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Folder Title:
Conference on Security & Cooperation in Europe (C.S.C.E.) Ministerial 10/1/90 [OA 5377]

Stack:	Row:	Section:	Shelf:	Position:
G	26	16	4	7

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

September 28, 1990

MEMORANDUM FOR THE PRESIDENT

THROUGH: CHRISS WINSTON *W*
FROM: DAN MCGROARTY *DMcG*
SUBJECT: C.S.C.E. MINISTERIAL

I. SUMMARY

On Monday, October 1, 1990, at 3:00 p.m., you will deliver the opening address for the C.S.C.E. Ministerial at the Jacob Javits Center in New York City. You will be introduced by Secretary Baker. There will be about 800 people there, including the foreign ministers from the 35 C.S.C.E. countries.

II. DISCUSSION

The remarks (8 minutes/cards) discuss the important role the C.S.C.E. will play in the newly united Europe, and recalls the outlines for a new, stronger C.S.C.E. that were proposed at the London NATO summit.

#

McGroarty/Dooley
September 28, 1990
2:00 pm
[CSCE.UN]

PRESIDENTIAL REMARKS: C.S.C.E. MINISTERIAL
NEW YORK CITY, NEW YORK
OCTOBER 1, 1990
3:00 PM

On behalf of the American people, it is my great pleasure to welcome all of you to the United States. // It is especially fitting that this meeting of the Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe -- the first ever on American soil -- comes at this time of momentous change. For just as Europe enters a new and promising era -- so, too, do America's relations with Europe. //

We Americans are bound to Europe by ancestral ties -- by a shared heritage and history, and the common bonds of culture.
/// Through the Atlantic Alliance and the broader partnership that bind our two continents and our peoples, together we have brought about the end of Europe's division -- and set our eyes on a new Europe, whole and free. // Together, we can forge a new transatlantic partnership in the CSCE -- a commonwealth of free nations that spans the ocean between us. ///

In this past year, we have witnessed a world of change. // Moments ago -- right here in this building -- [[I joined]] the Foreign Ministers of France, Great Britain, the Soviet Union and the United States [[as they]] signed the document suspending all remaining Four Power rights and responsibilities in Germany --

effective at the moment of German unification. /// With those final strokes of the pen ends an era of discord and division -- a dark chapter in the history of Europe, and the world. ///

The way is now open for a united, sovereign and democratic Germany. We rejoice with the German people that their nation is united once more -- and welcome a united Germany into the CSCE's community of states. ///

Germany's long-awaited day of celebration is merely the culmination of a year of change that transformed a continent. //

This transformation is testimony to the power of the principles in the founding charter of the CSCE -- the Helsinki Final Act. // There -- in the human rights and fundamental freedoms set down in Helsinki 15 years ago -- we find the cause and catalyst of what I call the Revolution of 89. //

In the darkest days of dictatorship, those principles blazed forth -- a bright star, inspiring ordinary men to extraordinary acts. // Think of **Walesa**, the father of Solidarity. // Of **Sakharov** and **Scharansky** -- of their unflinching humanity in the face of repression. // Of **Havel**, **Mazowiecki** [Mah-zo-VYET-ski] and **Antall**: not so very long ago political prisoners -- now President and Prime Ministers of three of the world's newest democracies. // Think of all the millions of ordinary men and women: at long last, free to speak their minds -- free to live, work and worship as they wish. ///

CSCE shares in this monumental triumph of the human spirit. /// **Our challenge now** is to keep pace with the tremendous

political transformations that have changed the face of Europe -- to create a CSCE that can consolidate these great gains for freedom -- and bring East and West together. // In Eastern and Central Europe -- a CSCE capable of helping hard-won democratic principles take root and draw strength. A CSCE that can help secure a firm foundation for freedom in the new Europe now emerging. //

In July, at the London Summit, the leaders of the Atlantic Alliance put forward a series of proposals aimed at strengthening the CSCE -- and channeling its energies in new directions.

