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**Collection/Office of Origin:** Speechwriting, White House Office of  
**Series:** Speech File Draft Files  
**Subseries:** Chron File, 1989-1993

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**OA/ID Number:** 13542  
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**Folder Title:**  
United Nations General Assembly Address10/1/90 [OA 5377] [1]

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Sun a.m.

**NATIONAL SECURITY COUNCIL**

Ed - Re UN speech:

Is it possible  
to put refugees  
back in the list  
of other problems (former  
Christmas tree, which  
I liked!) ? There  
are 15 million, many/  
most are children.

Nancy Dyke

McNally/Simon  
September 28, 1990  
Draft Seven (B:UN)

PRESIDENTIAL REMARKS: UNITED NATIONS GENERAL ASSEMBLY  
NEW YORK CITY  
MONDAY, OCTOBER 1, 1990, 11:40 A.M.

Mr. President. Mr. Secretary-General. Distinguished  
delegates to the United Nations:

It is a great privilege to greet you today as we begin what marks a new and historic Session of the General Assembly. My congratulations to the Honorable Guido de Marco on your election as President of the General Assembly. On a personal note, I want to say that, having witnessed the unprecedented unity and cooperation of the past two months, I have never been prouder to have once served within your ranks, and never been prouder that the U.S. is host to the U.N. \\\

45 years ago, while the fires of an epic war still raged across two oceans and two continents, a small group of men and women began a search for hope amid the ruins. They gathered in San Francisco, stepping back from the haze and the horror to try to shape a new structure that might support an ancient dream.

**Intensely idealistic, and yet tempered by war, they sought to build a new kind of bridge, a bridge between nations, a bridge that might help carry humankind from its darkest hour to its brightest day. \\\**

The founding of the United Nations embodied our deepest hopes for a peaceful world. And during the past year, we have come closer than ever before to realizing those hopes. **We've seen a century sundered by barbed threats and barbed wire give**

way to a new era of peace, cooperation, and freedom.

The Revolution of '89 swept the world almost with a life of its own, carried by a new breeze of freedom that transformed the political climate from Central Europe to Central America, and touched almost every corner of the globe.

That breeze has been sustained by a now almost universal recognition of a simple, fundamental truth: **The human spirit can't be locked up forever.** The truth is, people everywhere are motivated in much the same ways. And people everywhere want much the same things: The chance to live a life of purpose -- the chance to choose a life -- in which they and their children can learn, grow healthy, worship freely, and prosper through the work of their hands, their hearts and their minds.

We're not talking about the power of nations, but the power of individuals. The power to choose, the power to risk, the power to succeed. \\\

This is a new and different world. Not since 1945 have we seen the real possibility of using the United Nations as it was designed -- as a center for international collective security.

[[The changes in the Soviet Union have been critical to the emergence of a stronger U.N. **The U.S.-Soviet relationship is finally beyond containment and confrontation, and now we seek to fulfill the promise of mutually shared understanding.** \\\

The long twilight struggle that for 45 years has divided Europe, our two nations, and much of the world has to come to an end. Much has changed over the last two years. The Soviet Union

has taken many dramatic and important steps to again join the community of nations.

When the Soviet Union agreed with us, here in the United Nations, to condemn the aggression of Iraq, there could be no doubt that at long last, we can put four decades of history behind us.

No longer will the machinery of the United Nations be frozen by the Cold War. At long last, we can build new bridges, and tear down old walls. At long last: The cold war is over.]]

Two days from now, the world will be watching when the [cold war] is formally buried in Berlin. And in this time of testing, a fundamental question must be asked. A question not for any one nation -- but for the United Nations. And the question is this: Can we work together in a new partnership of nations? Can the collective strength of the world community, expressed by the United Nations, unite to deter and defeat aggression?

Because the [cold war's] battle of ideas is not the last epic battle of this century. Two months ago, in the waning weeks of one of history's most hopeful summers, the vast, still beauty of the peaceful Kuwaiti desert was fouled by the stench of diesel and the roar of steel tanks. Once again the sound of distant thunder echoed across a cloudless sky. And once again the world awoke to face the guns of August. \\ \\

But this time, the world was ready. The U.N. Security Council's resolute response to Iraq's unprovoked aggression has been without precedent. Since the invasion on August 2nd, the

Council has passed eight major resolutions setting the terms for a solution of the crisis.

The Iraqi regime has yet to face the facts. But as I said last month: The annexation of Kuwait will not be permitted to stand. This is not simply the view of the United States. It is the view of every Kuwaiti, the Arab league, and the United Nations. **Iraq's leaders should listen: it is Iraq against the world. \\\**

Let me take this opportunity to make the policy of my government clear. The United States supports the use of sanctions to persuade Iraq's leaders to withdraw immediately and without condition from Kuwait. We also support the provision of food for humanitarian purposes <sup>AND OF</sup> so long as distribution can be properly monitored. We have no quarrel with the people of Iraq; we do not wish for them to suffer.

We have dispatched military forces to the region to enforce sanctions; to deter and if need be defend against further aggression. We seek no advantage for ourselves. Nor do we seek to maintain our military forces in Saudi Arabia for one day longer than is necessary. U.S. forces were sent at the request of the Saudi Government; U.S. forces will depart the same way.

Let me also emphasize that we hope military forces will never have to be used. We seek a peaceful outcome -- a diplomatic outcome. And one more thing -- in the aftermath of Iraq's unconditional departure from Kuwait, I truly believe that there may be opportunities: for Iraq and Kuwait to settle their

FACTUAL  
CHANGES

MEDICINE,

differences permanently; for the states of the Gulf themselves to  
 build new arrangements for stability; and for all the states and  
 peoples of the region to settle the conflict that divides the  
 Arabs from Israel. <sup>OUR KEY TASK, NOW, FIRST AND ALWAYS</sup> But, <sup>BE TO</sup> ~~first, we must~~ demonstrate that  
 aggression will not be tolerated or rewarded.

Through the U.N. Security Council, Iraq has been judged by a  
 jury of its peers -- the very nations of the Earth. Today, the  
 regime stands isolated and out of step with the times, separated  
 from the civilized world not by space, but by centuries.

Iraq's unprovoked aggression is a throw-back to another era,  
 a dark relic from a dark time. It has plundered Kuwait,  
 terrorized innocent civilians, and held even diplomats hostage.  
 Iraq and its leaders must be held liable for these crimes of  
 abuse and destruction. But this outrageous disregard for basic  
 human rights does not come as a total surprise. Thousands of  
 Iraqis have been executed on political and religious grounds, and  
 even more through a genocidal, poison gas war waged against  
 Iraq's own Kurdish villagers.

As a world community, we must act -- not only to deter the  
 use of inhuman weapons like mustard and nerve gas -- but to  
 eliminate the weapons entirely. That is why, one year ago, I  
 came to the General Assembly with new proposals to banish these  
 terrible weapons from the face of the Earth.

I promised the United States would destroy over 98 percent  
 of its stockpile in the first eight years of a chemical weapons  
 ban treaty, and 100 percent -- all of them -- in 10 years, if all

EXPLAINS WHY  
 WITH PERSONAL  
 FIRST \*

chemical weapons-capable nations sign the treaty.

We've stood by those promises. In June, the U.S. and the Soviet Union signed a landmark agreement to halt production, and to destroy the vast majority of our stockpiles. Today, U.S. chemical weapons are being destroyed.

But time is running out. This is not a merely bilateral concern. The Gulf crisis proves how important it is to act together -- and to act now -- to conclude an absolute, worldwide ban on these weapons. We must also redouble our efforts to stem the spread of nuclear weapons, biological weapons, and the ballistic missiles that can rain destruction upon distant peoples.

The United Nations can help bring about a new day, a day when these kinds of terrible weapons -- and the terrible despots who would use them -- are both a thing of the past. It is in our hands to leave these dark machines behind, in the dark ages where they belong, and to press forward to cap a historic movement towards a new world order and a long era of peace.

We have a vision of a new partnership of nations that transcends the Cold War. A partnership based on consultation, cooperation and collective action, especially through international and regional organizations. A partnership united by principle and the Rule of Law, and supported by an equitable sharing of both cost and commitment. A partnership whose goals are to increase democracy, increase prosperity, increase the peace -- and reduce arms.

And as we look to the future, the calendar offers up a

convenient milestone, a signpost by which to measure our progress as a community of nations. \\\

The Year 2000 marks a turning point, beginning not only the turn of the decade, not only the turn of the century, but also the turn of the millennium. \\\ 45

And 10 years from now, as the 55th Session of the General Assembly begins, you will again find many of us in this Hall, our hair a bit more gray, perhaps a bit less spring in our walk. But you will not find us with any less hope or idealism, or any less confidence in the ultimate triumph of humankind. \\\

I see a world of open borders, open trade, and -- most importantly -- open minds. A world that celebrates the common heritage that belongs to all the world's people, taking pride not just in hometown or homeland but in humanity itself. \\\

I see a world touched by a spirit like that of the Olympics: Based not on competition that's driven by fear, but sought out of joy and exhilaration and a true quest for excellence. \\\

I see a world where democracy continues to win new friends and convert old foes, and where the Americas can provide a model for the future for all humankind -- the world's first completely democratic hemisphere. \\\

And I see a world building on the emerging new model of European unity. Not just Europe, but the whole world -- "whole and free." \\\

This is precisely why the present aggression in the Gulf is a menace not only to one region's security, but to the entire

FACTUAL



world's vision of our future. It threatens to turn our dream of a new international order into a grim nightmare of anarchy, in which the law of the jungle supplants the law of nations.

That is why the United Nations reacted with such historic unity and resolve. And that is why this challenge is a test we cannot afford to fail. \\\ I am confident we will prevail. Success, too, will have lasting consequences -- reinforcing civilized standards of international conduct, setting a new precedent in international cooperation, brightening the prospects for our vision of the future.

There are 10 more years until the century is out.

10 more years to put the struggles of the 20th century permanently behind us.

10 more years to help launch a new partnership of nations.

And throughout those 10 years -- and beginning now -- the U.N. has a new and vital role in building towards that partnership. Last year's General Assembly showed how we can make greater progress towards a more pragmatic and successful U.N.

And, for the first time, the U.N. Security Council is beginning

to work as it was designed to work, *Now is the time to set aside old debates, old procedures, old controversies and old resolutions, now is the*

We have shown that the U.N. can count on the collective strength of the international community. We have shown that the U.N. can rise to the challenge of aggression, as its founders hoped it would. And now in this time of testing, we must also show that the U.N. is the place to build international support and consensus for meeting the other challenges we face.

TO BUILD A NEW DECADE OF COOPERATION AND COURAGE.

HOPE IS  
PACIFISM  
ILLUSION.

The world remains a dangerous place. And our security and well-being often depends, in part, on events occurring far away. We need serious international cooperative efforts to make headway on threats to the environment, on terrorism, on managing the debt burden, on fighting the scourge of international drug trafficking, and on peace-keeping efforts around the world.

But the world also remains a hopeful place. Calls for democracy and human rights are being reborn everywhere. These calls are an expression of support for the values enshrined in the U.N. Charter. They encourage our hopes for a more stable, more peaceful, more prosperous world.

Free elections are the foundation of democratic government, and can produce dramatic successes, as we have seen in Namibia and Nicaragua. And the time has come to structure the U.N. role in such efforts more formally. And so today, I propose that the United Nations establish a Special Coordinator for Electoral Assistance, to be assisted by a U.N. Electoral Commission comprised of distinguished experts from around the world.

As with free elections, we also believe that universal U.N. membership for all States is central to the future of this Organization, and to the new partnership we've discussed. In support of this principle, and in conjunction with U.N. efforts to reduce regional tensions, the United States fully supports U.N. membership for the Republic of Korea. We do so without prejudice to the ultimate objective of reunification of the Korean peninsula, and without opposition to simultaneous

membership for the Democratic People's Republic of Korea.

Building on these and other initiatives, we must join together in a new compact -- all of us -- to bring the United Nations into the 21st Century. And I call today for a major, long-term effort to do this. We should build on the success of our distinguished Secretary-General, my long-time friend and colleague, Javier Perez de Cuellar. We should strive for greater effectiveness and efficiency of the U.N.

The United States is committed to playing its part. We offer our continuing leadership, helping to maintain global security, promoting democracy and prosperity. My Administration is fully committed to supporting the United Nations, and to paying what we are obliged to pay by our commitment to the Charter. International peace and security -- and international freedom and prosperity -- require no less. \\\

The world must know and understand: From this hour, from this day, from this hall -- we step forth with a new sense of purpose, a new sense of possibilities. We stand together, prepared to swim upstream, to march uphill, to tackle the tough challenges as they come -- not only as the United Nations -- but as the nations of the world united. \\\

Let it be said of the final decade of the 20th Century: This was a time when humankind came into its own. When we emerged from the grit and the smoke of the industrial age to bring about a revolution of the spirit and of the mind, and began

a journey into a new day, a new age, and a new partnership of nations. \\

The U.N. is now fulfilling its promise as the world's parliament of peace. I congratulate you. I support you. And I wish you Godspeed in the challenges ahead.

Thank you.

