

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: 13602
Folder ID Number: 13602-002

Folder Title:
U.N. Security Council 1/31/92 [OA 6096]

Stack:	Row:	Section:	Shelf:	Position:
G	26	17	6	3

[At this point, the President and the Prime Minister held a private meeting, after which they again spoke to the press.]

The President. I might say, with the Japanese journalists here, that I had a chance to tell the Prime Minister when he arrived here how grateful the United States is for the progress that we made on this visit and how grateful I am personally to this Prime Minister and to everybody in Japan for their hospitality. The concern when I had that very, very brief illness, but the concern from the people there and the members of your Government, Members of the Diet, I will never forget it. It was very, very thoughtful. And I want to take this opportunity to thank the people of Japan because, on the business side and the personal side, we could not have been treated with more dignity and more care and more friendship.

The Prime Minister. I am very much honored to hear from you, Mr. President. And the Japanese people were really delighted to have you and Mrs. Bush in Tokyo. And unfortunately, just a slight illness, but that perhaps brought you and Mrs. Bush closer to the Japanese, naturally.

This reminded me of when President Ford came to Japan. And he inspected the parade, his pants were all too short. [Laughter] And it was on the TV, and that really made him very familiar to Japanese TV watchers.

The President. I remember that. And please tell His Majesty how much we appreciate the hospitality for me.

The Prime Minister. I will, sir.

The President. But here you are, and thank you for what you said here. But I meant to—I never—this got all out of proportion, and I think we're in good shape. And I mean it.

Note: The President spoke at 6:50 p.m. at the Waldorf Astoria Hotel. A tape was not available for verification of the content of these remarks.

Remarks to the United Nations Security Council in New York City January 31, 1992

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

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

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

It was just one year ago that the world saw this new, invigorated United Nations in action as this Council stood fast against aggression and stood for the sacred principles enshrined in the U.N. Charter. And now it's time to step forward again, make the internal reforms, accelerate the revitalization, accept the responsibilities necessary for a vigorous and effective United Nations. I want to assure the members of this Council and the Secretary-General, the United Nations can count on our full support in this task.

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

tions
ork City

for your key
er summit of
uncil.

ecretary-Gen-
r, as you take
ous challenge
United States,
e, to speak at

ew beginnings
or every mem-
ts history, the
in a cold-war
my days here
rmanent Rep-
polemics dis-
ong before I
fter I left, the
d by cruel ide-
ggle to contain
ay, all that's
imperial com-
ld war breathe
is.

that the world
ted Nations in
ast against ag-
ered principles
r. And now it's
ke the internal
lization, accept
for a vigorous
s. I want to as-
ouncil and the
d Nations can
is task.

rks, I'll talk not
agenda so elo-
ent Borja, but
eration of mass
s, destabilizing
on the horizon,
all require our

The world also challenges us to strengthen and sustain positive change. And we must advance the momentous movement toward democracy and freedom—democratization I believe Boutros Ghali called this, our distinguished Secretary-General—and expand the circle of nations committed to human rights and the rule of law. It's an exciting opportunity for our United Nations, and we must not allow it to slip away.

Right now, across the globe, the U.N. is working night and day in the cause of peace. And never before in its four decades has the U.N.'s Blue Helmets and Blue Berets been so engaged in the noble work of peacekeeping, even to the extent of building the foundation for free elections. And never before has the United Nations been so ready and so compelled to step up to the task of peacemaking, both to resolve hot wars and to conduct that forward-looking mission known as preventive diplomacy.

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

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

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

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

Free elections give democracy a foothold, but true democracy means more than simply

the rule of the majority. It means an irrevocable commitment to democratic principles. It means equal rights for minorities. And above all, it means the sanctity of even a single individual against the unjust power of the state.

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

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

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

There is much more to do regarding weapons of mass destruction. Just 3 days ago, in my State of the Union Message here, I announced the steps, far-reaching, unilateral steps, that we will take to reduce our nuclear arsenal. And these steps affect each element in our strategic triad, the land, the sea, and the air.

In addition to these unilateral steps, we are prepared to move forward on mutual arms reduction. I noted his constructive comments here today, and tomorrow, in my meeting with President Yeltsin, we will continue the search for common ground on this vitally important issue. He responded with some very serious proposals just the other day.

We welcome, the world welcomes, statements by several of the new States that won independence after the collapse of the U.S.S.R. that they will abide by the Nuclear Non-Proliferation Treaty. And yet, realism requires us to remain vigilant in this time of transition.

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

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

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

Our triumph in the Gulf is testament to the U.N.'s mission. Its security is a shared responsibility. Today, this institution spearheads a quarantine against the outlaw regime of Saddam Hussein. It is the strong belief of my country that we must keep sanctions in place and take the following steps to preserve our common security: We must continue to focus on Iraq's capability to build or maintain weapons of mass destruction. And we must make clear to the world and, most important, to the people of Iraq that no normalization is possible so long as Saddam Hussein remains there, remains in power.

As on all of the urgent issues I've mentioned today, progress comes from acting in concert, and we must deal resolutely with these renegade regimes, if necessary, by sanctions or stronger measures, to compel them to observe international standards of behavior. We will not be blind to the dangers

we still face. Terrorists and their state sponsors must know there will be serious consequences if they violate international law.

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

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

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

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

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

Note: The President spoke at 12:18 p.m. in the Security Council Chamber at the United Nations. In his remarks, he referred to Prime Minister John Major of the United Kingdom, Acting President of the United Nations Security Council, and President Rodrigo Borja of Ecuador.

Points of Light Recognition Program

The President named the following individuals and institutions as exemplars of his commitment to making community service

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

92 JAN 28 11:40 January 28, 1992

MEMORANDUM FOR TONY SNOW

FROM: STEPHEN G. RADEMAKER *SR*
ASSOCIATE COUNSEL TO THE PRESIDENT

SUBJECT: Presidential Remarks: The Security Council of the
United Nations -- January 31, 1992

Pursuant to Phil Brady's request, Counsel's Office has reviewed the above-referenced matter and has no objection, subject to the changes noted on the attached text.

Attachment

cc: Phillip D. Brady

MASTER

McGroarty/Bunton
January 27, 1992
7:30 pm
[UNSC]

22 JAN 27 P7:36

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

Mr. President [Security Council President, Prime Minister Major], fellow members: It is a high honor to speak today at this history-making event -- the first-ever summit of the heads of government of the UN Security Council.

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

//

Today, all that has changed.

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

Our triumph in the Gulf is testament to the UN's new-found powers. The challenge now is to move forward -- to continue the internal reforms that will make the UN more responsive and more

responsible. / I assure the members of this Council and Secretary General Gahli: the UN can count on America's full support in this task.

Reform is made even more urgent now. Since the beginning, the UN's blue helmets took an active part in peacekeeping. In the future, the United Nations will increasingly be called on to undertake the task of peacemaking. / Under the broad authority of Article 99 of the UN Charter, the Secretary General may bring before this body not simply conflicts already underway -- but any matter that threatens international peace and security. This authority ~~will~~ enables ^{Secretary General} the UN₁ to exercise ~~its~~ good offices in disputes before they break into open, armed conflict. //

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

As proof of the UN's new prospects for peacemaking, we pledge today our full support to a historic Declaration Against Global Aggression. Fellow members, as President of a country whose first act of nationhood took the form of a Declaration, the power of the pledge we make today goes far beyond mere words on paper.

This Declaration gives voice to a simple truth: our world will be safer, when an attack on the sovereignty of one nation is seen as an assault on the security of all. For the sake of

international security, we must give this principle the greatest practical meaning in the conduct of nations. //

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

Look at the changes we've witnessed and worked for this past year -- the revolution that's swept away the old regimes from Managua to Moscow. The individual is at the epicenter of change.

Nation after nation has broken free to democracy. But everywhere, free government will take time to flourish and grow. Free elections give democracy a foothold -- but true democracy means more than simply the rule of the majority. It means the safeguarding of minority rights -- it means the sanctity of even a single individual against the unjust power of the state.

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

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

Earlier this week in ^{my} the State of the Union, I announced the steps my country will take / unilaterally / to reduce our nuclear arsenals: [LIST STEPS ANNOUNCED IN STATE OF THE UNION].

In ^(McClure) additional to these unilateral steps, we will seek agreements. This weekend, I will meet with President Yeltsin of the Russian Republic. Our aim: [OUTLINE/UPDATE OBJECTIVES?].

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

There has been real progress toward non-proliferation. Both France and China have ~~dropped their longstanding opposition and~~ stated their intent to ^{join} sign the Non-Proliferation Treaty. Russia has indicated its intent to abide by the treaty -- as have Ukraine, Belarus, Kazakhstan, Uzbekistan and Kyrgystan. Among the newly-freed Baltic states, Lithuania has signed the NPT -- and Estonia and Latvia have expressed their intent to do the same.

But all of us face real danger from renegade regimes -- ^{and} from ^{not} terror groups who scorn the very principles we hold dear. In their hands, even a single nuclear weapon ^{could} ~~can~~ pose immense danger.

Our challenge is clear: we must impose strict controls and strengthen existing safeguards on the transfer, possession and use of the technologies associated with such deadly weapons.

Working in common purpose, we must isolate these renegade regimes -- and when necessary, impose on them a kind of quarantine for the greater good of the world community.

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

First, we must continue to focus on Iraq's capability to build or maintain weapons of mass destruction. Following the mandate of the UN Special Commission, we must monitor the destruction of these deadly weapons. We will accept nothing short of full disclosure -- nothing short of complete compliance.

//

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

Finally, we must make clear to the world -- and most important, to the people of Iraq -- that the international community remains united against Saddam Hussein. No normalization is possible so long as Saddam remains in power. //

In Iraq, as in all of the urgent issues I've mentioned today, progress comes from acting in concert. / The nations represented here -- like the larger community of the UN -- have it in their power to act for peace. //

May God bless the United States -- and all nations united in
pursuit of this noble goal.

#

92 JAN 29 P 5:10 **WHITE HOUSE STAFFING MEMORANDUM**

DATE: 1/29/92 ACTION/CONCURRENCE COMMENT DUE BY: ---

PRESIDENTIAL REMARKS: THE SECURITY COUNCIL OF THE UNITED NATIONS -
JAN. 31, 1992

SUBJECT: _____

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

REMARKS: The attached remarks have been forwarded to the President.

RESPONSE:

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

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

32 JAN 29 P 2: 20

January 29, 1992

MEMORANDUM FOR THE PRESIDENT

THROUGH: DAVE DEMAREST
TONY SNOW *TS*

FROM: DAN MC GROARTY *DMG*

SUBJECT: PROPOSED REMARKS FOR THE UNITED NATIONS SECURITY
COUNCIL SUMMIT

I. SUMMARY

On Friday, January 31, 1992 at 11:00 a.m. you will deliver remarks to the United Nations Security Council in the council's meeting chamber at the United Nations in New York. This session marks the first time the Security Council has convened with heads of state and government.

II. DISCUSSION

Your remarks (approximately 18 minutes / teleprompter) speak of the new opportunities now open to the United Nations.

You will focus on the peacekeeping and peacemaking functions of the United Nations, as well as the issues of nuclear arms control, non-proliferation, and the quarantine against Iraq.

McGroarty/Bunton
January 29, 1992
4:30 pm
[UNSC]

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

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

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

//

Today, all that has changed.

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

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

An effective United Nations is even more urgent now. For the past four decades, the UN's blue helmets and blue berets have taken an active part in peacekeeping. In the future, the United Nations will increasingly be called on to undertake the task of peacemaking -- both to resolve hot wars and to conduct the forward-looking mission that goes by the name "preventive diplomacy." In the lives of millions of men and women around the world, the meaning of "preventive diplomacy" is simple: it can be the difference between war and peace / life and death / healing and hatred. That difference is hope. //

The future will see an increase in UN peacekeeping operations. We support UN peacekeeping -- the shared responsibility for fostering world stability.

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

these ideas together. We must be practical as well as principled as we seek to free people from the specter of conflict. //

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

In 1990, in the great hall of the General Assembly, I called on all nations to work to strengthen non-proliferation efforts. The world community rose to meet that challenge. Newly-free Lithuania, South Africa and other African states joined the Nuclear Non-Proliferation Treaty. France and China also committed to join that Treaty. Argentina and Brazil adopted international safeguards over all their nuclear activities. And the U.S. and other nations strengthened controls over the export of technologies related to the nuclear, chemical and biological weapons and the missiles used to deliver these deadly weapons.

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

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

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

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

Terrorists and their state sponsors must know there will be serious consequences if they violate international law.

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

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

First, we must continue to focus on Iraq's capability to build or maintain weapons of mass destruction. Following the groundbreaking step of this Council in setting up the UN Special Commission, we must monitor the destruction of these deadly weapons. We will accept nothing short of full disclosure -- nothing short of complete compliance. //

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

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

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

The nations represented here -- like the larger community of the UN -- have it in their power to act for peace. May God bless the United Nations as it pursues this noble goal.

#

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

January 29, 1992

MEMORANDUM FOR THE PRESIDENT

THROUGH: DAVE DEMAREST
TONY SNOW *TS*

FROM: DAN MC GROARTY *DMG*

SUBJECT: PROPOSED REMARKS FOR THE UNITED NATIONS SECURITY
COUNCIL SUMMIT

I. SUMMARY

On Friday, January 31, 1992 at 11:00 a.m. you will deliver remarks to the United Nations Security Council in the council's meeting chamber at the United Nations in New York. This session marks the first time the Security Council has convened with heads of state and government.

II. DISCUSSION

Your remarks (approximately 18 minutes / teleprompter) speak of the new opportunities now open to the United Nations.

You will focus on the peacekeeping and peacemaking functions of the United Nations, as well as the issues of nuclear arms control, non-proliferation, and the quarantine against Iraq.

