

**KEYNOTE ADDRESS BY
YAB DATO' SERI ABDULLAH AHMAD BADAWI
AT THE ASIA PACIFIC ROUNDTABLE 2004 AT PALACE OF THE GOLDEN
HORSES, KUALA LUMPUR
1 JUNE 2004**

TAN SRI DR. NOORDIN SOPIEE
CHAIRMAN, ISIS MALAYSIA

EXCELLENCIES, AMBASSADORS AND HIGH COMMISSIONERS

DISTINGUISHED GUESTS

LADIES AND GENTLEMEN

1. I THINK I WOULD BE PUTTING IT MILDLY IF I SAID THAT THE WORLD IS IN CRISIS TODAY. THERE IS LITTLE TO CHEER EVEN FOR THE MOST COMPULSIVE OPTIMIST. THE GLOBAL SITUATION IS STEADILY DETERIORATING, AND WE SEEM POWERLESS TO ARREST THE SLIDE. IN MANY PLACES THE THREATS TO PEACE AND STABILITY ARE GROWING. WE SEEM TO BE MAKING ONE MISTAKE AFTER ANOTHER, AND MOVING FROM BLUNDER TO BLUNDER. WILLINGLY OR UNWILLINGLY, ALL OF US ARE BEING PULLED INTO EVER-DEEPER WATERS. WE ARE IN THE GRIP OF EXTREMISTS AND MILITANTS IN MANY PLACES. THEIR UNCOMPROMISING IDEOLOGIES CAN DRIVE THE WORLD TO THE BRINK OF DISASTER.

2. THE TERRORISTS WHO ARE OUR COMMON SCOURGE REMAIN AT LARGE AND CONTINUE TO THREATEN OUR SECURITY. FOR MANY IT EVEN APPEARS THAT THE TERRORISTS ARE WINNING, NOT LOSING. IT IS ACKNOWLEDGED THAT SOME OF THEIR LEADERS HAVE BEEN ARRESTED OR ELIMINATED; THEIR INFRASTRUCTURE HAS BEEN SEVERELY DISRUPTED; THEIR LOGISTIC SUPPORT HAS DWINDLED; AND THEY ARE CONSTANTLY ON THE RUN. BUT THEIR SENIOR-MOST LEADERS REMAIN AT LARGE; THEY RETAIN THE INITIATIVE; AND ALL OF US, MY COUNTRY INCLUDED, REMAIN VULNERABLE TO TERRORIST ATTACKS. MORE ALARMINGLY, SOME OF OUR POST-SEPTEMBER 11 ACTIONS ARE ALIENATING AND RADICALISING EVEN MORE PEOPLE, AND BREEDING A NEW GENERATION OF TERRORISTS IN THE ARAB AND MUSLIM WORLD. WE ARE NOT ONLY REFUSING TO RECOGNISE SOME OF THE ROOT CAUSES, WE ARE CONSCIOUSLY AND DELIBERATELY AGGRAVATING THEM.

3. THE WORLD IS IN CRISIS FOR OTHER REASONS AS WELL. INTERNATIONAL LAW IS FLAGRANTLY FLOUTED, AND SOME OF US NOT ONLY CONDONE IT, WE BECOME PART OF IT. OTHERS CHOOSE TO BE POLITICALLY CORRECT, AND LOOK THE OTHER WAY. A GLOBAL ORDER BASED ON INTERNATIONAL LAW HAS LITTLE PROSPECT UNDER THESE CIRCUMSTANCES.

4. SIMILARLY, THE UNITED NATIONS HAS BEEN USED WHEN IT SERVES OUR PURPOSE, BUT IS CYNICALLY MARGINALISED AND ROUNDLY CRITICISED WHEN IT DOES NOT. BLAME IS CAST UPON THE INSTITUTION WHEN THE BLAME IS OURS FOR SPURNING IT AND THEREBY RENDERING IT INEFFECTUAL.