# # #

McNally/Simon  
September 28, 1990  
Draft Seven (B:UN)

*No mention  
of 2/24/90  
12/24/90??*

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visions that plagued us during (plagued)

Two days from now, the world will be watching when the [cold war] is formally buried in Berlin. And in this time of testing, a fundamental question must be asked. A question not for any one nation -- but for the United Nations. And the question is this: Can we work together in a new partnership of nations? Can the collective strength of the world community, expressed by the United Nations, unite to deter and defeat aggression?

we will be able to build a new world based on an event for which we have all hoped -- an end to the cold war.

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But this time, the world was ready. The U.N. Security Council's resolute response to Iraq's unprovoked aggression has been without precedent. Since the invasion on August 2nd, the

Council has passed eight major resolutions setting the terms for a solution of the crisis.

The Iraqi regime has yet to face the facts. But as I said last month: The annexation of Kuwait will not be permitted to stand. This is not simply the view of the United States. It is the view of every Kuwaiti, the Arab league, and the United Nations. Iraq's leaders should listen: it is Iraq against the world. \\\

Let me take this opportunity to make the policy of my government clear. The United States supports the use of sanctions to <sup>compel</sup> ~~persuade~~ Iraq's leaders to withdraw immediately and without condition from Kuwait. We also support the provision of food for humanitarian purposes, so long as distribution can be properly monitored. ~~We have no~~ <sup>There is not</sup> quarrel with the people of Iraq;

~~We do not wish for them to suffer.~~ <sup>A world's</sup> ~~There is a~~ <sup>quarrel is with</sup> ~~the dictator who ordered the invasion.~~ We have dispatched military forces to the region to enforce sanctions; to deter and if need be defend against further aggression. We seek no advantage for ourselves. Nor do we seek to maintain our military forces in Saudi Arabia for one day longer than is necessary. U.S. forces were sent at the request

of the Saudi Government; ~~U.S. forces will depart the same way.~~ <sup>The American people & this President want every single</sup>

Let me also emphasize that we hope military forces will never have to be used. We seek a peaceful outcome -- a diplomatic outcome. And one more thing -- in the aftermath of Iraq's unconditional departure from Kuwait, I truly believe that there may be opportunities: for Iraq and Kuwait to settle their

→  
x story with other

American soldiers brought home as soon as their mission is complete

differences permanently; for the states of the Gulf themselves to build new arrangements for stability; and for all the states and peoples of the region to settle the conflict that divides the Arabs from Israel. **But, first, we must demonstrate that aggression will not be tolerated or rewarded.**

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Iraq's unprovoked aggression is a throw-back to another era, a dark relic from a dark time. It has plundered Kuwait, terrorized innocent civilians, and held even diplomats hostage. Iraq and its leaders must be held liable for these crimes of abuse and destruction. But this outrageous disregard for basic human rights does not come as a total surprise. Thousands of Iraqis have been executed on political and religious grounds, and even more through a genocidal, poison gas war waged against Iraq's own Kurdish villagers.

As a world community, we must act -- not only to deter the use of inhuman weapons like mustard and nerve gas -- but to eliminate the weapons entirely. That is why, one year ago, I came to the General Assembly with new proposals to banish these terrible weapons from the face of the Earth.

I promised the United States would destroy over 98 percent of its stockpile in the first eight years of a chemical weapons ban treaty, and 100 percent -- all of them -- in 10 years, if all

chemical weapons-capable nations sign the treaty.

We've stood by those promises. In June, the U.S. and the Soviet Union signed a landmark agreement to halt production, and to destroy the vast majority of our stockpiles. Today, U.S. chemical weapons are being destroyed, even as we meet.

But time is running out. This is not a merely bilateral concern. The Gulf crisis proves how important it is to act together -- and to act now -- to conclude an absolute, worldwide ban on these weapons. We must also redouble our efforts to stem the spread of nuclear weapons, biological weapons, and the ballistic missiles that can rain destruction upon distant peoples.

The United Nations can help bring about a new day, a day when these kinds of terrible weapons -- and the terrible despots who would use them -- are both a thing of the past. It is in our hands to leave these dark machines behind, in the dark ages where they belong, and to press forward to cap a historic movement towards a new world order and a long era of peace.

We have a vision of a new partnership of nations that transcends the Cold War. A partnership based on consultation, cooperation and collective action, especially through international and regional organizations. A partnership united by principle and the Rule of Law, and supported by an equitable sharing of both cost and commitment. A partnership whose goals are to increase democracy, increase prosperity, increase the peace -- and reduce arms.

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convenient milestone, a signpost by which to measure our progress as a community of nations. \\\

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I see a world touched by a spirit like that of the Olympics: Based not on competition that's driven by fear, but sought out of joy and exhilaration and a true quest for excellence. \\\

I see a world where democracy continues to win new friends and convert old foes, and where the Americas <sup>North, Central and South</sup> can provide a model for the future for all humankind -- the world's first completely democratic hemisphere. \\\

And I see a world building on the emerging new model of European unity. Not just Europe, but the whole world -- "whole and free." \\\

This is precisely why the present aggression in the Gulf is a menace not only to one region's security, but to the entire

world's vision of our future. It threatens to turn our dream of a new international order into a grim nightmare of anarchy, in which the law of the jungle supplants the law of nations.

That is why the United Nations reacted with such historic unity and resolve. And that is why this challenge is a test we cannot afford to fail. \\\ I am confident we will prevail. Success, too, will have lasting consequences -- reinforcing civilized standards of international conduct, setting a new precedent in international cooperation, brightening the prospects for our vision of the future.

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10 more years to help launch a new partnership of nations.

And throughout those 10 years -- and beginning now -- the U.N. has a new and vital role in building towards that partnership. Last year's General Assembly showed how we can make greater progress towards a more pragmatic and successful U.N. And, for the first time, the U.N. Security Council is beginning to work as it was designed to work.

We have shown that the U.N. can count on the collective strength of the international community. We have shown that the U.N. can rise to the challenge of aggression, as its founders hoped it would. And now in this time of testing, we must also show that the U.N. is the place to build international support and consensus for meeting the other challenges we face.

The world remains a dangerous place. And our security and well-being often depends, in part, on events occurring far away. We need serious international cooperative efforts to make headway on threats to the environment, on terrorism, on managing the debt burden, on fighting the scourge of international drug trafficking, and on peace-keeping efforts around the world.

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Free elections are the foundation of democratic government, and can produce dramatic successes, as we have seen in Namibia and Nicaragua. And the time has come to structure the U.N. role in such efforts more formally. And so today, I propose that the United Nations establish a Special Coordinator for Electoral Assistance, to be assisted by a U.N. Electoral Commission comprised of distinguished experts from around the world.

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membership for the Democratic People's Republic of Korea.

Building on these and other initiatives, we must join together in a new compact -- all of us -- to bring the United Nations into the 21st Century. And I call today for a major, long-term effort to do this. We should build on the success of our distinguished Secretary-General, my long-time friend and colleague, Javier Perez de Cuellar. We should strive for greater effectiveness and efficiency of the U.N.

The United States is committed to playing its part. We offer <sup>a</sup> ~~our~~ <sup>partnership (?)</sup> ~~continued leadership~~, helping to maintain global security, promoting democracy and prosperity. My Administration is fully committed to supporting the United Nations, and to paying what we are obliged to pay by our commitment to the Charter. International peace and security -- and international freedom and prosperity -- require no less. \\\

The world must know and understand: From this hour, from this day, from this hall -- we step forth with a new sense of purpose, a new sense of possibilities. We stand together, prepared to swim upstream, to march uphill, to tackle the tough challenges as they come -- not only as the United Nations -- but as the nations of the world united. \\\

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Thank you.

# # #

THE WHITE HOUSE  
WASHINGTON

September 28, 1990

MEMORANDUM FOR THE PRESIDENT

THROUGH: CHRISS WINSTON *CW*  
FROM: EDWARD E. McNALLY *EM*  
SUBJECT: ADDRESS TO THE U.N. GENERAL ASSEMBLY

I. SUMMARY

On Monday, October 1, at 11:40 a.m., you will address the 45th U.N. General Assembly. This draft was prepared with guidance from General Scowcroft, Ambassador Pickering, the State Department, Richard Haass, Nancy Dyke and other NSC staff.

II. DISCUSSION

This address (20 minutes, on teleprompter) builds on your remarks in Helsinki, to the Joint Session of Congress, and at the World Bank, calling for the world to move beyond containment and the cold war to the "new partnership of nations" you've proposed.

The remarks praise the U.N., calling for a key role in building the new partnership over the coming years. It includes particular praise for the U.N.'s response to the Gulf crisis, and renews last year's call for abolishing chemical weapons. The draft also includes two new proposals: a U.N. Electoral Commission, and U.N. membership for the Republic of Korea.

The U.N. speech also marks our last opportunity -- and our best opportunity -- to say that "the cold war is over" -- a predictable "headline" likely to resonate clear on into 1992.

It's the right thing to say because it matches the mood of the times, the theme of your speech, and your vision of a new partnership of nations. And it forthrightly acknowledges what we have already as much as said -- and what everyone recognizes is a reality.

It's the last opportunity because most observers will mark German reunification on Oct. 3 as the formal end of the cold war era. And it's the best opportunity because it's before not only "a" world forum, but the world forum -- one we've asked to play a key part in reintegrating the Soviet Union into the community of nations. For these reasons, we've [bracketed] for your consideration the "cold war is over" language that you looked at for the Joint Session of Congress speech. (Please see the bottom of page two and the top of page three.)

McNally/Simon  
September 28, 1990  
Draft Seven (B:UN)

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Mr. President. Mr. Secretary-General. Distinguished  
delegates to the United Nations:

It is a great privilege to greet you today as we begin what marks a new and historic Session of the General Assembly. My congratulations to the Honorable Guido de Marco on your election as President of the General Assembly. On a personal note, I want to say that, having witnessed the unprecedented unity and cooperation of the past two months, I have never been prouder to have once served within your ranks, and never been prouder that the U.S. is host to the U.N. \\

45 years ago, while the fires of an epic war still raged across two oceans and two continents, a small group of men and women began a search for hope amid the ruins. They gathered in San Francisco, stepping back from the haze and the horror to try to shape a new structure that might support an ancient dream.

Intensely idealistic, and yet tempered by war, they sought to build a new kind of bridge, a bridge between nations, a bridge that might help carry humankind from its darkest hour to its brightest day. \\

The founding of the United Nations embodied our deepest hopes for a peaceful world. And during the past year, we have come closer than ever before to realizing those hopes. We've seen a century sundered by barbed threats and barbed wire give

way to a new era of peace, cooperation, and freedom.

The Revolution of '89 swept the world almost with a life of its own, carried by a new breeze of freedom that transformed the political climate from Central Europe to Central America, and touched almost every corner of the globe.

That breeze has been sustained by a now almost universal recognition of a simple, fundamental truth: The human spirit can't be locked up forever. The truth is, people everywhere are motivated in much the same ways. And people everywhere want much the same things: The chance to live a life of purpose -- the chance to choose a life -- in which they and their children can learn, grow healthy, worship freely, and prosper through the work of their hands, their hearts and their minds.

We're not talking about the power of nations, but the power of individuals. The power to choose, the power to risk, the power to succeed. \\\

This is a new and different world. Not since 1945 have we seen the real possibility of using the United Nations as it was designed -- as a center for international collective security.

[[The changes in the Soviet Union have been critical to the emergence of a stronger U.N. The U.S.-Soviet relationship is finally beyond containment and confrontation, and now we seek to fulfill the promise of mutually shared understanding. \\\

The long twilight struggle that for 45 years has divided Europe, our two nations, and much of the world has to come to an end. Much has changed over the last two years. The Soviet Union

has taken many dramatic and important steps to again join the community of nations.

When the Soviet Union agreed with us, here in the United Nations, to condemn the aggression of Iraq, there could be no doubt that at long last, we can put four decades of history behind us.

No longer will the machinery of the United Nations be frozen by the Cold War. At long last, we can build new bridges, and tear down old walls. At long last: The cold war is over.]]

Two days from now, the world will be watching when the [cold war] is formally buried in Berlin. And in this time of testing, a fundamental question must be asked. A question not for any one nation -- but for the United Nations. And the question is this: Can we work together in a new partnership of nations? Can the collective strength of the world community, expressed by the United Nations, unite to deter and defeat aggression?

Because the [cold war's] battle of ideas is not the last epic battle of this century. Two months ago, in the waning weeks of one of history's most hopeful summers, the vast, still beauty of the peaceful Kuwaiti desert was fouled by the stench of diesel and the roar of steel tanks. Once again the sound of distant thunder echoed across a cloudless sky. And once again the world awoke to face the guns of August. \\\

But this time, the world was ready. The U.N. Security Council's resolute response to Iraq's unprovoked aggression has been without precedent. Since the invasion on August 2nd, the

Council has passed eight major resolutions setting the terms for a solution of the crisis.

The Iraqi regime has yet to face the facts. But as I said last month: The annexation of Kuwait will not be permitted to stand. This is not simply the view of the United States. It is the view of every Kuwaiti, the Arab league, and the United Nations. Iraq's leaders should listen: it is Iraq against the world. \\\

Let me take this opportunity to make the policy of my government clear. The United States supports the use of sanctions to persuade Iraq's leaders to withdraw immediately and without condition from Kuwait. We also support the provision of food for humanitarian purposes, so long as distribution can be properly monitored. We have no quarrel with the people of Iraq; we do not wish for them to suffer.

