

Originally Processed With FOIA(s):

S

FOIA Number:

S

FOIA MARKER

This is not a textual record. This is used as an administrative marker by the George Bush Presidential Library Staff.

Record Group/Collection: George H.W. Bush Presidential Records
Collection/Office of Origin: Speechwriting, White House Office of
Series: Speech File Draft Files
Subseries: Chron File, 1989-1993

OA/ID Number: 13581
Folder ID Number: 13581-013

Folder Title:
U.N. General Assembly 9/23/91 [OA 6036] [2]

Stack:

G

Row:

26

Section:

17

Shelf:

3

Position:

3

Snow, McGroarty, Duggan
 Grossman, Simon, Bunton
 UN.TS
 September 21, 1991
 Draft Two

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 year of his outstanding term. *Term ends Dec 31*
 Secretary General Perez de Cuellar has served during a period of unprecedented change and turmoil. The entire world owes an enormous debt of gratitude to this man of peace; this man I feel proud to call my friend. \ \

The United States will look with great interest upon the selection of ~~your~~ next Secretary General. But today, I simply want to congratulate my friend, and praise his spectacular service to the United Nations -- and the people of the world.

[ADDITIONAL PERSONAL REMINISCENCES]

Today I plan to 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, although I will discuss it for a

... someone who can build on the outstanding contributions of S.G. Perez de Cuellar -- is one of the most important issues for this session.

History has provided the answer. We are now at a watershed - with almost a clean slate. We have before us an opportunity to build a world community based on shared values and interests

moment. Instead, I would like to discuss the challenge of building a world of unprecedented peace and prosperity.

For nearly 50 years, world affairs revolved around a confrontation between the free world -- the United States and other democracies -- and the totalitarian world -- principally, the Soviet Union.

At its core, the competition between ideologies hinged upon two crucial questions: Do people have inalienable rights? And: Which system of government best serves its people: totalitarian socialism or democratic capitalism?

This is not the way to put it *non-segretive*

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 send their own delegations, and you have seated 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.

In recent months we also have seen a momentous leap in cooperation between nations. 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.

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. It stood up to an outlaw who invaded Kuwait, who threatened many states within the region.

In this sense
 [Since that] historic time, increasing numbers of men and women have begun to insist upon government of the people, by the people and for the people -- a government consistent with the goals of the U.N. Charter. In one of history's rich ironies, so-called Peoples' republics have ^{begun to} answered to the people.

In a defining moment of history
~~Just~~ last month, coup plotters in the Soviet Union failed to derail the forces of liberty and reform. The challenge facing the Soviets^{people} -- that of building political systems based upon individual liberty, minority rights, democracy and free markets -- mirrors your own responsibility for encouraging peaceful, democratic reform.

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

Now, for the first time, we have a real chance to fulfill the U.N. Charter's ambition of working "to save succeeding generations from the scourge of war...to reaffirm faith in fundamental human rights, in the dignity and worth of the human person, in the equal rights of men and women and nations large and small ... to promote social progress and better standards of life in larger freedom."

We should not fool ourselves, ~~however~~: many obstacles confront us. Foremost among these may be what I will call the resumption of history.

Now we begin the hard work of freedom.

Communism suspended many ancient disputes; it subordinated ethnic rivalries and nationalist aspirations. As it has dissolved, however, 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.

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 ^{imminent threat} [the fear] of nuclear holocaust, we face new threats in the form of smaller, but nonetheless virulent conflicts.

[possible section on Yugoslavia]

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 that [people settle] border disputes ^{are resolved} peacefully and democratically — *not by force*.

[[I also hope the Security Council and the Secretary General will study potential forms of preventive diplomacy. In particular, this body should seek ways of remaining fully informed of events in potential trouble-spots, and of giving the Secretary General the power to communicate directly with disputing parties.

Instead, talk about the UNSC generalizing on the experience of the Council

~~You also should consider the possible use of peacekeeping forces in discouraging conflicts, and the potential for forestalling disputes by employing Article 43 of the Charter.]]~~

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

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 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.

We must work to accommodate change without shredding the fabric of international society; without inciting the kind of bloody factionalism that led to our first World War -- and ultimately, perhaps, to the Cold War.

Those of us in this room can begin by honoring the commitments we made when we signed the United Nations Charter and the Universal Declaration of Human Rights.

Let us begin with the charter's pledge "to practice tolerance and live together in peace with one another as good neighbors." ^{In this regard,} UNGA Resolution 3379, the so-called "Zionism is

racism" resolution, defies this pledge. I call upon you to repeal it ^{without delay,} [this year.]

[In]repealing this resolution, ^{requires} no one [agrees] to support [unequivocally] 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, and forget the terrible plight of Jews in World War II, and indeed throughout history. 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 contribute to this process by] ⁱⁿ repealing unconditionally Resolution 3379. ~~In so doing,~~ the U.N. will enhance its credibility and serve the cause of peace.~~

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 fulfill this mission than to promote 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. 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 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.

The path to peace requires economic growth. Growth drives out the impulse for envy; it permits every person to gain -- not at the expense of others, but to the benefit of others.

enhances

This applies to international relations as well. ^{reduce} [minimize] the possibility of global conflict if we encourage free trade and the free flow of information. [We can

Many nations represented here have joined the General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade. The Uruguay Round, the latest in the postwar series of trade negotiations, could herald a new era of free trade. ^{It is vital that we rise above the} [Unfortunately] selfish, special interests ^{could} stall these talks. ^{We must advance} Those who value a system of open international trade ^{by us us} [must] stand up, show ^{some} courage, and bring this trade round to a successful conclusion. ^{which threaten to} ^{against narrow prohibitions}

Nothing could do more to enhance future international prosperity, especially for developing nations, ^{and emerging democracies} Here in this Chamber we hear about North-South problems. But free and open

Perhaps part on next page. (a return to history must not mean a return to the tariff walls and trade wars of the past)

trade, including unfettered access to markets and credit, offers far more hope to the Third World than paltry, demeaning -- and generally ineffective -- foreign aid hand-outs.

