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

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

[INTRODUCTORY ACKNOWLEDGMENTS; PERSONAL REMINISCENCES]

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

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

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

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nations enjoyed membership in the U.N. Today, the number stands at 166. Seven nations in one week -- in fact, all joined in one day: That's extraordinary. This burst in membership illustrates the determination of people around the world to enjoy the rights due them simply because they are human beings.

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

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

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

Now, for the very first time, a world of promise has begun to take shape -- like mountains emerging at dawn's first light. In this world, nations take seriously the United Nations Charter and the Universal Declaration of Human Rights. These documents, signed in moments of high hope, once again can united and inspire people of all nations, faiths and creeds.

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

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

It survived as long as it did because it promised the impossible. As Jeane Kirkpatrick, a former ambassador to the United Nations, notes: Communism offered up a world view that was universal, teleological, final, comprehensive, moral -- and unifying: It promised an end to alienation.

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

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

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

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

As totalitarian masters relaxed their grip on their victims, and as individuals began again to taste their rightful freedom, old animosities raced to the surface; old hatreds reasserted themselves; and in the tumultuous aftermath of communism's

collapse, people who for years had been denied their past and future began searching for their own identities.

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

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

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

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

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

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

In the years to come, we will face the challenge of reconciling people's yearnings for freedom and identity with the need to live in a peaceful world. We must nurture feelings people's sense of identity without shredding the fabric of international society and without inciting the kind of bloody factionalism that led to our first world war -- and ultimately, perhaps, to the Cold War.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

But understand: Zionism is not a policy; it expresses the essence of Israel, a land born out of a gruesome Holocaust; a land created as a homeland for the Jewish people. To equate Zionism with the intolerable sin of racism is to reject Israel - - something this body cannot and should not do.

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

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

Similarly, ~~we must give the conditions for broader peace a chance by confronting the challenge of protectionism.~~ In the years to come, we ^{also} must invite every nation to share in the promise of ^{"greater freedom."} Liberty. I can think of no better way to ^{expand} encourage this new era than by promoting the free flow of goods and ideas. The information revolution has destroyed the weapons of enforced isolation and ignorance. It has ^{rendered} made geography obsolete. Ideas zip around the globe at the speed of light. Devices of mass communication can send news over high walls and through the thickest stone cells. In our lifetime, technology has overwhelmed tyranny, proving that the age of information also can become the age of liberation -- if we limit state power wisely and let our cultures make the best use of new ideas, new products, new insights.

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~~The world has discovered the importance of democracy, and everywhere we see parties forming and governments arranging for free elections. But the path to a peaceful world demands more than just free elections.~~ It also requires economic growth. When economies grow, they serve people, they fulfill needs, ~~and~~ they create opportunities. Growth drives out the rationale for envy; it permits every person to gain -- not at the expense of others, but to the benefit of others.

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

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

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

~~The international economy now, not when it offers the greatest competitive discipline, and the greatest hope of urging our own industries on to greater heights.~~ I call upon all members of GATT to redouble their efforts to reach a successful conclusion for the Uruguay Round -- and then to begin yet another round of freer and fairer trade.

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

Whenever an old and tangible evil vanishes, people naturally embrace unrealistic hopes. In our time, many people assume that we have entered a Brave New World full of prosperity and free of fear. But that is naive.

Self-interest always will tug nations in different directions, and these struggles occasionally will flare into violence. Elsewhere, demagogues will try to peddle false dreams to people whose hunger for hope overwhelms their common sense. We have been liberated from the fear of nuclear conflagration -- our nation's atomic scientists turned their doomsday clock back to ten minutes before midnight last year; this year, they may turn it back to noon.

Nevertheless, the end of the Cold War issues in new uncertainty. We can never say with confidence where the next conflict may arise, which nation will spawn the next dangerous aggressor. Terrorists still use our citizens as pawns; and we must band together to overwhelm this affront to basic human dignity.

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

It is my solemn hope and wish that this organization, will serve as the world's conscience, a bastion of rigorous freedom and righteous courage. Commit yourselves to becoming a special body -- not one that enforces its views through force, but one that inspires nations through its commitment to reason and its passion for the values of love, productivity, and brotherhood.

I learned years ago that the United Nations has few resources for addressing troubled situations involving superpowers. But I also came to love the special spirit of this

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

Finally, many of you may wonder about America's role in the new world I have described. Let me assure you, The United States has no intention of encouraging or building a Pax Americana. We encourage a Pax Terra constructed upon shared responsibilities and aspirations. No one in this chamber deserves a reward for standing up to Saddam Hussein. We did what we should have done. We fulfilled our obligations under the U.N. Charter when we joined hand to push back an aggressor.