We have dispatched military forces to the region to enforce sanctions; to deter and if need be defend against further aggression. We seek no advantage for ourselves. Nor do we seek to maintain our military forces in Saudi Arabia for one day longer than is necessary. U.S. forces were sent at the request of the Saudi Government; U.S. forces will depart the same way.

Let me also emphasize that we hope military forces will never have to be used. We seek a peaceful outcome -- a diplomatic outcome. And one more thing -- in the aftermath of Iraq's unconditional departure from Kuwait, I truly believe that there may be opportunities: for Iraq and Kuwait to settle their

differences permanently; for the states of the Gulf themselves to build new arrangements for stability; and for all the states and peoples of the region to settle the conflict that divides the Arabs from Israel. **But, first, we must demonstrate that aggression will not be tolerated or rewarded.**

Through the U.N. Security Council, Iraq has been judged by a jury of its peers -- the very nations of the Earth. Today, the regime stands isolated and out of step with the times, separated from the civilized world not by space, but by centuries.

Iraq's unprovoked aggression is a throw-back to another era, a dark relic from a dark time. It has plundered Kuwait, terrorized innocent civilians, and held even diplomats hostage. Iraq and its leaders must be held liable for these crimes of abuse and destruction. But this outrageous disregard for basic human rights does not come as a total surprise. Thousands of Iraqis have been executed on political and religious grounds, and even more through a genocidal, poison gas war waged against Iraq's own Kurdish villagers.

As a world community, we must act -- not only to deter the use of inhuman weapons like mustard and nerve gas -- but to eliminate the weapons entirely. That is why, one year ago, I came to the General Assembly with new proposals to banish these terrible weapons from the face of the Earth.

I promised the United States would destroy over 98 percent of its stockpile in the first eight years of a chemical weapons ban treaty, and 100 percent -- all of them -- in 10 years, if all

chemical weapons-capable nations sign the treaty.

We've stood by those promises. In June, the U.S. and the Soviet Union signed a landmark agreement to halt production, and to destroy the vast majority of our stockpiles. Today, U.S. chemical weapons are being destroyed, [even as we meet.] — *delete*

But time is running out. This is not a merely bilateral concern. The Gulf crisis proves how important it is to act together -- and to act now -- to conclude an absolute, worldwide ban on these weapons. We must also redouble our efforts to stem the spread of nuclear weapons, biological weapons, and the ballistic missiles that can rain destruction upon distant peoples.

The United Nations can help bring about a new day, a day when these kinds of terrible weapons -- and the terrible despots who would use them -- are both a thing of the past. It is in our hands to leave these dark machines behind, in the dark ages where they belong, and to press forward to cap a historic movement towards a new world order and a long era of peace.

We have a vision of a new partnership of nations that transcends the Cold War. A partnership based on consultation, cooperation and collective action, especially through international and regional organizations. A partnership united by principle and the Rule of Law, and supported by an equitable sharing of both cost and commitment. A partnership whose goals are to increase democracy, increase prosperity, increase the peace -- and reduce arms.

And as we look to the future, the calendar offers up a

convenient milestone, a signpost by which to measure our progress as a community of nations. \\\

The Year 2000 marks a turning point, beginning not only the turn of the decade, not only the turn of the century, but also the turn of the millennium. \\\

And 10 years from now, as the 55th Session of the General Assembly begins, you will again find many of us in this Hall, our hair a bit more gray, perhaps a bit less spring in our walk. But you will not find us with any less hope or idealism, or any less confidence in the ultimate triumph of humankind. \\\

I see a world of open borders, open trade, and -- most importantly -- open minds. A world that celebrates the common heritage that belongs to all the world's people, taking pride not just in hometown or homeland but in humanity itself. \\\

I see a world touched by a spirit like that of the Olympics: Based not on competition that's driven by fear, but sought out of joy and exhilaration and a true quest for excellence. \\\

I see a world where democracy continues to win new friends and convert old foes, and where the Americas can provide a model for the future for all humankind -- the world's first completely democratic hemisphere. \\\

And I see a world building on the emerging new model of European unity. Not just Europe, but the whole world -- "whole and free." \\\

This is precisely why the present aggression in the Gulf is a menace not only to one region's security, but to the entire

world's vision of our future. It threatens to turn our dream of a new international order into a grim nightmare of anarchy, in which the law of the jungle supplants the law of nations.

That is why the United Nations reacted with such historic unity and resolve. And that is why this challenge is a test we cannot afford to fail. \\ I am confident we will prevail. Success, too, will have lasting consequences -- reinforcing civilized standards of international conduct, setting a new precedent in international cooperation, brightening the prospects for our vision of the future.

There are 10 more years until the century is out.

10 more years to put the struggles of the 20th century permanently behind us.

10 more years to help launch a new partnership of nations.

And throughout those 10 years -- and beginning now -- the U.N. has a new and vital role in building towards that partnership. Last year's General Assembly showed how we can make greater progress towards a more pragmatic and successful U.N. And, for the first time, the U.N. Security Council is beginning to work as it was designed to work.

We have shown that the U.N. can count on the collective strength of the international community. We have shown that the U.N. can rise to the challenge of aggression, as its founders hoped it would. And now in this time of testing, we must also show that the U.N. is the place to build international support and consensus for meeting the other challenges we face.

The world remains a dangerous place. And our security and well-being often depends, in part, on events occurring far away. We need serious international cooperative efforts to make headway on threats to the environment, on terrorism, on managing the debt burden, on fighting the scourge of international drug trafficking, and on peace-keeping efforts around the world.

But the world also remains a hopeful place. Calls for democracy and human rights are being reborn everywhere. These calls are an expression of support for the values enshrined in the U.N. Charter. They encourage our hopes for a more stable, more peaceful, more prosperous world.

Free elections are the foundation of democratic government, and can produce dramatic successes, as we have seen in Namibia and Nicaragua. And the time has come to structure the U.N. role in such efforts more formally. And so today, I propose that the United Nations establish a Special Coordinator for Electoral Assistance, to be assisted by a U.N. Electoral Commission comprised of distinguished experts from around the world.

As with free elections, we also believe that universal U.N. membership for all States is central to the future of this Organization, and to the new partnership we've discussed. In support of this principle, and in conjunction with U.N. efforts to reduce regional tensions, the United States fully supports U.N. membership for the Republic of Korea. We do so without prejudice to the ultimate objective of reunification of the Korean peninsula, and without opposition to simultaneous

membership for the Democratic People's Republic of Korea.

Building on these and other initiatives, we must join together in a new compact -- all of us -- to bring the United Nations into the 21st Century. And I call today for a major, long-term effort to do this. We should build on the success of our distinguished Secretary-General, my long-time friend and colleague, Javier Perez de Cuellar. We should strive for greater effectiveness and efficiency of the U.N.

The United States is committed to playing its part. We offer our continuing leadership, helping to maintain global security, promoting democracy and prosperity. My Administration is fully committed to supporting the United Nations, and to paying what we are obliged to pay by our commitment to the Charter. International peace and security -- and international freedom and prosperity -- require no less. \\\

The world must know and understand: From this hour, from this day, from this hall -- we step forth with a new sense of purpose, a new sense of possibilities. We stand together, prepared to swim upstream, to march uphill, to tackle the tough challenges as they come -- not only as the United Nations -- but as the nations of the world united. \\\

Let it be said of the final decade of the 20th Century: This was a time when humankind came into its own. When we emerged from the grit and the smoke of the industrial age to bring about a revolution of the spirit and of the mind, and began

a journey into a new day, a new age, and a new partnership of nations. - \\

The U.N. is now fulfilling its promise as the world's parliament of peace. I congratulate you. I support you. And I wish you Godspeed in the challenges ahead.

Thank you.

# # #

## THE WHITE HOUSE

Office of the Press Secretary.  
(New York, New York)

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For Immediate Release

October 1, 1990

REMARKS BY THE PRESIDENT  
TO THE UNITED NATIONS GENERAL ASSEMBLY

The United Nations Building  
New York, New York

11:44 A.M. EDT

THE PRESIDENT: Mr. President, thank you very much. Mr. Secretary General, distinguished delegates to the United Nations:

It is really a great privilege to greet you today as we begin what marks a new and historic session of the General Assembly. My congratulations to the Honorable Guido de Marco on your election, sir, as President of the General Assembly. And on a personal note, I want to say that, having witnessed the unprecedented unity and cooperation of the past two months, that I have never been prouder to have once served within your ranks, and never been prouder that the United States is the host country for the United Nations. (Applause.)

Forty-five years ago, while the fires of an epic war still raged across two oceans and two continents, a small group of men and women began a search for hope amid the ruins. And they gathered in San Francisco, stepping back from the haze and horror, to try to shape a new structure that might support an ancient dream.

Intensely idealistic, and yet tempered by war, they sought to build a new kind of bridge, a bridge between nations, a bridge that might help carry humankind from its darkest hour to its brightest day.

The founding of the United Nations embodied our deepest hopes for a peaceful world. And during the past year, we've come closer than ever before to realizing those hopes. We've seen a century sundered by barbed threats and barbed wire give way to a new era of peace and competition and freedom.

The Revolution of '89 swept the world almost with a life of its own, carried by a new breeze of freedom. It transformed the political climate from Central Europe to Central America, and touched almost every corner of the globe.

That breeze has been sustained by a now almost universal recognition of a simple, fundamental truth: The human spirit cannot be locked up forever. The truth is, people everywhere are motivated in much the same ways. And people everywhere want much the same things: the chance to live a life of purpose; the chance to choose a life in which they and their children can learn, and grow healthy, worship freely, and prosper through the work of their hands and their hearts and their minds.

We're not talking about the power of nations, but the power of individuals. The power to choose, the power to risk, the power to succeed.

This is a new and different world. Not since 1945 have we seen the real possibility of using the United Nations as it was designed -- as a center for international collective security.

MORE

The changes in the Soviet Union have been critical to the emergence of a stronger United Nations. The U.S.-Soviet relationship is finally beyond containment and confrontation, and now we seek to fulfill the promise of mutually shared understanding.

The long twilight struggle that for 45 years has divided Europe, our two nations, and much of the world has come to an end. Much has changed over the last two years. The Soviet Union has taken many dramatic and important steps to participate fully in the community of nations.

And when the Soviet Union agreed with so many of us here in the United Nations to condemn the aggression of Iraq, there could be no doubt -- no doubt then -- that we had, indeed, put four decades of history behind us.

We are hopeful that the machinery of the United Nations will no longer be frozen by the divisions that plagued us during the Cold War. That at last -- long last -- we can build new bridges and tear down old walls. That at long last we will be able to build a new world based on an event for which we have all hoped -- an end to the Cold War.

Two days from now, the world will be watching when the Cold War is formally buried in Berlin. And in this time of testing, a fundamental question must be asked. A question not for any one nation -- but for the United Nations. And the question is this: Can we work together in a new partnership of nations? Can the collective strength of the world community, expressed by the United Nations, unite to deter and defeat aggression? Because the Cold War's battle of ideas is not the last epic battle of this century.

Two months ago, in the waning weeks of one of history's most hopeful summers, the vast, still beauty of the peaceful Kuwaiti desert was fouled by the stench of diesel and the roar of steel tanks. Once again the sound of distant thunder echoed across a cloudless sky. And once again the world awoke to face the guns of August.

But this time, the world was ready. The United Nations Security Council's resolute response to Iraq's unprovoked aggression has been without precedent. Since the invasion on August 2nd, the Council has passed eight major resolutions setting the terms for a solution to the crisis.

The Iraqi regime has yet to face the facts. But as I said last month, the annexation of Kuwait will not be permitted to stand. (Applause.) And this is not simply the view of the United States. It is the view of every Kuwaiti, the Arab League, the United Nations. Iraq's leaders should listen: It is Iraq against the world.

Let me take this opportunity to make the policy of my government clear. The United States supports the use of sanctions to compel Iraq's leaders to withdraw immediately and without condition from Kuwait. We also support the provision of medicine and food for humanitarian purposes, so long as distribution can be properly monitored. Our quarrel is not with the people of Iraq. We do not wish for them to suffer. The world's quarrel is with the dictator who ordered that invasion.

Along with others, we have dispatched military forces to the region to enforce sanctions, to deter and, if need be, defend against further aggression. And we seek no advantage for ourselves; nor do we seek to maintain our military forces in Saudi Arabia for one day longer than is necessary. U.S. forces were sent at the request of the Saudi government. And the American people, and this President, want every single American soldier brought home as soon as this mission is completed.

Let me also emphasize that all of us here at the U.N. hope that military force will never be used. We seek a peaceful

outcome -- a diplomatic outcome. And one more thing: in the aftermath of Iraq's unconditional departure from Kuwait, I truly believe there may be opportunities -- for Iraq and Kuwait to settle their differences permanently; for the states of the Gulf themselves to build new arrangements for stability; and for all the states and the peoples of the region to settle the conflicts that divide the Arabs from Israel. But, the world's key task -- now, first and always -- must be to demonstrate that aggression will not be tolerated or rewarded.

Through the U.N. Security Council, Iraq has been judged -- fairly judged by a jury of its peers, the very nations of the Earth. Today, the regime stands isolated and out of step with the times, separated from the civilized world not by space, but by centuries.