I cannot emphasize too strongly the importance of completing the Uruguay Round. ^{* Insert from note at bottom of p. 5.} Protectionism set off the Great Depression, and a new wave of protectionism could unleash furies the likes of which we have never seen.] Therefore, I call upon all members of GATT to redouble their efforts to reach a successful conclusion for the Uruguay Round.

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

We also should honor the Charter's emphasis on human rights. Some nations still deny people their basic rights, and ^{too many} voices ^{still} from Rangoon to Pyongyang] cry out for freedom. [In our own hemisphere,] the people of Cuba still suffer oppression at the hands of a dictator who hasn't gotten the word, who hasn't adapted to a world that has no use for totalitarian tyranny.]

At the same time, we see new hope. [In the region] [Nicaragua and Haiti have enjoyed free elections.] Democracy has taken root in [El Salvador and] a host of [other] nations, ^{throughout the globe.} [The same trend has begun rolling through Africa. South Africa has moved toward the democracy so long denied its citizens; we remain hopeful that the people of Ethiopia will achieve national reconciliation.]

Other unfinished business beckons.

This trend must be carefully nurtured

We must expand our efforts to control nuclear proliferation, and prevent the spread of chemical and biological weapons, and the missiles to deliver them.

We must remember that self-interest will continue tugging nations in different directions, and that these struggles occasionally will flare into violence.

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, which nation will spawn the next dangerous aggressor. Terrorists still use our citizens as pawns; drug dealers continue destroying our people. We must band together to overwhelm these 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.

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.

This is not to say that we should punish the Iraqi people. Security Council Resolution 706 created a responsible mechanism for sending humanitarian relief to innocent Iraqi citizens. Now, we must put that mechanism to work.

[any additional Iraq language]

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 prepared to abide by the will of the world community

I learned years ago that the United Nations has few resources for resolving large-scale conflicts. But I also learned that you can accomplish a great deal.

You can, for instance, encourage free-market economic development, and deploy economic sanctions, where necessary. 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 Cambodia, Afghanistan, Cyprus, El Salvador, and the Western Sahara.

I also look forward to seeing the U.N. encourage the restoration of fundamental social institutions: the family, the community; the place of worship. We must rebuild these institutions in our own quest for a New World Order -- an order characterized by the rule of law, rather than the resort to force; the cooperative settlement of disputes, rather than the anarchic warfare.

Finally, many of you may wonder about America's role in the new world I have described. Let me assure you, The United States

wrong process

His term ends in Dec.

places like

not recall
VA job

Best wills will remain engaged. We will not return to history by retreating into isolationism. We will offer leadership in

has no intention of ^{striving for} building a Pax Americana. We ^{seeking} encourage a Pax Universalis 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. It will not surrender its sovereignty to any international institution. No nation should do that. That is not what the U.N. is about.~~

The United Nations should not dictate to nations ^{the particular} [what kinds] ^{forms} of governments they should have. 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 democracy, and establish a fair, just rule of law.

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.

Certainly, we will not be able to hide: The communications revolution and the evolution of weapons of mass destruction have made it impossible for nations to isolate themselves [forever]. As we become increasingly linked by ties of security and trade, it will become impossible to distinguish domestic policy from foreign policy. Now, more than ever, we depend upon one another for our peace and our prosperity.

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.

Take this challenge seriously. Inspire future generations to praise and venerate you -- to say, as Churchill once said of Britain: "this was their finest hour."

Good luck. Thank you very, very much.

#

Theme of return to history

Elements:

Vainent nationalism

US isolationism

Tariff walls & trade wars

Blindness to aggression

More ^{about building} ~~trust~~ on ^{experience} ~~build~~
bring peace and security

ME Arms Control



Need human rights para or sentences noting some nations still persist in violating fundamental human rights. Stuffed voices from Rangoon to Pyongyang and in our own hemisphere in Cuba. Hope in Africa - congrats on progress in settling bloody civil war in Angola - We are hopeful that Ethiopia can reach national reconciliation. S. Af. - progress

Alphabetical listing except for North Korea

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

Estonia,
Latvia,
Lithuania,
the Marshall Islands,
Micronesia,
the Republic of Korea, and
the Democratic People's Republic of Korea.

PRESIDENTIAL ADDRESS: THE UNITED NATIONS GENERAL ASSEMBLY
UNITED NATIONS GENERAL ASSEMBLY HALL
MONDAY, SEPTEMBER 23, 1991
12:45-11 A.M.