5. AFGHANISTAN, A FAILED STATE THAT WAS FURTHER DEVASTATED BY WAR, CONTINUES TO STRUGGLE TO FIND ITS FEET. FUNDS FOR RECONSTRUCTION ARE BECOMING INCREASINGLY PROBLEMATIC, AND THE NATION IS DRIFTING VIRTUALLY RUDDERLESS. POLITICAL AUTHORITY IS WEAK AND CHALLENGED OVER MUCH OF THE COUNTRY, AND THE LOT OF THE ORDINARY PEOPLE REMAINS BRUTISH. POPPY CULTIVATION AND OPIUM PRODUCTION ARE FLOURISHING AGAIN AFTER THEY WERE VIRTUALLY ELIMINATED UNDER THE TALIBAN. LAW AND ORDER REMAIN A MAJOR PROBLEM OUTSIDE THE CAPITAL, AND THE AL QAEDA CONTINUES TO FIND REFUGE IN THE BORDER AREAS.

6. IN IRAQ, THE SITUATION LOOKS MORE AND MORE HOPELESS BY THE DAY. INVADED ILLEGALLY AND WITHOUT JUST CAUSE, ITS PRESENT IS VOLATILE AND ITS FUTURE UNCERTAIN. THE LIBERATORS ARE INCREASINGLY SEEN AS THE ENEMY, AND THERE IS NO SECURITY. IN MANY AREAS THE PEOPLE ARE WORSE OFF EVEN THAN WHEN IRAQ WAS SLAPPED WITH SANCTIONS. THE COSTS OF OCCUPATION ARE MOUNTING AND STRETCHING THE RESOURCES OF EVEN THE WORLD'S MIGHTIEST POWER.

7. THERE WERE NO AL-QAEDA LINKED TERRORISTS IN THE COUNTRY BEFORE. NOW THERE ARE MANY, AND WE HAVE FINALLY MANAGED TO MAKE OUR ALLEGATIONS COME TRUE. MOST OF THE GOVERNMENTS THAT JOINED IN THE INVASION AND SUPPORTED THE OCCUPATION DID SO AGAINST THE WISHES OF THE MAJORITY OF THEIR PEOPLE. THEY ARE BECOMING EVEN MORE ESTRANGED NOW, AND THOSE THAT ARE DEMOCRACIES FACE STIFF CHALLENGES IN FUTURE ELECTIONS. ONE GOVERNMENT IN EUROPE HAS ALREADY BEEN VOTED OUT BY ITS PEOPLE.

8. WE HAVE OPENED A PANDORA'S BOX, AND WE ARE NOW IN A BIND IN IRAQ. WE WANT TO HAND OVER POWER TO THE IRAQI PEOPLE, BUT WITHOUT REALLY RESTORING TO THEM MEANINGFUL SOVEREIGNTY. WE WANT GREATER UNITED NATIONS INVOLVEMENT, BUT AGAIN WITHOUT GIVING IT FULL AUTHORITY. WE WANT DEMOCRACY IN IRAQ, BUT WE ARE WORRIED THAT THOSE THAT COME INTO POWER MAY ALIGN THEMSELVES AGAINST US.

9. IN IRAQ, AFGHANISTAN AND OTHER PLACES THE GENEVA CONVENTION HAS BEEN BRUTALISED. THE SADISTIC TORTURE AND HUMILIATION OF PRISONERS HAS OUTRAGED THE WHOLE WORLD, AND NOT JUST THE ARABS OR MUSLIMS. LET THERE BE NO DOUBT – SUCH INHUMAN ACTIONS WILL NOT BE EASILY FORGOTTEN OR LIGHTLY FORGIVEN. THE HATRED THEY SOW AMONG THE VICTIMS, NATIONS AND PEOPLES WILL COME BACK TO HAUNT US.

10. THE PEACE PROCESS IN THE MIDDLE EAST IS IN TATTERS. THE ROAD MAP IS ALL BUT SHREDDED AS WE RENEGE ON ESTABLISHED PRINCIPLES AND REVERSE LONG-STANDING POLICIES. TERRORIST ACTIONS ARE PERPETRATED BY BOTH SIDES, BUT THE BALANCE OF TERROR IS CLEARLY AND OVERWHELMINGLY WITH THE OCCUPYING FORCES. THESE FORCES HAVE KILLED AND MAIMED MANY MORE CIVILIANS, DRIVEN THOUSANDS OF FAMILIES FROM THEIR HOMES, DEMOLISHED THEIR DWELLINGS AND SEIZED THEIR LANDS. YET WE CHOOSE TO RECOGNISE AND CONDEMN TERRORISM ONLY BY THE PALESTINIANS, WHO ARE FIGHTING TO LIBERATE THEMSELVES FROM OCCUPATION AND WHO ARE DRIVEN TO TERRORIST ACTIONS BECAUSE THEY HAVE VIRTUALLY NOTHING LEFT BUT THEIR BARE HANDS, STONES AND SMALL ARMS. THEY DO NOT HAVE A SINGLE FIGHTER AIRCRAFT, A SINGLE TANK OR A SINGLE NAVAL VESSEL TO DEFEND THEIR DIGNITY, REGAIN THEIR HOMELAND, AND WIN THEIR FREEDOM.

