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For Tony -  
DMcG

McGroarty/Dooley  
September 24, 1989  
4:00 pm  
[UN]

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

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

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

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

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

from every member present -- and the laughter that followed -- united us all. [[Pause]]

Today, I would like to begin by recognizing the permanent representatives -- and especially the ones with whom I served, who still serve here today. Mr. Secretary General. Roberto Martinez-Ordonez [OR-DOE-NYEZ]. Blaise [BLEZ] Rabetafika. [RAH-BAY-TA-FEE-KA] John Dube. [DOO-BAY] It's an honor to be back with you in this historic hall.

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

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

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

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

\*\*\*\*\*

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

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

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

We see freedom at work in Poland -- where, in deference to the will of the people, the Communist Party has relinquished its monopoly on power. And in the Soviet Union -- where the world

hears the voices of people no longer afraid to speak out, or to assert the right to rule themselves.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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You see, the possibility now exists for the creation of a true community of nations -- built on shared interests and ideals. A true community -- a world where free governments and free markets meet the rising desire of the people to control

their own destiny: to live in dignity, and to exercise freely their fundamental human rights.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

these horrible weapons are now finding their way into regional conflicts. This trend is unacceptable.

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

This initiative contains three major elements:

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

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

And third, the U.S. is ready to begin now. We'll eliminate more than 80% of our stockpile -- even as we work to complete a treaty -- if the Soviet Union joins us in cutting chemical weapons to an equal level, and we agree on <sup>the conditions -- including inspections</sup> inspections <sup>1</sup> to verify ~~that~~ <sup>under which</sup> 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 <sup>believe</sup> ~~confident~~ we can achieve the level of verification <sup>necessary</sup> that gives us ~~confidence~~ <sup>confidence</sup> to go forward with the ban.

G.S.  
x →

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

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

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

And let me make this comment on our meetings with Soviet Foreign Minister Shevardnadze over the past few days. I am very pleased by the progress we made. The Soviet Union removed a number of obstacles to progress on conventional and strategic arms reductions. We reached agreements in principle on issues

from verification to nuclear testing. And of course, we agreed to a summit in the spring or early summer of 1990.

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

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

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

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

For the sake of peace, the UN must redouble its support for the peace efforts now underway in regions of conflict all over the world. And let me assure you: the U.S. is determined to

take an active role in settling regional conflicts. Sometimes, our role in regional disputes is and will be highly public. Sometimes, like many of you, we work quietly -- behind the scenes. But always -- **we are working for positive change and lasting peace.**

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

There's a painting that hangs on the wall of my office in the White House. It pictures President Lincoln and his generals, meeting near the end of a war that remains the bloodiest in American history. Outside, at that moment, a battle rages. And yet what we see in the distance is a rainbow -- a symbol of hope, of the passing of the storm. [Pause] That painting is called

The Peacemakers. [Pause] For me, it is a constant reminder that our struggle -- the struggle for peace -- is a struggle blessed by hope. [[Pause]]

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

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

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

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

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

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

# # #

Snow, McGroarty, Duggan  
Grossman, Simon, Bunton  
UN  
September 22, 1991  
Draft Three

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

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

I would like to congratulate outgoing President Guido de Marco of Malta, and incoming President Samir Shihabi of Saudi Arabia. I also want to salute Secretary General Javier Perez de Cuellar, as he begins the final months of his term. Secretary General Perez de Cuellar has served during a period of unprecedented change and turmoil. For nine years we have enjoyed the leadership of this man of peace; a man I feel proud to call my friend.

*OK*  
~~You now have the important task of finding a Secretary General who can build on Secretary General Perez de Cuellar's outstanding record.~~ But today, let us congratulate <sup>him</sup> our friend, and praise his spectacular service to the United Nations -- and the people of the world.