[Introductory acknowledgments: incoming president: Mr. Shihabi; outgoing president, Mr. de Marco; Secretary General Perez de Cuellar. PERSONAL REMINISCENCES] *The United States welcomes the new member states of*

Today I plan to deliver a different kind of address than you have heard from a President of the United States. *I want to speak today not only to member governments but to ordinary citizens everywhere whose most basic hopes for a better world are brilliantly reflected in the politics for a half century, although I will discuss it for a preamble of the UN Charter. The end of the Cold War & the failure of authoritarianism presents an historic opportunity + a fundamental question: How can we work together to build a new world that is more peaceful, new world that faces us all. Just, + prosperous. Future generations will hold us accountable for how well we meet the opportunities now before us.*

For nearly 50 years, world affairs revolved around a confrontation over two separate views of governance. 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 *cold and faceless dogma and control* governments over individuals; and democratic capitalism, which declared that governments derive their just rights from the people they serve.

our history has shown us one fundamental truth: that
~~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?~~ *ultimately*
no alternative to government of the people, by the

Doug Paal

no by this term

perpetrate a system that could not succeed.



move to intro + include Micronesia + Marshall Islands

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.

more not better - 1000s don't celebrate breaking of states

We ~~have entered~~ ^{are entering} a new era of individual rights ^{+ opportunities}. The changes

around the world hail a new age of liberty ^{for people}. ~~the limits of~~ ~~governments were tested + the people won.~~

I look back upon the past year, and I also see the makings of a new era of peace ^{and 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,~~ ^{for the first time,} ~~Superpower~~ ^{cold war} competition took a back seat to international cooperation.

At that moment,

~~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.

Soviet insert ->

Now, ~~for the very first time,~~ a world of promise has begun

emerging at dawn's first light.

Soviet insert



And only a month ago dismay quickly turned to exhilaration as coup-plotters in the Soviet Union failed in their attempt to derail reform in the USSR. Having defeated the forces of reaction, Soviets can now turn to the task of building new political systems based on democracy and markets. We must support their efforts, while urging them in the strongest terms to resolve their difficulties peacefully, by consensus, preserving respect for human rights, and with equal rights for minorities.

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 unite and inspire people of all nations, faiths and creeds.

The Charter has enjoined us to to:
 Think about it: In the long history of the United Nations, ~~the Cold War~~ *freed out/stifled hobbled* 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."

Frankly, they are the ideals of democratic nations.

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.

These are the ideals now after four decades of

Let's look forward not recite

Now we challenge before us is to give these ideals practical meaning in the lives of individuals & policies of govts. throughout the world

It survived as long as it did because it promised the impossible. As Jeane Kirkpatrick, a former ^{US} 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, 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 ^{were regudiated by} fell victim to the people.

^{The world} Many of us watched in amazement as the Berlin Wall came tumbling down; ^{as the Nicaraguans & Haitians established democracies,} 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 ^{at} 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 ^{suppressed} subordinated ethnic rivalries and nationalist aspirations.~~

~~The end of the Cold War & ^{lifting of} central repression by ~~all the~~ authoritarian governments can unmask ~~the~~ ^{one} ~~secret~~ ^{secret}.~~

More of front

Handwritten initials

these ideas principles with chapter

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.

don't mention names - esp.
Can't separate out Kurds - they are sogis

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

Dist by name?

move

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,~~ *As the fear of nuclear holocaust recedes,* we face new threats in the form of smaller, but nonetheless virulent conflicts.

move
top?

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

hand

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

~~The US continues to believe in territorial integrity, but not at the price of~~
~~We believe it is for citizens to~~

~~The United States continues to respect all existing borders, internal & external. Any change can only occur legitimately through peaceful & consensual means~~
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.

- Section on UN preventive diplomacy

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 people's sense of identity without shredding the fabric of international society, and without inciting the kind of bloody

democracy

State positively but not negatively

list? establish justice, insure domestic peace & legitimate defense, improve welfare of citizens, & strengthen liberty

One of the tragic byproducts of ethnic conflict, as well as conflict between countries is refugees. We as a world community must deal with them. Order. compassionate & meet their needs.



From State

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

That nations seeking our acceptance must meet basic standards on human rights and commit to the principle of resolving disputes -- territorial or otherwise -- peacefully.

~~That nations seeking our acceptance must meet basic standards on human rights and commit to the principle of resolving disputes -- territorial or otherwise -- peacefully.~~

*Insert re
btr lives + indiv.*

~~fractionalism, 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."~~

This raises the possibility that putting
democratic institutions and planning free
markets and private enterprise may help
economic development ~~with~~ ~~without~~
at least as much as the reverse, maybe
more. It strongly suggests that large
state bureaucracies should be dismantled
and replaced by more modest ones that are
more responsive to the people's needs.

A new balance must be found, one
that recognizes the enormous influence of
non-economic factors ^{(culture, religion,}
social structures, political organizations, history
that forces are not just superstructures
on an economic base.

The labor, large factors, of the
to rethink some very fundamental questions
At the very least we must rethink the
man is not just an economic animal.
We must question, therefore, whether the
explanation of the world's ills can be
found only in economic causes.

best of the past
approach

And it certainly means

The heated rhetoric of opposing ideologies should be replaced in this world forum with a more reasoned dialogue, a more moderate discourse. The old distortion of words must end and in its place honest meanings must prevail.

(Pick up w/ Orwell quote)

goto 3379

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 ^{support} 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

prejudice.

not
necessary

*in the ME but
to its own
credibility + potential*

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 ^{contribute to} support this process by repealing unconditionally Resolution 3379; ^{by so doing the UN can contribute not} and conceding that each nation in this ^{just a} conference deserves a seat at the table. ^{peace prospects}

*200 close
a link
to peace*

[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, ^{communications} 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.

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.~~

per Jim Deal

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, as

~~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 ^{has ushered} issued in an entirely new set of uncertainties.~~

Last yr UNGA speech mentioned so say to build on Peneman
~~US~~

We must ^{build on our efforts} ~~do our best~~ to control nuclear proliferation, and prevent the spread of ~~the poor man's atom bombs;~~ chemical and biological weapons, ^{the missiles to deliver them.} We must remember that self-interest will continue tugging nations in different directions, and these struggles occasionally will flare into violence.

diag →
Language from Harass given earlier

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 ^{and drug dealers} still use our citizens as pawns; and we must band together to overwhelm ^{these} ~~this~~ affronts to basic human dignity.