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

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

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

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

//

Today, all that has changed.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

protect the fundamental rights of freedoms of all people everywhere. //

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

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

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

In addition to these unilateral steps, the U.S. is prepared to move forward on mutual arms reductions. This weekend, at Camp

David, I will meet with President Yeltsin of the Russian Federation. The question of nuclear arms reductions will top our agenda, and I feel confident we'll make progress in the search for common ground. //

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

In 1990, in the great hall of the General Assembly, I called on all nations to work to strengthen non-proliferation efforts. The world community rose to meet that challenge. Newly-free Lithuania, South Africa and other African states joined the Nuclear Non-Proliferation Treaty. France and China also committed to join that Treaty. Argentina and Brazil adopted international safeguards over all their nuclear activities. And the U.S. and other nations strengthened controls over the export of technologies related to the nuclear, chemical and biological weapons and the missiles used to deliver these deadly weapons.

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

But the progress we've made cannot blind us to the dangers we still face. We welcome -- the world welcomes -- statements by

several of the former Soviet republics that they will abide by the Non-Proliferation Treaty. Yet realism requires us to remain vigilant in this time of transition. So long as the drama in the former lands of the Soviet Union is far from over, the danger of proliferation remains. The U.S. will continue to work with the former Soviet republics to ensure a strong commitment in word and deed to non-proliferation.

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

Terrorists and their state sponsors must know there will be serious consequences if they violate international law.

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

We must work together to secure the world against the actions of renegade regimes. Today, this institution spearheads a quarantine against the outlaw regime of Saddam Hussein. It is the strong belief of my country that we must keep sanctions in

place -- and take the following steps to preserve our common security:

First, we must continue to focus on Iraq's capability to build or maintain weapons of mass destruction. Following the groundbreaking step of this Council in setting up the UN Special Commission, we must monitor the destruction of these deadly weapons. We will accept nothing short of full disclosure -- nothing short of complete compliance. //

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

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

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

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

#

1-29-92
6:30 pm

NATIONAL SECURITY COUNCIL

Cristina/Dan

These are NSC staff
changes yet to be
reviewed by General
Scowcroft. He
will see them
this evening.

92 JAN 29

Nancy Dyke

X5694

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

06:42

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

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

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

Today, all that has changed.

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

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

An effective United Nations is even more urgent now. ~~Since~~ ^{For the} ~~the beginning,~~ ^{last four decades} the UN's blue helmets and blue berets ~~took an~~ ^{have taken} active part in peacekeeping. ^{which now can include additional activities such as election} In the future, the United Nations will increasingly be called on ^{also} to undertake the task of peacemaking, ^{both of to resolve hot wars and to conduct the} ~~This can include the exercise of the Secretary General's good offices in disputes before they break into open, armed conflict.~~

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

The future will see an increase in UN peacekeeping, ^{such as the} ~~operations~~ ^{about to begin in El Salvador} ~~We support and welcome these missions -- this~~ shared responsibility for fostering world stability.

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

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

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

Look at the changes we've witnessed and worked for this past year -- the revolution that's swept away the old regimes from Managua to Moscow. This revolution is grounded in a bedrock belief in democratic values -- values that put the individual at the epicenter of ~~change~~ ^{our concerns + responsibilities} ~~as states and governments~~.

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

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

protect the fundamental rights of freedoms of all people everywhere. //

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

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

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

In addition to these unilateral steps, the U.S. is prepared to move forward on mutual arms reductions. This weekend, at Camp

in my meeting 5 *we will continue*
David, ~~I will meet with President Yeltsin of the Russian Federation. The question of nuclear arms reductions will top our agenda, and I feel confident we'll make progress in the search for common ground~~ *on this vitally important issue,*

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

In 1990, in the great hall of the General Assembly, I called on all nations to work to strengthen non-proliferation efforts. The world community rose to meet that challenge. Newly-free Lithuania, South Africa and other African states joined the Nuclear Non-Proliferation Treaty. France and China also committed to join that Treaty. Argentina and Brazil adopted international safeguards over all their nuclear activities. And the U.S. and other nations strengthened controls over the export of technologies related to the nuclear, chemical and biological weapons and the missiles used to deliver these deadly weapons.

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

But the progress we've made cannot blind us to the dangers we still face. We welcome -- the world welcomes -- statements by

*new states that won independence after
the collapse of the USSR*

several of the ~~former Soviet republics~~ that they will abide by the Non-Proliferation Treaty. Yet realism requires us to remain vigilant in this time of transition. ~~So long as the drama in the former lands of the Soviet Union is far from over,~~ the danger of proliferation remains. The U.S. will continue to work with the ~~former Soviet republics~~ *these new states* to ensure a strong commitment in word and deed to non-proliferation.

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

Terrorists and their state sponsors must know there will be serious consequences if they violate international law.

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

We must work together to secure the world against the actions of renegade regimes. Today, this institution spearheads a quarantine against the outlaw regime of Saddam Hussein. It is the strong belief of my country that we must keep sanctions in

place -- and take the following steps to preserve our common security:

First, we must continue to focus on Iraq's capability to build or maintain weapons of mass destruction. Following the groundbreaking step of this Council in setting up the UN Special Commission, we must monitor the destruction of these deadly weapons. We will accept nothing short of full disclosure -- nothing short of complete compliance. *This truly deserves our attention & our resources.*

Second, we call on Iraq to abide by all Security Council Resolutions. The hardship and suffering of the innocent people of Iraq pains us all. *and the Security Council has adopted UNSCR 706 + 712 to alleviate suffering Iraqi compliance with these resolution and other UNSC resolution is long overdue.* ~~We stand ready to provide humanitarian assistance -- under the terms of Security Council Resolutions 706 and 712 -- the moment Saddam accepts the will of the world community.~~

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

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

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

#

32 JAN 29 9:49

WHITE HOUSE STAFFING MEMORANDUM

DATE: 01/27/92 ACTION/CONCURRENCE/COMMENT DUE BY: 2:00 p.m. 01/28

SUBJECT: PRESIDENTIAL REMARKS: THE SECURITY COUNCIL OF THE UNITED NATIONS-
Jan. 31

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

REMARKS:

Please provide any comments directly to Tony Snow no later than 2:00 p.m., Tuesday, 01/28, with a copy to this office. Thanks.

RESPONSE:

OK
BT for SR

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

McGroarty/Bunton
January 27, 1992
7:30 pm
[UNSC]

32 JAN 27 P7:36

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

Mr. President [Security Council President, Prime Minister Major], fellow members: It is a high honor to speak today at this history-making event -- the first-ever summit of the heads of government of the UN Security Council.

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

11
Step ~~Today~~, all that has changed.

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

Our triumph in the Gulf is testament to the UN's new-found powers. The challenge now is to move forward -- to continue the internal reforms that will make the UN more responsive and more

responsible. / I assure the members of this Council and Secretary General Gahli: the UN can count on America's full support in this task.

Reform is made even more urgent now. Since the beginning, the UN's blue helmets took an active part in peacekeeping. In the future, the United Nations will increasingly be called on to undertake the task of peacemaking. / Under the broad authority of Article 99 of the UN Charter, the Secretary General may bring before this body not simply conflicts already underway -- but any matter that threatens international peace and security. This authority will enable the UN to exercise its good offices in disputes before they break into open, armed conflict. //

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

As proof of the UN's new prospects for peacemaking, we pledge today our full support to a historic Declaration Against Global Aggression. Fellow members, as President of a country whose first act of nationhood took the form of a Declaration, the power of the pledge we make today goes far beyond mere words on paper.

This Declaration gives voice to a simple truth: our world will be safer, when an attack on the sovereignty of one nation is seen as an assault on the security of all. For the sake of

international security, we must give this principle the greatest practical meaning in the conduct of nations. //

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

Look at the changes we've witnessed and worked for this past year -- the revolution that's swept away the old regimes from Managua to Moscow. The individual is at the epicenter of change.

Nation after nation has broken free to democracy. But everywhere, free government will take time to flourish and grow. Free elections give democracy a foothold -- but true democracy means more than simply the rule of the majority. It means the safeguarding of minority rights -- it means the sanctity of even a single individual against the unjust power of the state.

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

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

Earlier this week in the State of the Union, I announced the steps my country will take / unilaterally / to reduce our nuclear arsenals: [LIST STEPS ANNOUNCED IN STATE OF THE UNION].

In addition to these unilateral steps, we will seek agreements. This weekend, I will meet with President Yeltsin of the Russian Republic. Our aim: [OUTLINE/UPDATE OBJECTIVES?].

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

There has been real progress toward non-proliferation. Both France and China have dropped their longstanding opposition and stated their intent to sign the Non-Proliferation Treaty. Russia has indicated its intent to abide by the treaty -- as have Ukraine, Belarus, Kazakhstan, Uzbekistan and Kyrgystan. Among the newly-freed Baltic states, Lithuania has signed the NPT -- and Estonia and Latvia have expressed their intent to do the same.

But all of us face real danger from renegade regimes -- from terror groups who scorn the very principles we hold dear. In their hands, even a single nuclear weapon can pose immense danger.

Our challenge is clear: we must impose strict controls and strengthen existing safeguards on the transfer, possession and use of the technologies associated with such deadly weapons.

Working in common purpose, we must isolate these renegade regimes -- and when necessary, impose on them a kind of quarantine for the greater good of the world community.

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

First, we must continue to focus on Iraq's capability to build or maintain weapons of mass destruction. Following the mandate of the UN Special Commission, we must monitor the destruction of these deadly weapons. We will accept nothing short of full disclosure -- nothing short of complete compliance.

//

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

Finally, we must make clear to the world -- and most important, to the people of Iraq -- that the international community remains united against Saddam Hussein. No normalization is possible so long as Saddam remains in power. //

In Iraq, as in all of the urgent issues I've mentioned today, progress comes from acting in concert. / The nations represented here -- like the larger community of the UN -- have it in their power to act for peace. //

May God bless the United States -- and all nations united in
pursuit of this noble goal.

#

WHITE HOUSE STAFFING MEMORANDUM

92 JAN 29 All: 33

DATE: 01/27/92 ACTION/CONCURRENCE/COMMENT DUE BY: 2:00 p.m. 01/28

SUBJECT: PRESIDENTIAL REMARKS: THE SECURITY COUNCIL OF THE UNITED NATIONS-
Jan. 31

	ACTION	FYI		ACTION	FYI
VICE PRESIDENT	—	✓	HORNER	—	—
SKINNER	—	✓	MCCLURE	✓	—
SCOWCROFT	✓	—	PETERSMEYER	—	—
DARMAN	✓	—	PORTER	✓	—
BRADY	—	✓	ROGICH	✓	—
BROMLEY	—	—	SMITH	✓	—
CARD	—	✓	<u>FINDLAY</u>	—	✓
DEMAREST	✓	—	<u>SNOW</u>	—	✓
FITZWATER	—	✓	<u>KAUFMAN</u>	✓	—
GRAY	✓	—	_____	—	—
HOLIDAY	✓	—	_____	—	—

REMARKS:

Please provide any comments directly to Tony Snow no later than 2:00 p.m., Tuesday, 01/28, with a copy to this office. Thanks.

Tony Snow

RESPONSE: TO: ~~PHILLIP D. BRADY~~

January 29, 1992

NSC staff concurs with changes as marked.

Needs more work. We will need to clear next chapland are ready to assist now.

for
BRENT SCOWCROFT

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

McGroarty/Bunton
January 27, 1992
7:30 pm
[UNSC]

02 JAN 27 P7:36

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

→ wish to

Mr. President [Security Council President, Prime Minister
Major], fellow members: ^{*of the Security Council*} It is a high honor to speak today at
this history-making event -- the first-ever summit of the heads
of ^{*state and*} government of the UN Security Council.

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

*Boutros-
UNSG's Shali'
as he begins his tenure. You
take
office
at a
time
of
great
challenge,
opportunity,
&
expectation.*

//

Today, all that has changed.

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

^{*The*} ~~Our~~ triumph in the Gulf is testament to the UN's new-found
powers. The challenge now is to move forward -- to continue the
^{*revitaliza-*}
^{*tion*}
and internal reforms that will make the UN more responsive and more

And the ^{responsibility} ~~role~~ of the Security Council within the UN to maintain ^{international} security is more prominent than ever. The UN is actively involved in the search for peace ⁱⁿ ~~the~~ world.

responsible. / I assure the members of this Council and Secretary General ^{Boutros-}Gahli: the UN can count on America's full support in this task.

^{An effective United Nations Reform} is made even more urgent now. Since the beginning, the UN's blue helmets took an active part in peacekeeping. In the future, ^{I believe} the United Nations will increasingly be called on to undertake the task of peacemaking. Under the broad authority of Article 99 of the UN Charter, the Secretary General may bring before this body not simply conflicts already underway -- but any matter that threatens international peace and security. This ^{includes} authority will enable the UN to exercise ^{the exercise of the UN Secretary General's} its good offices in some disputes before they break into open, armed conflict. //

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

As proof of the UN's new prospects for peacemaking, we pledge today our full support to a historic Declaration Against Global Aggression. Fellow members, as President of a country whose first act of nationhood took the form of a Declaration, the power of the pledge we make today goes far beyond mere words on paper.

This Declaration gives voice to a simple truth: our world will be safer, when an attack on the sovereignty of one nation is seen as an assault on the security of all. For the sake of

INSERT 2A

The UN blue helmets and blue berets also bring hope, with UN peacekeeping operations now increasingly feasible and in demand. We support and welcome these operations -- this shared responsibility for fostering world stability. At the same time, we will work with the new Secretary General and all of you to ensure that each peacekeeping endeavor is planned and carried out as efficiently as possible. Peace and security are worth the price, but at a time when many governments are facing multiple demands on their resources, we must be able to reassure our citizens that the investment in peace is a well-spent investment in their own wellbeing.

Today we will ask the Secretary General to set forth his ideas about strengthening and making more efficient the UN's capacity for preventive diplomacy, peacemaking, and peacekeeping. Now is the time; now is the opportunity to reflect on and realize what the Founders dreamed. As we explore these ideas together, we must do so thoughtfully and in consonance with the spirit of the newly cooperative world community. We must be practical but we must find ways to continue to free people from the spectre of conflict.

are based on belief in democratic values and recognition that the individual is central to change & progress. This idea is at the epicenter of

international security, we must give this principle the greatest practical meaning in the conduct of nations. //

Nations working ^{together} toward the same ideal ^{of collective security + respect for the UN charter} can help keep the peace. But ultimately, the strongest safeguard against aggression remains ^{governments} democratic rule.