11. A JUST AND STABLE WORLD ORDER CANNOT BE BUILT ON SUCH MANIFEST AND WANTON VIOLATION OF HUMAN AND POLITICAL RIGHTS.

12. AS OUR INSECURITY GROWS, PARTLY FROM OUR OWN DOING, WE ARE ALL FORCED TO SPEND MORE AND MORE ON PROTECTING OUR SECURITY. THE SECURITY BILL IS GROWING FOR ALL OF US, INCLUDING FOR THOSE WHO CAN ILL AFFORD THE ADDITIONAL EXPENSES, AND WHO NEED TO PUT THE RESOURCES TO BETTER USE TO SERVE THE SOCIAL AND ECONOMIC NEEDS OF THEIR PEOPLE. NOWHERE IS THE BURDEN MORE FORMIDABLE THAN IN THE UNITED STATES, WHERE NOT ONLY THE SECURITY BURDEN, BUT THE POLITICAL COSTS AS WELL, ARE MOUNTING.

13. WE CANNOT PERSIST WITH THE PRESENT SITUATION, YET CONTINUE WITH SOME OF THE CURRENT POLICIES AND STRATEGIES. THEY ARE SIMPLY UNSUSTAINABLE. THE CRISIS WE ARE IN FORCES US TO BE INTROSPECTIVE, TO EXAMINE WHERE THINGS WENT WRONG, AND TO SAVE THE SITUATION AS BEST WE CAN. IT CALLS UPON US TO BE COURAGEOUS, AND TO FORSAKE POLITICAL EXPEDIENCY IN FAVOUR OF DOING THE RIGHT THING. IT REMINDS US TO BE MINDFUL OF THE COMPLEXITY OF GLOBAL PROBLEMS, AND THE GRAVE CONSEQUENCES OF OUR ACTIONS, HOWEVER GOOD WE OURSELVES THINK OUR INTENTIONS MAY HAVE BEEN.

14. OUR CAMPAIGN AGAINST INTERNATIONAL TERRORISM HAS UNDENIABLY SECURED SOME SUCCESSES. I JUST CITED SOME OF THEM. BUT WE HAVE NOT ADDRESSED THE PROBLEM IN SEVERAL AREAS, INCLUDING IN DETERMINING THE ROOT CAUSES OF TERRORISM. INDEED, WE HAVE COMPOUNDED THE THREAT TO US IN SEVERAL WAYS. WE ALL KNOW, AND ARE WORKING VERY HARD, ON BUILDING UP OUR INTELLIGENCE CAPABILITIES. WE ARE HUNTING THE AL-QAEDA REMNANTS FEROCIOUSLY IN THE HILLS OF AFGHANISTAN AND ELSEWHERE. WE ARE DOING EVERYTHING POSSIBLE TO WRECK THE TERRORISTS' LOGISTIC AND FINANCIAL INFRASTRUCTURE. WE HAVE STRENGTHENED VIGILANCE AND BEEFED UP SECURITY AT HOME AND ABROAD WHERE OUR KEY INTERESTS ARE SITUATED. WE ARE CONSTANTLY ON THE ALERT AGAINST NEW TERRORIST THREATS,

INCLUDING ON THE SEAS, AND DEVISING APPROPRIATE SURVEILLANCE AND PREVENTIVE MEASURES.