Iraq's unprovoked aggression is a throwback to another era, a dark relic from a dark time. It has plundered Kuwait; it has terrorized innocent civilians; it has held even diplomats hostage. Iraq and its leaders must be held liable for these crimes of abuse and destruction. But this outrageous disregard for basic human rights does not come as a total surprise. Thousands of Iraqis have been executed on political and religious grounds, and even more through a genocidal, poison gas war waged against Iraq's own Kurdish villagers.

As a world community, we must act -- not only to deter the use of inhumane weapons like mustard and nerve gas -- but to eliminate the weapons entirely. And that is why, one year ago, I came to the General Assembly with new proposals to banish these terrible weapons from the face of the Earth.

I promised that the United States would destroy over 98 percent of its stockpile in the first eight years of a chemical weapons ban treaty, and 100 percent -- all of them -- in 10 years, if all nations with chemical weapons capabilities -- chemical weapons signed the treaty.

We've stood by those promises. In June, the United States and the Soviet Union signed a landmark agreement to halt production and to destroy the vast majority of our stockpiles. Today, U.S. chemical weapons are being destroyed.

But time is running out. This isn't merely a bilateral concern. The Gulf crisis proves how important it is to act together, and to act now, to conclude an absolute, worldwide ban on these weapons. We must also redouble our efforts to stem the spread of nuclear weapons, biological weapons and the ballistic missiles that can rain destruction upon distant peoples.

The United Nations can help bring about a new day, a day when these kinds of terrible weapons, and the terrible despots who would use them, are both a thing of the past. It is in our hands to leave these dark machines behind, in the Dark Ages where they belong, and to press forward to cap a historic movement towards a new world order and a long era of peace.

We have a vision of a new partnership of nations that transcends the Cold War. A partnership based on consultation, cooperation and collective action, especially through international and regional organizations. A partnership united by principle and the rule of law and supported by an equitable sharing of both cost and commitment. A partnership whose goals are to increase democracy, increase prosperity, increase the peace and reduce arms.

And as we look to the future, the calendar offers up a convenient milestone, a signpost by which to measure our progress as a community of nations.

The year 2000 marks a turning point, beginning not only the turn of the decade, not only the turn of the century, but also the turn of the millennium.

And 10 years from now, as the 55th session of the General Assembly begins, you will again find many of us in this hall, hair a bit more gray perhaps, maybe a little less spring in our walk. But you will not find us with any less hope or idealism or any less confidence in the ultimate triumph of mankind.

I see a world of open borders, open trade and, most importantly, open minds. A world that celebrates the common heritage that belongs to all the world's people taking pride not just in hometown or homeland but in humanity itself.

I see a world touched by a spirit like that of the Olympics -- based not on competition that's driven by fear, but sought out of joy and exhilaration and a true quest for excellence.

And I see a world where democracy continues to win new friends and convert old foes and where the Americas, North, Central and South, can provide a model for the future of all humankind; the world's first completely democratic hemisphere.

And I see a world building on the emerging new model of European unity. Not just Europe, but the whole world whole and free.

This is precisely why the present aggression in the Gulf is a menace not only to one region's security, but to the entire world's vision of our future. It threatens to turn the dream of a new international order into a grim nightmare of anarchy in which the law of the jungle supplants the law of nations.

And that's why the United Nations reacted with such historic unity and resolve. And that's why this challenge is a test that we cannot afford to fail. I am confident we will prevail. Success, too, will have lasting consequences -- reinforcing civilized standards of international conduct, setting a new precedent in international cooperation, brightening the prospects for our vision of the future.

There are 10 more years until this century is out. Ten more years to put the struggles of the 20th century permanently behind us. Ten more years to help launch a new partnership of nations. And throughout those 10 years, and beginning now, the United Nations has a new and vital role in building towards that partnership. Last year's General Assembly showed how we can make greater progress toward a more pragmatic and successful United Nations. And, for the first time, the U.N. Security Council is beginning to work as it was designed to work.

And now is the time to set aside old and counterproductive debates and procedures and controversies and resolutions. It's time to replace polemic attacks with pragmatic action.

And we've shown that the U.N. can count on the collective strength of the international community. We've shown that the U.N. can rise to the challenge of aggression just as its founders hoped that it would. And now is the time of testing. And we must also show that the United Nations is the place to build international support and consensus for meeting the other challenges we face.

The world remains a dangerous place. And our security and well-being often depends, in part, on events occurring far away. We need serious international cooperative efforts to make headway on the threats to the environment, on terrorism, on managing the debt burden, on fighting the scourge of international drug trafficking and on refugees and peace-keeping efforts around the world.

But the world also remains a hopeful place. Calls for democracy and human rights are being reborn everywhere. And these calls are an expression of support for the values enshrined in the United Nations Charter. They encourage our hopes for a more stable, more peaceful, more prosperous world.

Free elections are the foundation of democratic government and can produce dramatic successes, as we have seen in Namibia and Nicaragua. And the time has come to structure the U.N. role in such efforts more formally. And so today, I propose that the U.N. establish a Special Coordinator for Electoral Assistance, to be assisted by a U.N. Electoral Commission comprised of distinguished experts from around the world.

As with free elections, we also believe that universal U.N. membership for all states is central to the future of this organization, and to this new partnership we've discussed. In support of this principle, and in conjunction with U.N. efforts to reduce regional tensions, the United States fully supports U.N. membership for the Republic of Korea. We do so without prejudice to the ultimate objective of reunification of the Korean Peninsula and without opposition to simultaneous membership for the Democratic People's Republic of Korea. (Applause.)

Building on these and other initiatives, we must join together in a new compact -- all of us -- to bring the United Nations into the 21st century. And I call today for a major long-term effort to do so. We should build on the success -- the admirable success -- of our distinguished Secretary General, my longtime friend and yours, my longtime colleague I might also say, Javier Perez de Cuellar. We should strive for greater effectiveness and efficiency of the United Nations.

The United States is committed to playing its part, helping to maintain global security, promoting democracy and prosperity. And my administration is fully committed to supporting the United Nations and to paying what we are obliged to pay by our commitment to the Charter. International peace and security -- and international freedom and prosperity -- require no less.

The world must know and understand: From this hour, from this day, from this hall, we step forth with a new sense of purpose, a new sense of possibilities. We stand together, prepared to swim upstream, to march uphill, to tackle the tough challenges as they come -- not only as the United Nations, but as the nations of the world united.

And so let it be said of the final decade of the 20th century, this was a time when humankind came into its own. When we emerged from the grit and the smoke of the industrial age to bring about a revolution of the spirit and the mind, and began a journey into a new day, a new age, and a new partnership of nations.

The U.N. is now fulfilling its promise as the world's parliament of peace. And I congratulate you. I support you. And I wish you Godspeed in the challenges ahead.

Thank you very, very much. (Applause.)

END

12:09 P.M. EDT

CW:

Here's an NSC staff mark-up. My guess is that Brent hasn't yet had a chance to sign off on it. But it gives you some idea where folks here are coming from.

Again, I would ax much of what is now in from the middle of page 8 onwards...it really does read like a christmas tree and in the process dilutes our message and our priorities.

peace until you.

RH

ps...i'll only be here until 5:30 today given the holiday that starts at sundown...so get in touch before then if any questions come up.

→ Haass / Charles 7689

**CLOSE HOLD**

Document No. 177903

**WHITE HOUSE STAFFING MEMORANDUM**

DATE: 09/26/90 ACTION/CONCURRENCE/COMMENT DUE BY: 4:00 p.m. 09/27

SUBJECT: PRESIDENTIAL REMARKS: UNITED NATIONS GENERAL ASSEMBLY  
(09/26 draft four)

|                      | ACTION FYI                          |                                     |                | ACTION FYI                          |                                     |
|----------------------|-------------------------------------|-------------------------------------|----------------|-------------------------------------|-------------------------------------|
| VICE PRESIDENT       | <input type="checkbox"/>            | <input checked="" type="checkbox"/> | MCCLURE        | <input type="checkbox"/>            | <input checked="" type="checkbox"/> |
| SUNUNU               | <input type="checkbox"/>            | <input checked="" type="checkbox"/> | NEWMAN         | <input type="checkbox"/>            | <input type="checkbox"/>            |
| <del>SCOWCROFT</del> | <input checked="" type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/>            | PORTER         | <input checked="" type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/>            |
| DARMAN               | <input checked="" type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/>            | ROGICH         | <input type="checkbox"/>            | <input checked="" type="checkbox"/> |
| CARD                 | <input type="checkbox"/>            | <input checked="" type="checkbox"/> | UNTERMAYER     | <input type="checkbox"/>            | <input type="checkbox"/>            |
| CICCONI              | <input type="checkbox"/>            | <input checked="" type="checkbox"/> | BOSKIN         | <input type="checkbox"/>            | <input checked="" type="checkbox"/> |
| DEMAREST             | <input type="checkbox"/>            | <input checked="" type="checkbox"/> | <u>WINSTON</u> | <input type="checkbox"/>            | <input checked="" type="checkbox"/> |
| FITZWATER            | <input type="checkbox"/>            | <input checked="" type="checkbox"/> |                | <input type="checkbox"/>            |                                     |
| GRAY                 | <input type="checkbox"/>            | <input type="checkbox"/>            |                | <input type="checkbox"/>            | <input type="checkbox"/>            |
| HAGIN                | <input 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/recommendations directly to Chriss Winston by 4:00 p.m., 09/27, with a copy to my office. Thanks.

**RESPONSE:**

TO: CHRISS WINSTON  
NSC concurs with changes noted.

Brent Scowcroft

**CLOSE HOLD**

cc: James W. Cicconi

**James W. Cicconi**  
Assistant to the President  
and Deputy to the Chief of Staff  
Ext. 2702

90 SEP 25 PM 5:30

My congratulations to the  
honorable Guido de Marco upon  
his election to as President of  
the General Assembly.  
MCNally/Simon  
September 26, 1990  
Draft Four (B:UN)

PRESIDENTIAL REMARKS: UNITED NATIONS GENERAL ASSEMBLY  
NEW YORK CITY  
MONDAY, OCTOBER 1, 1990

Mr. President. Mr. Secretary-General. Distinguished  
delegates of the United Nations:

It is a great privilege to greet you today as we begin what  
marks a new and historic Session of the General Assembly. <sup>And</sup> on  
a personal note, I want to say that, having witnessed the  
unprecedented unity and cooperation of the past two months, I  
have never been prouder to have once served within your ranks,  
and never been prouder that the U.S. is host to the U.N. \\\

45 years ago, while the fires of an epic war still raged  
across two oceans and two continents, a small group of men and  
women began a search for hope amid the ruins. They gathered in  
San Francisco, stepping back from the haze and the horror, to try  
to shape a new structure that might support an ancient dream.

Intensely idealistic, and yet tempered by war, they sought  
to build a new kind of bridge, a bridge between nations, a bridge  
that might help carry humankind from its darkest hour to its  
brightest day. \\\

The founding of the United Nations embodied our deepest  
hopes for a peaceful world. And during the past year, we have  
come closer than ever before to realizing those hopes. We've  
seen a century sundered by barbed threats and barbed wire give  
way to a new era of peace, cooperation, and freedom.

The Revolution of '89 swept the world almost with a life of

acknowledges what  
meropine recognizes  
is a reality.

its own, a new breeze of freedom that transformed the political climate from Central Europe to Central America, and touched almost every corner of the globe.

That breeze has been sustained by a now almost universal recognition of a simple, fundamental truth: **The human spirit can't be locked up forever.** The truth is, people everywhere are motivated in much the same ways. And people everywhere want much the same things: The chance to live a life -- the chance to choose a life -- in which they and their children can learn <sup>and</sup> grow healthy, <sup>-- as we discussed yesterday at the World Summit for Children --</sup> worship freely, and prosper through the work of their hands, their hearts and their heads.

We're not talking about the power of nations, but the power of individuals. The power to choose, the power to risk, the power to succeed. \\\

*to the emergence of a stronger UN.*

This is a new and different world. Not since 1945 have we seen the real possibility of using the United Nations as it was designed -- as a center for international collective security.

The changes in the Soviet Union's ~~attitude toward foreign policy and the United Nations~~ have been critical. *The US-Soviet relationship is finally beyond containment and confrontation --* **Working together,** the United States and the Soviet Union have moved from *and now we stand at the portal of the promise of* ~~the peril of mutually assured destruction, to the promise of~~ **mutually shared understanding.** \\\

~~It is fitting that it is here, at the United Nations, that we should declare an end to the Cold War,~~ <sup>the</sup> long twilight struggle that for 45 years has divided Europe, our two nations, and much of the world. *has come to an end.* ~~For we meet, as Lincoln said of Gettys-~~

burg, on a great battlefield of that war -- the battlefield of ideas.]

[It was here at the United Nations that some of the most divisive, ideological battles of the past four decades were fought. And, as at Gettysburg -- the battlefield that marks America's own most costly and divisive war -- it is time to bury the past and move on to a time of healing. Time to bury not each other -- but the Cold War itself.]

When the Soviet Union joined with us, here in the United Nations, to condemn the aggression of a <sup>Iraq</sup> former ally, then I knew, at long last, we can put 45 years of history behind us. \\\

No longer will the machinery of the United Nations be frozen by the Cold War. At long last, we can build new bridges, and tear down old walls. At long last: The Cold War is over. \\\

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Because the Cold War's battle of ideas is not the last epic <sup>?</sup> battle of this century.

