o Destruction of mass weapons
- o Full funding of UNSCOM
- o Calling upon Iraq to carry out UNSC Resolutions 706/712
- o US view that Saddam is the threat and should be ousted by his people

Security Council to Pledge To Stop Global Aggression

By PAUL LEWIS

Special to The New York Times

UNITED NATIONS, Jan. 23 — President Bush and heads of government from the other 14 members of the United Nations Security Council will be asked at a meeting on Jan. 31 to commit themselves to reverse future acts of aggression and affirm that President Saddam Hussein of Iraq must comply fully with their terms for ending the Persian Gulf war.

A draft of the declaration they plan to issue after the first ever summit meeting of the Council reaffirms its central role in maintaining world peace and says the world today has "the best chance for peace, security and development since the foundation of the United Nations" 47 years ago.

The draft declaration, prepared by Britain, which holds the Council presidency this month, invites the new United Nations Secretary General, Boutros Ghali, to prepare recommendations by May 1 "on how to strengthen the United Nations capacity for preventative diplomacy, for peacemaking and for peace keeping."

It would also commit the heads of government to agree to a worldwide ban on chemical weapons by the end of this year and give broad support to efforts to restrict the arms trade and halt the spread of nuclear weapons.

In the latest example of the United Nations' growing role as a peacemaker, the Security Council today began its first attempt to settle the Somali

Seeking a stronger role in preventive diplomacy.

civil war, which has caused at least 20,000 civilian casualties in the last few weeks in the capital, Mogadishu, alone.

The Council unanimously approved a resolution asking the Secretary General to mediate in the war and imposing a mandatory ban on shipping arms to this northeast African nation.

The resolution also asks the Secretary General to increase the flow of humanitarian assistance to Somalia and to appoint a special coordinator to supervise the aid.

It also calls on all the factions in Somalia to cooperate with the Secretary General in getting aid to the starving and sick people in country and to insure the safety of relief officials working there.

'Symbol of Human Tragedy'

In a report to the Council on the current political situation in Somalia, the Secretary General said the country had become "a grim symbol of human tragedy, misery and degradation."

But he reported that all parties to the war appear to want the United Nations to help end the fighting except for Gen. Mohammed Farah Aided, leader of one of the warring factions, who still opposes a cease-fire and outside mediation.

The draft summit-meeting declaration, which Britain has circulated to other Security Council members, asking for their comments by Friday, says the leaders are meeting at a time of "momentous change" when "the ending of the cold war has raised hopes for a safer and more prosperous world."

It notes that "last year, under the authority of the United Nations, the international community expelled Iraq from Kuwait." And it rules out any early easing of trade and other sanctions, saying the Council "will insist on full compliance with all its relevant resolutions including respect for the human rights of Iraq's people" — a reference to the Iraqi Government's continuing economic blockade against the Kurds in the north.

Collective Security

At present, President Hussein has refused to sell oil to buy food and medicine for his people as the Security Council proposed because he does not want to let the United Nations control the spending of those revenues. Iraq has also refused to provide details about its military industries so the United Nations can monitor them to insure they do not try to manufacture banned weapons of mass destruction.

Britain proposes in the draft resolution that the meeting reaffirm its "attachment to the principal of collective security as the instrument to deal with threats to peace and, if necessary, to reverse acts of aggression."

Nations should resolve disputes peacefully giving "a key role" to the International Court of Justice in the Hague, it says.

The British draft deals cautiously with the increasing role of the United Nations in promoting respect for human rights and democracy, diplomats say, because of China's vulnerable human-rights record.

Defusing Crises

It merely notes that the United Nations' peacekeeping role has "broadened considerably in recent years" and now includes election monitoring, human rights verification and encouraging countries to adopt "accountable forms of government."

The resolution would also invite the Secretary General to propose ways of giving the United Nations a greater role in peacemaking and in defusing potential crises before they erupt into violence.

It specifically invites him to consider making more use of his right under Article 99 of the United Nations Charter to bring such potential disputes before the Security Council.