15. BUT WE HAVE FAILED MOST NOTABLY IN ADDRESSING THE REAL ROOT CAUSES. WE HAVE BEEN HIGHLY SELECTIVE IN OUR ANALYSIS OF THEM, AND CHOOSE TO FOCUS ONLY UPON THOSE CONSIDERED CONVENIENT TO US. IN SOME RESPECTS WE ARE ALL IN DENIAL. MANY MUSLIMS REFUSE TO ACKNOWLEDGE THAT THERE CAN BE BAD MUSLIMS, AND THAT ISLAMIC TEACHINGS HAVE BEEN CORRUPTED BY SOME GROUPS TO SERVE THEIR MILITANT CAUSE. LIKE ANY OTHER RELIGION, ISLAM FORBIDS THE KILLING OF INNOCENT CIVILIANS. INDEED, THE VERY WORD "ISLAM" MEANS PEACE. YET SOME TERRORIST GROUPS HAVE PREACHED THAT HEAVEN AWAITS THOSE WHO KILL INNOCENT CIVILIANS, SO LONG AS IT IS IN DEFENCE OF THEIR CAUSE. BUT THE CAUSE CANNOT BE JUST, NEITHER CAN IT BE LEGITIMATE. NOTHING CAN MAKE A VIRTUE OUT OF THE MASSACRE OF INNOCENT MEN, WOMEN AND CHILDREN.

16. THOSE WHO LEAD THE CAMPAIGN AGAINST INTERNATIONAL TERRORISM AND ARE THE PRINCIPAL TARGETS OF TERRORISTS ARE ALSO IN SIMILAR DENIAL. THEY WILL CITE UNDEMOCRATIC GOVERNMENT, OPPRESSION, POVERTY, AND A MILITANT FORM OF ISLAM AS THE ROOT CAUSE. CERTAINLY THESE ALL CONTRIBUTE TO THE PROBLEM. BUT WHY THEN DO THE TERRORISTS TARGET THE UNITED STATES, OR ITS COALITION PARTNERS IN IRAQ AS WELL AS ISRAEL, WHO HAVE NOTHING TO DO WITH THEIR UNDEMOCRATIC GOVERNMENTS AT HOME OR THEIR POVERTY?. AND WHY ARE MANY OF THE TERRORIST LEADERS WELL EDUCATED AND SOME OF THEM FAR FROM POOR?.

17. FOR THE MUSLIM WORLD, IT MUST RECOVER THE DIGNITY AND HONOUR OF ISLAM. IT MUST SEVER THE SPURIOUS LINK THAT SOME SCHOOLS OF THOUGHT AND RELIGIOUS INSTITUTIONS HAVE FALSELY ESTABLISHED BETWEEN ISLAM, MILITANCY AND THE INDISCRIMINATE KILLING OF INNOCENT PEOPLE. TERRORISM IS THE MORTAL ENEMY OF ISLAM, NOT ITS CONSORT. THE LEGITIMACY OF THE CAUSE MUST NOT BE TAINTED BY THE ILLEGITIMACY OF THE MEANS. THE VAST MAJORITY THAT ADHERES TO THE PEACEFUL TEACHINGS OF ISLAM MUST CONFRONT THE MILITANT TEACHINGS IN THE PERIPHERIES AND DISCREDIT THEM. IN SOME COUNTRIES, WE WILL HAVE TO RADICALLY ALTER THE CURRICULUM OF RELIGIOUS SCHOOLS.

18. UNDEMOCRATIC FORMS OF GOVERNMENT IN THE MUSLIM WORLD, POOR GOVERNANCE AND POVERTY, WHEREVER THEY EXIST, DO CONTRIBUTE TO UNREST, EVEN TERRORISM, DIRECTED AT THE HOST GOVERNMENTS. THEY DO NOT CONTRIBUTE DIRECTLY TO INTERNATIONAL TERRORISM TARGETED AT THE UNITED STATES AND ITS COALITION PARTNERS OR ISRAEL. BUT THEY NEED TO BE ADDRESSED TOO, BOTH FOR THEIR OWN SAKE AS WELL AS BECAUSE TERRORIST GROUPS WITH A DOMESTIC AGENDA ARE ALSO SOMETIMES LINKED TO THE AL-QAEDA NETWORK OF INTERNATIONAL TERRORISM.

19. ADDRESSING THESE CONTRIBUTORY FACTORS WILL TAKE TIME, BUT UNLESS THERE IS POLITICAL WILL, PARTS OF THE MUSLIM WORLD WILL CONTINUE TO LAG

BEHIND, AND THE PEACE AND STABILITY VITAL FOR COMPREHENSIVE DEVELOPMENT WILL BE ABSENT.