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The Iraqi regime has yet to face the facts. But as I said last month: The annexation of Kuwait will not be permitted to stand. ~~What the regime is up against is not only the law of nations -- but also the law of mathematics. The numbers are against them. Today it is not Iraq versus Kuwait, but Iraq against the world. And you know what they say: When it's you against the world -- bet on the world.~~ <sup>This is not simply the view of the United States. It is the view of every Kuwaiti, the Arab League, and the United Nations -- Iraq's leaders should listen: it is</sup>

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Iraq's unprovoked aggression is a throw-back to another era, a dark relic from a dark time. It has plundered Kuwait, terrorized innocent civilians, and held even diplomats hostage. ~~In the past 10 years, Iraq's leadership has initiated wars of aggression against not one but two of their neighbors, in violation of international treaties.~~ Thousands of Iraqis have been executed on political and religious grounds, and a genocidal, poison gas

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Today, on the anniversary of the convictions at Nuremberg, the lessons of another era provide names for these barbarous acts: "War Crimes." "Crimes Against Peace." And "Crimes Against Humanity."

All three are punishable crimes under the principles adopted by the Allies in 1945, and unanimously reaffirmed by the United Nations in 1950. And the bottom line is this: Heads of state can be held responsible for crimes against world law -- and crimes against world law are liable to punishment. The stakes are high, the cause is just -- and here at the U.N. -- the authority is real.

But the U.N. can do more than just deter the use of inhuman weapons like mustard and nerve gas. The weapons themselves must be eliminated. That is why, one year ago, I came to the General Assembly with new proposals to banish these terrible weapons from the face of the Earth.

I promised the United States would destroy over 98 percent of its stockpile in the first eight years of a chemical weapons ban treaty, and 100 percent -- all of them -- in 10 years, if all chemical weapons-capable nations sign the treaty.

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But time is running out. This is not a merely bilateral concern. The Gulf crisis proves how important it is to act together -- and to act now -- to conclude an absolute, worldwide ban on these weapons. We must also redouble our efforts to stem the spread of nuclear weapons, biological weapons, The United Nations can help bring about a new day, a day when these kinds of terrible weapons -- and the terrible despots who would use them -- are both a thing of the past.

~~Thanks to U.N. solidarity, Iraq is cut off by land, sea, and now air -- and becoming more isolated, and more alone, all the time. And I can see a time when this regime may be little more than a footnote, the catalyst that helped cap a historic movement towards a new world order and a long era of peace.~~

We have a vision of a new partnership of nations that transcends the Cold War. A partnership based on consultation, cooperation and collective action, especially through international and regional organizations. A partnership united by principle and the Rule of Law, and supported by an equitable sharing of both cost and commitment. A partnership whose goals are to increase democracy, increase prosperity, increase the peace -- and reduce arms.

And as we look to the future, the calendar offers up a convenient milestone, a signpost by which to measure our progress as a community of nations.

The Year 2000 marks a turning point, beginning not only the turn of the decade, not only the turn of the century, but also the turn of the millennium.

Today, it is within our hands to leave these dark machines behind in the dark ages and move forward to

And 10 years from now, as the 55th Session of the General Assembly begins, you will again find many of us in this Hall, our hair a bit more gray, perhaps a bit less spring in our walk. But you will not find us with any less hope or idealism, or any less confidence in the ultimate triumph of humankind. \\\

I see a world of open borders, open trade, and -- most importantly -- open minds. A world that celebrates the common heritage that belongs to all the world's people, taking pride not just in hometown or homeland but in humanity itself. \\\

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I see a world where democracy continues to win new friends and convert old foes, and where the Americas can provide a model for the future for all humankind -- the world's first completely democratic hemisphere. \\\

And I see a world building on the emerging new model of European unity. Not just Europe, but the whole world -- "whole and free." \\\

This is precisely why the present aggression in the Gulf is a menace not only to one region's security, but to the entire world's vision of our future. It threatens to turn our dream of a new international order into a grim nightmare of anarchy, in which the law of the jungle supplants the law of nations.

That is why the United Nations reacted with such historic unity and resolve. And that is why this challenge is a test we

cannot afford to fail.

The opportunity is truly historic. At the confluence of the Tigris and Euphrates -- where civilization began -- civilization can begin anew.

I am confident we will prevail. Success, too, will have lasting consequences -- reinforcing civilized standards of international conduct, setting a new precedent in international cooperation, brightening the prospects for our vision of the future.

There are 10 more years until the century is out.

10 more years to put the struggles of the 20th century permanently behind us.

10 more years to help launch a new partnership of nations.

And during those 10 years -- and beginning now -- we can and must build towards that new partnership by turning to the many other issues on today's common agenda. *And first on that agenda has to be vanquishing* The scourge of drug abuse *UN efforts* ~~must be vanquished~~, led by international cooperation such as *the* Cartagena Summit earlier this year. \* The needs of refugees must be met, providing relief for the suffering of all victims of disasters, whether natural or man-made. State-sponsored terrorism must be stopped. And all the world's hostages -- wherever they are -- must be freed. \\\

We seek a world not only of shared peace, but also shared prosperity. We will work together to eliminate the protectionism that endangers the world trading system, building on the efforts of the Houston Summit and the ongoing talks of the Uruguay Round \* It is essential that all nations enact laws which will deny exports of precursor chemicals to drug-producing centers. We must also pursue a global strategy against money laundering.

We are also taking action to promote more international trade & investment through, for of GATT. ~~We will battle also the growing debt problem, seeking instance,~~

~~new cooperation and new ideas, like the Enterprise for the Americas Initiative we launched earlier this year,~~ which, on the debt front, will complement the progress already achieved under the Brady plan. A thousand years ago, as the first Millennium approached, some feared destruction of the Earth by act of God or nature.

Today, as we approach the Year 2000, many fear destruction of our planet not by act of God but by act of Man; not by act of nature but by acts against nature. I've said it before: Environmental destruction knows no borders. And one of our first priorities has to be protecting the environment -- but without endangering economic growth.

The crisis in the Gulf also serves to remind us of other unresolved regional conflicts that require U.N. mediation. One promising model is Cambodia. This troubled land has suffered a generation of war and upheaval, ~~including the nightmare of the killing fields under the Khmer Rouge.~~ Now for the first time we

are on the brink of a settlement we hope can bring real peace through free and fair elections.

We salute the Cambodian parties for their acceptance of the U.N. framework, and we salute our Perm Five colleagues for their partnership in this unique and promising new peace initiative.

In all these endeavors, as with the partnership of nations which we hope will evolve, the role of the U.N. must be strengthened and perfected. And so let me today suggest two new proposals -- two principles, really -- that we believe will help strengthen the U.N.

First, the U.N. is being called on increasingly to support

reference to KR plays into hands of Vietnamese - Hun Sen

new elections in the world's emerging democracies. Free elections are the foundation of representative government, and can produce dramatic successes, as we have seen in Namibia and Nicaragua. ~~And there are many other situations in which the U.N.'s services in holding elections are being requested or considered.~~

The time has come to structure the United Nations response to such requests more formally. And so today, I propose that the United Nations establish a Special Coordinator for Electoral Assistance, to be assisted by a U.N. Electoral Commission comprised of distinguished experts from around the world.

Second, we have long been advocates of the principle of universality. In support of this principle, and in conjunction with U.N. efforts to reduce regional tensions, the United States fully supports U.N. membership for the Republic of Korea. We do so without prejudice to the ultimate objective of reunification of the Korean peninsula, and without opposition to simultaneous membership for the Democratic People's Republic of Korea.

Building on these and other initiatives, we must join together in a new compact -- all of us -- to bring the United Nations into the 21st Century. And I call today for a major, long-term effort to do this. ~~It would be built around the search for a new Secretary-General, instituting programs of change and revision as he or she assumes office. It should be based on a major legacy that will be left to us all for promoting the efficiency and effectiveness of the U.N. -- the serious studies~~

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greater

We should build on the successes of our distinguished my long-time friend & colleague Javier Perez de Cuellar instituting programs of change and We should strive for

Perez de Cuellar

*long-time*



~~of my old friend and colleague, Javier Perez de Cuellar. \\\~~

The United States is committed to playing its part. We offer our continuing leadership, helping to maintain global security, promoting democracy and prosperity. My Administration is fully committed to supporting the United Nations, and to paying what we are obliged to pay by our commitment to the Charter. International peace and security -- and international freedom and prosperity -- require <sup>no less.</sup> ~~not a penny less.~~ \\\

*Technica correct now*

**The world must know and understand: From this hour, from this day, from this hall -- we step forth with a new sense of purpose, a new sense of possibilities. We stand together, prepared to swim upstream, to march uphill, to tackle the tough challenges as they come -- not only as the United Nations -- but as the nations of the world united. \\\**

Let it be said of the final decade of the 20th Century: This was a time when humankind came into its own. When we emerged from the grit and the smoke of the industrial age to bring about a revolution of the spirit and of the mind, and began a journey into a new day, a new age, and a new partnership of nations.

**The U.N. is now fulfilling its promise as the world's parliament of peace.** I congratulate you. I support you. And I wish you Godspeed in the challenges ahead.

Thank you.

# # #

# URGENT NATIONAL SECURITY COUNCIL

## EXECUTIVE SECRETARIAT STAFFING DOCUMENT

TIME STAMP

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90 SEP 26 P 7: 55

SYSTEM LOG NUMBER:

7689

ACTION OFFICER:

~~James~~ Dyke NBD

DUE:

~~27 September 1990~~

Prepare Memo For Scowcroft/Gates

Appropriate Action

Prepare Memo For Cicconi

Prepare Memo for Sittmann

Prepare Memo SCOWCROFT

to CHRISS WINSTON CC: CICONI

### CONCURRENCES/COMMENTS\*

PHONE\* to action officer at ext. \*6900

FYI

Barth

Basora

Beers

Blackwill

Broome

Burns

Chamberlin

Charles *Haass for*

Coulson

Davis

Deal

Dorminey

Dyke *NBD*

Fry *OK*

Gaughan

Gordon

Haass *w/ changes*

Hayden

Hutchings

Jackson *w/ changes*

FYI

Johnson

Kaeuper

Kanter

Kitchen

LaMagna

Lampley

Levin

Lundsager *w/ change*

Mandel

Melby

Menan

Merchant

Miller *w/ changes*

Needels

O'Leary

Ordway

Paal

Pacelli

Pilling *foreman w/ change*

Popadiuk

FYI

Pryce

Rademaker

Rice *w/ changes*

Rodman

Rostow

Salvetti

Tilley

Tobey

Van Eron

Watson

Welch

Whitley

Wilson

Working

Zelikow

### INFORMATION

Sittmann

Deputy Exec. Sec.

Exec. Sec. Desk

Scowcroft (advance)

Gates (advance)

Secretariat

### COMMENTS

CRW#:

# URGENT

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Return to Secretariat

90 SEP 26 PM 5:30

My congratulations to the  
honorable Guido de Marco upon  
his election to as President of  
McNally/Simon the General  
September 26, 1990 Assembly.  
Draft Four (B:UN)

PRESIDENTIAL REMARKS: UNITED NATIONS GENERAL ASSEMBLY  
NEW YORK CITY  
MONDAY, OCTOBER 1, 1990

Mr. President. Mr. Secretary-General. Distinguished  
delegates of the United Nations:

It is a great privilege to greet you today as we begin what  
marks a new and historic Session of the General Assembly. <sup>And</sup> on  
a personal note, I want to say that, having witnessed the  
unprecedented unity and cooperation of the past two months, I  
have never been prouder to have once served within your ranks,  
and never been prouder that the U.S. is host to the U.N. \\\

45 years ago, while the fires of an epic war still raged  
across two oceans and two continents, a small group of men and  
women began a search for hope amid the ruins. They gathered in  
San Francisco, stepping back from the haze and the horror, to try  
to shape a new structure that might support an ancient dream.

Intensely idealistic, and yet tempered by war, they sought  
to build a new kind of bridge, a bridge between nations, a bridge  
that might help carry humankind from its darkest hour to its  
brightest day. \\\

The founding of the United Nations embodied our deepest  
hopes for a peaceful world. And during the past year, we have  
come closer than ever before to realizing those hopes. We've  
seen a century sundered by barbed threats and barbed wire give  
way to a new era of peace, cooperation, and freedom.

The Revolution of '89 swept the world almost with a life of

its own, a new breeze of freedom that transformed the political climate from Central Europe to Central America, and touched almost every corner of the globe.

That breeze has been sustained by a now almost universal recognition of a simple, fundamental truth: **The human spirit can't be locked up forever.** The truth is, people everywhere are motivated in much the same ways. And people everywhere want much the same things: The chance to live a life -- the chance to choose a life -- in which they and their children can learn <sup>and</sup> grow healthy, <sup>-- as we discussed yesterday at the World Summit for Children --</sup> worship freely, and prosper through the work of their hands, their hearts and their heads.

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The changes in the Soviet Union's ~~attitude toward foreign policy and the United Nations~~ have been critical. <sup>The US-Soviet relationship is finally beyond containment and confrontation --</sup> ~~Working together,~~ the United States and the Soviet Union have moved from <sup>and now we stand at the portal of the promise of</sup> ~~the peril of mutually assured destruction, to the promise of~~ mutually shared understanding. \\\

~~It is fitting that it is here, at the United Nations, that we should declare an end to the Cold War,~~ the long twilight struggle that for 45 years has divided Europe, our two nations, and much of the world. <sup>has come to an end.</sup> ~~For we meet, as Lincoln said of Gettys-~~

burg, on a great battlefield of that war -- the battlefield of ideas.