It also implicitly invites him to look at the unused provisions of Article 43, which allows countries to put military forces at the disposal of the Security Council for preserving peace, asking him to consider the Council's need for "adequate resources both material and financial."

Finally, the British draft gives strong support to current efforts to control the spread of nuclear and other weapons of mass destruction and to promote regional disarmament agreements.

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Ans. Pickin's office

Address to the 44th Session of the United Nations General Assembly
in New York, New York
September 25, 1989

Mr. President, Mr. Secretary-General, and distinguished delegates of the United Nations: I am honored to speak to you today as you open the 44th Session of the General Assembly. I would like to congratulate Joseph Garba of Nigeria, a distinguished diplomat, on his election as President of this Session of the General Assembly, and I wish him success in his presidency.

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

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

Today, I would like to begin by recognizing—again, a personal privilege—the current Permanent Representatives with whom I served: Ambassador Dugersuren [Mongolia], Roberto Martinez Ordenez [Honduras], Blaise Rabetafika [Madagascar], Permanent Observer John Dube [Monaco]. And it's wonderful to look around and see so many familiar faces: foreign ministers, members of the Secretariat, delegates. And, of course, Mr. Secretary-General, you were then the Permanent Representative for your country when we served together. Under Secretary Abby Farah, you were a

Permanent Representative back then, too. Ambassador Aguilar [Venezuela] was then here and is now back. And off we go. And it's an honor to be back with you in this historic hall, and I apologize if I have forgotten any of you old enough to have served in 1971 and 1972.

But the United Nations was established 44 years ago upon the ashes of war and amidst great hopes. And the United Nations can do great things. No, the United Nations is not perfect. It's not a panacea for world's problems. But it is a vital forum where the nations of the world seek to replace conflict with consensus, and it must remain a forum for peace. The U.N. is moving closer to that ideal, and it has the support of the United States of America.

In recent years, certainly since my time here, the war of words that has often echoed in this chamber is giving way to a new mood. We've seen a welcome shift from polemics to peacekeeping. U.N. peacekeeping forces are on duty right now, and over the years more than 700 peacekeepers have given their lives in service to the United Nations. Today I want to remember one of those soldiers of peace—an American, on a mission of peace under the United Nations flag—on a mission really for all the world. A man of unquestioned bravery, unswerving dedication to the United Nations ideal: Lieutenant Colonel William Richard Higgins. And I call on the General Assembly to condemn the murder of this soldier of peace and call on those responsible to have the decency to return his remains to his family. And let us all right now, right here, rededicate ourselves and our nations to the cause that Colonel Higgins served so selflessly.

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

of undeniable force, and that is freedom.

Freedom's advance is evident everywhere: in central Europe, in Hungary, where state and society are now in the midst of a movement towards political pluralism and a free market economy, where the barrier that once enforced an unnatural division between Hungary and its neighbors to the west has been torn down—torn down—replaced by a new hope for the future, a new hope in freedom. We see freedom at work in Poland, where in deference to the will of the people the Communist Party has relinquished its monopoly on power; and, indeed, in the Soviet Union, where the world hears the voices of people no longer afraid to speak out or to assert the right to rule themselves.

But freedom's march is not confined to a single continent or to the developed world alone. We see the rise of freedom in Latin America where, one by one, dictatorships are giving way to democracy. We see it on the continent of Africa where more and more nations see, in the system of free enterprise, salvation for economies crippled by excessive state control. East and west, north and south, on every continent, we can see the outlines of a new world of freedom.

Of course, freedom's work remains unfinished. The trend we see is not yet universal. Some regimes still stand against the tide. Some rulers still deny the right of the people to govern themselves. But now the power of prejudice and despotism is challenged. Never before have these regimes stood so isolated and alone, so out of step with the steady advance of freedom. Today we are witnessing an ideological collapse: the demise of the totalitarian idea of the omniscient, all-powerful state. There are many reasons for this collapse, but in the end, one fact alone explains what we see today. Advocates of the totalitarian idea saw its triumph written in the laws of history. They failed to see the love of freedom that was written in the human heart.