New sentence on drugs self

IRAQ

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

Now the UN is at a historic juncture. After 45 years of ^{Cold War} ~~of~~ ~~under~~ achievement, it is reinvigorated. I salute the UN Security Council's steadfastness against Iraqi aggression, and its compassion in providing humanitarian assistance to the people of Iraq who have ¹² suffered as Saddam Hussein turns on them. I salute the major role the UN has been playing in conflict resolution. I also salute UN dedication to its

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 ^{and his successor as we all} ~~as we~~ pursue peace in Cyprus, protect democracy throughout Central America, work toward resolving ^{El Salvador, Afghanistan,} ~~tensions in Cambodia,~~ and try to establish a lasting peace the Western Sahara, and Angola.

Finally, ^P 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 ^{alone} 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 ^{to} As we look to the new world, the UN will have to do even more and be more effective. I join with those who would strengthen it through reform, and especially endorse efforts to improve ^{emergency} humanitarian assistance.

Angola is not UN

Pax mundi or Terra

We would like to see part of our arrears payments used in a revolving fund to finance a quick start in humanitarian response to emergencies.

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, ^{rule of law} and a collective determination to advance these goals wherever we can.

We have an opportunity to spare our sons and daughters the sins and ~~feibies~~ ^{KNOW} 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 ^{more difficult} 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.

has talked
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.~~

so that future generations may say of this period of the United Nations, in the words of Winston Churchill, "This was their first hour."

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

Soviet insert



And only a month ago dismay quickly turned to exhilaration as coup-plotters in the Soviet Union failed in their attempt to derail reform in the USSR. Having defeated the forces of reaction, Soviets can now turn to the task of building new political systems based on democracy and markets. We must support their efforts, while urging them in the strongest terms to resolve their difficulties peacefully, by consensus, preserving respect for human rights, and with equal rights for minorities.



Snow, McGroarty, Duggan
Grossman, Simon, Bunton
UN.TS
September 21, 1991
Draft Two

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 year of his outstanding term. Secretary General Perez de Cuellar has served during a period of unprecedented change and turmoil. The entire world owes an enormous debt of gratitude to this man of peace; this man I feel proud to call my friend. \\

The United States will look with great interest upon the selection of your next Secretary General. But today, I simply want to congratulate my friend, and praise his spectacular service to the United Nations -- and the people of the world.

[ADDITIONAL PERSONAL REMINISCENCES]

Today ~~I plan~~^{I will} to 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, although ~~I will discuss it for a~~

~~moment.~~ Instead, I ^{will} ~~would like to discuss~~ ^{describe} the challenge of building a world ^{filled w/} of unprecedented peace and prosperity.

For nearly 50 years, world affairs revolved around a confrontation between the free world -- the United States and other democracies -- and the totalitarian world -- principally, the Soviet Union.

At its core, the competition between ideologies hinged upon two crucial questions: Do ^{individuals} people have inalienable rights? And: Which system of government best serves its people: totalitarian socialism or democratic capitalism?

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 send their own delegations, and you have seated 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. ^[could lots]

In ~~recent months~~ ^{recently} we ~~also~~ ^{also} have ~~seen~~ ^{witnessed} a momentous leap in cooperation between nations. 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.

At that moment, the Cold War truly drew to an end. ^{and the first sign of a new order appeared} 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. [x x x x]

Since that historic time, increasing numbers of men and women have begun to insist upon government of the people, by the people and for the people -- a government consistent with the goals of the U.N. Charter. In one of history's rich ironies, so-called Peoples' republics ^{tell} ~~have answered to~~ the people.

Just last month, coup plotters in the Soviet Union failed to derail the forces of liberty and reform. The challenge facing the Soviets -- that of building political systems based upon individual liberty, minority rights, democracy and free markets -- mirrors your own responsibility for encouraging peaceful, democratic reform.

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

Now, for the first time, we have a real chance to fulfill the U.N. Charter's ambition of working "to save succeeding generations from the scourge of war...to reaffirm faith in fundamental human rights, in the dignity and worth of the human person, in the equal rights of men and women and nations large and small ... to promote social progress and better standards of life in larger freedom."

We should not fool ourselves, however: many obstacles confront us. Foremost among these may be what I will call the resumption of history.

anti-Sovietism

held history captive. It

suppressed

Communism ^{held history captive. It} suspended ~~many~~ ancient disputes; it ^{suppressed} ~~subordinated~~ ethnic rivalries and nationalist aspirations. As it has dissolved, however, 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.

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, we face new threats in the form of smaller, but nonetheless virulent conflicts.

[possible section on Yugoslavia]

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 that people settle border disputes peacefully and democratically.

[[I also hope the Security Council and the Secretary General will study potential forms of preventive diplomacy. ~~In particular,~~ this body should seek ways of remaining fully informed of events in potential trouble-spots, and of giving the Secretary General the power to communicate directly with disputing parties. [X x Y x]

You ~~also~~ should consider the possible use of peacekeeping forces in discouraging conflicts, and the potential for forestalling disputes by employing Article 43 of the Charter.]]

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

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 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.

We must work to accommodate change without shredding the fabric of international society; without inciting the kind of bloody factionalism that led to our first World War -- and ultimately, perhaps, to the Cold War.

Those of us in this room can begin by honoring the commitments we made when we signed the United Nations Charter and the Universal Declaration of Human Rights.

Let us begin with 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} ~~defies~~ this pledge. I call upon you to repeal it this year.