20. FOR THE UNITED STATES IN PARTICULAR, AND ITS MAJOR ALLIES, THEY MUST ADDRESS TWO KEY AND UNAVOIDABLE ISSUES. THE FIRST AND THE MORE LONG-STANDING IS THE ISRAELI-PALESTINIAN CONFLICT. INTERNATIONAL TERRORISM AND ANTI-AMERICAN SENTIMENT, ESPECIALLY IN THE ARAB AND MUSLIM WORLD, WILL NOT GO AWAY UNTIL THE PROBLEM IS RESOLVED JUSTLY, MORALLY AND IN ACCORDANCE WITH INTERNATIONAL LAW AND U.N. RESOLUTIONS. BOTH PALESTINIANS AND ISRAELIS DESERVE THEIR OWN STATE, AND BOTH ARE EQUALLY ENTITLED TO SECURITY.

21. WE CANNOT GO ON CITING DIFFICULTIES OR PAST FAILURES. THE INTERNATIONAL QUARTET MUST PERSEVERE ON THE BASIS OF THE ARAB PEACE INITIATIVE, THE QUARTET'S OWN ROAD MAP AND THE RELEVANT UNITED NATIONS SECURITY COUNCIL RESOLUTIONS. INDIVIDUAL MEMBERS OF THE QUARTET CANNOT GO OFF ON A TANGENT AND SUPPORT UNILATERAL MEASURES TAKEN BY ISRAEL, OR THE PALESTINIANS FOR THAT MATTER. THIS ONLY SERVES TO UNDERMINE THE WHOLE PEACE PROCESS, AND BRINGS EVEN GREATER CHAOS TO THE CONFLICT BESIDES DESTROYING THE CREDIBILITY OF THE MEMBER.

22. A SOLUTION IS EMINENTLY POSSIBLE IF THERE IS AN HONEST AND IMPARTIAL BROKER WHO IS PREPARED TO ACT WITH EQUAL FIRMNESS ON BOTH SIDES. WE CANNOT IMPOSE RIGOROUS AND UNRELENTING SANCTIONS ON ONE PARTY, AND CONSISTENTLY VETO SANCTIONS ON THE OTHER PARTY DEMANDED BY VIRTUALLY THE ENTIRE INTERNATIONAL COMMUNITY. WE CANNOT HELP ARM THE AGGRESSOR AND ILLEGAL OCCUPIER TO THE TEETH, AND LEAVE THE VICTIM VIRTUALLY DEFENCELESS. THIS EXTREME IMBALANCE IN POWER BETWEEN THE TWO PARTIES IS ONE REASON WHY A JUST AND FAIR RESOLUTION TO THE CONFLICT IS DIFFICULT TO ACHIEVE. THE STRONGER PARTY FEELS LITTLE COMPULSION TO MEET THE OTHER PARTY HALF WAY.

23. AMONG THE AREAS THAT NEED ATTENTION IS A RESOLUTION OF THE CONFLICT BASED ON THE 1967 BORDER. THE BORDER MUST BE RESPECTED, AND A U.N. PEACEKEEPING FORCE, OR A MULTINATIONAL FORCE MANDATED BY THE U.N., SHOULD BE MOBILISED TO POLICE IT. SEVERER PENALTIES SHOULD BE IMPOSED ON ANY PARTY THAT SEEKS TO VIOLATE THIS BORDER.

24. THE OTHER ISSUE THAT NEEDS ATTENTION IS THE SITUATION IN IRAQ. THE DAMAGE HAS BEEN DONE, AND IT CANNOT BE UNDONE. MANY MISTAKES HAVE BEEN MADE, AND THEY CANNOT BE UNMADE. IRAQ, THE REGION, THE COALITION AND THE REST OF THE WORLD WILL BE PAYING THE PRICE FOR SOME TIME TO COME. IF LITTLE CAN BE DONE ABOUT THE PAST HOWEVER, WE CAN AT LEAST LOOK TO THE FUTURE.

25. THE LATEST PLAN FOR IRAQ ANNOUNCED BY THE UNITED STATES LAST WEEK, WHILE NOT ENTIRELY NEW, APPEARS TO GIVE THE WORLD SOME HOPE FOR PROGRESS. "FULL" SOVEREIGNTY IS TO BE HANDED OVER BY THE UNITED STATES

TO AN INTERIM IRAQI GOVERNMENT ON JUNE 30TH. THE COMPOSITION OF THE INTERIM GOVERNMENT WILL BE PROPOSED BY A REPRESENTATIVE OF THE UNITED NATIONS AFTER CONSULTATION WITH A CROSS-SECTION OF IRAQIS.