Look at the changes we've witnessed and worked for this past year -- the revolution that's swept away the old regimes from Managua to Moscow. The individual is at the epicenter of change.

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

important change

INSERT 3A

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

The UN must also enlist itself in the effort to eliminate weapons of mass destruction. In my first address as President to the United Nations, I challenged the Soviet Union to eliminate chemical weapons -- and I called on every nation to join us in this crusade. // Let us work to make certain the world has seen the last of these terrible weapons. ^{Let us conclude the chemical weapons ban this year. Let every nation join the U.S. in a pledge now to join it.}

INSERT 3A

For the sake of true democracy, the nations of the world must work together in the name of human rights. Together, we must resolve to uphold the rule of law -- so that the will of the majority never degenerates into majority whim at the expense of those who are powerless to resist oppression. That means enlisting the powers of the United Nations to defend fundamental rights and freedoms of all people everywhere. The Universal Declaration of Human Rights sets forth these principles; it discriminates against no one. Human dignity knows no borders. Whether in Asia, Africa, or the Americas, the United Nations needs to stand with those who seek greater freedom and democracy. This is my strong personal view, a strong American view, and should, most importantly, be a strong view that can truly unite nations throughout the globe. It is one of the reasons bringing us to this forum today where all nations can gather to constructively discuss their differences.

3A

address to the U.S. Congress

Earlier this week in ^{my} the State of the Union, I announced the steps my country will take / unilaterally / to reduce our nuclear arsenals: [LIST STEPS ANNOUNCED IN STATE OF THE UNION].

In addition~~ed~~ to these unilateral steps, we will ^{Pursue} seek ^{reciprocal steps with the Russian Republic} agreements. This weekend, I will meet with President Yeltsin of the Russian Republic. Our aim: [OUTLINE/UPDATE OBJECTIVES?].

Today, the threat of global nuclear war is more distant than at any other time in the nuclear era. Drawing down the old Cold War arsenals will help people in every nation breathe ~~it~~ easier.

But the specter of mass destruction will remain all too real -- ^{especially} as renegade regimes work to acquire weapons of mass destruction and the means to deliver them.

INSERT
4A

~~There has been real progress toward non-proliferation. Both France and China have dropped their longstanding opposition and stated their intent to sign the Non-Proliferation Treaty. Russia has indicated its intent to abide by the treaty -- as have Ukraine, Belarus, Kazakhstan, Uzbekistan and Kyrgystan. Among the newly-freed Baltic states, Lithuania has signed the NPT -- and Estonia and Latvia have expressed their intent to do the same.~~

But all of us face real danger from renegade regimes -- from terror groups who scorn the very principles we hold dear. In their hands, even a single nuclear weapon can pose immense danger.

Our challenge is clear: we must impose strict controls and strengthen existing safeguards on the transfer, possession and use of the technologies associated with such deadly weapons.]

~~Handwritten scribbles~~

INSERT

4A

Newly-free Lithuania as well as African
~~Handwritten scribbles~~

SUBSTITUTION FOR 3 PARAS BEGINNING "There has been real progress toward nonproliferation.":

In 1990, standing before the General Assembly I called for strengthened nonproliferation efforts. The international community rose to meet the challenge. Several states, including South Africa, and newly-free Lithuania, joined the Nuclear Non-Proliferation Treaty. France and China also committed to join that Treaty. Argentina and Brazil adopted international safeguards over all their nuclear activities. The United States and other nations strengthened controls over the export of technologies related to the development of missiles and chemical and biological weapons.

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

But we continue to face real dangers. While we are heartened by the intention of several of the former Soviet republics to abide by the Non-Proliferation Treaty, we must be vigilant lest the dramatic changes in that region accelerate the spread of weapons of mass destruction. ~~We Secretary of State Baker and Under Secretary Bartholomew~~ ^{Secretary} have begun a process of cooperation with the former Soviet republics to enlist their support for -- and implementation of -- international nonproliferation norms.

~~Handwritten scribbles~~

We will do more, in cooperation with our allies, to ensure that dangerous materials in the former Soviet Union do not contribute to the proliferation of these weapons beyond those borders or into the hands of terrorists. We must also act together so that people involved in sophisticated weapon programs devote their energies henceforth to peaceful endeavors.

Likewise, we need to act together to strengthen existing safeguards against the transfer, possession, and use of the technologies of weapons of mass destruction.

We must strengthen our resolve, also, so that terrorists and their state sponsors know there will be serious consequences for both if they violate international law. We must deal resolutely with such renegades, if necessary by sanctions or stronger measures, to compel them to observe international norms and to insure international peace and security. Thus, two weeks ago the Council correctly decided that it must act and unanimously adopted Resolution 731 calling on Libya to comply fully with the requests of three states on this Council. Now, full and effective implementation with 731 is required.

4A

aimed at modifying their behavior --
together with a
Working in common purpose, we must isolate these renegade regimes
-- and when necessary, impose on them *the necessary sanctions & measures* a kind of quarantine for
the greater good of the world community.

Today, this institution spearheads a quarantine against the outlaw regime of Saddam Hussein. It is the strong belief of my country that we must keep strong sanctions in place *until there is a change of leadership in Iraq* -- and take the following steps to preserve our common security:

First, we must continue to focus on Iraq's capability to build or maintain weapons of mass destruction. Following the mandate of the UN Special Commission, we must ~~find and~~ monitor the destruction of these deadly weapons. We will accept nothing short of full disclosure -- nothing short of complete compliance.

//

Second, we call on Iraq to abide by all Security Council Resolutions. The hardship and suffering of the innocent people of Iraq pains us all, *and the Security Council has adopted UNSCR 706 and 712 to alleviate that suffering.* We stand ready to provide humanitarian assistance -- the moment Saddam accepts the will of the world community *as so* *Iraqi compliance with these resolutions, and other UNSC resolutions, is long overdue.*

Finally, we must make clear to the world -- and most important, to the people of Iraq -- that the international community remains united against Saddam Hussein. No normalization is possible so long as Saddam remains in power. //

In Iraq, as ^{on} in all of the urgent issues I've mentioned today, progress comes from acting in concert. / The nations represented here -- like the larger community of the UN -- have it in their power to act for peace. //

Nations

*need lead
into this*

May God bless the United ~~States~~ -- and all nations united in
pursuit of this noble goal.

#

WHITE HOUSE STAFFING MEMORANDUM

92 JAN 29 All: 33

DATE: 01/27/92 ACTION/CONCURRENCE/COMMENT DUE BY: 2:00 p.m. 01/28

SUBJECT: PRESIDENTIAL REMARKS: THE SECURITY COUNCIL OF THE UNITED NATIONS-
Jan. 31

	ACTION	FYI		ACTION	FYI
VICE PRESIDENT	—	✓	HORNER	—	—
SKINNER	—	✓	MCCLURE	✓	—
SCOWCROFT	—	—	PETERSMEYER	—	—
DARMAN	✓	—	PORTER	✓	—
BRADY	—	✓	ROGICH	✓	—
BROMLEY	—	—	SMITH	✓	—
CARD	—	✓	<u>FINDLAY</u>	—	✓
DEMAREST	✓	—	<u>SNOW</u>	—	✓
FITZWATER	—	✓	<u>KAUFMAN</u>	✓	—
GRAY	✓	—	_____	—	—
HOLIDAY	✓	—	_____	—	—

REMARKS:

Please provide any comments directly to Tony Snow no later than 2:00 p.m., Tuesday, 01/28, with a copy to this office. Thanks.

Tony Snow

RESPONSE: TO: ~~PHILLIP D. BRADY~~

January 29, 1992

NSC staff concurs with changes as marked.

Needs more work. We will need to clean next chapland and ready to assist now.

for
 BRENT SCOWCROFT

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

McGroarty/Bunton
January 27, 1992
7:30 pm
[UNSC]

02 JAN 27 P7:36

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

wish to

Mr. President [Security Council President, Prime Minister
Major], fellow members: It is a high honor to speak today at
this history-making event -- the first-ever summit of the heads
of government of the UN Security Council.

of the Security Council

as begin his term

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

Bunton:
UNSC is the
take
off
it
time
great
falling
expectation

//

Today, all that has changed.

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

^{The} ~~Our~~ triumph in the Gulf is testament to the UN's new-found
powers. The challenge now is to move forward -- to continue the
and internal reforms that will make the UN more responsive and more

rehabilitate
him

responsibility
And the ~~role~~ of the Security Council within the UN to maintain international security is more prominent than ever. The UN is actively involved in the search for peace in *conflicts* around the world.

responsible. / I assure the members of this Council and Secretary General *Boutros-Ghali*: the UN can count on America's full support in this task.

An effective United Nations Reform is made even more urgent now. Since the beginning, the UN's blue helmets took an active part in peacekeeping. In the future, *I believe* the United Nations will increasingly be called on to undertake the task of peacemaking. Under the broad authority of Article 99 of the UN Charter, the Secretary General may bring before this body not simply conflicts already underway -- but any matter that threatens international peace and security. This *includes* *exercise of the UN Secretary General's* authority will enable the UN to exercise ~~its~~ good offices in some disputes before they break into open, armed conflict. //

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

Insert 2A

~~As proof of the UN's new prospects for peacemaking, we pledge today our full support to a historic Declaration Against Global Aggression. Fellow members, as President of a country whose first act of nationhood took the form of a Declaration, the power of the pledge we make today goes far beyond mere words on paper.~~

This Declaration gives voice to a simple truth: our world will be safer, when an attack on the sovereignty of one nation is seen as an assault on the security of all. For the sake of

INSERT 2A

The UN blue helmets and blue berets also bring hope, with UN peacekeeping operations now increasingly feasible and in demand. We support and welcome these operations -- this shared responsibility for fostering world stability. At the same time, we will work with the new Secretary General and all of you to ensure that each peacekeeping endeavor is planned and carried out as efficiently as possible. Peace and security are worth the price, but at a time when many governments are facing multiple demands on their resources, we must be able to reassure our citizens that the investment in peace is a well-spent investment in their own wellbeing.

Today we will ask the Secretary General to set forth his ideas about strengthening and making more efficient the UN's capacity for preventive diplomacy, peacemaking, and peacekeeping. Now is the time; now is the opportunity to reflect on and realize what the Founders dreamed. As we explore these ideas together, we must do so thoughtfully and in consonance with the spirit of the newly cooperative world community. We must be practical but we must find ways to continue to free people from the spectre of conflict.

are based on belief in democratic values and recognition that the individual is central to change & progress. This idea is at the epicenter of

international security, we must give this principle the greatest practical meaning in the conduct of nations.

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

Look at the changes we've witnessed and worked for this past year -- the revolution that's swept away the old regimes from Managua to Moscow. The individual is at the epicenter of change.

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

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

The UN must also enlist itself in the effort to eliminate weapons of mass destruction. In my first address as President to the United Nations, I challenged the Soviet Union to eliminate chemical weapons -- and I called on every nation to join us in this crusade. Let us work to make certain the world has seen the last of these terrible weapons. Let us conclude the chemical weapons ban this year. Let every nation join the U.S. in a pledge never to join it.

collective security + respect for the UN

and to build the institutions that are essential for sustaining democracy

important change

INSERT 3A

INSERT 3A

For the sake of true democracy, the nations of the world must work together in the name of human rights. Together, we must resolve to uphold the rule of law -- so that the will of the majority never degenerates into majority whim at the expense of those who are powerless to resist oppression. That means enlisting the powers of the United Nations to defend fundamental rights and freedoms of all people everywhere. The Universal Declaration of Human Rights sets forth these principles; it discriminates against no one. Human dignity knows no borders. Whether in Asia, Africa, or the Americas, the United Nations needs to stand with those who seek greater freedom and democracy. This is my strong personal view, a strong American view, and should, most importantly, be a strong view that can truly unite nations throughout the globe. It is one of the reasons bringing us to this forum today where all nations can gather to constructively discuss their differences.

3A

Earlier this week in ^{my} the State of the Union, I announced the steps my country will take / unilaterally / to reduce our nuclear arsenals: [LIST STEPS ANNOUNCED IN STATE OF THE UNION].

In addition ^{to} these unilateral steps, we will ^{Peruse} seek ^{repeated steps with the Russian Republic} agreements. This weekend, I will meet with President Yeltsin of the Russian Republic. Our aim: [OUTLINE/UPDATE OBJECTIVES?].

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

<sup>INSERT
HA</sup> [There has been real progress toward non-proliferation. Both France and China have dropped their longstanding opposition and stated their intent to sign the Non-Proliferation Treaty. Russia has indicated its intent to abide by the treaty -- as have Ukraine, Belarus, Kazakhstan, Uzbekistan and Kyrgystan. Among the newly-freed Baltic states, Lithuania has signed the NPT -- and Estonia and Latvia have expressed their intent to do the same.

But all of us face real danger from renegade regimes -- from terror groups who scorn the very principles we hold dear. In their hands, even a single nuclear weapon can pose immense danger.

Our challenge is clear: we must impose strict controls and strengthen existing safeguards on the transfer, possession and use of the technologies associated with such deadly weapons.]

~~Handwritten scribbles~~ **INSERT** ~~Handwritten scribbles~~ / *NATO-free*
Ethiopia as well as ~~Handwritten scribbles~~
African ~~Handwritten scribbles~~

SUBSTITUTION FOR 3 PARAS BEGINNING "There has been real progress toward nonproliferation.":

In 1990, standing before the General Assembly I called for strengthened nonproliferation efforts. The international community rose to meet the challenge. Several states, including South Africa, ~~and newly independent Ethiopia~~, joined the Nuclear Non-Proliferation Treaty. France and China also committed to join that Treaty. Argentina and Brazil adopted international safeguards over all their nuclear activities. The United States and other nations strengthened controls over the export of technologies related to the development of missiles and chemical and biological weapons.