In repealing this resolution no one agrees to support unequivocally 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, and forget the terrible plight of Jews in World War II, and indeed throughout history. 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 contribute to this process by repealing unconditionally Resolution 3379. In so doing, the U.N. will enhance its credibility and serve the cause of peace.

The U.N. Charter also pledges to "employ international machinery for the promotion of the economic and social advancement of all peoples." ^YI can think of no better way to fulfill this mission than to promote 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. 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 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.

The path to peace requires economic growth. Growth drives out the impulse 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 global conflict if we encourage free trade and the free flow of information.

Many nations represented here ^{are parties to} ~~have joined~~ the General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade. The Uruguay Round, the latest in the postwar series of trade negotiations, could herald a new era of free trade. ~~Unfortunately selfish, special interests could stall these talks.~~ Those who value a system of open international trade must stand up, show some courage, and bring ^{the uruguay} ~~this trade~~ round to a successful conclusion.

Nothing could do more to enhance future international prosperity, especially for developing nations. 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 the Third World than paltry, demeaning -- and generally ineffective -- foreign aid hand-outs.

[I cannot emphasize too strongly the importance of completing the Uruguay Round. Protectionism set off the Great Depression, and a new wave of protectionism could unleash furies the likes of which we have never seen. Therefore, I call upon all members of GATT to redouble their efforts to reach a successful conclusion for the Uruguay Round.]

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

We also should honor the Charter's emphasis on human rights. Some nations still deny people their basic rights and voices from Rangoon to Pyongyang cry out for freedom. In our own hemisphere, the people of Cuba still suffer oppression at the hands of a dictator who hasn't gotten the word, who hasn't adapted to a world that has no use for totalitarian tyranny.

At the same time, we see new hope in the region. Nicaragua and Haiti have enjoyed free elections. Democracy has taken root in El Salvador and a host of other nations. The same trend has begun rolling through Africa. South Africa has moved toward the democracy so long denied its citizens; we remain hopeful that the people of Ethiopia will achieve national reconciliation.

Yet other unfinished business beckons.

We must expand our efforts to control nuclear proliferation, and prevent the spread of chemical and biological weapons, and the missiles to deliver them.

We must remember that self-interest will continue tugging nations in different directions, and that these struggles occasionally will flare into violence.

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, ^{not which demagogues will lead the race or who leads} ~~which nation will spawn the next dangerous aggressor.~~

Terrorists still use our citizens as pawns; drug dealers continue destroying our people. We must band together to overwhelm these 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.

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.

This is not to say that we should punish the Iraqi people. Security Council Resolution 706 created a responsible mechanism for sending humanitarian relief to innocent Iraqi citizens. Now, we must put that mechanism to work.

[any additional Iraq language] ~~only US~~

We must not, ^{and will 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.] — ask general

I learned years ago that the United Nations has few resources for resolving large-scale conflicts. But ~~I also~~ ^{if can of course,} learned that ~~you can accomplish a great deal.~~

[You can, for instance, encourage free-market economic development, and deploy economic sanctions, where necessary.] 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 as we pursue peace in Afghanistan, Cyprus, El Salvador, and the Western Sahara.

I also look forward to seeing the U.N. encourage the restoration of fundamental social institutions, ~~the family, the community, the place of worship.~~ ^{and where the institutions of freedom have been dormant, they do can help rebuild} We must ~~rebuild~~ ^{asker} these institutions in our own quest for a New World Order -- an order characterized by the rule of law, rather than the resort to force; the cooperative settlement of disputes, rather than the anarchic warfare; ^{and finally an abs. respect for human rights}

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^{no desire} of building a Pax Americana. We encourage a Pax Universalis constructed upon shared responsibilities and aspirations.

~~My nation~~ ^{In our world; our nation charged, we stand for free - we stand for demo. We also} cannot lead this world to a promising future of wealth and well-being and it will not try. ~~It will not surrender its sovereignty to any international institution.~~ ^{one} No nation ^{can} should do that. That is not what the U.N. is about.

The United Nations should not dictate ~~to nations~~ what kinds of governments ^{nations} ~~they~~ should have. ^{we are all gov. states & shall remain so. However} ~~It~~ can and should encourage the ^{the UN} 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 democracy, and establish a fair, just rule of law.

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.

[~~Certainly, we will not be able to hide:~~ The communications revolution and the evolution of weapons of mass destruction have made it impossible for nations to isolate themselves forever. As we become increasingly linked by ties of security and trade, it will become impossible to distinguish domestic policy from foreign policy. Now, more than ever, we depend upon one another for our peace and our prosperity.]

^{Miss}
 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.]

Take this challenge seriously. Inspire future generations
 to praise and venerate you, ~~to say, as Churchill once said of~~
 Britain: ~~"this was their finest hour"~~ to say: they inaugurated a new

Good luck. Thank you very, very much.

#

*41a of space & order -
 3 in so doing defined
 a N W O.*

Snow, McGroarty, Duggan
Grossman, Simon, Bunton
UN.TS
September 21, 1991
Draft Two

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 year of his outstanding term. Secretary General Perez de Cuellar has served during a period of unprecedented change and turmoil. The entire world owes an enormous debt of gratitude to this man of peace; this man I feel proud to call my friend. \\

The United States will look with great interest upon the selection of your next Secretary General. But today, I simply want to congratulate my friend, and praise his spectacular service to the United Nations -- and the people of the world.

[ADDITIONAL PERSONAL REMINISCENCES]

Today I plan to 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, although I will discuss it for a

?

moment. Instead, I would like to discuss the challenge of building a world of unprecedented peace and prosperity.

For nearly 50 years, world affairs revolved around a confrontation between the free world -- the United States and other democracies -- and the totalitarian world -- principally, the Soviet Union.