Two hundred years ago today, the United States, our Congress, proposed the Bill of Rights—fundamental freedoms belonging to every individual, rights no government can deny. Those same rights have been recognized in this congress of nations in the

words of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights: "a common standard of achievement for all peoples and all nations." From where we stand, on the threshold of this new world of freedom, the trend is clear enough. If, for those who write the history of our times, the 20th century is remembered as the century of the state, the 21st century must be an era of emancipation, the age of the individual.

Make no mistake: Nothing can stand in the way of freedom's march. There will come a day when freedom is seen the world over to be a universal birthright of every man and woman, of every race and walk of life. Even under the worst circumstances, at the darkest of times, freedom has always remained alive—a distant dream, perhaps, but always alive. Today that dream is no longer distant. For the first time, for millions around the world, a new world of freedom is within reach. Today is freedom's moment.

You see, the possibility now exists for the creation of a true community of nations built on shared interests and ideals—a true community, a world where free governments and free markets meet the rising desire of the people to control their own destiny, to live in dignity, and to exercise freely their fundamental human rights. It is time that we worked together to deliver that destiny into the hands of men and women everywhere. Our challenge is to strengthen the foundations of freedom, encourage its advance, and face our most urgent challenges, the global challenges of the 21st century: economic health, environmental well-being, the great questions of war and peace.

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

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

barriers to growth exist, and those, too, require effective action. Too many developing countries struggle today under a burden of debt that makes growth all but impossible. The nations of the world deserve better opportunity to achieve a measure of control over their own economic fate and build better lives for their own people. The approach the U.S. has put forward—the Brady Plan—will help these nations reduce that debt and, at the same time, encourage the free market reforms that will fuel growth.

In just 2 days I will be speaking to the International Monetary Fund and the World Bank, and I'll discuss there in more detail the steps that our nations can take in dealing with the debt problem. But I can say now the new world of freedom is not a world where a few nations live in comfort while others live in want.

The power of commerce is a force for progress. Open markets are the key to continued growth in the developing world. Today the United States buys over one-half of the manufactured exports that all developing nations combined sell to the industrialized world. It's time for the other advanced economies to follow suit, to create expanded opportunities for trade. I believe we'll learn in the century ahead that many nations of the world have barely begun to tap their true potential for development. The free market and its fruits are not the special preserve of a few. They are a harvest that everyone can share.

Beyond the challenge of global growth lies another issue of global magnitude: the environment. No line drawn on a map can stop the advance of pollution. Threats to our environment have become international problems. We must develop an international approach to urgent environmental issues, one that seeks common solutions to common problems. The United Nations is already at work on the question of global warming, in the effort to prevent oil spills and other disasters from fouling our seas and the air we breathe.

And I will tell you now the United States will do its part. We have committed ourselves to the worldwide phaseout of all chlorofluorocarbons by the year 2000. We've proposed amending our own Clean Air Act to ensure clean air for our citizens

within a single generation. We've banned the import of ivory to protect the elephant and rhinoceros from the human predators who exterminate them for profit. And we've begun to explore ways to work with other nations, with the major industrialized democracies and in Poland and in Hungary, to make common cause for the sake of our environment. The environment belongs to all of us. In this new world of freedom, the world's citizens must enjoy this common trust for generations to come.

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

We must move forward to limit and eliminate weapons of mass destruction. Five years ago, at the United Nations Conference on Disarmament in Geneva, I presented a United States draft treaty outlawing chemical weapons. Since then, progress has been made; but time is running out. The threat is growing. More than 20 nations now possess chemical weapons or the capability to produce them, and these horrible weapons are now finding their way into regional conflicts. This is simply unacceptable. For the sake of mankind, we must halt and reverse this threat.

Today I want to announce steps that the United States is ready to take, steps to rid the world of these truly terrible weapons, towards a treaty that will ban—eliminate—all chemical weapons from the Earth 10 years from the day it is signed. This initiative contains three major elements.