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

But we continue to face real dangers. While we are heartened by the intention of several of the former Soviet republics to abide by the Non-Proliferation Treaty, we must be vigilant lest the dramatic changes in that region accelerate the spread of weapons of mass destruction. ~~We Secretary of State Baker and Under Secretary Bartholomew~~ have begun a process of ~~cooperation~~ with the former Soviet republics to enlist their support for -- and implementation of -- international nonproliferation norms.

~~Handwritten scribbles~~

OK (in) ~~Handwritten scribbles~~

We will do more, in cooperation with our allies, to ensure that dangerous materials in the former Soviet Union do not contribute to the proliferation of these weapons beyond those borders or into the hands of terrorists. We must also act together so that people involved in sophisticated weapon programs devote their energies henceforth to peaceful endeavors.

3 * ~~Handwritten scribbles~~

Likewise, we need to act together to strengthen existing safeguards against the transfer, possession, and use of the technologies of weapons of mass destruction.

We must strengthen our resolve, also, so that terrorists and their state sponsors know there will be serious consequences for both if they violate international law. We must deal resolutely with such renegades, if necessary by sanctions or stronger measures, to compel them to observe international norms and to insure international peace and security. Thus, two weeks ago the Council correctly decided that it must act and unanimously adopted Resolution 731 calling on Libya to comply fully with the requests of three states on this Council. Now, full and effective implementation with 731 is required.

4 * ~~Handwritten scribbles~~

aimed at modifying their behavior
together with a
Working in common purpose, we must isolate these renegade regimes
-- and when necessary, impose on them *the necessary sanctions & measures* a kind of quarantine for
the greater good of the world community.

Today, this institution spearheads a quarantine against the
outlaw regime of Saddam Hussein. It is the strong belief of my
country that we must keep strong sanctions in place *(until there is a change of leadership in Iraq)* -- and take
the following steps to preserve our common security: (5) *

First, we must continue to focus on Iraq's capability to
build or maintain weapons of mass destruction. Following the
mandate of the UN Special Commission, we must ~~fund and~~ monitor the
destruction of these deadly weapons. We will accept nothing
short of full disclosure -- nothing short of complete compliance.

//

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

Finally, we must make clear to the world -- and most
important, to the people of Iraq -- that the international
community remains united against Saddam Hussein. No
normalization is possible so long as Saddam remains in power. //

In Iraq, as ^{on} ~~in~~ all of the urgent issues I've mentioned
today, progress comes from acting in concert. / The nations
represented here -- like the larger community of the UN -- have
it in their power to act for peace. //

(6) * Iraqi compliance with these resolutions, and other UNSC resolutions, is long overdue.

Nations

*need lead
into this*

May God bless the United ~~States~~ -- and all nations united in
pursuit of this noble goal.

#

92 JAN 28 P4:49

WHITE HOUSE STAFFING MEMORANDUM

DATE: 01/27/92 ACTION/CONCURRENCE COMMENT DUE BY: 2:00 p.m. 01/28

SUBJECT: PRESIDENTIAL REMARKS: THE SECURITY COUNCIL OF THE UNITED NATIONS-
Jan. 31

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

REMARKS:
Please provide any comments directly to Tony Snow no later than 2:00 p.m., Tuesday, 01/28, with a copy to this office. Thanks.

RESPONSE: *No comment. Thanks.*
Paul Korbenta
PK
01/28/92

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

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

92 JAN 28 09:18

January 28, 1992

MEMORANDUM FOR DAN MCGROARTY

FROM: John S. Gardner *J.S.G.*

SUBJECT: UNSC Speech

This was a nice speech. Besides a few minor comments written on the draft, I have just one comment:

P. 2, carryover para. at bottom: Why is it necessarily true to say that "an attack on the sovereignty of one nation is seen as an assault on the security of all"? This is clearly true in the case of Iraq/Kuwait. But I'm afraid the Irans, Myanmars, and Kenyas of this world will take this as justification for their belief that any foreign intervention -- for human rights, nonproliferation, economic reform, etc., represents an attack on their sovereignty. Is there another way to make the point -- perhaps by restricting it to military action?

Thanks.

Dan -
*Assume you've already received Trilateral
Commission / Council on Foreign Relations concurrence!*

J.S.G.

McGroarty/Bunton
January 27, 1992
7:30 pm
[UNSC]

92 JAN 27 P7:36

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

Mr. President [Security Council President, Prime Minister Major], fellow members: It is a high honor to speak today at this history-making event -- the first-ever summit of the heads of government of the UN Security Council.

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

//

Today, all that has changed.

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

Our triumph in the Gulf is testament to the UN's new-found powers. The challenge now is to move forward -- to continue the internal reforms that will make the UN more responsive and more

Otherwise, it sounds like financial support, which is not popular at home.

responsible. / I assure the members of this Council and Secretary General ^{Ghali} ~~Gahli~~: the UN can count on America's full ^{efforts} ~~support~~ in this task.

Reform is made even more urgent now. Since the beginning, the UN's blue helmets took an active part in peacekeeping. In the future, the United Nations will increasingly be called on to undertake the task of peacemaking. / Under the broad authority of Article 99 of the UN Charter, the Secretary General may bring before this body not simply conflicts already underway -- but any matter that threatens international peace and security. This authority will enable the UN to exercise its good offices in disputes before they break into open, armed conflict. //

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

As proof of the UN's new prospects for peacemaking, we pledge today our full support to a historic Declaration Against Global Aggression. Fellow members, as President of a country whose first act of nationhood took the form of a Declaration, the power of the pledge we make today goes far beyond mere words on paper.

This Declaration gives voice to a simple truth: our world will be safer, when an attack on the sovereignty of one nation is seen as an assault on the security of all. For the sake of

see memo.

international security, we must give this principle the greatest practical meaning in the conduct of nations. //

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

Look at the changes we've witnessed and worked for this past year -- the revolution that's swept away the old regimes from Managua to Moscow. The individual is at the epicenter of change.

Nation after nation has broken free to democracy. But everywhere, free government will take time to flourish and grow. Free elections give democracy a foothold -- but true democracy means more than simply the rule of the majority. It means the safeguarding of minority rights -- it means the sanctity of even a single individual against the unjust power of the state.

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

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

Earlier this week in the State of the Union, I announced the steps my country will take / unilaterally / to reduce our nuclear arsenals: [LIST STEPS ANNOUNCED IN STATE OF THE UNION].

In addition to these unilateral steps, we will seek agreements. This weekend, I will meet with President Yeltsin of the Russian Republic. Our aim: [OUTLINE/UPDATE OBJECTIVES?].

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

There has been real progress toward non-proliferation. Both France and China have dropped their longstanding opposition and stated their intent to sign the Non-Proliferation Treaty. Russia has indicated its intent to abide by the treaty -- as have Ukraine, Belarus, Kazakhstan, Uzbekistan and Kyrgystan. Among the newly-freed Baltic states, Lithuania has signed the NPT -- and Estonia and Latvia have expressed their intent to do the same.

But all of us face real danger from renegade regimes -- from terror groups who scorn the very principles we hold dear. In their hands, even a single nuclear weapon can pose immense danger.

Our challenge is clear: we must impose strict controls and strengthen existing safeguards on the transfer, possession and use of the technologies associated with such deadly weapons.

*South America
countries?
South Africa?*

Working in common purpose, we must isolate these renegade regimes -- and when necessary, impose on them a kind of quarantine for the greater good of the world community.

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

First, we must continue to focus on Iraq's capability to build or maintain weapons of mass destruction. Following the mandate of the UN Special Commission, we must monitor the destruction of these deadly weapons. We will accept nothing short of full disclosure -- nothing short of complete compliance.

//

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

Finally, we must make clear to the world -- and most important, to the people of Iraq -- that the international community remains united against Saddam Hussein. No normalization is possible so long as Saddam remains in power. //

In Iraq, as in all of the urgent issues I've mentioned today, progress comes from acting in concert. / The nations represented here -- like the larger community of the UN -- have it in their power to act for peace. //

May God bless the United States -- and all nations united in
pursuit of this noble goal.

#

WHITE HOUSE STAFFING MEMORANDUM

DATE: 01/27/92 ACTION/CONCURRENCE/COMMENT DUE BY: 2:00 p.m. 01/28

SUBJECT: PRESIDENTIAL REMARKS: THE SECURITY COUNCIL OF THE UNITED NATIONS-
Jan. 31

	ACTION	FYI		ACTION	FYI
VICE PRESIDENT	—	✓	HORNER	—	—
SKINNER	—	✓	MCCLURE	✓	—
SCOWCROFT <i>Dyke 5094</i>	✓	—	PETERSMEYER	—	—
DARMAN <i>N/C</i>	✓	—	PORTER <i>N/C</i>	✓	—
BRADY	—	✓	ROGICH <i>N/C</i>	✓	—
BROMLEY	—	—	SMITH <i>N/C</i>	✓	—
CARD	—	✓	FINDLAY	—	✓
DEMAREST <i>will be N/C</i>	✓	—	SNOW _____	—	✓
FITZWATER	—	✓	KAUFMAN <i>N/C</i>	✓	—
GRAY <i>Rademaker 5026</i>	✓	—	_____	—	—
HOLIDAY <i>N/C</i>	✓	—	_____	—	—

REMARKS:

Please provide any comments directly to Tony Snow no later than 2:00 p.m., Tuesday, 01/28, with a copy to this office. Thanks.

RESPONSE:

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

McGroarty/Bunton
January 27, 1992
7:30 pm
[UNSC]

32 JAN 27 P7:36

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

Mr. President [Security Council President, Prime Minister Major], fellow members: It is a high honor to speak today at this history-making event -- the first-ever summit of the heads of government of the UN Security Council.

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

//

Today, all that has changed.

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

Our triumph in the Gulf is testament to the UN's new-found powers. The challenge now is to move forward -- to continue the internal reforms that will make the UN more responsive and more

responsible. / I assure the members of this Council and Secretary General Gahli: the UN can count on America's full support in this task.

Reform is made even more urgent now. Since the beginning, the UN's blue helmets took an active part in peacekeeping. In the future, the United Nations will increasingly be called on to undertake the task of peacemaking. / Under the broad authority of Article 99 of the UN Charter, the Secretary General may bring before this body not simply conflicts already underway -- but any matter that threatens international peace and security. This authority will enable the UN to exercise its good offices in disputes before they break into open, armed conflict. //

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

As proof of the UN's new prospects for peacemaking, we pledge today our full support to a historic Declaration Against Global Aggression. Fellow members, as President of a country whose first act of nationhood took the form of a Declaration, the power of the pledge we make today goes far beyond mere words on paper.

This Declaration gives voice to a simple truth: our world will be safer, when an attack on the sovereignty of one nation is seen as an assault on the security of all. For the sake of

international security, we must give this principle the greatest practical meaning in the conduct of nations. //

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

Look at the changes we've witnessed and worked for this past year -- the revolution that's swept away the old regimes from Managua to Moscow. The individual is at the epicenter of change.

Nation after nation has broken free to democracy. But everywhere, free government will take time to flourish and grow. Free elections give democracy a foothold -- but true democracy means more than simply the rule of the majority. It means the safeguarding of minority rights -- it means the sanctity of even a single individual against the unjust power of the state.

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

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

Earlier this week in the State of the Union, I announced the steps my country will take / unilaterally / to reduce our nuclear arsenals: [LIST STEPS ANNOUNCED IN STATE OF THE UNION].

In addition to these unilateral steps, we will seek agreements. This weekend, I will meet with President Yeltsin of the Russian Republic. Our aim: [OUTLINE/UPDATE OBJECTIVES?].

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

There has been real progress toward non-proliferation. Both France and China have dropped their longstanding opposition and stated their intent to sign the Non-Proliferation Treaty. Russia has indicated its intent to abide by the treaty -- as have Ukraine, Belarus, Kazakhstan, Uzbekistan and Kyrgyzstan. Among the newly-freed Baltic states, Lithuania has signed the NPT -- and Estonia and Latvia have expressed their intent to do the same.

But all of us face real danger from renegade regimes -- from terror groups who scorn the very principles we hold dear. In their hands, even a single nuclear weapon can pose immense danger.

Our challenge is clear: we must impose strict controls and strengthen existing safeguards on the transfer, possession and use of the technologies associated with such deadly weapons.

Working in common purpose, we must isolate these renegade regimes -- and when necessary, impose on them a kind of quarantine for the greater good of the world community.

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

First, we must continue to focus on Iraq's capability to build or maintain weapons of mass destruction. Following the mandate of the UN Special Commission, we must monitor the destruction of these deadly weapons. We will accept nothing short of full disclosure -- nothing short of complete compliance.

//

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

Finally, we must make clear to the world -- and most important, to the people of Iraq -- that the international community remains united against Saddam Hussein. No normalization is possible so long as Saddam remains in power. //

In Iraq, as in all of the urgent issues I've mentioned today, progress comes from acting in concert. / The nations represented here -- like the larger community of the UN -- have it in their power to act for peace. //

May God bless the United States -- and all nations united in
pursuit of this noble goal.

#

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

92 JAN 29

AP: 08
January 28, 1992

MEMORANDUM FOR TONY SNOW

FROM:

ROGER B. PORTER *RBP*

SUBJECT:

Presidential Remarks: The Security Council of
the United Nations

We have reviewed the attached Presidential remarks and
have no comments from a policy standpoint.

cc: Phil Brady

WHITE HOUSE STAFFING MEMORANDUM

DATE: 01/27/92 ACTION/CONCURRENCE COMMENT DUE BY: 2:00 p.m. 01/28

SUBJECT: PRESIDENTIAL REMARKS: THE SECURITY COUNCIL OF THE UNITED NATIONS-
Jan. 31

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

REMARKS:

Please provide any comments directly to Tony Snow no later than 2:00 p.m., Tuesday, 01/28, with a copy to this office. Thanks.

RESPONSE:

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

McGroarty/Bunton
January 27, 1992
7:30 pm
[UNSC]

22 JAN 27 P7:36

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

Mr. President [Security Council President, Prime Minister Major], fellow members: It is a high honor to speak today at this history-making event -- the first-ever summit of the heads of government of the UN Security Council.