It was here at the United Nations that some of the most divisive, ideological battles of the past four decades were fought. And, as at Gettysburg -- the battlefield that marks America's own most costly and divisive war -- it is time to bury the past and move on to a time of healing. Time to bury not each other -- but the Cold War itself.

When the Soviet Union joined with us, here in the United Nations, to condemn the aggression of a <sup>Iraq</sup> ~~former ally~~, then I knew, at long last, we can put 45 years of history behind us. ///

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Because the Cold War's battle of ideas is not the last epic <sup>?</sup> battle of this century.

Two months ago, in the waning weeks of one of <sup>history's</sup> ~~the world's~~ most hopeful summers, the vast, still beauty of the peaceful Kuwaiti desert was fouled by the stench of diesel and the roar of

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But this time, the world was ready. The U.N. Security Council's response to Iraq's unprovoked aggression has been ~~nothing less than historic~~ <sup>without precedent</sup>. Since the invasion on August 2nd, the Council has passed <sup>nine</sup> eight major resolutions setting the terms for a solution of the crisis.

The Iraqi regime has yet to face the facts. But as I said last month: The annexation of Kuwait will not be permitted to stand. ~~What the regime is up against is not only the law of the view of every Kuwaiti, the Arab League, and the United Nations -- but also the law of mathematics. The numbers are against them. Today it is not Iraq versus Kuwait, but Iraq against the world. And you know what they say: When it's you against the world -- bet on the world.~~ <sup>This is not simply the view of the United States. It is the view of every Kuwaiti, the Arab League, and the United Nations -- but also the law of mathematics. The numbers are against them. Today it is not Iraq versus Kuwait, but Iraq against the world. And you know what they say: When it's you against the world -- bet on the world.</sup>

Insert →

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Let me take this opportunity to make the policy of my government clear. The United States supports the use of sanctions to persuade Iraq's leaders to withdraw immediately and without condition from Kuwait. We also support the provision of food for humanitarian purposes so long as distribution can be properly monitored. We have no quarrel with the people of Iraq; we do not wish for them to suffer.

We have dispatched military forces to the region to enforce sanctions and to deter and if need be defend against further aggression. We seek no advantage for ourselves. Nor do we seek to maintain our military forces in Saudi Arabia for one day longer than is necessary. U.S. forces were sent at the request of the Saudi Government; U.S. forces will depart the same way.

Let me also emphasize that we wish for military forces never to be used. We seek a peaceful outcome. And we seek a diplomatic outcome. And one more thing: in the aftermath of Iraq's unconditional departure from Kuwait, I truly believe that there may be opportunities--for Iraq and Kuwait to settle their differences permanently, for the states of the Gulf themselves to build new arrangements for stability, and for all the states and peoples of the region to settle the conflict that divides the Arabs from Israel. But first we must demonstrate that aggression is not to be tolerated or rewarded.

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First, the U.N. is being called on increasingly to support

reference to KR plays into hands of Vietnamese + Hun Sen

new elections in the world's emerging democracies. Free elections are the foundation of representative government and can produce dramatic successes, as we have seen in Namibia and Nicaragua. And there are many other situations in which the U.N.'s services in holding elections are being requested or considered.

The time has come to structure the United Nations response to such requests more formally. And so today, I propose that the United Nations establish a Special Coordinator for Electoral Assistance, to be assisted by a U.N. Electoral Commission comprised of distinguished experts from around the world.

Second, we have long been advocates of the principle of universality. In support of this principle, and in conjunction with U.N. efforts to reduce regional tensions, the United States fully supports U.N. membership for the Republic of Korea. We do so without prejudice to the ultimate objective of reunification of the Korean peninsula, and without opposition to simultaneous membership for the Democratic People's Republic of Korea.

Building on these and other initiatives, we must join together in a new compact -- all of us -- to bring the United Nations into the 21st Century. And I call today for a major, long-term effort to do this. ~~It would be built around the search for a new Secretary-General, instituting programs of change and revision as he or she assumes office. It should be based on a major legacy that will be left to us all for promoting the~~ *greater efficiency and effectiveness of the U.N. -- the serious studies*

*reference to new UNSY6 a little premature in public*

*We should build on the successes of our distinguished my long-time friend + colleague Javier Perez de Cuello*

*We should strive for*

*long-time*  
~~of my old friend and colleague, Javier Perez de Cuellar.~~ \\\

The United States is committed to playing its part. We offer our continuing leadership, helping to maintain global security, promoting democracy and prosperity. My Administration is fully committed to supporting the United Nations, and to paying what we are obliged to pay by our commitment to the Charter. International peace and security -- and international freedom and prosperity -- require <sup>no less.</sup> ~~not a penny less.~~ \\\

*Technical  
correct  
not*

The world must know and understand: From this hour, from this day, from this hall -- we step forth with a new sense of purpose, a new sense of possibilities. We stand together, prepared to swim upstream, to march uphill, to tackle the tough challenges as they come -- not only as the United Nations -- but as the nations of the world united. \\\

Let it be said of the final decade of the 20th Century: This was a time when humankind came into its own. When we emerged from the grit and the smoke of the industrial age to bring about a revolution of the spirit and of the mind, and began a journey into a new day, a new age, and a new partnership of nations.

The U.N. is now fulfilling its promise as the world's parliament of peace. I congratulate you. I support you. And I wish you Godspeed in the challenges ahead.

Thank you.

# # #

WHITE HOUSE STAFFING MEMORANDUM

90 OCT 1 P3:31

10/1/90

DATE: \_\_\_\_\_ ACTION/CONCURRENCE/COMMENT DUE BY: \_\_\_\_\_

SUBJECT: PRESIDENTIAL REMARKS: ADDRESS TO THE UN GENERAL ASSEMBLY

|                | ACTION FYI               |                          |                | ACTION FYI                          |                          |
|----------------|--------------------------|--------------------------|----------------|-------------------------------------|--------------------------|
| VICE PRESIDENT | <input type="checkbox"/> | ✓                        | MCCLURE        | <input type="checkbox"/>            | ✓                        |
| SUNUNU         | <input type="checkbox"/> | ✓                        | NEWMAN         | <input type="checkbox"/>            | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| SCOWCROFT      | <input type="checkbox"/> | ✓                        | PORTER         | <input type="checkbox"/>            | ✓                        |
| DARMAN         | <input type="checkbox"/> | ✓                        | ROGICH         | <input type="checkbox"/>            | ✓                        |
| CARD           | <input type="checkbox"/> | ✓                        | UNTERMAYER     | <input type="checkbox"/>            | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| CICCONI        | <input type="checkbox"/> | ✓                        | <u>Boskin</u>  | <input type="checkbox"/>            | ✓                        |
| DEMAREST       | <input type="checkbox"/> | ✓                        | <u>Winstan</u> | <input checked="" type="checkbox"/> | ✓                        |
| FITZWATER      | <input type="checkbox"/> | ✓                        | _____          | <input type="checkbox"/>            | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| GRAY           | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | _____          | <input type="checkbox"/>            | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| HAGIN          | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | _____          | <input type="checkbox"/>            | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| HOLIDAY        | <input type="checkbox"/> | ✓                        | _____          | <input type="checkbox"/>            | <input type="checkbox"/> |

REMARKS:

The attached has been forwarded to the President.

RESPONSE:

James W. Cicconi  
Assistant to the President  
and Deputy to the Chief of Staff  
Ext. 2702

THE WHITE HOUSE  
WASHINGTON

90 SEP 28 PM 5:15

September 28, 1990

MEMORANDUM FOR THE PRESIDENT

THROUGH:           CHRISS WINSTON *CW*  
FROM:               EDWARD E. McNALLY *EMN*  
SUBJECT:            ADDRESS TO THE U.N. GENERAL ASSEMBLY

I.    SUMMARY

On Monday, October 1, at 11:40 a.m., you will address the 45th U.N. General Assembly. This draft was prepared with guidance from General Scowcroft, Ambassador Pickering, the State Department, Richard Haass, Nancy Dyke and other NSC staff.

II.   DISCUSSION

This address (20 minutes, on teleprompter) builds on your remarks in Helsinki, to the Joint Session of Congress, and at the World Bank, calling for the world to move beyond containment and the cold war to the "new partnership of nations" you've proposed.

The remarks praise the U.N., calling for a key role in building the new partnership over the coming years. It includes particular praise for the U.N.'s response to the Gulf crisis, and renews last year's call for abolishing chemical weapons. The draft also includes two new proposals: a U.N. Electoral Commission, and U.N. membership for the Republic of Korea.

The U.N. speech also marks our last opportunity -- and our best opportunity -- to say that "the cold war is over" -- a predictable "headline" likely to resonate clear on into 1992.

It's the right thing to say because it matches the mood of the times, the theme of your speech, and your vision of a new partnership of nations. And it forthrightly acknowledges what we have already as much as said -- and what everyone recognizes is a reality.

It's the last opportunity because most observers will mark German reunification on Oct. 3 as the formal end of the cold war era. And it's the best opportunity because it's before not only "a" world forum, but the world forum -- one we've asked to play a key part in reintegrating the Soviet Union into the community of nations. For these reasons, we've [bracketed] for your consideration the "cold war is over" language that you looked at for the Joint Session of Congress speech. (Please see the bottom of page two and the top of page three.)

McNally/Simon  
September 28, 1990  
Draft Seven (B:UN)

PRESIDENTIAL REMARKS: UNITED NATIONS GENERAL ASSEMBLY  
NEW YORK CITY  
MONDAY, OCTOBER 1, 1990, 11:40 A.M.

Mr. President. Mr. Secretary-General. Distinguished  
delegates to the United Nations:

It is a great privilege to greet you today as we begin what  
marks a new and historic Session of the General Assembly. My  
congratulations to the Honorable Guido de Marco on your election  
as President of the General Assembly. On a personal note, I want  
to say that, having witnessed the unprecedented unity and  
cooperation of the past two months, I have never been prouder to  
have once served within your ranks, and never been prouder that  
the U.S. is host to the U.N. \\\

45 years ago, while the fires of an epic war still raged  
across two oceans and two continents, a small group of men and  
women began a search for hope amid the ruins. They gathered in  
San Francisco, stepping back from the haze and the horror to try  
to shape a new structure that might support an ancient dream.

Intensely idealistic, and yet tempered by war, they sought  
to build a new kind of bridge, a bridge between nations, a bridge  
that might help carry humankind from its darkest hour to its  
brightest day. \\\

The founding of the United Nations embodied our deepest  
hopes for a peaceful world. And during the past year, we have  
come closer than ever before to realizing those hopes. We've  
seen a century sundered by barbed threats and barbed wire give

way to a New era of peace, cooperation, and freedom.

The Revolution of '89 swept the world almost with a life of its own, carried by a new breeze of freedom that transformed the political climate from Central Europe to Central America, and touched almost every corner of the globe.

That breeze has been sustained by a now almost universal recognition of a simple, fundamental truth: The human spirit can't be locked up forever. The truth is, people everywhere are motivated in much the same ways. And people everywhere want much the same things: The chance to live a life of purpose -- the chance to choose a life -- in which they and their children can learn, grow healthy, worship freely, and prosper through the work of their hands, their hearts and their minds.

We're not talking about the power of nations, but the power of individuals. The power to choose, the power to risk, the power to succeed. \\\

This is a new and different world. Not since 1945 have we seen the real possibility of using the United Nations as it was designed -- as a center for international collective security.

[[The changes in the Soviet Union have been critical to the emergence of a stronger U.N. The U.S.-Soviet relationship is finally beyond containment and confrontation, and now we seek to fulfill the promise of mutually shared understanding. \\\

The long twilight struggle that for 45 years has divided Europe, our two nations, and much of the world has to come to an end. Much has changed over the last two years. The Soviet Union

has taken many dramatic and important steps to again join the community of nations.

When the Soviet Union agreed with us, here in the United Nations, to condemn the aggression of Iraq, there could be no doubt that at long last, we can put four decades of history behind us.

No longer will the machinery of the United Nations be frozen by the Cold War. At long last, we can build new bridges, and tear down old walls. At long last: The cold war is over.]]

Two days from now, the world will be watching when the [cold war] is formally buried in Berlin. And in this time of testing, a fundamental question must be asked. A question not for any one nation -- but for the United Nations. And the question is this: Can we work together in a new partnership of nations? Can the collective strength of the world community, expressed by the United Nations, unite to deter and defeat aggression?

Because the [cold war's] battle of ideas is not the last epic battle of this century. Two months ago, in the waning weeks of one of history's most hopeful summers, the vast, still beauty of the peaceful Kuwaiti desert was fouled by the stench of diesel and the roar of steel tanks. Once again the sound of distant thunder echoed across a cloudless sky. And once again the world awoke to face the guns of August. \\\

But this time, the world was ready. The U.N. Security Council's resolute response to Iraq's unprovoked aggression has been without precedent. Since the invasion on August 2nd, the

Council has passed eight major resolutions setting the terms for a solution of the crisis.