Let me also welcome new members to this chamber: the unified German delegation; two delegations representing Korea; the republics of Estonia, Latvia and Lithuania; and new missions from the Marshall Islands and Micronesia. Just one week ago, 159

nations enjoyed membership in the U.N. Today, the number stands at 166.

*OK*  
~~[ADDITIONAL PERSONAL REMINISCENCES]~~

I will deliver a different kind of address than you have heard from a President of the United States. I will not dwell on a superpower competition that defined international politics for a half century. Instead, I will talk about the challenges of building peace and prosperity in a world leavened by the Cold War's end and the resumption of history.

Communism held history captive for years. It suspended ancient disputes; it suppressed ethnic rivalries, nationalist aspirations, and old prejudices. As it has dissolved, suspended hatreds leaped back to life. In the tumultuous aftermath of communism's collapse, people who for years had been denied their pasts began searching for their own identities -- often through peaceful and constructive means, occasionally through factionalism and bloodshed.

The revival of history presents new opportunities, and throws up old obstacles. Let's begin by discussing the opportunities.

*BB*  
 First, <sup>history's</sup> the renewal of ~~history~~ enables people to pursue their natural instincts for enterprise. As this Century dawned, nations suffocated by feudalism or restrained by monarchy began feeling the promise and power of free enterprise. *all-powerful state*

Communism froze that progress -- until its failures became too much for even its defenders to bear. Now, citizens

throughout the world have rebuffed the blandishments of totalitarianism. They have chosen enterprise over envy; personal responsibility over the enticements of ~~Big Brother~~ <sup>the State</sup>; prosperity over the poverty of central planning.

The U.N. Charter encourages this adventure by pledging "to employ international machinery for the promotion of the economic and social advancement of all peoples." I can think of no better way to fulfill this mission than to promote the free flow of goods and ideas.

Frankly, ideas and goods will travel around the globe with or without our help. The information revolution has destroyed the weapons of enforced isolation and ignorance. It has made geography obsolete. ↵

↵ In our lifetime, technology has overwhelmed tyranny, proving that the age of information also can become the age of liberation. ~~if we limit state power wisely and free our people to make the best use of new ideas, products, and insights.~~

By the same token, the world has learned that free markets provide levels of prosperity, growth and happiness that centrally planned economies could never offer. Even the most charitable reckoning indicates that the economies of the free world have grown at twice the rate of the former communist world during the past decade.

Growth does more than fill shelves. It ~~cultivates~~ ~~conditions necessary for virtue.~~ It ~~drives out the impulse for~~ ~~envy.~~ A growing economy permits every person to gain -- not at

the expense of others, but to the benefit of others. Prosperity encourages people to live as neighbors and not as predators.

Economic growth can aid international relations as well. 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 far more hope to developing countries than monetary aid. They offer means of self-sufficiency and economic dignity.

If the Uruguay Round should fail, it could set off a new wave of protectionism and destroy our hopes for a better future. Therefore, I call upon all members of GATT to redouble their efforts to reach a successful conclusion for the Uruguay Round.

~~But~~ <sup>If I believe</sup> you see, economic progress promises more than full shop shelves. ~~It~~ <sup>Economic progress</sup> provides the soil in which democracy can flourish.

← And democracy is history's second bequest to our new world.

~~This century ushered in a new era of hope and of fledgling for democracy. Totalitarianism stalled that movement -- until now!~~

*Is this post war?*

~~Together, we can build a new era of liberation upon the ruins of the failed liberation movements of recent years.~~

*BB*

<sup>Today,</sup> The people of the world seek government of, by and for the people; they want to enjoy their inalienable rights to freedom of

*fact in the  
fact #  
fact*

property and person. In one of history's rich ironies: so-called People's republics have been toppled by the people themselves, and challenges to democracy have failed.

In a defining moment of history, coup plotters in the Soviet Union tried last month to derail the forces of liberty and reform. They failed.