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

//

Today, all that has changed.

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

Our triumph in the Gulf is testament to the UN's new-found powers. The challenge now is to move forward -- to continue the internal reforms that will make the UN more responsive and more

responsible. / I assure the members of this Council and Secretary General Gahli: the UN can count on America's full support in this task.

Reform is made even more urgent now. Since the beginning, the UN's blue helmets took an active part in peacekeeping. In the future, the United Nations will increasingly be called on to undertake the task of peacemaking. / Under the broad authority of Article 99 of the UN Charter, the Secretary General may bring before this body not simply conflicts already underway -- but any matter that threatens international peace and security. This authority will enable the UN to exercise its good offices in disputes before they break into open, armed conflict. //

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

As proof of the UN's new prospects for peacemaking, we pledge today our full support to a historic Declaration Against Global Aggression. Fellow members, as President of a country whose first act of nationhood took the form of a Declaration, the power of the pledge we make today goes far beyond mere words on paper.

This Declaration gives voice to a simple truth: our world will be safer, when an attack on the sovereignty of one nation is seen as an assault on the security of all. For the sake of

international security, we must give this principle the greatest practical meaning in the conduct of nations. //

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

Look at the changes we've witnessed and worked for this past year -- the revolution that's swept away the old regimes from Managua to Moscow. The individual is at the epicenter of change.

Nation after nation has broken free to democracy. But everywhere, free government will take time to flourish and grow. Free elections give democracy a foothold -- but true democracy means more than simply the rule of the majority. It means the safeguarding of minority rights -- it means the sanctity of even a single individual against the unjust power of the state.

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

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

Earlier this week in the State of the Union, I announced the steps my country will take / unilaterally / to reduce our nuclear arsenals: [LIST STEPS ANNOUNCED IN STATE OF THE UNION].

In addition to these unilateral steps, we will seek agreements. This weekend, I will meet with President Yeltsin of the Russian Republic. Our aim: [OUTLINE/UPDATE OBJECTIVES?].

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

There has been real progress toward non-proliferation. Both France and China have dropped their longstanding opposition and stated their intent to sign the Non-Proliferation Treaty. Russia has indicated its intent to abide by the treaty -- as have Ukraine, Belarus, Kazakhstan, Uzbekistan and Kyrgystan. Among the newly-freed Baltic states, Lithuania has signed the NPT -- and Estonia and Latvia have expressed their intent to do the same.

But all of us face real danger from renegade regimes -- from terror groups who scorn the very principles we hold dear. In their hands, even a single nuclear weapon can pose immense danger.

Our challenge is clear: we must impose strict controls and strengthen existing safeguards on the transfer, possession and use of the technologies associated with such deadly weapons.

Working in common purpose, we must isolate these renegade regimes -- and when necessary, impose on them a kind of quarantine for the greater good of the world community.

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

First, we must continue to focus on Iraq's capability to build or maintain weapons of mass destruction. Following the mandate of the UN Special Commission, we must monitor the destruction of these deadly weapons. We will accept nothing short of full disclosure -- nothing short of complete compliance.

//

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

Finally, we must make clear to the world -- and most important, to the people of Iraq -- that the international community remains united against Saddam Hussein. No normalization is possible so long as Saddam remains in power. //

In Iraq, as in all of the urgent issues I've mentioned today, progress comes from acting in concert. / The nations represented here -- like the larger community of the UN -- have it in their power to act for peace. //

May God bless the United States -- and all nations united in
pursuit of this noble goal.

#

McGroarty
1 HYPO PG 4

McGroarty/Bunton
January 27, 1992
7:30 pm
[UNSC]

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

Mr. President [Security Council President, Prime Minister Major], fellow members: It is a high honor to speak today at this history-making event -- the first-ever summit of the heads of government of the UN Security Council.

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

//

Today, all that has changed.

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

Our triumph in the Gulf is testament to the UN's new-found powers. The challenge now is to move forward -- to continue the internal reforms that will make the UN more responsive and more

responsible. / I assure the members of this Council and Secretary General Gahli: the UN can count on America's full support in this task.

Reform is made even more urgent now. Since the beginning, the UN's blue helmets took an active part in peacekeeping. In the future, the United Nations will increasingly be called on to undertake the task of peacemaking. / Under the broad authority of Article 99 of the UN Charter, the Secretary General may bring before this body not simply conflicts already underway -- but any matter that threatens international peace and security. This authority will enable the UN to exercise its good offices in disputes before they break into open, armed conflict. //

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

As proof of the UN's new prospects for peacemaking, we pledge today our full support to a historic Declaration Against Global Aggression. Fellow members, as President of a country whose first act of nationhood took the form of a Declaration, the power of the pledge we make today goes far beyond mere words on paper.

This Declaration gives voice to a simple truth: our world will be safer, when an attack on the sovereignty of one nation is seen as an assault on the security of all. For the sake of

international security, we must give this principle the greatest practical meaning in the conduct of nations. //

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

Look at the changes we've witnessed and worked for this past year -- the revolution that's swept away the old regimes from Managua to Moscow. The individual is at the epicenter of change.

Nation after nation has broken free to democracy. But everywhere, free government will take time to flourish and grow. Free elections give democracy a foothold -- but true democracy means more than simply the rule of the majority. It means the safeguarding of minority rights -- it means the sanctity of even a single individual against the unjust power of the state.

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

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

Earlier this week in the State of the Union, I announced the steps my country will take / unilaterally / to reduce our nuclear arsenals: [LIST STEPS ANNOUNCED IN STATE OF THE UNION].

In addition^o to these unilateral steps, we will seek agreements. This weekend, I will meet with President Yeltsin of the Russian Republic. Our aim: [OUTLINE/UPDATE OBJECTIVES?].

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

There has been real progress toward non-proliferation. Both France and China have dropped their longstanding opposition and stated their intent to sign the Non-Proliferation Treaty. Russia has indicated its intent to abide by the treaty -- as have Ukraine, Belarus, Kazakhstan, Uzbekistan and Kyrgystan. Among the newly-freed Baltic states, Lithuania has signed the NPT -- and Estonia and Latvia have expressed their intent to do the same.

But all of us face real danger from renegade regimes -- from terror groups who scorn the very principles we hold dear. In their hands, even a single nuclear weapon can pose immense danger.

Our challenge is clear: we must impose strict controls and strengthen existing safeguards on the transfer, possession and use of the technologies associated with such deadly weapons.

Working in common purpose, we must isolate these renegade regimes -- and when necessary, impose on them a kind of quarantine for the greater good of the world community.

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

First, we must continue to focus on Iraq's capability to build or maintain weapons of mass destruction. Following the mandate of the UN Special Commission, we must monitor the destruction of these deadly weapons. We will accept nothing short of full disclosure -- nothing short of complete compliance.

//

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

Finally, we must make clear to the world -- and most important, to the people of Iraq -- that the international community remains united against Saddam Hussein. No normalization is possible so long as Saddam remains in power. //

In Iraq, as in all of the urgent issues I've mentioned today, progress comes from acting in concert. / The nations represented here -- like the larger community of the UN -- have it in their power to act for peace. //

May God bless the United States -- and all nations united in
pursuit of this noble goal.

#

WHITE HOUSE STAFFING MEMORANDUM

DATE: 01/27/92 ACTION/CONCURRENCE COMMENT DUE BY: 2:00 p.m. 01/28

SUBJECT: PRESIDENTIAL REMARKS: THE SECURITY COUNCIL OF THE UNITED NATIONS-
Jan. 31

	ACTION	FYI		ACTION	FYI
VICE PRESIDENT	—	✓	HORNER	—	—
SKINNER	—	✓	MCCLURE	✓	—
SCOWCROFT	✓	—	PETERSMEYER	—	—
DARMAN	✓	—	PORTER	✓	—
BRADY	—	✓	ROGICH	✓	—
BROMLEY	—	—	SMITH	✓	—
CARD	—	✓	FINDLAY	—	✓
DEMAREST	✓	—	SNOW	—	✓
FITZWATER	—	✓	KAUFMAN	✓	—
GRAY	✓	—	_____	—	—
HOLIDAY	✓	—	_____	—	—

REMARKS:
 Please provide any comments directly to Tony Snow no later than 2:00 p.m., Tuesday, 01/28, with a copy to this office. Thanks.

RESPONSE: ou
DS

92 JAN 28 4:26 PM '92

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

22 JAN 27 P7:36

McGroarty/Bunton
January 27, 1992
7:30 pm
[UNSC]

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

Mr. President [Security Council President, Prime Minister Major], fellow members: It is a high honor to speak today at this history-making event -- the first-ever summit of the heads of government of the UN Security Council.

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

//

Today, all that has changed.

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

Our triumph in the Gulf is testament to the UN's new-found powers. The challenge now is to move forward -- to continue the internal reforms that will make the UN more responsive and more

responsible. / I assure the members of this Council and Secretary-General Gahli: the UN can count on America's full support in this task.

Reform is made even more urgent now. Since the beginning, the UN's blue helmets took an active part in peacekeeping. In the future, the United Nations will increasingly be called on to undertake the task of peacemaking. / Under the broad authority of Article 99 of the UN Charter, the Secretary General may bring before this body not simply conflicts already underway -- but any matter that threatens international peace and security. This authority will enable the UN to exercise its good offices in disputes before they break into open, armed conflict. //

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

As proof of the UN's new prospects for peacemaking, we pledge today our full support to a historic Declaration Against Global Aggression. Fellow members, as President of a country whose first act of nationhood took the form of a Declaration, the power of the pledge we make today goes far beyond mere words on paper.

This Declaration gives voice to a simple truth: our world will be safer, when an attack on the sovereignty of one nation is seen as an assault on the security of all. For the sake of

international security, we must give this principle the greatest practical meaning in the conduct of nations. //

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

Look at the changes we've witnessed and worked for this past year -- the revolution that's swept away the old regimes from Managua to Moscow. The individual is at the epicenter of change.

Nation after nation has broken free to democracy. But everywhere, free government will take time to flourish and grow. Free elections give democracy a foothold -- but true democracy means more than simply the rule of the majority. It means the safeguarding of minority rights -- it means the sanctity of even a single individual against the unjust power of the state.

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

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

Earlier this week in the State of the Union, I announced the steps my country will take / unilaterally / to reduce our nuclear arsenals: [LIST STEPS ANNOUNCED IN STATE OF THE UNION].

In addition to these unilateral steps, we will seek agreements. This weekend, I will meet with President Yeltsin of the Russian Republic. Our aim: [OUTLINE/UPDATE OBJECTIVES?].

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

There has been real progress toward non-proliferation. Both France and China have dropped their longstanding opposition and stated their intent to sign the Non-Proliferation Treaty. Russia has indicated its intent to abide by the treaty -- as have Ukraine, Belarus, Kazakhstan, Uzbekistan and Kyrgystan. Among the newly-freed Baltic states, Lithuania has signed the NPT -- and Estonia and Latvia have expressed their intent to do the same.

But all of us face real danger from renegade regimes -- from terror groups who scorn the very principles we hold dear. In their hands, even a single nuclear weapon can pose immense danger.

Our challenge is clear: we must impose strict controls and strengthen existing safeguards on the transfer, possession and use of the technologies associated with such deadly weapons.

Working in common purpose, we must isolate these renegade regimes -- and when necessary, impose on them a kind of quarantine for the greater good of the world community.

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

First, we must continue to focus on Iraq's capability to build or maintain weapons of mass destruction. Following the mandate of the UN Special Commission, we must monitor the destruction of these deadly weapons. We will accept nothing short of full disclosure -- nothing short of complete compliance.

//

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

Finally, we must make clear to the world -- and most important, to the people of Iraq -- that the international community remains united against Saddam Hussein. No normalization is possible so long as Saddam remains in power. //

In Iraq, as in all of the urgent issues I've mentioned today, progress comes from acting in concert. / The nations represented here -- like the larger community of the UN -- have it in their power to act for peace. //

May God bless the United States -- and all nations united in
pursuit of this noble goal.

#

McGroarty/Bunton
January 27, 1992
7:30 pm
[UNSC]

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

Mr. President [Security Council President, Prime Minister Major], fellow members: It is a high honor to speak today at this history-making event -- the first-ever summit of the heads of government of the UN Security Council.

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

//

Today, all that has changed.

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

Our triumph in the Gulf is testament to the UN's new-found powers. The challenge now is to move forward -- to continue the internal reforms that will make the UN more responsive and more

responsible. / I assure the members of this Council and Secretary General Gahli: the UN can count on America's full support in this task.

Reform is made even more urgent now. Since the beginning, the UN's blue helmets took an active part in peacekeeping. In the future, the United Nations will increasingly be called on to undertake the task of peacemaking. / Under the broad authority of Article 99 of the UN Charter, the Secretary General may bring before this body not simply conflicts already underway -- but any matter that threatens international peace and security. This authority will enable the UN to exercise its good offices in disputes before they break into open, armed conflict. //

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

As proof of the UN's new prospects for peacemaking, we pledge today our full support to a historic Declaration Against Global Aggression. Fellow members, as President of a country whose first act of nationhood took the form of a Declaration, the power of the pledge we make today goes far beyond mere words on paper.

This Declaration gives voice to a simple truth: our world will be safer, when an attack on the sovereignty of one nation is seen as an assault on the security of all. For the sake of

international security, we must give this principle the greatest practical meaning in the conduct of nations. //

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

Look at the changes we've witnessed and worked for this past year -- the revolution that's swept away the old regimes from Managua to Moscow. The individual is at the epicenter of change.

Nation after nation has broken free to democracy. But everywhere, free government will take time to flourish and grow. Free elections give democracy a foothold -- but true democracy means more than simply the rule of the majority. It means the safeguarding of minority rights -- it means the sanctity of even a single individual against the unjust power of the state.

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

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

Earlier this week in the State of the Union, I announced the steps my country will take / unilaterally / to reduce our nuclear arsenals: [LIST STEPS ANNOUNCED IN STATE OF THE UNION].