First, in the first 8 years of a chemical weapons treaty, the U.S. is ready to destroy nearly all—98 percent—of our chemical weapons stockpile, provided the Soviet Union joins the ban. And I think they will. Second, we are ready to destroy all of our chemical weapons—100 percent, every one—within 10 years, once all nations capable of building chemical weapons sign that total ban treaty. And third, the United States is ready to begin now. We will eliminate more than 80 percent of our stockpile, even as we work to complete a treaty, if the Soviet Union joins us in cutting chemical weapons to an equal level and we agree on the conditions, including inspections, under

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

The world has lived too long in the shadow of chemical warfare. So, let us act together beginning today to rid the Earth of this scourge.

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

And the United States is convinced that open and innovative measures can move disarmament forward and also ease international tensions. And that's the idea behind the open skies proposal about which the Soviets have now expressed a positive attitude. It's the idea behind the open lands proposal permitting, for the first time ever, free travel for all Soviet and American diplomats throughout each other's countries. Openness is the enemy of mistrust, and every step towards a more open world is a step toward the new world we seek.

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

Each of these achievements is important in its own right, but they are more important still as signs of a new attitude that prevails between the United States and the U.S.S.R. Serious differences remain. We

know that. But the willingness to deal constructively and candidly with those differences is news that we, and indeed the world, must welcome.

We have not entered into an era of perpetual peace. The threats to peace that nations face may today be changing, but they've not vanished. In fact, in a number of regions around the world, a dangerous combination is now emerging: regimes armed with old and unappeasable animosities and modern weapons of mass destruction. This development will raise the stakes whenever war breaks out. Regional conflict may well threaten world peace as never before.

The challenge of preserving peace is a personal one for all of you right here in this hall. Mr. Secretary General, with great respect, you have made it your own. The United Nations can be a mediator, a forum where parties in conflict come in search of peaceful solutions. For the sake of peace, the U.N. must redouble its support for the peace efforts now underway in regions of conflict all over the world. And let me assure you the United States is determined to take an active role in settling regional conflicts. Sometimes our role in regional disputes is and will be highly public. And sometimes, like many of you, we work quietly behind the scenes. But always, we are working for positive change and lasting peace.

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

And finally, we must join forces to combat the threat of terrorism. Every nation and the United Nations must send the outlaws of the world a clear message: Hostage-taking and the terror of random violence are methods that cannot win the

world's approval. Terrorism of any kind is repugnant to all values that a civilized world holds in common. And make no mistake: Terrorism is a means that no end, no matter how just that end, can sanctify.

Whatever the challenge, freedom greatly raises the chances of our success. Freedom's moment is a time for hope for all of the world because freedom, once set in motion, takes on a momentum of its own. As I said the day I assumed the Presidency of our country: "We don't have to talk late into the night about which form of government is better." We know that free government, democracy, is best. And I believe that is the hard-won truth of our time, the unassailable fact that still stands at the end of a century of great struggle, of human suffering.

And this is true not because all our differences must give way to democracy, but because democracy makes room for all our differences. In democracy, diversity finds its common home. At the very heart of the democratic ideal is respect—for freedom of belief, freedom of thought and action in all its diversity, for human rights. The world has experienced enough of the ideologies that have promised to remake man in some new and better image. We've seen the colossal tragedies and dashed hopes. We know now that freedom and democracy hold the answers. What men and nations want is the freedom to live by their own lights and a chance to prosper in peace.

When I began today, I spoke to you about peacekeeping. I want to speak to you now about peacemaking. We must bring peace to the people who have never known its blessings. There's a painting that hangs on the wall of my office in the White House, and it pictures President Abraham Lincoln and his generals meeting near the end of a

war that remains the bloodiest in the history of my country. Outside at that moment a battle rages, in this picture. And yet what we see in the distance is a rainbow—a symbol of hope, of the passing of the storm. That painting is called *The Peacemakers*. For me, it is a constant reminder that our struggle, the struggle for peace, is a struggle blessed by hope.