*ES  
Most of the nations  
stood with the  
forces of reform  
against the  
coup plotters*

The challenge facing the Soviet peoples -- 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. Less than a year ago, the Soviet Union joined the United States and a host of other nations in defending a tiny country against aggression -- and opposing Saddam Hussein. For the very first time on a matter of major importance, superpower competition took a back seat to 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. It also established a model for the collective settlement of disputes: It proclaimed members' determination not to tolerate aggression, ~~or~~ ~~accept hypocrisy.~~

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."

But we will not revive these ideals if we fail to acknowledge the challenges that the renewal of history presents. Consider the challenge of nationalism.

In Europe and Asia, nationalist passions have flared anew, challenging borders, straining the fabric of international society. You see signs of this tumult here. The United Nations organized but four peacekeeping missions during its first 43 years; it has mounted nine missions in the past 36 months. Although we now seem mercifully liberated from the fear of nuclear holocaust, 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, <sup>negotiated</sup> ~~democratic~~ settlement of border disputes.

~~We can hold off hostilities by defending the inalienable rights outlined in the UN's founding documents.~~

OK

DK

Meet  
P.S. 10  
no longer fits

If people cannot speak their minds; if they cannot form political parties freely and elect governments without coercion; if they cannot practice their religion freely; if they cannot raise their families in peace; if they cannot enjoy a just return from their labor; if they cannot live fruitful lives and, at the end of their days, look upon their achievements and their society's progress with pride -- if they do not enjoy these simple freedoms, they have been subjected to a cruel hoax.

~~Politicians around the world use the words "democracy" and "freedom." But many use these terms dishonestly.~~ Governments that fail to carry out their primary responsibility -- protecting the freedoms that enable people to live good lives -- inevitably will give way to systems that do.

~~But~~ We also must promote the cause of international harmony by preventing old feuds from festering. We <sup>should</sup> ~~can take up this task~~ by ~~taking~~ 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 U.N. was founded. I call upon you to repeal it without delay.

To repeal it is not to support every decision made by the government of Israel.

But understand: Zionism is not a policy; it is the idea that led to the creation of a home for the Jewish people, to the state of Israel. To equate Zionism with the intolerable sin of racism is to twist history, and forget the terrible plight of Jews in

World War II, and indeed throughout history. To equate Zionism with racism is to reject Israel <sup>itself a member of United Nations in good standing</sup> -- something this body cannot <sup>and claim</sup> ~~and claim~~ <sup>to seek peace and at the same time</sup> ~~must not do.~~ <sup>challenge Israel's right to exist</sup>

By repealing Resolution 3379 unconditionally, the U.N. will enhance its credibility and serve the cause of peace. This body cannot on the one hand claim to support peace in the Middle East while also challenging Israel's legitimacy.

As we work to meet the challenge posed by the resumption of history, we also must <sup>defend</sup> ~~honor~~ the Charter's emphasis on human rights. <sup>invaluable</sup> Some nations still deny people their basic rights, and too many voices cry out for freedom. The people of Cuba suffer oppression at the hands of a dictator who hasn't gotten the word, <sup>long-held out</sup> 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. <sup>Totally democratic language</sup>

The renewal of history also imposes an obligation to remain vigilant about new threats and old; ~~to write new chapters in the book of mankind's progress, rather than repeating mistakes and misfortunes of bygone times.~~

~~We cannot remain blind to new aggression, new threats.~~ 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.

We must remember that self-interest will tug nations in different directions, and that such struggles will flare sometimes into violence.

OK

~~We know that demagogues will try to peddle false promises to people whose hunger for hope overwhelms their common sense.~~

We can never say with confidence where the next conflict may arise. And we cannot promise eternal peace -- not while demagogues peddle false promises to people hungry with hope; not while terrorists use our citizens as pawns, and drug dealers destroy our people. Instead, we must band together to overwhelm affronts to basic human dignity.

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

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

That is especially true today of the outlaw regime in 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.