In addition to these unilateral steps, we will seek agreements. This weekend, I will meet with President Yeltsin of the Russian Republic. Our aim: [OUTLINE/UPDATE OBJECTIVES?].

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

There has been real progress toward non-proliferation. Both France and China have dropped their longstanding opposition and stated their intent to sign the Non-Proliferation Treaty. Russia has indicated its intent to abide by the treaty -- as have Ukraine, Belarus, Kazakhstan, Uzbekistan and Kyrgystan. Among the newly-freed Baltic states, Lithuania has signed the NPT -- and Estonia and Latvia have expressed their intent to do the same.

But all of us face real danger from renegade regimes -- from terror groups who scorn the very principles we hold dear. In their hands, even a single nuclear weapon can pose immense danger.

Our challenge is clear: we must impose strict controls and strengthen existing safeguards on the transfer, possession and use of the technologies associated with such deadly weapons.

Working in common purpose, we must isolate these renegade regimes -- and when necessary, impose on them a kind of quarantine for the greater good of the world community.

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

First, we must continue to focus on Iraq's capability to build or maintain weapons of mass destruction. Following the mandate of the UN Special Commission, we must monitor the destruction of these deadly weapons. We will accept nothing short of full disclosure -- nothing short of complete compliance.

//

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

Finally, we must make clear to the world -- and most important, to the people of Iraq -- that the international community remains united against Saddam Hussein. No normalization is possible so long as Saddam remains in power. //

In Iraq, as in all of the urgent issues I've mentioned today, progress comes from acting in concert. / The nations represented here -- like the larger community of the UN -- have it in their power to act for peace. //

May God bless the United States -- and all nations united in
pursuit of this noble goal.

#

Brent

McGroarty/Bunton
January 29, 1992
4:30 pm
[DYKE.UN]

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

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

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

Today, all that has changed.

The collapse of imperial communism and the end of the Cold War breathed new life into the UN. It was just one year ago that the world saw this new invigorated UN in action as this Council stood fast against aggression -- and stood for the sacred principles enshrined in the UN Charter.

Now it is time to step forward again -- make the internal reforms, accelerate the revitalization, accept the responsibilities necessary for a vigorous and effective United Nations. I assure the members of this Council and Secretary General Boutros-Ghali: the UN can count on America's full support in this task.

One need not look far to see the urgency of our cause. Proliferation of the weapons of mass destruction, regional conflicts, destabilizing renegade regimes, terrorism -- all require our immediate attention.

At the same time the world also challenges us to strengthen and sustain positive change. We must advance the momentous movement toward democracy and freedom, and expand the circle of nations committed to human rights and the rule of law. This is an exciting opportunity for our United Nations. We must not allow it to slip away.

Right now, across the globe, the U.N. is working day and night in the cause of peace. Never before in its four decades, have the UN's blue helmets and blue berets been so engaged in the noble work of peacekeeping, even to the extent of building the foundation for free elections.

And never before has the United Nations been so ready, and so compelled, to step up to the task of peacemaking -- both to resolve hot wars and to conduct that forward-looking mission known as "preventive diplomacy." In the lives of millions of men and women around the world, its import is simple: it can mean

the difference between war and peace, healing and hatred. Where there is fear and despair, it can mean hope.

[The United States supports a shared responsibility for peacekeeping.] We look to the Secretary General to present to this Council his ^{recommendations} [plans] to ensure effective and efficient peacekeeping, peacemaking, and preventive diplomacy. We look forward to exploring these ideas together. We must be practical as well as principled as we seek to free people from the specter of conflict.

We recognize every nation's obligation to invest in peace. As conflicts are resolved and violence subsides, then the institutions of free societies can take hold. As they do, they become our strongest safeguards against aggression and tyranny.

Democracy. Human rights. The rule of law. These are the building blocks of peace and freedom.

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

Free elections give democracy a foothold -- but true democracy means more than simply the rule of the majority. It means an irrevocable commitment to democratic principles. It means equal rights for minorities -- and above all, it means the sanctity of even a single individual against the unjust power of the state. The will of the majority must never degenerate into

the whim of the majority. This fundamental principle transcends all borders.

Human dignity, the inalienable Rights of Man, these are not the possessions of the State. They are universal. In Asia, including China, in Africa, in Europe or in the Americas, the United Nations must stand with those who seek greater freedom and democracy. That is my deep belief. That is the belief of the American people. And it is the belief that breathes life into the great principles of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights.

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

In my first address to the United Nations as President, I challenged the Soviet Union to eliminate chemical weapons -- and I called on every nation to join us in this crusade. What greater cause for this great body: to make certain the world has seen the last of these terrible weapons. Let us make this the year all nations at long last join to ban this scourge.

But there is much more to do regarding weapons of mass destruction. Just three days ago in my State of the Union Address, I announced the steps ^{far reaching,} -- unilateral steps -- my country will take to reduce our nuclear arsenal. These steps affect each element in our strategic triad -- land, sea, and air.

~~We will stop B-2 production after the purchase of 20 planes and halt the purchase of advanced cruise missiles. We will cease production of new warheads for our sea-based ballistic missiles. We will stop altogether new production of the land-based Peacekeeper, and we'll cancel the small ICBM program.~~

In addition to these unilateral steps, the U.S. is prepared to move forward on mutual arms reductions. Tomorrow in my meeting with President Yeltsin we will continue the search for common ground on this vitally important issue.

We welcome -- the world welcomes -- statements by several of the new states that won independence after the collapse of the U.S.S.R. that they will abide by the Nuclear Non-Proliferation Treaty. Yet realism requires us to remain vigilant in this time of transition -- the danger of proliferation remains.

We must act together so that from this time forward people involved in sophisticated weapons programs redirect their energies to peaceful endeavors. The U.S. will do more, in cooperation with our allies, to ensure that dangerous materials and technology do not ~~move beyond these borders or~~ fall into the hands of terrorists or others. And we will continue to work with these new states to ensure a strong commitment in word and deed to all global non-proliferation standards.

In 1990, in the great hall of the General Assembly, I called on all nations to redouble ~~our~~ non-proliferation efforts. The world community ~~rose~~ *has reassessingly risen* to meet that challenge. ~~Newly-free Lithuania, South Africa and other African states joined the~~

Nuclear Non-Proliferation Treaty. France and China have also committed to join that Treaty. Argentina and Brazil adopted international safeguards over all their nuclear activities.]

no 9 *those who have joined the treaty and strengthened*
Beyond that, the U.S. and other nations strengthened *saferguards,*
tightened controls over the export of technologies related to nuclear, chemical and biological weapons and the missiles used to deliver them. ~~[For example,] under our Middle East Arms Control initiative, the five leading conventional arms suppliers agreed to observe restraint in their exports to that troubled region -- and will meet in Washington next month to continue that important work.~~ ?

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

~~[We must work together to secure the world against the actions of renegade regimes.]~~ Our triumph in the Gulf is testament to the UN's mission -- that security is a shared responsibility. Today, this institution spearheads a quarantine against the outlaw regime of Saddam Hussein. It is the strong belief of my country that we must keep sanctions in place -- and take the following steps to preserve our common security:

First, we must continue to focus on Iraq's capability to build or maintain weapons of mass destruction. Following the

groundbreaking step of this Council in setting up the UN Special Commission, we must monitor the destruction of these deadly weapons. We must accept nothing short of full disclosure -- nothing short of complete compliance.

Second, Iraq must abide by all Security Council Resolutions. The hardship and suffering of the innocent people of Iraq pains us all and the Security Council has adopted UNSCR 706 and 712 to alleviate that suffering. Iraqi compliance with these resolutions, and other UNSC resolutions, is long overdue.

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

As on all of the urgent issues I've mentioned today, progress comes from acting in concert. ~~We~~ ^{regime} We must deal resolutely with renegades ^{regime} -- if necessary, by sanctions or stronger measures -- to compel them to observe international standards of behavior.

~~Frankly~~ We will not be blind to the dangers we still face.

Terrorists and their state sponsors must know there will be serious consequences if they violate international law.

Two weeks ago this Council sent such a message to Libya. Let me repeat today: Resolution 731 -- passed unanimously by the Security Council -- calls on Libya to comply fully with the

requests of three states on this Council. I call on Libya today to heed the call of this Council.

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

Today we stand at another crossroads. For perhaps the first time since that hopeful moment in San Francisco, we can look at the United Nations Charter as a living, breathing document. Yes, after so many years, it may still be in its infancy, requiring the careful and vigilant nurturing of its parents, but I believe in my heart that it is alive and well. Our mission is to make it strong and sturdy ^{through increased deliberation and cooperation.} I know we are up to the challenge.

The nations represented here -- like the larger community of the UN -- have it in their power to act for peace and freedom. May God bless the United Nations as it pursues this noble goal.

#

* by copy +
under sharing

**THE SECURITY COUNCIL OF THE UNITED NATIONS
NEW YORK, NEW YORK \ JANUARY 31, 1992 \ 12:30 PM**

MR. PRESIDENT {SECURITY COUNCIL PRESIDENT, PRIME MINISTER MAJOR}, FELLOW MEMBERS. MR. SECRETARY GENERAL {BOUTROS-GHALI}: CONGRATULATIONS TO YOU, SIR, AS YOU TAKE OFFICE AT THIS TIME OF TREMENDOUS OPPORTUNITY. IT IS A HIGH HONOR TO SPEAK TODAY AT THIS HISTORY-MAKING EVENT -- THE FIRST-EVER SUMMIT OF THE U.N. SECURITY COUNCIL.

- 2 -

WE MEET AT A MOMENT OF NEW BEGINNINGS -- FOR THIS INSTITUTION AND EVERY MEMBER-NATION. FOR MOST OF ITS HISTORY, THE U.N. WAS CAUGHT IN A COLD WAR CROSSFIRE. I THINK BACK TO MY DAYS HERE AS PERM REP: OF THE WAY POLEMICS DISPLACED PEACEKEEPING. LONG BEFORE I CAME HERE, AND LONG AFTER I LEFT, THE U.N. WAS ALL TOO OFTEN PARALYZED BY CRUEL IDEOLOGICAL DIVISIONS, AND THE STRUGGLE TO CONTAIN SOVIET EXPANSION.

TODAY, ALL THAT HAS CHANGED.

THE COLLAPSE OF IMPERIAL COMMUNISM AND THE END OF THE COLD WAR BREATHED NEW LIFE INTO THE U.N. IT WAS JUST ONE YEAR AGO THAT THE WORLD SAW THIS NEW INVIGORATED U.N. IN ACTION AS THIS COUNCIL STOOD FAST AGAINST AGGRESSION -- AND STOOD FOR THE SACRED PRINCIPLES ENshrINED IN THE U.N. CHARTER.

NOW IT IS TIME TO STEP FORWARD AGAIN -- MAKE THE INTERNAL REFORMS, ACCELERATE THE REVITALIZATION, ACCEPT THE RESPONSIBILITIES NECESSARY FOR A VIGOROUS AND EFFECTIVE UNITED NATIONS.

I ASSURE THE MEMBERS OF THIS COUNCIL AND SECRETARY GENERAL BOUTROS-GHALI: THE U.N. CAN COUNT ON AMERICA'S FULL SUPPORT IN THIS TASK.

ONE NEED NOT LOOK FAR TO SEE THE URGENCY OF OUR CAUSE. PROLIFERATION OF THE WEAPONS OF MASS DESTRUCTION, REGIONAL CONFLICTS, DESTABILIZING RENEGADE REGIMES, TERRORISM -- ALL REQUIRE OUR IMMEDIATE ATTENTION.

AT THE SAME TIME THE WORLD ALSO CHALLENGES US TO STRENGTHEN AND SUSTAIN POSITIVE CHANGE. WE MUST ADVANCE THE MOMENTOUS MOVEMENT TOWARD DEMOCRACY AND FREEDOM, AND EXPAND THE CIRCLE OF NATIONS COMMITTED TO HUMAN RIGHTS AND THE RULE OF LAW. THIS IS AN EXCITING OPPORTUNITY FOR OUR UNITED NATIONS. WE MUST NOT ALLOW IT TO SLIP AWAY.

RIGHT NOW, ACROSS THE GLOBE, THE U.N. IS WORKING DAY AND NIGHT IN THE CAUSE OF PEACE.

NEVER BEFORE IN ITS FOUR DECADES, HAVE THE U.N.'S BLUE HELMETS AND BLUE BERETS BEEN SO ENGAGED IN THE NOBLE WORK OF PEACEKEEPING, EVEN TO THE EXTENT OF BUILDING THE FOUNDATION FOR FREE ELECTIONS.

AND NEVER BEFORE HAS THE UNITED NATIONS BEEN SO READY, AND SO COMPELLED, TO STEP UP TO THE TASK OF PEACEMAKING -- BOTH TO RESOLVE HOT WARS AND TO CONDUCT THAT FORWARD-LOOKING MISSION KNOWN AS "PREVENTIVE DIPLOMACY."

IN THE LIVES OF MILLIONS OF MEN AND WOMEN AROUND THE WORLD, ITS IMPORT IS SIMPLE: IT CAN MEAN THE DIFFERENCE BETWEEN WAR AND PEACE, HEALING AND HATRED. WHERE THERE IS FEAR AND DESPAIR, IT CAN MEAN HOPE.

WE LOOK TO THE SECRETARY GENERAL TO PRESENT TO THIS COUNCIL HIS RECOMMENDATIONS TO ENSURE EFFECTIVE AND EFFICIENT PEACEKEEPING, PEACEMAKING, AND PREVENTIVE DIPLOMACY. WE LOOK FORWARD TO EXPLORING THESE IDEAS TOGETHER.

WE MUST BE PRACTICAL AS WELL AS PRINCIPLED AS WE SEEK TO FREE PEOPLE FROM THE SPECTER OF CONFLICT.

WE RECOGNIZE EVERY NATION'S OBLIGATION TO INVEST IN PEACE. AS CONFLICTS ARE RESOLVED AND VIOLENCE SUBSIDES, THEN THE INSTITUTIONS OF FREE SOCIETIES CAN TAKE HOLD. AS THEY DO, THEY BECOME OUR STRONGEST SAFEGUARDS AGAINST AGGRESSION AND TYRANNY. DEMOCRACY. HUMAN RIGHTS. THE RULE OF LAW. THESE ARE THE BUILDING BLOCKS OF PEACE AND FREEDOM.