26. NATIONAL ELECTIONS ARE TO BE HELD BY JANUARY NEXT YEAR TO CHOOSE A TRANSITIONAL NATIONAL ASSEMBLY THAT WILL CHOOSE A TRANSITIONAL GOVERNMENT VESTED WITH EXECUTIVE POWERS. IT WILL ALSO DRAFT A CONSTITUTION THAT WILL BE SUBMITTED TO THE PEOPLE IN A REFERENDUM TO BE HELD IN THE FALL OF NEXT YEAR. BY THE END OF THAT YEAR, JUST EIGHTEEN MONTHS HENCE, A NEW PERMANENT GOVERNMENT ELECTED BY THE IRAQI PEOPLE UNDER THE NEW CONSTITUTION WILL BE IN PLACE.

27. WE CAN ALSO WELCOME MOST WARMLY THE U.S. INITIATIVE TO SEEK U.N. ENDORSEMENT FOR THE POLITICAL PLAN. IT MARKS A RETURN TO GREATER MULTILATERALISM ON THE PART OF THE U.S., AND RESPECT FOR THE U.N. AND ITS CHARTER. THE U.N.'S ENDORSEMENT IS VITAL FOR INTERNATIONAL LEGITIMACY AND RECOGNITION OF THE GOVERNMENT THAT IS TO BE FORMED IN IRAQ.

28. NO DOUBT, THE DRAFT THAT IS BEFORE THE U.N. SECURITY COUNCIL NOW WILL BE MODIFIED AS DELIBERATIONS AMONG THE MEMBERS PROCEED. I DO NOT KNOW FULLY WHAT THE CONTENTS OF THE DRAFT U.N. RESOLUTION ARE. BUT I THINK IT MUST FULFIL CERTAIN EXPECTATIONS AND CRITERIA IF THE GLOBAL COMMUNITY IS TO RECOGNISE AND ENDORSE THE PLAN FOR IRAQ.

29. FIRST, IF "FULL" SOVEREIGNTY IS TO BE GRANTED TO THE IRAQI PEOPLE, THEY MUST INDEED EXERCISE FULL SOVEREIGNTY OVER ALL POLITICAL, ECONOMIC AND SECURITY MATTERS. ANY DEROGATION FROM THAT SOVEREIGNTY IN TERMS OF DELEGATION OF AUTHORITY AND EXERCISE OF POWERS TO A FOREIGN ENTITY MUST BE A DECISION TAKEN FREELY AND WITHOUT DURESS BY THE IRAQI GOVERNMENT.

30. FOREIGN FORCES FOR INSTANCE, REMAIN IN IRAQ ONLY AT THE PLEASURE AND AT THE SPECIFIC REQUEST OF THE IRAQI GOVERNMENT. IT IS THAT GOVERNMENT THAT ASSESSES THE KIND OF MILITARY ASSISTANCE AND PRESENCE THE COUNTRY NEEDS, AND REQUESTS THAT HELP. IT IS THAT GOVERNMENT THAT DECIDES HOW LONG FOREIGN TROOPS REMAIN ON ITS SOVEREIGN SOIL, AND WHEN THEY ARE TO BE WITHDRAWN, NOT SOME FOREIGN GOVERNMENT OR WORLD BODY. THERE WILL BE CONSULTATIONS NO DOUBT WITH THE GOVERNMENTS OF OTHER COUNTRIES FOR THIS PURPOSE. BUT THE INITIATIVE AND THE DECISION TO REQUEST FOREIGN MILITARY PRESENCE AND END IT MUST BE IRAQ'S AND IRAQ'S ALONE.

31. SECURITY OPERATIONS CAN BE DIRECTED AND COORDINATED BY A BODY THAT INCLUDES THE REPRESENTATIVES OF FOREIGN FORCES, BUT THE FINAL AUTHORISATION FOR SECURITY OPERATIONS MUST REST IN IRAQI HANDS.