At its core, the competition between ideologies hinged upon two crucial questions: Do people have inalienable rights? And: Which system of government best serves its people: totalitarian socialism or democratic capitalism?

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 send their own delegations, and you have seated 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.

?
add
just
now
8/5

In recent months we also have seen a momentous leap in cooperation between nations. 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.

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. It stood up to an outlaw who invaded Kuwait, who threatened many states within the region *and who would have set a*

Since that historic time, increasing numbers of men and women have begun to insist upon government of the people, by the people and for the people -- ~~a~~ government consistent with the goals of the U.N. Charter. In one of history's rich ironies, so-called Peoples' republics have answered to the people.

Just last month, coup plotters in the Soviet Union failed to derail the forces of liberty and reform. The challenge facing the Soviets -- that of building political systems based upon individual liberty, minority rights, democracy and free markets -- mirrors your own responsibility for encouraging peaceful, democratic reform.

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

Now, for the first time, we have a real chance to fulfill the U.N. Charter's ambition of working "to save succeeding generations from the scourge of war...to reaffirm faith in fundamental human rights, in the dignity and worth of the human person, in the equal rights of men and women and nations large and small ... to promote social progress and better standards of life in larger freedom."

We should not fool ourselves, however: many obstacles confront us. Foremost among these may be what I will call the resumption of history.

precedent for the post-cold war era that would have threatened us all.

I'd like to see his theme more

Communism suspended many ancient disputes; it subordinated ethnic rivalries and nationalist aspirations. As it has dissolved, however, 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.

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, we face new threats in the form of smaller, but nonetheless virulent conflicts.

[possible section on Yugoslavia]

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 that people settle border disputes peacefully and democratically.

[[I also hope the Security Council and the Secretary General will study potential forms of preventive diplomacy. In particular, this body should seek ways of remaining fully informed of events in potential trouble-spots, and of giving the Secretary General the power to communicate directly with disputing parties.

*Med one
squarely
thin*

?

*" We must learn from history, not
~~return~~ return to it."*

You also should consider the possible use of peacekeeping forces in discouraging conflicts, and the potential for forestalling disputes by employing Article 43 of the Charter.]]

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

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 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.

We must work to accommodate change without shredding the fabric of international society; without inciting the kind of bloody factionalism that led to our first World War -- and ultimately, perhaps, to the Cold War.

Those of us in this room can begin by honoring the commitments we made when we signed the United Nations Charter and the Universal Declaration of Human Rights.

Let us begin with 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

standing ?
Managing

racism" resolution, defies this pledge. I call upon you to repeal it this year.

In repealing this resolution no one agrees to support unequivocally 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, and forget the terrible plight of Jews in World War II, and indeed throughout history. To equate Zionism with racism is to reject Israel -- something this body cannot and ^{must} ~~should~~ not do.

We stand on the verge of convening an historic peace conference ^{in the Middle East,} ~~between Israel and its Arab neighbors,~~ The United Nations can contribute to this process by repealing unconditionally Resolution 3379. In so doing, the U.N. will enhance its credibility and serve the cause of peace.

one must wonder direct negotiations between Israel and Arab neighbors

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 fulfill this mission than to promote 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

This body cannot on one hand claim it supports peace in the Middle East while challenging Israel's legitimacy at the same time.

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 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.

The path to peace requires economic growth. Growth drives out the impulse 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 global conflict if we encourage free trade and the free flow of information.

Many nations represented here have joined the General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade. The Uruguay Round, the latest in the postwar series of trade negotiations, could herald a new era of free trade. Unfortunately selfish, special interests could stall these talks. Those who value a system of open international trade must stand up, show some courage, and bring this trade round to a successful conclusion.

Nothing could do more to enhance future international prosperity, especially for developing nations. 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 the Third World than paltry, demeaning -- and generally ineffective -- foreign aid hand-outs.

I cannot emphasize too strongly the importance of completing the Uruguay Round. Protectionism set off the Great Depression, ~~and~~ a new wave of protectionism could unleash furies the likes of which we have never seen. Therefore, I call upon all members of GATT to redouble their efforts to reach a successful conclusion for the Uruguay Round.

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

We also should honor the Charter's emphasis on human rights. Some nations still deny people their basic rights, and voices from Rangoon to Pyongyang cry out for freedom. In our own hemisphere, the people of Cuba still suffer oppression at the hands of a dictator who hasn't gotten the word, who hasn't adapted to a world that has no use for totalitarian tyranny.

At the same time, we see new hope in the region. Nicaragua and Haiti have enjoyed free elections. Democracy has taken root in El Salvador and a host of other nations. The same trend has begun rolling through Africa. South Africa has moved toward the democracy so long denied its citizens; we remain hopeful that the people of Ethiopia will achieve national reconciliation.

Other unfinished business beckons.

no longer
GATT

in
turn
get the
stage
for
the
emergence
of
Multinational
search

PRC?

We must expand our efforts to control nuclear proliferation, and prevent the spread of chemical and biological weapons, and the missiles to deliver them.

We must remember that self-interest will continue tugging nations in different directions, and that these struggles occasionally will flare into violence.

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, which nation will spawn the next dangerous aggressor. Terrorists still use our citizens as pawns; drug dealers continue destroying our people. We must band together to overwhelm these 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.

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. And it also shows we cannot compromise for a moment in seeing that Iraq is rid of its WMD.

It was to meet this danger that I announced my intention to start

MEAC? C. H. ...

mount

This is not to say that we should punish the Iraqi people. Security Council Resolution 706 created a responsible mechanism for sending humanitarian relief to innocent Iraqi citizens. Now, we must put that mechanism to work.