We urge the member nations of the CSCE:

** To create a **Center for the Prevention of Conflict** -- to build on the CSCE's success in establishing confidence and security-building measures that have done so much to reduce the **risk of war by accident or miscalculation**. //

** To establish a small **permanent secretariat** to serve the CSCE -- one that could support an accelerated schedule of CSCE consultations and review conferences. ///

** To create a CSCE **elections office** -- to foster free and fair elections: the fundamental democratic principle from which all others follow. //

And on behalf of the United States, let me say that I hope these new institutions can be situated -- whenever possible -- in the new democracies of Central and Eastern Europe. //

** And finally, at the London Summit we issued an invitation to member nations to convene an **"Assembly of Europe"**: a parliament

where the growing family of democracies, [old and new], can chart a common course towards this new Europe, whole and free. ///

Today, as we prepare for a summit of the CSCE nations -- I urge the ministers to make **this meeting** a milestone in the history of the CSCE. ///

To this end, let me mention one more area where rapid progress is critical: the on-going negotiations on **Conventional Forces in Europe.** //

An agreement to reduce conventional forces remains the cornerstone of a new security architecture for Europe. For that reason, the United States believes a conventional arms accord is an essential prerequisite to a CSCE Summit. //

So today, I call on the negotiators now working in Vienna to **redouble their efforts in the weeks ahead.** // We must resolve outstanding issues and reach agreement -- so that a Summit can be held this year. ///

Fifteen years ago -- in a Europe divided East from West -- the CSCE offered a vision of a Europe united -- whole and free. // Today -- with that new Europe within reach -- the CSCE remains central to all that Europe can become. ///

Once again, welcome. // May the spirit that has carried Europe forward guide your discussions -- and may you meet with every success.

#

WE URGE THE MEMBER NATIONS OF THE CSCE:

** TO CREATE A CENTER FOR THE PREVENTION OF CONFLICT
-- TO BUILD ON THE CSCE'S SUCCESS IN ESTABLISHING
CONFIDENCE AND SECURITY-BUILDING MEASURES THAT HAVE
DONE SO MUCH TO REDUCE THE RISK OF WAR BY ACCIDENT OR
MISCALCULATION. ^{↑ AND TO CONCILIATE DISPUTES.} //

** TO ESTABLISH A SMALL PERMANENT SECRETARIAT TO SERVE
THE CSCE -- ONE THAT COULD SUPPORT AN ACCELERATED
SCHEDULE OF CSCE CONSULTATIONS AND REVIEW CONFERENCES.
///

** TO CREATE A CSCE ELECTIONS OFFICE -- TO FOSTER FREE
AND FAIR ELECTIONS: THE FUNDAMENTAL DEMOCRATIC
PRINCIPLE FROM WHICH ALL OTHERS FOLLOW. //

C.S.C.E. MINISTERIAL \ NEW YORK CITY, NEW YORK
OCTOBER 1, 1990 \ 3:00 PM

ON BEHALF OF THE AMERICAN PEOPLE, IT IS MY GREAT PLEASURE TO WELCOME ALL OF YOU TO THE UNITED STATES. // IT IS ESPECIALLY FITTING THAT THIS MEETING OF THE CONFERENCE ON SECURITY AND COOPERATION IN EUROPE -- THE FIRST EVER ON AMERICAN SOIL -- COMES AT THIS TIME OF MOMENTOUS CHANGE. FOR JUST AS EUROPE ENTERS A NEW AND PROMISING ERA -- SO, TOO, DO AMERICA'S RELATIONS WITH EUROPE. //

- 2 -

WE AMERICANS ARE BOUND TO EUROPE BY A SHARED HERITAGE AND HISTORY, AND THE COMMON BONDS OF CULTURE. /// THROUGH THE ATLANTIC ALLIANCE AND THE BROADER PARTNERSHIP THAT BIND OUR TWO CONTINENTS AND OUR PEOPLES, TOGETHER WE HAVE BROUGHT ABOUT THE END OF EUROPE'S DIVISION -- AND SET OUR EYES ON A NEW EUROPE, WHOLE AND FREE. // TOGETHER, WE CAN FORGE A NEW TRANSATLANTIC PARTNERSHIP IN THE CSCE -- A COMMONWEALTH OF FREE NATIONS THAT SPANS THE OCEAN BETWEEN US. ///