I do remember sitting in this hall. I remember the mutual respect among all of us proudly serving as Representatives. Yes, I remember the almost endless speeches—and I don't want this to be one of them—[laughter]—the Security Council sessions, the receptions, those long receiving lines, the formal meetings of this Assembly and the informal discussions in the delegates lounge over here. And I remember something more, something beyond the frantic pace and sometimes frustrating experiences of daily life here: the heartbeat of the United Nations, the quiet conviction that we could make the world more peaceful, more free. What we sought then—all of us—now lies within our reach.

I ask each of you here in this hall: Can we not bring a unity of purpose to the United Nations? Can we not make this new world of freedom the common destiny we seek? I believe we can. I know we must.

My solemn wish today is that here among the United Nations that spirit will take hold and that all men and all nations will make freedom's moment their own. Thank you. God bless you. And may God bless the work of the United Nations. Thank you very much.

Note: The President spoke at 11:45 a.m. in the General Assembly Hall at the United Nations.

Appointment of Robert J. Portman as Deputy Assistant to the President for Legislative Affairs September 25, 1989

The President today announced the appointment of Robert J. Portman as Deputy Assistant to the President for Legislative Af-

fairs. He would succeed Gordon Wheeler.

Since 1989 Mr. Portman has served as Associate Counsel to the President. Prior to

this, he served as an attorney in the law firm of Graydon, Head and Ritchey in Cincinnati, OH, 1986-1989; and an attorney with the law firm of Patton, Boggs and Blow in Washington, DC, 1984-1986. In addition, he has served as public affairs officer and research associate on the Congressional/Presidential Select Commission on Immigration and Refugee Policy in Washington,

DC, 1979-1981, and he has worked for Representative Bill Gradson (R-OH).

Mr. Portman graduated from Dartmouth College (B.A., 1979) and the University of Michigan Law School (J.D., 1984). He was born December 19, 1955, in Cincinnati, OH. Mr. Portman is married and resides in Alexandria, VA.

Appointment of Constance Bastine Harriman as a Member of the Great Lakes Fishery Commission September 25, 1989

The President today announced his intention to appoint Constance Bastine Harriman as a Commissioner of the United States Section of the Great Lakes Fishery Commission. She would succeed Becky Norton Dunlop.

Since 1989 Ms. Harriman has served as Assistant Secretary of the Interior for Fish and Wildlife and Parks at the Department of the Interior in Washington, DC. Prior to this, she served as an associate for litigation with the law firm of Steptoe and Johnson in Washington, DC, 1987-1989; Associate So-

licitor for Energy and Resources at the Department of the Interior, 1986-1987; Special Assistant to the Solicitor at the Department of the Interior, 1985-1986; associate with the law firm of Sheppard, Mullin, Richter and Hampton, 1980-1985; and an attorney adviser at the Department of Justice in the Office of Legal Policy, 1982.

Ms. Harriman graduated from Stanford University (B.A., 1970; M.A., 1973) and the University of California, Los Angeles (J.D., 1980). She resides in Bethesda, MD.

Nomination of Edwin G. Foulke, Jr., To Be a Member of the Occupational Safety and Health Review Commission, and Designation as Chairman September 26, 1989

The President today announced his intention to nominate Edwin G. Foulke, Jr., to be a member of the Occupational Safety and Health Review Commission for the term expiring April 27, 1995. He would succeed Elliot Ross Buckley. Upon confirmation he will be designated Chairman.

Since 1985 Mr. Foulke has served as an attorney with the law firm of Constangy, Brooks and Smith in Columbia, SC. Prior to

this, he served as an attorney with the law firm of Rainey, Britton, Gibbes and Clarkson in Greenville, SC, 1983-1985; and attorney with the law firm of Thompson, Mann and Hutson in Greenville, SC, 1978-1983.

Mr. Foulke graduated from North Carolina State University (B.A., 1974) and Loyola University School of Law (J.D., 1978). He was born October 30, 1952, in Sellersville, PA. He resides in Columbia, SC.

Statement by Press Secretary Fitzwater on President Bush's Meeting in New York, New York, With President Václav Havel of Czechoslovakia
September 30, 1990

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

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

and we are grateful."

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

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

Address Before the 45th Session of the United Nations General Assembly in New York, New York
October 1, 1990

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

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

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

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

the power to succeed.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

Thank you very, very much.