~~[any additional Iraq language]~~

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. *And when it does, the Iraqi people*

I learned years ago that the United Nations has few resources for resolving large-scale conflicts. But I also learned that you can accomplish a great deal.

You can, for instance, encourage free-market economic development, and deploy economic sanctions, where necessary. You serve as a vehicle through which willing parties can settle old disputes. In the months to come, I look forward to working with Secretary General Perez de Cuellar ^{and his successors} as we pursue peace in Afghanistan, Cyprus, El Salvador, and the Western Sahara.

I also look forward to seeing the U.N. encourage the restoration of fundamental social institutions: the family, the community; the place of worship. We must rebuild these institutions in our own quest for a New World Order -- an order characterized by the rule of law, rather than the resort to force; the cooperative settlement of disputes, rather than the anarchic warfare.

Finally, many of you may wonder about America's role in the new world I have described. Let me assure you, The United States

*can look forward to
~~the~~
a better
life,
free of
fear
at home
free to
trade
abroad.*

has no intention of building a Pax Americana. We encourage a Pax Universalis 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. It will not surrender its sovereignty to any international institution. No nation should do that. That is not what the U.N. is about.

The United Nations should not dictate to nations what kinds of governments they should have. 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 democracy, and establish a fair, just rule of law.

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.

Certainly, we will not be able to hide: The communications revolution and the evolution of weapons of mass destruction have made it impossible for nations to isolate themselves forever. As we become increasingly linked by ties of security and trade, it will become impossible to distinguish domestic policy from foreign policy. Now, more than ever, we depend upon one another for our peace and our prosperity.

pure or sou + symo red f/son

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.

Take this challenge seriously. Inspire future generations to praise and venerate you -- to say, as Churchill once said of Britain: "this was their finest hour."

Good luck. Thank you very, very much.

#

~~hossing~~

~~Miss~~

~~US for work~~

NATIONAL SECURITY COUNCIL

EXECUTIVE SECRETARIAT STAFFING DOCUMENT

TIME STAMP

RECEIVED
URGENT

91 SEP 20 P 6. 41

SYSTEM LOG NUMBER: 6963

ACTION OFFICER: Dyke DUE: ASAP

- Prepare Memo For Scowcroft/Gates
- Prepare Memo For Brady
- Prepare Memo Scowcroft
- Appropriate Action
- Prepare Memo for Sittmann
- to SAOW CC: Brady

CONCURRENCES/COMMENTS* PHONE* to action officer at ext. 5694

Concur	FYI		Concur	FYI		Concur	FYI	
<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	Barth	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	Hewett	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	Pilling
<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	Basora	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	Hutchings	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	Poneman
<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	Beers	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	Johnson	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	Popadiuk
<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	Broome	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	Kanter	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	Pryce
<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	Burns	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	Kitchen	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	Rademaker
<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	Canas	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	Kuehne	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	Rostow
<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	Chamberlin	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	Lampley	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	Tilley
<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	Charles	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	Laposa	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	Tobey
<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	Davis	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	Lundsager	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	Van Eron
<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	Deal	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	Melby	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	Watson
<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	Dyke	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	Menan	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	Welch
<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	Frasure	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	Merchant	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	Whitley
<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	Fry	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	Needles	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	Wilson
<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	Gordon	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	O'Leary	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	Working
<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	Gompert	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	Paal	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<u>McNamara</u>
<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	Haass	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	Pacelli	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	_____
<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	Hayden	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	Pavitt	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	_____

- INFORMATION
- Sittmann
 - Scowcroft (advance)
 - Hill
 - Gates (advance)
 - Exec Sec Desk
 - Secretariat

COMMENTS

URGENT

Logged By [Signature]

Return to Secretariat
379 OE0B



Alphabetical listing except for North Korea

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

Estonia,
Latvia,
Lithuania,
the Marshall Islands,
Micronesia,
the Republic of Korea, and
the Democratic People's Republic of Korea.

PRESIDENTIAL ADDRESS: THE UNITED NATIONS GENERAL ASSEMBLY
UNITED NATIONS GENERAL ASSEMBLY HALL
MONDAY, SEPTEMBER 23, 1991
12:45-11 A.M.

[Introductory acknowledgments: incoming president: Mr. Shihabi; outgoing president, Mr. de Marco; Secretary General Perez de Cuellar. PERSONAL REMINISCENCES] *The United States welcomes the new member states of*

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: *How we can work together to build a new world that is more peaceful, new world that faces us all. just, + prosperous. Future generations will hold us accountable for how well we meet the opportunities now before*

For nearly 50 years, world affairs revolved around a *confrontation* over two separate views of governance. conflict between the free world -- ~~the United States and other democracies~~ *created by those who sought to perpetuate a system that could not succeed.* -- 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 *cold and faceless dogma and control* governments over individuals; and democratic capitalism, which declared that governments derive their just rights from the people they serve.

Now history has shown us one fundamental truth: that
~~At its core, the competition between ideologies hinged upon~~ *ultimately*
~~one crucial question: Do people have inalienable rights? Can~~ *there is*
~~higher principles establish limits upon state power?~~ *no alternative to government of the people, by the people, & for the people.*

Move to intro + include Micronesia + Marshall Islands

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.

More not fetter - Haass don't celebrate breaking of states

We ~~have entered~~ ^{are entering} a new era of individual rights. The changes around the world hail a new age of liberty ^{for people.} ~~the limits of~~

I look back upon the past year, and I also see the makings of a new era of peace ^{and 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,~~ ^{for the first time,} ~~superpower~~ ^{cold war} competition took a back seat to international cooperation.