IN THIS PAST YEAR, WE HAVE WITNESSED A WORLD OF CHANGE. // MOMENTS AGO -- RIGHT HERE IN THIS BUILDING -- THE FOREIGN MINISTERS OF FRANCE, GREAT BRITAIN, THE SOVIET UNION AND THE UNITED STATES SIGNED THE DOCUMENT SUSPENDING ALL REMAINING FOUR POWER RIGHTS AND RESPONSIBILITIES IN GERMANY -- EFFECTIVE AT THE MOMENT OF GERMAN UNIFICATION. /// WITH THOSE FINAL STROKES OF THE PEN ENDS AN ERA OF DISCORD AND DIVISION. ///

THE WAY IS NOW OPEN FOR A UNITED, SOVEREIGN AND DEMOCRATIC GERMANY. WE REJOICE WITH THE GERMAN PEOPLE THAT THEIR NATION IS UNITED ONCE MORE -- AND WILL SOON WELCOME A UNITED GERMANY INTO THE CSCE'S COMMUNITY OF STATES. ///

GERMANY'S LONG-AWAITED DAY OF CELEBRATION IS THE CULMINATION OF A YEAR OF CHANGE THAT TRANSFORMED A CONTINENT. //

THIS TRANSFORMATION IS TESTIMONY TO THE POWER OF THE PRINCIPLES IN THE FOUNDING CHARTER OF THE CSCE -- THE HELSINKI FINAL ACT. // THERE -- IN THE HUMAN RIGHTS AND FUNDAMENTAL FREEDOMS SET DOWN IN HELSINKI 15 YEARS AGO -- WE FIND THE CAUSE AND CATALYST OF WHAT I CALL THE REVOLUTION OF 89. //

IN THE DARKEST DAYS OF DICTATORSHIP, THOSE PRINCIPLES BLAZED FORTH -- A BRIGHT STAR, INSPIRING ORDINARY PEOPLE TO EXTRAORDINARY ACTS. //

THINK OF WALESZA, THE FATHER OF SOLIDARITY. // OF SAKHAROV -- AND HIS UNFLINCHING HUMANITY IN THE FACE OF REPRESSION. // OF HAVEL, MAZOWIECKI [MAH-ZO-VYET-SKI] AND ANTALL: NOT SO VERY LONG AGO POLITICAL PRISONERS -- NOW PRESIDENT AND PRIME MINISTERS OF THREE OF THE WORLD'S NEWEST DEMOCRACIES. AND ZHELEV, ANOTHER EX-POLITICAL PRISONER, NOW PRESIDENT OF BULGARIA. //

THINK OF ALL THE MILLIONS OF ORDINARY MEN AND WOMEN:
AT LONG LAST, FREE TO SPEAK THEIR MINDS -- FREE TO
LIVE, WORK AND WORSHIP AS THEY WISH. ///

CSCE SHARES IN THIS MONUMENTAL TRIUMPH OF THE HUMAN
SPIRIT. /// OUR CHALLENGE NOW IS TO KEEP PACE WITH
THE TREMENDOUS POLITICAL TRANSFORMATIONS THAT HAVE
CHANGED THE FACE OF EUROPE -- TO CREATE A CSCE THAT CAN
CONSOLIDATE THESE GREAT GAINS FOR FREEDOM -- AND BRING
EAST AND WEST TOGETHER. //

IN EASTERN AND CENTRAL EUROPE -- A CSCE CAPABLE OF
HELPING HARD-WON DEMOCRATIC PRINCIPLES TAKE ROOT AND
DRAW STRENGTH. A CSCE THAT CAN HELP SECURE A FIRM
FOUNDATION FOR FREEDOM IN THE NEW EUROPE NOW EMERGING.
//

IN JULY, AT THE LONDON SUMMIT, THE LEADERS OF THE
ATLANTIC ALLIANCE PUT FORWARD A SERIES OF PROPOSALS
AIMED AT STRENGTHENING THE CSCE -- AND CHANNELING ITS
ENERGIES IN NEW DIRECTIONS.