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

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

October 1, 1990

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

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

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

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

October 1, 1990

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

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

Remarks on Signing a Resolution Providing Funding for Continued Government Operation and a Question-and-Answer Session With Reporters in New York, New York

October 1, 1990

The President. The bill that I'm signing here today will keep the Government operating through October 5th, pending passage by Congress of a budget resolution which reflects the summit agreement. It also provides the important supplemental funds for Operation Desert Shield.

This bill represents the first step in implementing the budget summit agreement. And now it's up to Congress. The budget agreement we've reached is a good package. This budget is the right package at the right time. It is important to our nation. And it represents our best chance to get the deficit under control.

To the American people, I would say this agreement is balanced, it is fair, and it is absolutely critical to our country that we get an agreement through the Congress. We cannot keep mortgaging the futures of our children and our grandchildren, and we will not.

To the Congress, I would say that this is a time for leadership. We must put aside partisanship for the sake of our nation. We must act now to solve this budget problem.

I would also say this to Congress: Many of us in the political leadership have spoken for years about the need to deal with the deficit. As is usually the case in politics, many different approaches have been urged. We now have a deficit reduction package. It is a good package. It is a compromise. Certainly, I didn't get everything I wanted, and the Democrat leadership didn't get everything they wanted. But like most compromises, it's certainly not going to satisfy everyone. But this is the time to move beyond these individual concerns and exercise leadership for the good of the country.

The deficit reduction package is a balanced package. It cuts spending. It provides incentives for jobs and economic growth. It cleans up the budget-process mess. And it raises needed revenues without raising personal tax rates. And most important, these

deficit measures are real; they have real teeth. It's time to end the talk about the deficit. It is time for action on the deficit. And it's time—I think past time—to put the interest of the country first.

And so, I will now sign this joint resolution and keep things moving.

[At this point, the President signed the resolution.]

I'd be glad to take a couple of questions on this or any other subject before I go on—at the United Nations. It's been a busy one, and I'll be glad to take a few, and then have to go.

Federal Budget Agreement

Q. Is there a planned attack to sell those conservative Republicans, who are already saying they're not going to vote for this?

The President. Well, I want to sell the Democrats who are saying they won't vote for it, and I want to sell the Republicans who are saying they won't—absolutely. When I go back, I'll do my best. I'll take the case, as I'm doing to some degree here, to the American people. I've already been on the telephone. And I think back to what President Reagan had to do in the early eighties. And I heard the hue and cry from Democrats and Republicans, and I could understand it. I mean, if I were in the Congress, maybe I'd be screaming about something I wanted the most. But the time for this is passed. This is too serious now. And the leadership have worked hard. And so, you bet I'll be selling to everybody I can get to listen to me.

Q. But does it concern you, sir, that the loudest voices come from within your own party—

The President. I don't think—

Q. —especially on the issue of taxes?

The President. I don't think it's the loudest. Depends who you—I was watching on the tube last night, and I put down a few of the Democrats as unenthused. But look,

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

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

Q. Mr. President, do you think—

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

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

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

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

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

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

sions from the Marshall Islands and Micronesia.

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

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

Communism held history captive for years. It suspended ancient disputes, and it suppressed ethnic rivalries, nationalist aspirations, and old prejudices. As it has dissolved, suspended hatreds have sprung to life. People who for years have been denied their pasts have begun searching for their own identities, often through peaceful and constructive means, occasionally through factionalism and bloodshed.

This revival of history ushers in a new era, teeming with opportunities and perils. And let's begin by discussing the opportunities.

First, history's renewal enables people to pursue their natural instincts for enterprise. Communism froze that progress until its failures became too much for even its defenders to bear. And now citizens throughout the world have chosen enterprise over envy, personal responsibility over the enticements of the state, prosperity over the poverty of central planning.