32. SECOND, FOR THE PLAN TO BE SUCCESSFULLY IMPLEMENTED, ANY FOREIGN FORCES THAT FUNCTION ON IRAQI SOIL SHOULD BE PART OF A MULTINATIONAL FORCE MANDATED BY THE U.N.. THE U.S. PROPOSAL, AND I BELIEVE THE DRAFT U.N. RESOLUTION, ALREADY CALL FOR THIS. THE TERMS OF THE MANDATE SHOULD BE CLEARLY WORKED OUT, SO THAT FINAL IRAQI AUTHORITY IS RECOGNISED AND PROVIDED FOR.

33. THIRD, IT IS ABSOLUTELY VITAL THAT IRAQ DEVELOPS AN ADEQUATE INDIGENOUS CAPACITY FOR TAKING CARE OF ITS OWN SECURITY AFFAIRS AS SOON AS POSSIBLE. ONLY WHEN AN INDIGENOUS FORCE ASSUMES RESPONSIBILITY FOR SECURITY AND U.S. AND OTHER FOREIGN FORCES LEAVE, WILL THE PROSPECTS FOR PEACE AND SECURITY IMPROVE PERCEPTIBLY. THIS PEACE AND SECURITY IS AN ESSENTIAL PREREQUISITE FOR A SUCCESSFUL REFERENDUM AND ELECTIONS NEXT YEAR ON SCHEDULE.

34. UNTIL THE INDIGENOUS ALTERNATIVE REPLACES THE OCCUPATION FORCE, VIOLENCE AND ATTACKS ON THE U.S.-LED COALITION WILL CONTINUE AND PERHAPS EVEN MOUNT. IF A U.N.-MANDATED MULTINATIONAL FORCE EMERGES, IT IS LIKELY THAT ATTACKS WILL CONTINUE THOUGH PERHAPS ON A LOWER SCALE, BECAUSE AMERICAN AND ALLIED FORCES WILL STILL BE REGARDED AS OCCUPATION FORCES. CONTINUING ATTACKS WILL ALSO DETER OTHER NATIONS FROM PARTICIPATING IN THE MULTINATIONAL FORCE.

35. FOURTH, IT IS CRITICAL THAT THE INTERIM GOVERNMENT AS WELL AS THE ADVISORY NATIONAL COUNCIL ARE SEEN AS CREDIBLE AND INDEPENDENT ENTITIES, AND WIN THE CONFIDENCE OF THE MAJORITY OF IRAQIS FROM ALL THE DIVERSE COMMUNITIES. IF THEY FAIL TO SECURE THE CONFIDENCE OF THE BULK OF THE IRAQI POPULATION VIOLENCE MAY PERSIST AND THE POLITICAL PROCESS COULD BE STALLED.

36. BEYOND OUR CAMPAIGN TO FIGHT INTERNATIONAL TERRORISM THAT IS OUR COMMON CONCERN, AND BEYOND THE NEED TO RESOLVE THE PALESTINIAN-ISRAELI CONFLICT AND THE PROBLEM OF IRAQ, THE SECURITY CRISIS THAT WE NOW CONFRONT REQUIRES THAT WE RE-EXAMINE THE UNDERLYING PRINCIPLES AND VALUES THAT HAVE GUIDED OUR ACTIONS IN INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS. SOME OF THESE PRINCIPLES AND VALUES HAVE HELPED CONTRIBUTE TO THE MAINTENANCE OF A STABLE GLOBAL AND REGIONAL ORDER BASED NOT ONLY ON OUR LEGITIMATE NATIONAL INTERESTS, BUT ALSO ON THE COMMON GOOD OF ALL NATIONS AND PEOPLES. AMONG THESE ARE THE PRINCIPLES OF THE CHARTER OF THE UNITED NATIONS.

37. BUT SOME OF US HAVE ALSO PURSUED OTHER TENETS AND OTHER VALUES, AND IN DOING SO HAVE STRAYED FROM THE PRINCIPLES OF THE UNITED NATIONS CHARTER. THIS HAS CONTRIBUTED TO SOME OF THE VEXING PROBLEMS AND INSTABILITY AFFLICTING THE GLOBAL AND REGIONAL ORDER.