GB  
Let me repeat: our  
insignificant  
is not with  
people of  
Iraq  
Arrogant

His contempt for U.N. resolutions -- first demonstrated in August 1990 -- shows that we must keep U.N. sanctions in place as long as he remains in power. It also shows that we cannot compromise for a moment in seeing that Iraq destroys all its weapons of mass destruction.

This is not to say that we should punish the Iraqi people. Security Council Resolution 706 created a responsible mechanism

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*Let me repeat our argument was never with the people of Iraq.*

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~~The U.N. Security Council's actions were not failure to~~  
~~This is not to say that we should punish the Iraqi people.~~

~~They were failures~~  
Security Council Resolution 706 created a responsible mechanism

*ended*

*It was  
with a brute  
dictator  
whose  
arrogance  
dishonored  
the past  
Iraqi  
people*

for sending humanitarian relief to innocent Iraqi citizens. Now, we must put that mechanism to work. ~~But we will~~ 5

[any additional Iraq language]

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

The resumption of history also opens up new opportunities for the United Nations. I learned years ago that the United Nations has few resources for resolving large-scale conflicts. But I also learned that you can advance the causes of peace and prosperity.

You serve as 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 Afghanistan, Cambodia, Cyprus, El Salvador, and the Western Sahara.

You can encourage free-market development through your international lending and aid institutions; you can discourage bad behavior through the use of appropriate sanctions.

*GB*  
 Where institutions of freedom have lain dormant, you can offer them new life. These institutions play a crucial role in our quest for a New World Order -- an order characterized by the rule of law, rather than the resort to force; the cooperative *an order in which every nation surrenders one iota of its sovereignty*

settlement of disputes, rather than ~~the~~ <sup>anarchy is not far</sup> anarchic warfare; and an unstinting belief in human rights.

Finally, you may wonder about America's role in the new world I have described. Let me assure you, The United States has no intention of striving for a Pax Americana. But neither will we retreat into isolationism. We will remain engaged. We will offer freindship and leadership. In short, we seek a Pax Universalis built upon shared responsibilities and aspirations.

In this world, every nation must accept its responsibilities. The United Nations should not dictate the particular forms of governments that nations should adopt. But it can and should encourage the values upon which this organization was founded. Together, we should insist that nations seeking our acceptance meet basic standards of human ~~rights, that they commit to the principle of resolving their disputes peacefully ; that they honor individual rights, protect minority rights, defend democraey, and establish a fair, just rule of law.~~ <sup>decency and behavior.</sup>

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

The future lies undefined before us, full of promise; littered with peril. We can choose the kind of world we want: ~~one made peaceful by reflection and choice, or one blistered by fires of war and subjected to the ugly whims of coercion and chance.~~ <sup>conflict, or one made peaceful by reflection and goodness.</sup>

*Nothing in this concept of who suggests any nation surrender*

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 ~~we~~ *worthy of preserving.*  
~~want to preserve.~~

Good luck. Thank you very, very much.

# # # #



# WHITE HOUSE STAFFING MEMORANDUM

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

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

SUBJECT: \_\_\_\_\_

	ACTION	FYI		ACTION	FYI
VICE PRESIDENT	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	HORNER	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
SUNUNU	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	MCCLURE	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
SCOWCROFT	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	PETERSMEYER	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
DARMAN	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	PORTER	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
BRADY	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	ROGICH	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
BROMLEY	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	SMITH	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
CARD	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	SNOW	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>
DEMAREST	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	BOSKIN	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
FITZWATER	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	_____	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
GRAY	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	_____	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
HOLIDAY	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	_____	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>

REMARKS:

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

RESPONSE:

*Good - a few suggestions. Do we want to mention anything about UN inspection teams in Iraq?*  
*[Signature]*

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

2

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

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

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

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

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

3

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

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

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

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

quotes  
marks?