The U.N. Charter encourages this adventure by pledging "to employ international machinery for the promotion of the economic and social advancement of all peoples." And I can think of no better way to fulfill this mission than to promote the free flow of goods and ideas. Frankly, ideas and goods will travel around the globe with or without our help. The information revolution has destroyed the weapons of enforcement and isolation and ignorance. In many parts of the world technology has overwhelmed tyr-

anny, proving that the age of information can become the age of liberation if we limit state power wisely and free our people to make the best use of new ideas, inventions, and insights.

By the same token, the world has learned that free markets provide levels of prosperity, growth, and happiness that centrally planned economies can never offer. Even the most charitable estimates indicate that in recent years the free world's economies have grown at twice the rate of the former Communist world.

Growth does more than fill shelves. It permits every person to gain, not at the expense of others but to the benefit of others. Prosperity encourages people to live as neighbors, not as predators. Economic growth can aid international relations in exactly the same way. Many nations represented here are parties to the General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade. The Uruguay round, the latest in the postwar series of trade negotiations, offers hope to developing nations, many of which have been cruelly deceived by the false promises of totalitarianism.

Here in this chamber we hear about North-South problems. But free and open trade, including unfettered access to markets and credit, offer developing countries means of self-sufficiency and economic dignity. If the Uruguay round should fail, a new wave of protectionism could destroy our hopes for a better future. History shows all too clearly that protectionism can destroy wealth within countries and poison relations between them. And therefore, I call upon all members of GATT to redouble their efforts to reach a successful conclusion for the Uruguay round. I pledge that the United States will do its part.

I cannot stress this enough: Economic progress will play a vital role in the new world. It supplies the soil in which democracy grows best. People everywhere seek government of and by the people. And they want to enjoy their inalienable rights to freedom and property and person.

Challenges to democracy have failed. Just last month coup plotters in the Soviet Union tried to derail the forces of liberty and reform, but Soviet citizens refused to follow. Most of the nations in this chamber stood with the forces of reform, led by Mik-

hail Gorbachev and Boris Yeltsin, and against the coup plotters.

The challenge facing the Soviet peoples now—that of building political systems based upon individual liberty, minority rights, democracy, and free markets—mirrors every nation's responsibility for encouraging peaceful, democratic reform. But it also testifies to the extraordinary power of the democratic ideal.

As democracy flourishes, so does the opportunity for a third historical breakthrough: international cooperation. A year ago, the Soviet Union joined the United States and a host of other nations in defending a tiny country against aggression and opposing Saddam Hussein. For the very first time on a matter of major importance, superpower competition was replaced with international cooperation. The United Nations, in one of its finest moments, constructed a measured, principled, deliberate, and courageous response to Saddam Hussein. It stood up to an outlaw who invaded Kuwait, who threatened many states within the region, who sought to set a menacing precedent for the post-cold war world. The coalition effort established a model for the collective settlement of disputes. Members set the goal, the liberation of Kuwait, and devised a courageous, unified means of achieving that goal.

And now, for the first time, we have a real chance to fulfill the U.N. Charter's ambition of working "to save succeeding generations from the scourge of war, to reaffirm faith in fundamental human rights, in the dignity and worth of the human person, in the equal rights of men and women and nations large and small to promote social progress and better standards of life in larger freedom." Those are the words from the charter. We will not revive these ideals if we fail to acknowledge the challenge that the renewal of history presents.

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

ly liberated from the fear of nuclear holocaust, these smaller, virulent conflicts should trouble us all. We must face this challenge squarely: first, by pursuing the peaceful resolution of disputes now in progress; second and more importantly, by trying to prevent others from erupting.

No one here can promise that today's borders will remain fixed for all time. But we must strive to ensure the peaceful, negotiated settlement of border disputes. We also must promote the cause of international harmony by addressing old feuds. We should take seriously the charter's pledge "to practice tolerance and live together in peace with one another as good neighbors."

UNGA Resolution 3379, the so-called "Zionism is racism" resolution, mocks this pledge and the principles upon which the United Nations was founded. And I call now for its repeal. Zionism is not a policy; it is the idea that led to the creation of a home for the Jewish people, to the State of Israel. And to equate Zionism with the intolerable sin of racism is to twist history and forget the terrible plight of Jews in World War II and, indeed, throughout history. To equate Zionism with racism is to reject Israel itself, a member of good standing of the United Nations.