The Iraqi regime has yet to face the facts. But as I said last month: The annexation of Kuwait will not be permitted to stand. This is not simply the view of the United States. It is the view of every Kuwaiti, the Arab league, and the United Nations. Iraq's leaders should listen: it is Iraq against the world. \\\

Let me take this opportunity to make the policy of my government clear. The United States supports the use of sanctions to persuade Iraq's leaders to withdraw immediately and without condition from Kuwait. We also support the provision of food for humanitarian purposes, so long as distribution can be properly monitored. We have no quarrel with the people of Iraq; we do not wish for them to suffer.

We have dispatched military forces to the region to enforce sanctions; to deter and if need be defend against further aggression. We seek no advantage for ourselves. Nor do we seek to maintain our military forces in Saudi Arabia for one day longer than is necessary. U.S. forces were sent at the request of the Saudi Government; U.S. forces will depart the same way.

Let me also emphasize that we hope military forces will never have to be used. We seek a peaceful outcome -- a diplomatic outcome. And one more thing -- in the aftermath of Iraq's unconditional departure from Kuwait, I truly believe that there may be opportunities: for Iraq and Kuwait to settle their

differences permanently; for the states of the Gulf themselves to build new arrangements for stability; and for all the states and peoples of the region to settle the conflict that divides the Arabs from Israel. But, first, we must demonstrate that aggression will not be tolerated or rewarded.

Through the U.N. Security Council, Iraq has been judged by a jury of its peers -- the very nations of the Earth. Today, the regime stands isolated and out of step with the times, separated from the civilized world not by space, but by centuries.

Iraq's unprovoked aggression is a throw-back to another era, a dark relic from a dark time. It has plundered Kuwait, terrorized innocent civilians, and held even diplomats hostage. Iraq and its leaders must be held liable for these crimes of abuse and destruction. But this outrageous disregard for basic human rights does not come as a total surprise. Thousands of Iraqis have been executed on political and religious grounds, and even more through a genocidal, poison gas war waged against Iraq's own Kurdish villagers.

As a world community, we must act -- not only to deter the use of inhuman weapons like mustard and nerve gas -- but to eliminate the weapons entirely. That is why, one year ago, I came to the General Assembly with new proposals to banish these terrible weapons from the face of the Earth.

I promised the United States would destroy over 98 percent of its stockpile in the first eight years of a chemical weapons ban treaty, and 100 percent -- all of them -- in 10 years, if all

chemical Weapons-capable nations sign the treaty.

We've stood by those promises. In June, the U.S. and the Soviet Union signed a landmark agreement to halt production, and to destroy the vast majority of our stockpiles. Today, U.S. chemical weapons are being destroyed, even as we meet.

But time is running out. This is not a merely bilateral concern. The Gulf crisis proves how important it is to act together -- and to act now -- to conclude an absolute, worldwide ban on these weapons. We must also redouble our efforts to stem the spread of nuclear weapons, biological weapons, and the ballistic missiles that can rain destruction upon distant peoples.

The United Nations can help bring about a new day, a day when these kinds of terrible weapons -- and the terrible despots who would use them -- are both a thing of the past. It is in our hands to leave these dark machines behind, in the dark ages where they belong, and to press forward to cap a historic movement towards a new world order and a long era of peace.

We have a vision of a new partnership of nations that transcends the Cold War. A partnership based on consultation, cooperation and collective action, especially through international and regional organizations. A partnership united by principle and the Rule of Law, and supported by an equitable sharing of both cost and commitment. A partnership whose goals are to increase democracy, increase prosperity, increase the peace -- and reduce arms.

And as we look to the future, the calendar offers up a

convenient milestone, a signpost by which to measure our progress as a community of nations. \\\

The Year 2000 marks a turning point, beginning not only the turn of the decade, not only the turn of the century, but also the turn of the millennium. \\\

And 10 years from now, as the 55th Session of the General Assembly begins, you will again find many of us in this Hall, our hair a bit more gray, perhaps a bit less spring in our walk. But you will not find us with any less hope or idealism, or any less confidence in the ultimate triumph of humankind. \\\

I see a world of open borders, open trade, and -- most importantly -- open minds. A world that celebrates the common heritage that belongs to all the world's people, taking pride not just in hometown or homeland but in humanity itself. \\\

I see a world touched by a spirit like that of the Olympics: Based not on competition that's driven by fear, but sought out of joy and exhilaration and a true quest for excellence. \\\

I see a world where democracy continues to win new friends and convert old foes, and where the Americas can provide a model for the future for all humankind -- the world's first completely democratic hemisphere. \\\

And I see a world building on the emerging new model of European unity. Not just Europe, but the whole world -- "whole and free." \\\

This is precisely why the present aggression in the Gulf is a menace not only to one region's security, but to the entire

world's vision of our future. It threatens to turn our dream of a new international order into a grim nightmare of anarchy, in which the law of the jungle supplants the law of nations.

That is why the United Nations reacted with such historic unity and resolve. And that is why this challenge is a test we cannot afford to fail. \\\ I am confident we will prevail. Success, too, will have lasting consequences -- reinforcing civilized standards of international conduct, setting a new precedent in international cooperation, brightening the prospects for our vision of the future.

There are 10 more years until the century is out.

10 more years to put the struggles of the 20th century permanently behind us.

10 more years to help launch a new partnership of nations.

And throughout those 10 years -- and beginning now -- the U.N. has a new and vital role in building towards that partnership. Last year's General Assembly showed how we can make greater progress towards a more pragmatic and successful U.N. And, for the first time, the U.N. Security Council is beginning to work as it was designed to work.

We have shown that the U.N. can count on the collective strength of the international community. We have shown that the U.N. can rise to the challenge of aggression, as its founders hoped it would. And now in this time of testing, we must also show that the U.N. is the place to build international support and consensus for meeting the other challenges we face.

The world remains a dangerous place. And our security and well-being often depends, in part, on events occurring far away. We need serious international cooperative efforts to make headway on threats to the environment, on terrorism, on managing the debt burden, on fighting the scourge of international drug trafficking, and on peace-keeping efforts around the world.

But the world also remains a hopeful place. Calls for democracy and human rights are being reborn everywhere. These calls are an expression of support for the values enshrined in the U.N. Charter. They encourage our hopes for a more stable, more peaceful, more prosperous world.

Free elections are the foundation of democratic government, and can produce dramatic successes, as we have seen in Namibia and Nicaragua. And the time has come to structure the U.N. role in such efforts more formally. And so today, I propose that the United Nations establish a Special Coordinator for Electoral Assistance, to be assisted by a U.N. Electoral Commission comprised of distinguished experts from around the world.

As with free elections, we also believe that universal U.N. membership for all States is central to the future of this Organization, and to the new partnership we've discussed. In support of this principle, and in conjunction with U.N. efforts to reduce regional tensions, the United States fully supports U.N. membership for the Republic of Korea. We do so without prejudice to the ultimate objective of reunification of the Korean peninsula, and without opposition to simultaneous

membership for the Democratic People's Republic of Korea.

Building on these and other initiatives, we must join together in a new compact -- all of us -- to bring the United Nations into the 21st Century. And I call today for a major, long-term effort to do this. We should build on the success of our distinguished Secretary-General, my long-time friend and colleague, Javier Perez de Cuellar. We should strive for greater effectiveness and efficiency of the U.N.

The United States is committed to playing its part. We offer our continuing leadership, helping to maintain global security, promoting democracy and prosperity. My Administration is fully committed to supporting the United Nations, and to paying what we are obliged to pay by our commitment to the Charter. International peace and security -- and international freedom and prosperity -- require no less. \\\

The world must know and understand: From this hour, from this day, from this hall -- we step forth with a new sense of purpose, a new sense of possibilities. We stand together, prepared to swim upstream, to march uphill, to tackle the tough challenges as they come -- not only as the United Nations -- but as the nations of the world united. \\\

Let it be said of the final decade of the 20th Century: This was a time when humankind came into its own. When we emerged from the grit and the smoke of the industrial age to bring about a revolution of the spirit and of the mind, and began

a journey into a new day, a new age, and a new partnership of nations. - \\\

The U.N. is now fulfilling its promise as the world's parliament of peace. I congratulate you. I support you. And I wish you Godspeed in the challenges ahead.

Thank you.

# # #

CLOSE HOLD

Document No. 177903

WHITE HOUSE STAFFING MEMORANDUM

DATE: 09/26/90 ACTION/CONCURRENCE/COMMENT DUE BY: 4:00 p.m. 09/27

SUBJECT: PRESIDENTIAL REMARKS: UNITED NATIONS GENERAL ASSEMBLY  
(09/26 draft four)

|                    | ACTION FYI                          |                                     |            | ACTION FYI                          |                                     |
|--------------------|-------------------------------------|-------------------------------------|------------|-------------------------------------|-------------------------------------|
| VICE PRESIDENT     | <input type="checkbox"/>            | <input checked="" type="checkbox"/> | MCCLURE    | <input type="checkbox"/>            | <input checked="" type="checkbox"/> |
| SUNUNU             | <input type="checkbox"/>            | <input checked="" type="checkbox"/> | NEWMAN     | <input type="checkbox"/>            | <input type="checkbox"/>            |
| SCOWCROFT          | <input checked="" type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/>            | PORTER     | <input checked="" type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/>            |
| DARMAN             | <input checked="" type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/>            | ROGICH     | <input type="checkbox"/>            | <input checked="" type="checkbox"/> |
| CARD               | <input type="checkbox"/>            | <input checked="" type="checkbox"/> | UNTERMAYER | <input type="checkbox"/>            | <input type="checkbox"/>            |
| CICCONI            | <input type="checkbox"/>            | <input checked="" type="checkbox"/> | BOSKIN     | <input type="checkbox"/>            | <input checked="" type="checkbox"/> |
| DEMAREST           | <input type="checkbox"/>            | <input checked="" type="checkbox"/> | WINSTON    | <input type="checkbox"/>            | <input checked="" type="checkbox"/> |
| FITZWATER          | <input type="checkbox"/>            | <input checked="" type="checkbox"/> |            | <input type="checkbox"/>            |                                     |
| GRAY               | <input type="checkbox"/>            | <input type="checkbox"/>            |            | <input type="checkbox"/>            | <input type="checkbox"/>            |
| HAGIN              | <input type="checkbox"/>            | <input type="checkbox"/>            |            | <input type="checkbox"/>            | <input type="checkbox"/>            |
| HOLIDAY <i>n/c</i> | <input checked="" type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/>            |            | <input type="checkbox"/>            | <input type="checkbox"/>            |

REMARKS: Please provide any comments/recommendations directly to Chriss Winston by 4:00 p.m., 09/27, with a copy to my office. Thanks.

RESPONSE:

90 SEP 26 P7:23

CLOSE HOLD

James W. Cicconi  
Assistant to the President  
and Deputy to the Chief of Staff  
Ext. 2702

*My congratulations to the Honorable  
Guido de Marco on your election as  
President of the General Assembly*

90 SEP 26 PM 5:30

McNally/Simon  
September 26, 1990  
Draft Four (B:UN)

PRESIDENTIAL REMARKS: UNITED NATIONS GENERAL ASSEMBLY  
NEW YORK CITY  
MONDAY, OCTOBER 1, 1990  
*11:40 AM*

Mr. President. Mr. Secretary-General. Distinguished  
delegates <sup>to</sup> of the United Nations:

It is a great privilege to greet you today as we begin what marks a new and historic Session of the General Assembly. ~~And~~ on a personal note, I want to say that, having witnessed the unprecedented unity and cooperation of the past two months, I have never been prouder to have once served within your ranks, and never been prouder that the U.S. is host to the U.N. \\\

45 years ago, while the fires of an epic war still raged across two oceans and two continents, a small group of men and women began a search for hope amid the ruins. They gathered in San Francisco, stepping back from the haze and the horror to try to shape a new structure that might support an ancient dream.

Intensely idealistic, and yet tempered by war, they sought to build a new kind of bridge, a bridge between nations, a bridge that might help carry humankind from its darkest hour to its brightest day. \\\

The founding of the United Nations embodied our deepest hopes for a peaceful world. And during the past year, we have come closer than ever before to realizing those hopes. **We've seen a century sundered by barbed threats and barbed wire give way to a new era of peace, cooperation, and freedom.**

The Revolution of '89 swept the world almost with a life of

its own, <sup>carried by</sup> a new breeze of freedom that transformed the political climate from Central Europe to Central America, and touched almost every corner of the globe.

That breeze has been sustained by a now almost universal recognition of a simple, fundamental truth: **The human spirit can't be locked up forever.** The truth is, people everywhere are motivated in much the same ways. And people everywhere want much the same things: The chance to live a life, <sup>of purpose</sup> -- the chance to choose a life -- in which they and their children can learn, grow healthy, worship freely, and prosper through the work of their hands, their hearts and their <sup>minds</sup> heads.

We're not talking about the power of nations, but the power of individuals. The power to choose, the power to risk, the power to succeed. \\\

This is a new and different world. Not since 1945 have we seen the real possibility of using the United Nations as it was designed -- as a center for international collective security.