WE URGE THE MEMBER NATIONS OF THE CSCE:

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** TO CREATE A CSCE ELECTIONS OFFICE -- TO FOSTER FREE
AND FAIR ELECTIONS: THE FUNDAMENTAL DEMOCRATIC
PRINCIPLE FROM WHICH ALL OTHERS FOLLOW. //

AND ON BEHALF OF THE UNITED STATES, LET ME SAY THAT I HOPE THESE NEW INSTITUTIONS CAN BE SITUATED -- WHENEVER POSSIBLE -- IN THE NEW DEMOCRACIES OF CENTRAL AND EASTERN EUROPE. //

** AND FINALLY, AT THE LONDON SUMMIT WE ISSUED AN INVITATION TO MEMBER NATIONS TO CONVENE AN "ASSEMBLY OF EUROPE": A PARLIAMENT WHERE THE GROWING FAMILY OF DEMOCRACIES, [OLD AND NEW], CAN CHART A COMMON COURSE TOWARDS THIS NEW EUROPE, WHOLE AND FREE. ///

TODAY, AS WE PREPARE FOR A SUMMIT OF THE CSCE NATIONS -- I URGE THE MINISTERS TO MAKE THIS MEETING A MILESTONE IN THE HISTORY OF THE CSCE. ///

TO THIS END, LET ME MENTION ONE MORE AREA WHERE RAPID PROGRESS IS CRITICAL: THE ON-GOING NEGOTIATIONS ON CONVENTIONAL FORCES IN EUROPE. //

AN AGREEMENT TO REDUCE CONVENTIONAL FORCES REMAINS THE CORNERSTONE OF A NEW SECURITY ARCHITECTURE FOR EUROPE.

FOR THAT REASON, THE UNITED STATES BELIEVES A
CONVENTIONAL ARMS ACCORD IS AN ESSENTIAL PREREQUISITE
TO A CSCE SUMMIT. //

SO TODAY, I CALL ON THE NEGOTIATORS NOW WORKING IN
VIENNA TO REDOUBLE THEIR EFFORTS IN THE WEEKS AHEAD.

// WE MUST RESOLVE OUTSTANDING ISSUES AND REACH
AGREEMENT -- SO THAT A SUMMIT CAN BE HELD THIS YEAR.

///

FIFTEEN YEARS AGO -- IN A EUROPE DIVIDED EAST FROM
WEST -- THE CSCE OFFERED A VISION OF A EUROPE UNITED
-- WHOLE AND FREE. /// TODAY -- WITH THAT NEW EUROPE
WITHIN REACH -- THE CSCE REMAINS CENTRAL TO ALL THAT
EUROPE CAN BECOME. ///

ONCE AGAIN, WELCOME. // MAY THE SPIRIT THAT HAS
CARRIED EUROPE FORWARD GUIDE YOUR DISCUSSIONS -- AND
MAY YOU MEET WITH EVERY SUCCESS.

#

WHITE HOUSE STAFFING MEMORANDUM
90 OCT 1 P3:31

DATE: 10/1/90 ACTION/CONCURRENCE/COMMENT DUE BY: _____

SUBJECT: PRESIDENTIAL REMARKS: C.S.C.E MINISTERIAL

	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 type="checkbox"/>	NEWMAN	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
SCOWCROFT	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	PORTER	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>
DARMAN	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	ROGICH	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
CARD	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	UNTERMEYER	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
CICCONI	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<u>Rogers</u>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>
DEMAREST	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<u>Pinkerton</u>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>
FITZWATER	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<u>Winsten</u>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" 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 checked="" 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

September 28, 1990

30 SEP 28 P2:39

MEMORANDUM FOR THE PRESIDENT

THROUGH: CHRISS WINSTON *W*
FROM: DAN MCGROARTY *DMG*
SUBJECT: C.S.C.E. MINISTERIAL

I. SUMMARY

On Monday, October 1, 1990, at 3:00 p.m., you will deliver the opening address for the C.S.C.E. Ministerial at the Jacob Javits Center in New York City. You will be introduced by Secretary Baker. There will be about 800 people there, including the foreign ministers from the 35 C.S.C.E. countries.