4

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

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

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

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

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

5

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

// Kind  
of  
harsh

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

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

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

In repealing this resolution no one agrees to submit unequivocally to every decision made by the government of Israel. Many of us will disagree with particular stands taken by Israel, just as we do with any member state. < Mention 120 day delay? >

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

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

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

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

*Isn't this  
a John  
Lennon  
line?*

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

# WHITE HOUSE STAFFING MEMORANDUM

91 SEP 23 12:00

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

PRESIDENTIAL ADDRESS: THE UNITED NATIONS GENERAL ASSEMBLY

SUBJECT: MONDAY, SEPTEMBER 23, 11:00 a.m.

	ACTION	FYI		ACTION	FYI
VICE PRESIDENT	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	HORNER	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
SUNUNU	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	MCCLURE	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
SCOWCROFT	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	PETERSMEYER	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
DARMAN	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	PORTER	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
BRADY	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	ROGICH	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
BROMLEY	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	SMITH	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
CARD	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	SNOW	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>
DEMAREST	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	BOSKIN	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
FITZWATER	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>		<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
GRAY	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>		<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
HOLIDAY	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>		<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>

REMARKS:

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

RESPONSE:

*No comments.*

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

2

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

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

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

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

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

3

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

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

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

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

4

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

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

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

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

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

5

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

122

Document No. 27176855

# WHITE HOUSE STAFFING MEMORANDUM

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

PRESIDENTIAL ADDRESS: THE UNITED NATIONS GENERAL ASSEMBLY

SUBJECT: MONDAY, SEPTEMBER 23, 11:00 a.m.

	ACTION	FYI		ACTION	FYI
VICE PRESIDENT	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	HORNER	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
SUNUNU	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	MCCLURE	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
SCOWCROFT	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	PETERSMEYER	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
DARMAN	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	PORTER	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
BRADY	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	ROGICH	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
BROMLEY	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	SMITH	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
CARD	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	SNOW	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>
DEMAREST	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<del>BOSKIN</del>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
FITZWATER	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<del>_____</del>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
GRAY	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<del>_____</del>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
HOLIDAY	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<del>_____</del>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>

REMARKS:

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

RESPONSE:

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

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

*but doesn't the speech do this, by its repetition on Communism?*

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

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

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

*of last speech to UN?*

*Confrontation*

For nearly 50 years, world affairs revolved around a conflict between the free world -- the United States and other democracies -- and the communist world -- principally, the Soviet Union. Many wars, many debates, many events reflected the competition between two ideologies: communism, which asserted the

primacy of governments over individuals; and democracy capitalism, which declared that governments derive their ~~just~~ <sup>rights to govern</sup> ~~rights~~ <sup>legitimate power</sup> from the people they serve.

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

*easier to read?*

*we may have had differences with Britain under Labour, or with Sweden; but there is no question that we & they were on the same "scale."*

not clear what point is being made here

2

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

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

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

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

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

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

Think about it: ~~In the long history of the United Nations,~~ <sup>Until recently,</sup> superpower competition ~~rendered hopeless~~ <sup>betrayed</sup> the charter's ~~determination~~ <sup>call</sup> "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."

still needs work

Too much?

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

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

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

It promised everything; <sup>but it delivered little.</sup> ~~and for years people reached out in the vain hope that it could deliver everything for everyone.~~

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

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

not clear at this point  
what the subject is

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

5

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

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

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

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

We must face this challenge squarely: First, by ~~going for~~ <sup>pursuing</sup> the peaceful resolutions of disputes now in progress; second, and more importantly, by trying to prevent others from erupting.

*This example doesn't fit the argument*

*only one of the belligerents can sue?*

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

*When this idea has been so thoroughly discredited, why submit it in, particularly when the next point is so important.*

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

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

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

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*Do this wise? If the Round does fail, will it not become important to limit damage? In particular, is it not desirable to avoid suggesting that a Uruguay Round failure would mean the end of the GATT?*

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

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