The changes in the Soviet Union's ~~attitude toward foreign policy and the United Nations~~ <sup>to the emergence of a stronger U.N.</sup> have been critical. ~~Working together, the United States and the Soviet Union have moved from the peril of mutually assured destruction, to the promise of mutually shared understanding.~~ <sup>US. - Soviet relationship is finally beyond containment and confrontation and now we seek to fulfill the promise of</sup> \\\

~~It is fitting that it is here, at the United Nations, that we should declare an end to the Cold War, the long twilight struggle that for 45 years has divided Europe, our two nations, and much of the world.~~ <sup>has come to an end.</sup> For we meet, as ~~Lincoln said of Gettys-~~

Much has changed over the last two years. The Soviet Union has taken many dramatic and important steps to ~~come~~ <sup>again</sup> join ~~back~~ to the community of nations.

3

burg, on a great battlefield of that war -- the battlefield of ideas.

It was here at the United Nations that some of the most divisive, ideological battles of the past four decades were fought. And, as at Gettysburg -- the battlefield that marks America's own most costly and divisive war -- it is time to bury the past and move on to a time of healing. Time to bury not each other -- but the Cold War itself.

When the Soviet Union <sup>agreed</sup> ~~joined~~ with us, here in the United Nations, to condemn the aggression of <sup>Iraq</sup> ~~a former ally~~, <sup>there could be no</sup> ~~then I knew~~, <sup>doubt that</sup> at long last, we can put <sup>four decades</sup> ~~45~~ years of history behind us. ///

No longer will the machinery of the United Nations be frozen by the Cold War. At long last, we can build new bridges, and tear down old walls. At long last: The Cold War is over. ///

Two days from now, <sup>the world</sup> ~~many of you~~ will be <sup>watching</sup> ~~there~~ when the Cold War is formally buried in Berlin. And in this time of testing, a fundamental question must be asked. A question not for any one nation -- but for the United Nations. And the question is this: Can we work together in a new partnership of nations? Can the collective strength of the world community, expressed by the United Nations, unite to deter <sup>and defeat</sup> aggression?

Because the Cold War's battle of ideas is not the last epic battle of this century.

Two months ago, in the waning weeks of one of <sup>history's</sup> ~~the world's~~ most hopeful summers, the vast, still beauty of the peaceful Kuwaiti desert was fouled by the stench of diesel and the roar of

~~feel~~  
~~iron~~ tanks. Once again the sound of distant thunder echoed across a cloudless sky. And once again the world awoke to face the guns of August. \\\

But this time, the world was ready. The U.N. Security Council's <sup>resolute</sup> response to Iraq's unprovoked aggression has been ~~nothing less than historic.~~ <sup>without precedent.</sup> Since the invasion on August 2nd, the Council has passed <sup>nine</sup> eight major resolutions setting the terms for a solution of the crisis.

The Iraqi regime has yet to face the facts. But as I said last month: The annexation of Kuwait will not be permitted to stand. <sup>This is not simply the view of the United States. It is the view of every Kuwaiti, the Arab League, and the United Nations.</sup> ~~What the regime is up against is not only the law of nations -- but also the law of mathematics.~~ <sup>Iraq's leaders should listen: it is Iraq against the world.</sup> The numbers are against them. Today it is not Iraq versus Kuwait, but Iraq against the world. And you know what they say: When it's you against the world -- bet on the world. Insert A

Through the U.N. Security Council, Iraq has been judged by a jury of its peers -- the very nations of the Earth. Today, the regime stands isolated and out of step with the times, separated from the civilized world not by space, but by centuries.

Iraq's unprovoked aggression is a throw-back to another era, a dark relic from a dark time. It has plundered Kuwait, terrorized innocent civilians, and held even diplomats hostage. <sup>Iraq and its leaders must be held</sup> ~~In the~~ <sup>accountable, liable for these crimes of abuse and destruction.</sup> ~~past 10 years, Iraq's leadership has initiated wars of aggression~~ <sup>But</sup> ~~this outrageous disregard for basic human rights does not come as~~ <sup>a total surprise.</sup> ~~against not one but two of their neighbors, in violation of~~ ~~international treaties.~~ Thousands of Iraqis have been executed on political and religious grounds, and, a genocidal, poison gas

*even more  
through*

stet  
~~war waged against Iraq's own Kurdish villagers.~~

~~Today, on the anniversary of the convictions at Nuremberg, the lessons of another era provide names for these barbarous acts: "War Crimes." "Crimes Against Peace." And "Crimes Against Humanity."~~

~~All three are punishable crimes under the principles adopted by the Allies in 1945, and unanimously reaffirmed by the United Nations in 1950. And the bottom line is this: Heads of state can be held responsible for crimes against world law -- and crimes against world law are liable to punishment. The stakes are high, the cause is just -- and here at the U.N. -- the authority is real.~~

~~But~~ the U.N. can do more than just deter the use of inhuman weapons like mustard and nerve gas. The weapons themselves must be eliminated. That is why, one year ago, I came to the General Assembly with new proposals to banish these terrible weapons from the face of the Earth.

I promised the United States would destroy over 98 percent of its stockpile in the first eight years of a chemical weapons ban treaty, and 100 percent -- all of them -- in 10 years, if all chemical weapons-capable nations sign the treaty.

We've stood by those promises. In June, the U.S. and the Soviet Union signed a landmark agreement to halt production, and to destroy the vast majority of our stockpiles. Today, U.S. chemical weapons are being destroyed, even as we meet.

and the ballistic missiles that can rain destruction upon distant peoples.

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But time is running out. This is not a merely bilateral concern. The Gulf crisis proves how important it is to act together -- and to act now -- to conclude an absolute, worldwide ban on these weapons. *We must also redouble our efforts to stem the spread of nuclear weapons, biological weapons,*

The United Nations can help bring about a new day, a day when these kinds of terrible weapons -- and the terrible despots who would use them -- are both a thing of the past.

Thanks to U.N. solidarity, Iraq is cut off by land, sea, and now air -- and becoming more isolated, and more alone, all the time. And I can see a time when this regime may be little more than a footnote, the catalyst that helped cap a historic movement towards a new world order and a long era of peace.

We have a vision of a new partnership of nations that transcends the Cold War. A partnership based on consultation, cooperation and collective action, especially through international and regional organizations. A partnership united by principle and the Rule of Law, and supported by an equitable sharing of both cost and commitment. A partnership whose goals are to increase democracy, increase prosperity, increase the peace -- and reduce arms.

And as we look to the future, the calendar offers up a convenient milestone, a signpost by which to measure our progress as a community of nations.

The Year 2000 marks a turning point, beginning not only the turn of the decade, not only the turn of the century, but also the turn of the millennium.

Today, it is within our hands to leave these dark machines <sup>behind</sup> in the dark ages where they belong, and press forward to cap a

And 10 years from now, as the 55th Session of the General Assembly begins, you will again find many of us in this Hall, our hair a bit more gray, perhaps a bit less spring in our walk. But you will not find us with any less hope or idealism, or any less confidence in the ultimate triumph of humankind. \\\

I see a world of open borders, open trade, and -- most importantly -- open minds. A world that celebrates the common heritage that belongs to all the world's people, taking pride not just in hometown or homeland but in humanity itself. \\\

? I see a world touched by a spirit like that of the Olympics: Based not on competition that's driven by fear, but sought out of joy and exhilaration and a true quest for excellence. \\\

I see a world where democracy continues to win new friends and convert old foes, and where the Americas can provide a model for the future for all humankind -- the world's first completely democratic hemisphere. \\\

And I see a world building on the emerging new model of European unity. Not just Europe, but the whole world -- "whole and free." \\\

This is precisely why the present aggression in the Gulf is a menace not only to one region's security, but to the entire world's vision of our future. It threatens to turn our dream of a new international order into a grim nightmare of anarchy, in which the law of the jungle supplants the law of nations.

That is why the United Nations reacted with such historic unity and resolve. And that is why this challenge is a test we

cannot afford to fail.

~~The opportunity is truly historic. At the confluence of the Tigris and Euphrates -- where civilization began -- civilization can begin anew.~~

I am confident we will prevail. Success, too, will have lasting consequences -- reinforcing civilized standards of international conduct, setting a new precedent in international cooperation, brightening the prospects for our vision of the future.

There are 10 more years until the century is out.

10 more years to put the struggles of the 20th century permanently behind us.

10 more years to help launch a new partnership of nations.

*See NSC*  
 And during those 10 years -- and beginning now -- we can and must build towards that new partnership by turning to the many other issues on today's common agenda. The scourge of drug abuse must be vanquished, led by international cooperation such as the Cartagena Summit earlier this year. The needs of refugees must be met, providing relief for the suffering of all victims of disasters, whether natural or man-made. State-sponsored terrorism must be stopped. And all the world's hostages -- wherever they are -- must be freed. \\\

We seek a world not only of shared peace, but also shared prosperity. We will work together to eliminate the protectionism that endangers the world trading system, building on the efforts of the Houston Summit and the ongoing talks of the Uruguay Round

of GATT. We will battle also the growing debt problem, seeking new cooperation and new ideas, like the Enterprise for the Americas Initiative we launched earlier this year.

A thousand years ago, as the first Millennium approached, some feared destruction of the Earth by act of God or nature. Today, as we approach the Year 2000, many fear destruction of our planet not by act of God, but by act of Man; not by act of nature, but by acts against nature. I've said it before: **Environmental destruction knows no borders.** And one of our first priorities has to be protecting the environment -- but without endangering economic growth.

The crisis in the Gulf also serves to remind us of other unresolved regional conflicts that require U.N. mediation. One promising model is Cambodia. This troubled land has suffered a generation of war and upheaval, including the nightmare of the killing fields under the Khmer Rouge. Now for the first time we are on the brink of a settlement we hope can bring real peace. We salute the Cambodian parties for their acceptance of the U.N. framework, and we salute our Perm Five colleagues for their partnership in this unique and promising new peace initiative.

In all these endeavors, as with the partnership of nations which we hope will evolve, the role of the U.N. must be strengthened and perfected. And so let me today suggest two new proposals -- two principles, really -- that we believe will help strengthen the U.N.

First, the U.N. is being called on increasingly to support

new elections in the world's emerging democracies. Free elections are the foundation of representative government, and can produce dramatic successes, as we have seen in Namibia and Nicaragua. And there are many other situations in which the U.N.'s services in holding elections are being requested or considered.

The time has come to structure the United Nations response to such requests more formally. And so today, I propose that the United Nations establish a Special Coordinator for Electoral Assistance, to be assisted by a U.N. Electoral Commission comprised of distinguished experts from around the world.

Second, we have long been advocates of the principle of universality. In support of this principle, and in conjunction with U.N. efforts to reduce regional tensions, the United States fully supports U.N. membership for the Republic of Korea. We do so without prejudice to the ultimate objective of reunification of the Korean peninsula, and without opposition to simultaneous membership for the Democratic People's Republic of Korea.

Building on these and other initiatives, we must join together in a new compact -- all of us -- to bring the United Nations into the 21st Century. And I call today for a major, long-term effort to do this. *We should build on the success of our distinguished my long-time friend and colleague, Javier Perez de Cuellar.* ~~It would be built around the search for a new Secretary-General, instituting programs of change and revision as he or she assumes office. It should be based on a U.N. major legacy that will be left to us all for promoting the efficiency and effectiveness of the U.N. -- the serious studies~~

~~of my old friend and colleague, Javier Perez de Cuellar.~~ \\\

The United States is committed to playing its part. We offer our continuing leadership, helping to maintain global security, promoting democracy and prosperity. My Administration is fully committed to supporting the United Nations, and to paying what we are obliged to pay by our commitment to the Charter. International peace and security -- and international freedom and prosperity -- require ~~not a penny~~<sup>no</sup> less. \\\

The world must know and understand: From this hour, from this day, from this hall -- we step forth with a new sense of purpose, a new sense of possibilities. We stand together, prepared to swim upstream, to march uphill, to tackle the tough challenges as they come -- not only as the United Nations -- but as the nations of the world united. \\\

Let it be said of the final decade of the 20th Century: This was a time when humankind came into its own. When we emerged from the grit and the smoke of the industrial age to bring about a revolution of the spirit and of the mind, and began a journey into a new day, a new age, and a new partnership of nations.

The U.N. is now fulfilling its promise as the world's parliament of peace. I congratulate you. I support you. And I wish you Godspeed in the challenges ahead.

Thank you.

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Let me take this opportunity to make the policy of my government clear. The United States supports the use of sanctions to persuade Iraq's leaders to withdraw immediately and without condition from Kuwait. We also support the provision of food for humanitarian purposes so long as distribution can be properly monitored. We have no quarrel with the people of Iraq; we do not wish for them to suffer.

We have dispatched military forces to the region to enforce sanctions and to deter and if need be defend against further aggression. We seek no advantage for ourselves. Nor do we seek to maintain our military forces in Saudi Arabia for one day longer than is necessary. U.S. forces were sent at the request of the Saudi Government; U.S. forces will depart the same way.

Let me also emphasize that we <sup>hope</sup> ~~wish for~~ military forces <sup>will</sup> never <sup>have</sup> to be used. We seek a peaceful outcome. And we seek a diplomatic outcome. And one more thing: in the aftermath of Iraq's unconditional departure from Kuwait, I truly believe that there may be opportunities--for Iraq and Kuwait to settle their differences permanently, for the states of the Gulf themselves to build new arrangements for stability, and for all the states and peoples of the region to settle the conflict that divides the Arabs from Israel. But first we must demonstrate that aggression <sup>will</sup> ~~is not to~~ be tolerated or rewarded.