At that moment?

~~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.

Soviet insert

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.

The charter has enjoined us to to:
 Think about it: In the long history of the United Nations, ~~the cold war~~ *freeze out / stifled* ~~superpower competition rendered hopeless the charter's~~ *hobbled* ~~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 ^{US} ambassador to the United Nations, notes: Communism offered up a world view that was

Frankly, they are the ideals of democratic nations.

These are the ideals now after four decades of

Now with challenge before us is to give these ideals practical meaning in the lives of indiv & politics of govts. throughout the world

Let's look forward not recite

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 ^{were repudiated by} fell victim to the people.

More of front

^{The world} Many of us watched in amazement as the Berlin Wall came tumbling down; ^{as the Nicaraguans & Haitians established democracies,} 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 ^{at} 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.~~

More of front

The end of the Cold War & lifting of central repressions by both the far right & the far left -- by authoritarian governments can unmask old rivalries among people.

these ideas principle with chapter

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 Croats 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 pursuing the peaceful resolutions of disputes now in progress; second, and more importantly, by trying to prevent others from erupting.

don't mention names - esp. Can't separate out Kurds - they are Iraqis

dist by war?

move

move to p. 7

NWO should be

expand

pursuing

handwritten scribbles

handwritten scribbles

handwritten checkmark

~~The US continues to believe in territorial integrity, but not at the price of~~ ~~respecting~~ ~~we believe it is for citizens to~~

~~The United States continues to respect all existing borders, internal + external. Any change can only occur legitimately through peaceful + consensual means~~

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.

- Section on UN preventive diplomacy

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. ^{These are fundamentals of democracy and of a New World Order.} If people cannot speak their minds; if they

cannot ^{to} form political parties freely and elect governments

without coercion; if they cannot ^{to} practice their religion freely;

if they cannot ^{to} raise their families in peace; if they cannot

enjoy a just return from their labor; if they cannot ^{to} 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 ^{ies to the people} -- 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

democracy

State positively but not negatively

list?

consists with democracy + CSCE principles

stateless



Sort of this point

p. 7

approach

The failure, tragic failure, of the Marxist ~~theory~~ offers a new opportunity to rethink some very fundamental questions. At the very least we must realize that man is not just an economic animal. We must question, therefore, whether the explanation of the world's ills can be found only in economic causes.

A new balance must be found, one that recognizes the enormous influence of non-economic factors ^(such as) culture, religion, social structures, political organizations, history. These forces are not just superstructures on an economic base.

This raises the possibility that fostering democratic institutions and allowing free markets and private enterprise may help economic development ~~at least as much as the reverse, maybe more.~~ It strongly suggests that huge state bureaucracies should be dismantled and replaced by more modest ones that are more responsive to the people's real needs.

*Insert re
btr lives + indiv.*

~~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 ^{support} 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~~ ^{prejudice}.

not necessary



*in the ME but
of its own
credibility + potential*

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 ^{contribute to} support this process by repealing unconditionally Resolution 3379; ^{by so doing the UN can contribute not} and conceding that each nation in this ^{just a} conference deserves a seat at the table. ^{peace prospect,}

*200 closed
a link
to peace*

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 ^{flow of} information.

Many nations represented here have joined the General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade. ^{the latest in the postwar series of trade negotiations,} The Uruguay Round ~~unfortunately could herald a new era of trade liberalization. Unfortunately, this potential may never be realized unless those engaged in the negotiations can put aside selfish, special interests. The Round is on in various areas. This striving is natural, but it also has the verge of failure due to a~~ prevented negotiators from settling the greatest free-trade system of open trade to stand up, show some gumption, and finally bring this trade round agreement ever. ^{to a successful conclusion. Nothing will be more important to future}

~~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.

lack of political will, parochialism, and incessant special pleading.

NO TREATY!

growth and prosperity of developing countries and the newly emerging democracies of East and Central Europe than an open trading environment which gives them an opportunity to earn their way in this changed world -- and not



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, as

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 ^{has ushered} issued in an entirely new set of uncertainties.

We must ~~do our best~~ ^{build on our efforts} to control nuclear proliferation, and prevent the spread of ~~the poor man's atom bombs~~ ^{the missiles to deliver them}; 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 ^{and drug dealers} still use our citizens as pawns; and we must band together to overwhelm ~~this~~ ^{these} affronts to basic human dignity.

per Jim Deal

Last yr UNGA speech mentioned so say to build on Paneman

drag → Language from Harass given earlier

New sentence on drugs - JED

IRAQ

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

Now the UN is at a historic juncture. After 45 years of ^{Cold War} underachievement, it is reinvigorated. I salute the UN Security Council's steadfastness against Iraqi aggression, and its compassion in providing humanitarian assistance to the people of Iraq who have ¹² suffered as Saddam Hussein turns on them. I salute the major role the UN has been playing in conflict resolution.

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 ^{and his successor as we all} as we pursue peace in Cyprus, protect democracy throughout Central America, work toward resolving ^{El Salvador, Afghanistan, and} tensions in Cambodia, and try to establish a lasting peace the Western Sahara, and Angola.

Finally, ^{PI} 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 ^{alone} 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

^{PI} As we look to the new world, the UN will have to do even more and be more effective. I join with those who would strengthen it through reform, and I especially endorse efforts to improve ^{emergency} humanitarian

I also salute UN dedication to its

PI

Angola is not UN

Pax mundi or Terrae

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~~ ^{errors} 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 ^{more difficult} 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.

has talked 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.~~

so that future generations may say of this period of the United Nations, in the words of Winston Churchill, "This was their finest hour."