WE HAVE WITNESSED CHANGE OF ENORMOUS BREADTH AND SCOPE -- ALL IN BUT A FEW SHORT YEARS. A REMARKABLE REVOLUTION HAS SWEEPED AWAY THE OLD REGIMES FROM MANAGUA TO MOSCOW. BUT EVERYWHERE, FREE GOVERNMENT -- AND THE INSTITUTIONS THAT GIVE IT FORM -- WILL TAKE TIME TO FLOURISH AND MATURE.

FREE ELECTIONS GIVE DEMOCRACY A FOOTHOLD -- BUT TRUE DEMOCRACY MEANS MORE THAN SIMPLY THE RULE OF THE MAJORITY.

IT MEANS AN IRREVOCABLE COMMITMENT TO DEMOCRATIC PRINCIPLES. IT MEANS EQUAL RIGHTS FOR MINORITIES -- AND ABOVE ALL, IT MEANS THE SANCTITY OF EVEN A SINGLE INDIVIDUAL AGAINST THE UNJUST POWER OF THE STATE. THE WILL OF THE MAJORITY MUST NEVER DEGENERATE INTO THE WHIM OF THE MAJORITY. THIS FUNDAMENTAL PRINCIPLE TRANSCENDS ALL BORDERS.

HUMAN DIGNITY, THE INALIENABLE RIGHTS OF MAN, THESE ARE NOT THE POSSESSIONS OF THE STATE.

- 11 -

THEY ARE UNIVERSAL. IN ASIA, IN AFRICA, IN EUROPE OR IN THE AMERICAS, THE UNITED NATIONS MUST STAND WITH THOSE WHO SEEK GREATER FREEDOM AND DEMOCRACY. THAT IS MY DEEP BELIEF. THAT IS THE BELIEF OF THE AMERICAN PEOPLE. AND IT IS THE BELIEF THAT BREATHES LIFE INTO THE GREAT PRINCIPLES OF THE UNIVERSAL DECLARATION OF HUMAN RIGHTS.

OUR CHANGED WORLD IS A MORE HOPEFUL WORLD INDEED.

- 12 -

BUT IT IS NOT ABSENT THOSE WHO WOULD TURN BACK THE CLOCK TO THE DARKER DAYS OF THREATS AND BULLYING. OUR WORLD IS STILL A DANGEROUS WORLD, RIFE WITH FAR TOO MANY TERRIBLE WEAPONS.

IN MY FIRST ADDRESS TO THE UNITED NATIONS AS PRESIDENT, I CHALLENGED THE SOVIET UNION TO ELIMINATE CHEMICAL WEAPONS -- AND I CALLED ON EVERY NATION TO JOIN US IN THIS CRUSADE. WHAT GREATER CAUSE FOR THIS GREAT BODY: TO MAKE CERTAIN THE WORLD HAS SEEN THE LAST OF THESE TERRIBLE WEAPONS.

LET US MAKE THIS THE YEAR ALL NATIONS AT LONG LAST JOIN TO BAN THIS SCOURGE.

BUT THERE IS MUCH MORE TO DO REGARDING WEAPONS OF MASS DESTRUCTION. JUST THREE DAYS AGO IN MY STATE OF THE UNION ADDRESS, I ANNOUNCED THE STEPS -- FAR-REACHING, UNILATERAL STEPS -- MY COUNTRY WILL TAKE TO REDUCE OUR NUCLEAR ARSENAL. THESE STEPS AFFECT EACH ELEMENT IN OUR STRATEGIC TRIAD -- LAND, SEA, AND AIR.

IN ADDITION TO THESE UNILATERAL STEPS, THE U.S. IS PREPARED TO MOVE FORWARD ON MUTUAL ARMS REDUCTIONS. TOMORROW IN MY MEETING WITH PRESIDENT YELTSIN WE WILL CONTINUE THE SEARCH FOR COMMON GROUND ON THIS VITALLY IMPORTANT ISSUE.

WE WELCOME -- THE WORLD WELCOMES -- STATEMENTS BY SEVERAL OF THE NEW STATES THAT WON INDEPENDENCE AFTER THE COLLAPSE OF THE U.S.S.R. THAT THEY WILL ABIDE BY THE NUCLEAR NON-PROLIFERATION TREATY.

YET REALISM REQUIRES US TO REMAIN VIGILANT IN THIS TIME OF TRANSITION -- THE DANGER OF PROLIFERATION REMAINS.

WE MUST ACT TOGETHER SO THAT FROM THIS TIME FORWARD PEOPLE INVOLVED IN SOPHISTICATED WEAPONS PROGRAMS REDIRECT THEIR ENERGIES TO PEACEFUL ENDEAVORS. THE U.S. WILL DO MORE, IN COOPERATION WITH OUR ALLIES, TO ENSURE THAT DANGEROUS MATERIALS AND TECHNOLOGY DO NOT FALL INTO THE HANDS OF TERRORISTS OR OTHERS.

AND WE WILL CONTINUE TO WORK WITH THESE NEW STATES TO ENSURE A STRONG COMMITMENT IN WORD AND DEED TO ALL GLOBAL NON-PROLIFERATION STANDARDS.

IN 1990, IN THE GREAT HALL OF THE GENERAL ASSEMBLY, I CALLED ON ALL NATIONS TO REDOUBLE OUR NON-PROLIFERATION EFFORTS. THE WORLD COMMUNITY HAS REASSURINGLY RISEN TO MEET THAT CHALLENGE.

BEYOND THOSE WHO HAVE JOINED THE TREATY AND STRENGTHENED SAFEGUARDS, THE U.S. AND OTHER NATIONS TIGHTENED CONTROLS OVER THE EXPORT OF TECHNOLOGIES RELATED TO NUCLEAR, CHEMICAL AND BIOLOGICAL WEAPONS AND THE MISSILES USED TO DELIVER THEM.

TODAY, THE THREAT OF GLOBAL NUCLEAR WAR IS MORE DISTANT THAN AT ANY OTHER TIME IN THE NUCLEAR ERA. DRAWING DOWN THE OLD COLD WAR ARSENALS WILL FURTHER EASE THAT DREAD.

BUT THE SPECTER OF MASS DESTRUCTION REMAINS ALL TOO REAL -- ESPECIALLY AS SOME NATIONS CONTINUE THE PUSH TO ACQUIRE WEAPONS OF MASS DESTRUCTION AND THE MEANS TO DELIVER THEM.

OUR TRIUMPH IN THE GULF IS TESTAMENT TO THE U.N.'S MISSION -- THAT SECURITY IS A SHARED RESPONSIBILITY. TODAY, THIS INSTITUTION SPEARHEADS A QUARANTINE AGAINST THE OUTLAW REGIME OF SADDAM HUSSEIN.

- 19 -

IT IS THE STRONG BELIEF OF MY COUNTRY THAT WE MUST KEEP SANCTIONS IN PLACE -- AND TAKE THE FOLLOWING STEPS TO PRESERVE OUR COMMON SECURITY:

WE MUST CONTINUE TO FOCUS ON IRAQ'S CAPABILITY TO BUILD OR MAINTAIN WEAPONS OF MASS DESTRUCTION.

- 20 -

[FOLLOWING THE GROUNDBREAKING STEP OF THIS COUNCIL IN SETTING UP THE U.N. SPECIAL COMMISSION, WE MUST MONITOR THE DESTRUCTION OF THESE DEADLY WEAPONS. WE MUST ACCEPT NOTHING SHORT OF FULL DISCLOSURE -- NOTHING SHORT OF COMPLETE COMPLIANCE.

IRAQ MUST ABIDE BY ALL SECURITY COUNCIL RESOLUTIONS. THE HARDSHIP AND SUFFERING OF THE INNOCENT PEOPLE OF IRAQ PAINS US ALL AND THE SECURITY COUNCIL HAS ADOPTED UNSCR 706 AND 712 TO ALLEVIATE THAT SUFFERING. IRAQI COMPLIANCE WITH THESE RESOLUTIONS, AND OTHER U.N.S.C. RESOLUTIONS IS LONG OVERDUE.]

AND, WE MUST MAKE CLEAR TO THE WORLD -- AND MOST IMPORTANT, TO THE PEOPLE OF IRAQ -- THAT [THE INTERNATIONAL COMMUNITY REMAINS UNITED AGAINST SADDAM HUSSEIN. ALL OF US AWAIT THE DAY WE CAN WELCOME IRAQ ONCE MORE INTO THE COMMUNITY OF NATIONS. BUT] NO NORMALIZATION IS POSSIBLE SO LONG AS SADDAM REMAINS IN POWER.

AS ON ALL OF THE URGENT ISSUES I'VE MENTIONED TODAY, PROGRESS COMES FROM ACTING IN CONCERT.

WE MUST DEAL RESOLUTELY WITH RENEGADE REGIMES -- IF NECESSARY BY SANCTIONS OR STRONGER MEASURES -- TO COMPEL THEM TO OBSERVE INTERNATIONAL STANDARDS OF BEHAVIOR. WE WILL NOT BE BLIND TO THE DANGERS WE STILL FACE. TERRORISTS AND THEIR STATE SPONSORS MUST KNOW THERE WILL BE SERIOUS CONSEQUENCES IF THEY VIOLATE INTERNATIONAL LAW.

TWO WEEKS AGO THIS COUNCIL SENT SUCH A MESSAGE TO LIBYA.

LET ME REPEAT TODAY: RESOLUTION 731 -- PASSED UNANIMOUSLY BY THE SECURITY COUNCIL -- CALLS ON LIBYA TO COMPLY FULLY WITH THE REQUESTS OF THREE STATES ON THIS COUNCIL. I CALL ON LIBYA TODAY TO HEED THE CALL OF THIS COUNCIL.

LAST YEAR, IN THE GULF, WE RESPONDED TO AN ATTACK ON THE SOVEREIGNTY OF ONE NATION AS AN ASSAULT ON THE SECURITY OF ALL.

LET US MAKE IT OUR MISSION TO GIVE THIS PRINCIPLE THE GREATEST PRACTICAL MEANING IN THE CONDUCT OF NATIONS.

TODAY WE STAND AT ANOTHER CROSSROADS. FOR PERHAPS THE FIRST TIME SINCE THAT HOPEFUL MOMENT IN SAN FRANCISCO, WE CAN LOOK AT THE UNITED NATIONS CHARTER AS A LIVING, BREATHING DOCUMENT. YES, AFTER SO MANY YEARS, IT MAY STILL BE IN ITS INFANCY, REQUIRING THE CAREFUL AND VIGILANT NURTURING OF ITS PARENTS, BUT I BELIEVE IN MY HEART THAT IT IS ALIVE AND WELL.

OUR MISSION IS TO MAKE IT STRONG AND STURDY THROUGH INCREASED DEDICATION AND COOPERATION. I KNOW WE ARE UP TO THE CHALLENGE.

THE NATIONS REPRESENTED HERE -- LIKE THE LARGER COMMUNITY OF THE U.N. -- HAVE IT IN THEIR POWER TO ACT FOR PEACE AND FREEDOM. MAY GOD BLESS THE UNITED NATIONS AS IT PURSUES THIS NOBLE GOAL.

#

**THE SECURITY COUNCIL OF THE UNITED NATIONS
NEW YORK, NEW YORK \ JANUARY 31, 1992 \ 12:30 PM**

MR. PRESIDENT {SECURITY COUNCIL PRESIDENT, PRIME MINISTER MAJOR}, FELLOW MEMBERS. MR. SECRETARY GENERAL {BOUTROS-GHALI}: CONGRATULATIONS TO YOU, SIR, AS YOU TAKE OFFICE AT THIS TIME OF TREMENDOUS OPPORTUNITY. IT IS A HIGH HONOR TO SPEAK TODAY AT THIS HISTORY-MAKING EVENT -- THE FIRST-EVER SUMMIT OF THE U.N. SECURITY COUNCIL.

- 2 -

WE MEET AT A MOMENT OF NEW BEGINNINGS -- FOR THIS INSTITUTION AND EVERY MEMBER-NATION. FOR MOST OF ITS HISTORY, THE U.N. WAS CAUGHT IN A COLD WAR CROSSFIRE. I THINK BACK TO MY DAYS HERE AS PERM REP: OF THE WAY POLEMICS DISPLACED PEACEKEEPING. LONG BEFORE I CAME HERE, AND LONG AFTER I LEFT, THE U.N. WAS ALL TOO OFTEN PARALYZED BY CRUEL IDEOLOGICAL DIVISIONS, AND THE STRUGGLE TO CONTAIN SOVIET EXPANSION.

TODAY, ALL THAT HAS CHANGED.

THE COLLAPSE OF IMPERIAL COMMUNISM AND THE END OF THE COLD WAR BREATHED NEW LIFE INTO THE U.N. IT WAS JUST ONE YEAR AGO THAT THE WORLD SAW THIS NEW INVIGORATED U.N. IN ACTION AS THIS COUNCIL STOOD FAST AGAINST AGGRESSION -- AND STOOD FOR THE SACRED PRINCIPLES ENshrINED IN THE U.N. CHARTER.

NOW IT IS TIME TO STEP FORWARD AGAIN -- MAKE THE INTERNAL REFORMS, ACCELERATE THE REVITALIZATION, ACCEPT THE RESPONSIBILITIES NECESSARY FOR A VIGOROUS AND EFFECTIVE UNITED NATIONS.

I ASSURE THE MEMBERS OF THIS COUNCIL AND SECRETARY GENERAL BOUTROS-GHALI: THE U.N. CAN COUNT ON AMERICA'S FULL SUPPORT IN THIS TASK.

ONE NEED NOT LOOK FAR TO SEE THE URGENCY OF OUR CAUSE. PROLIFERATION OF THE WEAPONS OF MASS DESTRUCTION, REGIONAL CONFLICTS, DESTABILIZING RENEGADE REGIMES, TERRORISM -- ALL REQUIRE OUR IMMEDIATE ATTENTION.