38. THE EXPERIENCE IN IRAQ, PAINFUL AS IT IS ESPECIALLY FOR THE PEOPLE OF THAT COUNTRY, MAY YET YIELD US SOME GOOD. WE MUST SEIZE THE OCCASION PROVIDED BY THE RETURN TO THE UNITED NATIONS TO RE-DEDICATE OURSELVES MORE RESOLUTELY AND CONSISTENTLY TO RECOGNISED PRINCIPLES OF INTERNATIONAL BEHAVIOUR AND ESTABLISHED INSTITUTIONS OF INTERNATIONAL ORDER.

39. IRAQ HAS TAUGHT US THE PIVOTAL AND INDISPENSABLE ROLE THAT THE UNITED NATIONS PLAYS IN INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS. WE MUST CEASE TO VILIFY AND UNDERMINE IT, FOR WHEN IT HAS FAILED IT HAS BEEN DUE MORE TO THE MACHINATIONS OF SOME OF ITS MEMBERS THAN ANYTHING INTRINSICALLY FLAWED WITH IT. INSTEAD OF CONSTANTLY ERODING ITS CREDIBILITY, WE SHOULD ENDEAVOUR TO REMEDY ITS WEAKNESSES AND FORTIFY ITS STRENGTHS. RATHER THAN MARGINALISE THE WORLD BODY, WE SHOULD SEEK TO MAINSTREAM IT IN INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS.

40. NO NATION HOWEVER STRONG CAN PLAY THE UNIQUE ROLE THAT ONLY THE UNITED NATIONS CAN. I DARESAY THAT IF RESPONSIBLE NATIONS FULLY SUPPORT THE UNITED NATIONS, IT CAN PLAY A MORE EFFECTIVE AND IMPARTIAL ROLE IN HELPING TO RESOLVE THE PALESTINE-ISRAELI CONFLICT AS WELL. THE PRIMARY INSTRUMENTS WE HAVE USED SO FAR HAVE ALL FAILED. THEY WILL CONTINUE TO FAIL, UNLESS WE ACT RESOLUTELY AND IMPARTIALLY THROUGH THE UNITED NATIONS.

41. ONLY THE UNITED NATIONS HAS THE LEGAL AUTHORITY, IN ACCORDANCE WITH ARTICLE 39 OF THE CHARTER, TO "DETERMINE THE EXISTENCE OF ANY THREAT TO THE PEACE, BREACH OF THE PEACE, OR ACT OF AGGRESSION." ONLY THE UNITED NATIONS SHALL "DECIDE WHAT MEASURES SHALL BE TAKEN ... TO MAINTAIN OR RESTORE INTERNATIONAL PEACE AND SECURITY". NO SINGLE NATION, OR COALITION OF NATIONS, HAS THIS LEGAL RIGHT. WHEN WE UNILATERALLY ARROGATE TO OURSELVES THIS RIGHT, WE LOSE THE SYMPATHY AND SUPPORT OF THE LARGE MAJORITY OF THE NATIONS AND PEOPLES OF THE WORLD.

42. FOR THE MAJOR POWERS OF THE WORLD, AND ESPECIALLY THE LONE SUPERPOWER, THIS MOMENT OF CRISIS IS ALSO A MOMENT OF OPPORTUNITY, AS THE CHINESE WOULD SAY. CRISES CHALLENGE US TO RISE ABOVE OURSELVES AND ACCOMPLISH GREAT THINGS. CRISES CALL FOR MEN OF VISION AND EXCEPTIONAL LEADERSHIP. JUST AS WE SET OURSELVES TO TAKE A BOLD NEW COURSE IN IRAQ THAT WILL HOPEFULLY EVENTUALLY SOLVE THE PROBLEM THERE, WE SHOULD ALSO BE COURAGEOUS ENOUGH TO EMBARK UPON A NEW COURSE IN OUR STRUGGLE AGAINST TERRORISM AND IN OUR ATTEMPT TO RESOLVE THE PALESTINE-ISRAELI CONFLICT.

43. IF WE ARE ABLE TO DO THESE THREE THINGS SUCCESSFULLY, WE WILL FINALLY BE ABLE TO BRING ABOUT GREATER PEACE AND STABILITY IN THE MIDDLE EAST AND RID THE WORLD OF THE SCOURGE OF INTERNATIONAL TERRORISM. WE

WILL THEN BE ABLE TO ENJOY SOME OF THE PEACE DIVIDEND THAT WE HAD LOOKED FORWARD TO AFTER THE END OF THE COLD WAR, AND THAT HAS ELUDED US SO FAR.

THANK YOU.