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

Each of us has an obligation to follow where our national interests lead. Yet together, we have a responsibility for building a common interest around shared principles. We have an opportunity to spare our sons and daughters the sins and foibles

of the past; we can build a future more satisfying than any our world has ever known.

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

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

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

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

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

Questions:

Do we wish to talk about SDI?

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

Questions:

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September 20, 1991
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PRESIDENTIAL ADDRESS: THE UNITED NATIONS GENERAL ASSEMBLY
UNITED NATIONS GENERAL ASSEMBLY HALL
MONDAY, SEPTEMBER 23, 1991
11 A.M.

[INTRODUCTORY ACKNOWLEDGMENTS; PERSONAL REMINISCENCES]

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

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

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

Well, I look around this room and I see the answers. Today, a single delegation represents the people of Germany; two delegations represent Korea; the republics of Estonia, Latvia and Lithuania all send their own delegations. Just one week ago, 159

nations enjoyed membership in the U.N. Today, the number stands at 166. Seven nations in one week -- in fact, all joined in one day: That's extraordinary. This burst in membership illustrates the determination of people around the world to enjoy the rights due them simply because they are human beings.

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

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

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

Now, for the very first time, a world of promise has begun to take shape -- like mountains emerging at dawn's first light. In this world, nations take seriously the United Nations Charter and the Universal Declaration of Human Rights. These documents, signed in moments of high hope, once again can unite and inspire people of all nations, faiths and creeds.

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

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

It survived as long as it did because it promised the impossible. As Jeane Kirkpatrick, a former ambassador to the United Nations, notes: Communism offered up a world view that was universal, teleological, final, comprehensive, moral -- and unifying: It promised an end to alienation.

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

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

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

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

As totalitarian masters relaxed their grip on their victims, and as individuals began again to taste their rightful freedom, old animosities raced to the surface; old hatreds reasserted themselves; and in the tumultuous aftermath of communism's

collapse, people who for years had been denied their past and future began searching for their own identities.

That struggle has unleashed warfare between Croatians and Serbians; Armenians and Azerbaijanis; Kurds and Iraqis -- each battle merely picking up hatreds that have festered for more than 50 years.

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

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

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

We can start preventing new hostilities by defending the inalienable rights outlined in the UN's founding documents: individual liberties, rights to property, and the protection of minority rights. If people cannot speak their minds; if they cannot form political parties freely and elect governments without coercion; if they cannot practice their religion freely;

if they cannot raise their families in peace; if they cannot enjoy a just return from their labor; if they cannot live fruitful lives and, at the end of their days, look upon their achievements and their society's progress with pride -- if these simple conditions for the good life do not exist, tempers will flare and bullets will fly. Governments that fail to carry out their primary responsibility -- protecting the freedoms that enable people to live good lives -- will fall in favor of systems that do.

In the years to come, we will face the challenge of reconciling people's yearnings for freedom and identity with the need to live in a peaceful world. We must nurture feelings people's sense of identity without shredding the fabric of international society and without inciting the kind of bloody factionalism that led to our first world war -- and ultimately, perhaps, to the Cold War.

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

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

Not too many years ago, this chamber debated a New World Information and Communication Order that sought to constrain free speech, not to defend it. This shameful interlude has drawn to an end, and the Committee on Information has embraced a more

traditional interpretation of free speech. It has begun trying to provide accurate information to the U.N., and this chamber has called for "a free flow of information at all levels." That's a far cry from the clumsy censorship embodied in the NWICO.

For years, the U.N. approved of the export of tyranny -- it supported so-called liberation movements, from which freedom-loving people now must liberate themselves. Still, with free elections in Nicaragua, prospects for free elections in Angola, Afghanistan, Mozambique -- and what once was called the USSR, the tide has turned.

And, during that unfortunate age, the United Nations promoted a coercive New World Economic Order that, if enacted, would have turned the planet into a series of breadlines. The New World Economic Order defined equality as an especially virulent form of envy; it ignored the human striving to create lasting things; the human thirst for sensible risk. It sought, under cover of lofty rhetoric, to replace the natural human impulse for production and self-expression with the corrosive striving to seize wealth from one party and give it to another.

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

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

If we hope to build a future characterized by prosperity and peace, we must begin by establishing our own credibility -- rejecting the Newspeak of the old era and defining clearly and rigorously what we mean by essential terms.