AT THE SAME TIME THE WORLD ALSO CHALLENGES US TO STRENGTHEN AND SUSTAIN POSITIVE CHANGE. WE MUST ADVANCE THE MOMENTOUS MOVEMENT TOWARD DEMOCRACY AND FREEDOM, AND EXPAND THE CIRCLE OF NATIONS COMMITTED TO HUMAN RIGHTS AND THE RULE OF LAW. THIS IS AN EXCITING OPPORTUNITY FOR OUR UNITED NATIONS. WE MUST NOT ALLOW IT TO SLIP AWAY.

RIGHT NOW, ACROSS THE GLOBE, THE U.N. IS WORKING DAY AND NIGHT IN THE CAUSE OF PEACE.

NEVER BEFORE IN ITS FOUR DECADES, HAVE THE U.N.'S BLUE HELMETS AND BLUE BERETS BEEN SO ENGAGED IN THE NOBLE WORK OF PEACEKEEPING, EVEN TO THE EXTENT OF BUILDING THE FOUNDATION FOR FREE ELECTIONS.

AND NEVER BEFORE HAS THE UNITED NATIONS BEEN SO READY, AND SO COMPELLED, TO STEP UP TO THE TASK OF PEACEMAKING -- BOTH TO RESOLVE HOT WARS AND TO CONDUCT THAT FORWARD-LOOKING MISSION KNOWN AS "PREVENTIVE DIPLOMACY."

IN THE LIVES OF MILLIONS OF MEN AND WOMEN AROUND THE WORLD, ITS IMPORT IS SIMPLE: IT CAN MEAN THE DIFFERENCE BETWEEN WAR AND PEACE, HEALING AND HATRED. WHERE THERE IS FEAR AND DESPAIR, IT CAN MEAN HOPE.

WE LOOK TO THE SECRETARY GENERAL TO PRESENT TO THIS COUNCIL HIS RECOMMENDATIONS TO ENSURE EFFECTIVE AND EFFICIENT PEACEKEEPING, PEACEMAKING, AND PREVENTIVE DIPLOMACY. WE LOOK FORWARD TO EXPLORING THESE IDEAS TOGETHER.

WE MUST BE PRACTICAL AS WELL AS PRINCIPLED AS WE SEEK TO FREE PEOPLE FROM THE SPECTER OF CONFLICT.

WE RECOGNIZE EVERY NATION'S OBLIGATION TO INVEST IN PEACE. AS CONFLICTS ARE RESOLVED AND VIOLENCE SUBSIDES, THEN THE INSTITUTIONS OF FREE SOCIETIES CAN TAKE HOLD. AS THEY DO, THEY BECOME OUR STRONGEST SAFEGUARDS AGAINST AGGRESSION AND TYRANNY. DEMOCRACY. HUMAN RIGHTS. THE RULE OF LAW. THESE ARE THE BUILDING BLOCKS OF PEACE AND FREEDOM.

WE HAVE WITNESSED CHANGE OF ENORMOUS BREADTH AND SCOPE -- ALL IN BUT A FEW SHORT YEARS. A REMARKABLE REVOLUTION HAS SWEEPED AWAY THE OLD REGIMES FROM MANAGUA TO MOSCOW. BUT EVERYWHERE, FREE GOVERNMENT -- AND THE INSTITUTIONS THAT GIVE IT FORM -- WILL TAKE TIME TO FLOURISH AND MATURE.

FREE ELECTIONS GIVE DEMOCRACY A Foothold -- BUT TRUE DEMOCRACY MEANS MORE THAN SIMPLY THE RULE OF THE MAJORITY.

IT MEANS AN IRREVOCABLE COMMITMENT TO DEMOCRATIC PRINCIPLES. IT MEANS EQUAL RIGHTS FOR MINORITIES -- AND ABOVE ALL, IT MEANS THE SANCTITY OF EVEN A SINGLE INDIVIDUAL AGAINST THE UNJUST POWER OF THE STATE. THE WILL OF THE MAJORITY MUST NEVER DEGENERATE INTO THE WHIM OF THE MAJORITY. THIS FUNDAMENTAL PRINCIPLE TRANSCENDS ALL BORDERS.

HUMAN DIGNITY, THE INALIENABLE RIGHTS OF MAN, THESE ARE NOT THE POSSESSIONS OF THE STATE.

- 11 -

THEY ARE UNIVERSAL. IN ASIA, IN AFRICA, IN EUROPE OR IN THE AMERICAS, THE UNITED NATIONS MUST STAND WITH THOSE WHO SEEK GREATER FREEDOM AND DEMOCRACY. THAT IS MY DEEP BELIEF. THAT IS THE BELIEF OF THE AMERICAN PEOPLE. AND IT IS THE BELIEF THAT BREATHES LIFE INTO THE GREAT PRINCIPLES OF THE UNIVERSAL DECLARATION OF HUMAN RIGHTS.

OUR CHANGED WORLD IS A MORE HOPEFUL WORLD INDEED.

- 12 -

BUT IT IS NOT ABSENT THOSE WHO WOULD TURN BACK THE CLOCK TO THE DARKER DAYS OF THREATS AND BULLYING. OUR WORLD IS STILL A DANGEROUS WORLD, RIFE WITH FAR TOO MANY TERRIBLE WEAPONS.

IN MY FIRST ADDRESS TO THE UNITED NATIONS AS PRESIDENT, I CHALLENGED THE SOVIET UNION TO ELIMINATE CHEMICAL WEAPONS -- AND I CALLED ON EVERY NATION TO JOIN US IN THIS CRUSADE. WHAT GREATER CAUSE FOR THIS GREAT BODY: TO MAKE CERTAIN THE WORLD HAS SEEN THE LAST OF THESE TERRIBLE WEAPONS.

LET US MAKE THIS THE YEAR ALL NATIONS AT LONG LAST JOIN TO BAN THIS SCOURGE.

BUT THERE IS MUCH MORE TO DO REGARDING WEAPONS OF MASS DESTRUCTION. JUST THREE DAYS AGO IN MY STATE OF THE UNION ADDRESS, I ANNOUNCED THE STEPS -- FAR-REACHING, UNILATERAL STEPS -- MY COUNTRY WILL TAKE TO REDUCE OUR NUCLEAR ARSENAL. THESE STEPS AFFECT EACH ELEMENT IN OUR STRATEGIC TRIAD -- LAND, SEA, AND AIR.

IN ADDITION TO THESE UNILATERAL STEPS, THE U.S. IS PREPARED TO MOVE FORWARD ON MUTUAL ARMS REDUCTIONS. TOMORROW IN MY MEETING WITH PRESIDENT YELTSIN WE WILL CONTINUE THE SEARCH FOR COMMON GROUND ON THIS VITALLY IMPORTANT ISSUE.

WE WELCOME -- THE WORLD WELCOMES -- STATEMENTS BY SEVERAL OF THE NEW STATES THAT WON INDEPENDENCE AFTER THE COLLAPSE OF THE U.S.S.R. THAT THEY WILL ABIDE BY THE NUCLEAR NON-PROLIFERATION TREATY.

YET REALISM REQUIRES US TO REMAIN VIGILANT IN THIS TIME OF TRANSITION -- THE DANGER OF PROLIFERATION REMAINS.

WE MUST ACT TOGETHER SO THAT FROM THIS TIME FORWARD PEOPLE INVOLVED IN SOPHISTICATED WEAPONS PROGRAMS REDIRECT THEIR ENERGIES TO PEACEFUL ENDEAVORS. THE U.S. WILL DO MORE, IN COOPERATION WITH OUR ALLIES, TO ENSURE THAT DANGEROUS MATERIALS AND TECHNOLOGY DO NOT FALL INTO THE HANDS OF TERRORISTS OR OTHERS.

AND WE WILL CONTINUE TO WORK WITH THESE NEW STATES TO ENSURE A STRONG COMMITMENT IN WORD AND DEED TO ALL GLOBAL NON-PROLIFERATION STANDARDS.

IN 1990, IN THE GREAT HALL OF THE GENERAL ASSEMBLY, I CALLED ON ALL NATIONS TO REDOUBLE OUR NON-PROLIFERATION EFFORTS. THE WORLD COMMUNITY HAS REASSURINGLY RISEN TO MEET THAT CHALLENGE.

- 17 -

BEYOND THOSE WHO HAVE JOINED THE TREATY AND STRENGTHENED SAFEGUARDS, THE U.S. AND OTHER NATIONS TIGHTENED CONTROLS OVER THE EXPORT OF TECHNOLOGIES RELATED TO NUCLEAR, CHEMICAL AND BIOLOGICAL WEAPONS AND THE MISSILES USED TO DELIVER THEM.

TODAY, THE THREAT OF GLOBAL NUCLEAR WAR IS MORE DISTANT THAN AT ANY OTHER TIME IN THE NUCLEAR ERA. DRAWING DOWN THE OLD COLD WAR ARSENALS WILL FURTHER EASE THAT DREAD.

- 18 -

BUT THE SPECTER OF MASS DESTRUCTION REMAINS ALL TOO REAL -- ESPECIALLY AS SOME NATIONS CONTINUE THE PUSH TO ACQUIRE WEAPONS OF MASS DESTRUCTION AND THE MEANS TO DELIVER THEM.

OUR TRIUMPH IN THE GULF IS TESTAMENT TO THE U.N.'S MISSION -- THAT SECURITY IS A SHARED RESPONSIBILITY. TODAY, THIS INSTITUTION SPEARHEADS A QUARANTINE AGAINST THE OUTLAW REGIME OF SADDAM HUSSEIN.

- 19 -

IT IS THE STRONG BELIEF OF MY COUNTRY THAT WE MUST KEEP SANCTIONS IN PLACE -- AND TAKE THE FOLLOWING STEPS TO PRESERVE OUR COMMON SECURITY:

WE MUST CONTINUE TO FOCUS ON IRAQ'S CAPABILITY TO BUILD OR MAINTAIN WEAPONS OF MASS DESTRUCTION.

- 20 -

[FOLLOWING THE GROUNDBREAKING STEP OF THIS COUNCIL IN SETTING UP THE U.N. SPECIAL COMMISSION, WE MUST MONITOR THE DESTRUCTION OF THESE DEADLY WEAPONS. WE MUST ACCEPT NOTHING SHORT OF FULL DISCLOSURE -- NOTHING SHORT OF COMPLETE COMPLIANCE.

IRAQ MUST ABIDE BY ALL SECURITY COUNCIL RESOLUTIONS. THE HARDSHIP AND SUFFERING OF THE INNOCENT PEOPLE OF IRAQ PAINS US ALL AND THE SECURITY COUNCIL HAS ADOPTED UNSCR 706 AND 712 TO ALLEVIATE THAT SUFFERING. IRAQI COMPLIANCE WITH THESE RESOLUTIONS, AND OTHER U.N.S.C. RESOLUTIONS IS LONG OVERDUE.]

- 21 -

AND, WE MUST MAKE CLEAR TO THE WORLD -- AND MOST IMPORTANT, TO THE PEOPLE OF IRAQ -- THAT [THE INTERNATIONAL COMMUNITY REMAINS UNITED AGAINST SADDAM HUSSEIN. ALL OF US AWAIT THE DAY WE CAN WELCOME IRAQ ONCE MORE INTO THE COMMUNITY OF NATIONS. BUT] NO NORMALIZATION IS POSSIBLE SO LONG AS SADDAM REMAINS IN POWER.

AS ON ALL OF THE URGENT ISSUES I'VE MENTIONED TODAY, PROGRESS COMES FROM ACTING IN CONCERT.

- 22 -

WE MUST DEAL RESOLUTELY WITH RENEGADE REGIMES -- IF NECESSARY BY SANCTIONS OR STRONGER MEASURES -- TO COMPEL THEM TO OBSERVE INTERNATIONAL STANDARDS OF BEHAVIOR. WE WILL NOT BE BLIND TO THE DANGERS WE STILL FACE. TERRORISTS AND THEIR STATE SPONSORS MUST KNOW THERE WILL BE SERIOUS CONSEQUENCES IF THEY VIOLATE INTERNATIONAL LAW.

TWO WEEKS AGO THIS COUNCIL SENT SUCH A MESSAGE TO LIBYA.

LET ME REPEAT TODAY: RESOLUTION 731 -- PASSED UNANIMOUSLY BY THE SECURITY COUNCIL -- CALLS ON LIBYA TO COMPLY FULLY WITH THE REQUESTS OF THREE STATES ON THIS COUNCIL. I CALL ON LIBYA TODAY TO HEED THE CALL OF THIS COUNCIL.

LAST YEAR, IN THE GULF, WE RESPONDED TO AN ATTACK ON THE SOVEREIGNTY OF ONE NATION AS AN ASSAULT ON THE SECURITY OF ALL.

LET US MAKE IT OUR MISSION TO GIVE THIS PRINCIPLE THE GREATEST PRACTICAL MEANING IN THE CONDUCT OF NATIONS.

TODAY WE STAND AT ANOTHER CROSSROADS. FOR PERHAPS THE FIRST TIME SINCE THAT HOPEFUL MOMENT IN SAN FRANCISCO, WE CAN LOOK AT THE UNITED NATIONS CHARTER AS A LIVING, BREATHING DOCUMENT. YES, AFTER SO MANY YEARS, IT MAY STILL BE IN ITS INFANCY, REQUIRING THE CAREFUL AND VIGILANT NURTURING OF ITS PARENTS, BUT I BELIEVE IN MY HEART THAT IT IS ALIVE AND WELL.

OUR MISSION IS TO MAKE IT STRONG AND STURDY THROUGH INCREASED DEDICATION AND COOPERATION. I KNOW WE ARE UP TO THE CHALLENGE.

THE NATIONS REPRESENTED HERE -- LIKE THE LARGER COMMUNITY OF THE U.N. -- HAVE IT IN THEIR POWER TO ACT FOR PEACE AND FREEDOM. MAY GOD BLESS THE UNITED NATIONS AS IT PURSUES THIS NOBLE GOAL.

#