

That is why this war was necessary. And that is why we must turn to building the peace with the same conviction we have brought to the battle.

Opportunity seldom arises without risk. And just as this war gives rise to a new opportunity -- and obligation -- to build an order based on law, so too it gives rise to risks we must confront with candour and conviction.

Those risks are real. There is the risk arising from deep popular resentment in the Arab world to yet another perceived intrusion by outsiders in their region. There is the risk of tension between the Arab States themselves, some of whom are with the Coalition, others of whom are not. There is the risk of continued enmity between Israel and her neighbours, a factor which Saddam Hussein has sought to cynically exploit, without success on the battlefield, but with some success in the streets. There is the risk that security will be sought in old solutions, solutions that will not work in the future any more than they have in the past -- the solutions of rearmament, of the endless pursuit of an always elusive balance of power. There is the risk that the United Nations will not be shored up, but will be shunned, treated as a cloak of convenience, a fig-leaf for national preference disguised as global principle.

We must act now to reduce those risks. That task will not be easy. Many of these problems exist not because of neglect but because of genuine difficulty. The solutions will be gradual. Many will be long-term. But we must start on that road now or history will judge our accomplishments in the Gulf as minimal -- another opportunity missed, another challenge in which we failed.

Let me start with the principles of peace. I believe four apply.

*First*, peace will only be built if it involves the nations of the region itself. An imposed peace will be an impotent peace.

*Second*, peace must be just and fair. The United Nations and international law have provided for recourse to compensation for aggression. But victory must not become a vendetta.

*Third*, a durable peace will require addressing the full spectrum of problems which plague that region. That means dealing with other conflicts -- including the Arab-Israeli conflict. That means addressing the symptoms of conflict -- the proliferation of weapons of mass destruction, the arms trade, the constant chase for spheres of influence. And that means addressing underlying causes of conflict -- the uneven