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

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

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

But understand: Zionism is not a policy; it expresses the essence of Israel, a land born out of a gruesome Holocaust; a land created as a homeland for the Jewish people. To equate Zionism with the intolerable sin of racism is to reject Israel - something this body cannot and should not do.

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

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

Similarly, we must give the conditions for broader peace a chance by confronting the challenge of protectionism. In the years to come, we must invite every nation to share in the promise of liberty. I can think of no better way to encourage this new era than by promoting the free flow of goods and ideas. The information revolution has destroyed the weapons of enforced isolation and ignorance. It has made geography obsolete. Ideas zip around the globe at the speed of light. Devices of mass communication can send news over high walls and through the thickest stone cells. In our lifetime, technology has overwhelmed tyranny and saddled us with the responsibility to begin fulfilling our own promises.

The age of information also can become the age of liberation -- if we limit state power wisely and let our cultures make the best use of new ideas, new products, new insights.

But we can achieve that liberation only if we strive to build sturdy ties of shared interest -- and if we destroy the barriers to free trade and free information.

Many nations represented here have joined the General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade, and you all understand that protectionist impulses have prevented nations from settling the greatest free-trade agreement in world history.

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

We cannot afford to destroy the international economy now, not when it offers the greatest competitive discipline, and the greatest hope of urging our own industries on to greater heights. I call upon all members of GATT to redouble their efforts to reach a successful conclusion for the Uruguay Round -- and then to begin yet another round of freer and fairer trade.

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

As we think about a new age of liberty, let us remember that governance never will be a science. Human beings are perverse creatures. If you predict that they will follow one course of action, they will take another -- just out of sheer spite. "Scientific" government never works because the process of democracy in the end boils down to an expression of something vital and intangible: values.

Communism blotted out history, but it also shattered fundamental social institutions: the family, the community; the place of worship. We must restore these institutions in our own

quest for a New World Order, and we must give them the freedom to flourish in our age of "greater freedom," our new era of liberty.

Whenever you consider a resolution, think not of lofty theories and the urgings of interest groups. Think of your loved ones. Ask how your resolutions and actions might affect them. Weigh carefully the ways in which your decisions will influence future families.

Whenever an old and tangible evil vanishes, people naturally embrace unrealistic hopes. In our time, many people assume that we have entered a Brave New World full of prosperity and free of fear. But that is naive.

But self-interest always will tug nations in different directions. No nation should ever surrender its sovereignty to an international body, including this one, but every nation ought to understand that it bears a real responsibility for building a better future in this world.

The things we hold most dear demand the highest price in blood, sweat, toil, tears and pain. In the present euphoria, we may be tempted to forget the most important lesson of the age, which is that no social order can long survive without the consent of the governed, and that precious liberties demand constant attention and care.

I would like to think that those of us in this room, chastened by bloody wars and tense peaces, would protect liberty, democracy and human rights as zealously as we should. But history tells us that people tend to drop their guard when they

see no great menaces ahead. They tend to take their own liberties for granted.

It is my solemn hope and wish that this organization, which has permitted itself to fall prey to fads over the years, will become the world's conscience, the last bastion of rigorous freedom and righteous courage. Know that principled men and women necessarily will suffer condemnation from peers who seek easy solutions to tough problems. Understand that national interests sometimes collide with the demands of human rights and natural law. But commit yourselves to becoming a special body - - not one that enforces its views through force, but one that inspires nations through its commitment to reason and its passion for the values of love, productivity, and brotherhood.

I learned years ago that the United Nations has few resources for addressing troubled situations involving superpowers. Its real strength lies in its economic and social objectives, and its serving as a vehicle for helping willing parties settle old disputes. In the months to come, I look forward to working with Secretary General Perez de Cuellar as we pursue peace in Cyprus, protect democracy throughout Central America, work toward resolving tensions in Cambodia, and try to establish a lasting peace the Western Sahara and Angola.

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

and aspirations. No one in this chamber deserves a reward for standing up to Saddam Hussein. We did what we should have done. We fulfilled our obligations under the U.N. Charter when we joined hand to push back an aggressor.

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

Each of us has an obligation to follow where our national interests lead. Yet together, we have a responsibility for building a common interest around shared principles. We have an opportunity not merely to spare our sons and daughters the sins and foibles of the past; we can build the foundations of a future more satisfying than any our world has ever known.

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

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age of electrons -- technology has outrun tyranny -- china, etc.
; info revolution, etc.

respect, gatt, common security, clear definition of terms and goals, eternal vigilance. foundation of principle, values: end with bushian invocation of all the above.