This body cannot claim to seek peace and at the same time challenge Israel's right to exist. By repealing this resolution unconditionally, the United Nations will enhance its credibility and serve the cause of peace.

As we work to meet the challenge posed by the resumption of history, we also must defend the charter's emphasis on inalienable human rights. Government has failed if citizens cannot speak their minds, if they can't form political parties freely and elect governments without coercion, if they can't practice their religion freely, if they can't raise their families in peace, if they can't enjoy a just return from their labor, if they can't live fruitful lives and, at the end of their days, look upon their achievements and their society's progress with pride.

Politicians who talk about "democracy" and "freedom" but provide neither eventually will feel the sting of public disapproval and the power of people's yearning to live free.

Some nations still deny their basic rights to the people. And too many voices cry out

for freedom. For example, the people of Cuba suffer oppression at the hands of dictator who hasn't gotten the word, the lone hold-out in an otherwise democratic hemisphere, a man who hasn't adapted to a world that has no use for totalitarian tyranny. Elsewhere, despots ignore the heartening fact that the rest of the world has embarked upon a new age of liberty.

The renewal of history also imposes an obligation to remain vigilant about new threats and old. We must expand our efforts to control nuclear proliferation. We must work to prevent the spread of chemical and biological weapons and the missiles to deliver them. It is for this reason that I put forward my Middle East arms initiative, a comprehensive approach to stop and, where possible, reverse the accumulation of arms in that part of the world most prone to violence.

We must remember that self-interest will tug nations in different directions and that struggles over perceived interests will flare sometimes into violence. We can never say with confidence where the next conflict may arise. And we cannot promise eternal peace, not while demagogues peddle false promises to people hungry with hope, not while terrorists use our citizens as pawns and drug dealers destroy our peoples. We, as a result, we must band together to overwhelm affronts to basic human dignity.

It is no longer acceptable to shrug and say that one man's terrorist is another man's freedom fighter. Let's put the law above the crude and cowardly practice of hostage-holding.

In a world defined by change, we must be as firm in principle as we are flexible in our response to changing international conditions. That's especially true today of Iraq. Six months after the passage of U.N. Security Council Resolutions 687 and 688, Saddam continues to rebuild his weapons of mass destruction and subject the Iraqi people to brutal repression. Saddam's contempt for U.N. resolutions was first demonstrated back in August of 1990. And it continues even as I am speaking. His government refuses to permit unconditional helicopter inspections and right now is refusing to allow U.N. inspectors to leave inspected

premises with documents relating to an Iraqi nuclear weapons program.

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

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

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

The resumption of history also permits the United Nations to resume the important business of promoting the values that I've discussed today. This body can serve as a vehicle through which willing parties can settle old disputes. In the months to come, I look forward to working with Secretary-General Perez de Cuellar and his successor as we pursue peace in such diverse and troubled lands as Afghanistan, Cambodia, Cyprus, El Salvador, and the Western Sahara.

The United Nations can encourage free-market development through its international lending and aid institutions. However, the United Nations should not dictate the particular forms of government that nations should adopt. But it can and should encourage the values upon which this organization was founded. Together, we should insist that nations seeking our acceptance meet standards of human decency.

Where institutions of freedom have lain dormant, the United Nations can offer them new life. These institutions play a crucial role in our quest for a new world order, an order in which no nation must surrender

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

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

To all assembled, we have an opportunity to spare our sons and daughters the sins and errors of the past. We can build a future more satisfying than any our world has ever known. The future lies undefined before us, full of promise, littered with peril. We can choose the kind of world we want: one blistered by the fires of war and subjected to the whims of coercion and chance, or one made more peaceful by reflection and choice. Take this challenge seriously. Inspire future generations to praise and venerate you, to say, "On the ruins of conflict, these brave men and women built an era of peace and understanding. They inaugurated a new world order, an order worth preserving for the ages."

Good luck to each and every one of you. And thank you very, very much.

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