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We Americans are bound to Europe by ancestral ties -- by a shared heritage and history, and the common bonds of culture.
/// Through the Atlantic Alliance and the broader partnership that bind our two continents and our peoples, together we have brought about the end of Europe's division -- and set our eyes on a new Europe, whole and free. // Together, we can forge a new transatlantic partnership in the CSCE -- a commonwealth of free nations that spans the ocean between us. ///

In this past year, we have witnessed a world of change. // Moments ago -- right here in this building -- [[I joined]] the Foreign Ministers of France, Great Britain, the Soviet Union and the United States [[as they]] signed the document suspending all remaining Four Power rights and responsibilities in Germany --

effective at the moment of German unification. /// With those final strokes of the pen ends an era of discord and division -- a dark chapter in the history of Europe, and the world. ///

The way is now open for a united, sovereign and democratic Germany. We rejoice with the German people that their nation is united once more -- and welcome a united Germany into the CSCE's community of states. ///

Germany's long-awaited day of celebration is merely the culmination of a year of change that transformed a continent. //

This transformation is testimony to the power of the principles in the founding charter of the CSCE -- the Helsinki Final Act. // There -- in the human rights and fundamental freedoms set down in Helsinki 15 years ago -- we find the cause and catalyst of what I call the Revolution of 89. //

In the darkest days of dictatorship, those principles blazed forth -- a bright star, inspiring ordinary men to extraordinary acts. // Think of Walesa, the father of Solidarity. // Of Sakharov and Scharansky -- of their unflinching humanity in the face of repression. // Of Havel, Mazowiecki [Mah-zo-VYET-ski] and Antall: not so very long ago political prisoners -- now President and Prime Ministers of three of the world's newest democracies. // Think of all the millions of ordinary men and women: at long last, free to speak their minds -- free to live, work and worship as they wish. ///

CSCE shares in this monumental triumph of the human spirit. /// Our challenge now is to keep pace with the tremendous

political transformations that have changed the face of Europe -
 - to create a CSCE that can consolidate these great gains for
 freedom -- and bring East and West together. // In Eastern and
 Central Europe -- a CSCE capable of helping hard-won democratic
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 these new institutions can be situated -- whenever possible -- in
 the new democracies of Central and Eastern Europe. //

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where the growing family of democracies, [old and new], can chart a common course towards this new Europe, whole and free. ///

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America's destiny and Europe's are inseparably linked.

We Americans are bound to Europe ~~by ancestral ties~~ -- by a shared heritage and history, and the common bonds of culture.

/// Through the Atlantic Alliance and the broader partnership that bind our two continents and our peoples, together we have brought about the end of Europe's division -- and set our eyes on a new Europe, whole and free. // Together, we can forge a new transatlantic partnership in the CSCE -- a commonwealth of free nations that spans the ocean between us. ///

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 final strokes of the pen ends an era of discord and division ~~[- a~~
~~dark chapter in the history of Europe, and the world].~~ ///

The way is now open for a united, sovereign and democratic
 Germany. We rejoice with the German people that their nation is
 united once more -- and ^{will soon} welcome a united Germany into the CSCE's
community of states. ///

Germany's long-awaited day of celebration is ~~merely~~ the
 culmination of a year of change that transformed a continent. // o/c

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In the darkest days of dictatorship, those principles blazed
 forth -- a bright star, inspiring ordinary ^{people} ~~men~~ to extraordinary
acts. // Think of Walesa, the father of Solidarity. // Of
Sakharov ~~and Scharansky~~ -- of ^{his} ~~their~~ unflinching humanity in the
 face of repression. // Of Havel, Mazowiecki [Mah-zo-VYET-ski]
 and Antall: not so very long ago political prisoners -- now
President and Prime Ministers of three of the world's newest
democracies. // Think of all the millions of ordinary men and
 women: at long last, free to speak their minds -- free to live,
work and worship as they wish. ///

CSCE shares in this monumental triumph of the human spirit. <sup>And Zhelyu, another ex
 political prisoner, now
 Pres. of
 Bulg</sup>
 /// Our challenge now is to keep pace with the tremendous

WHITE HOUSE STAFFING MEMORANDUM

90 SEP 28 09:49

DATE: 09/26/90 ACTION/CONCURRENCE/COMMENT DUE BY: 2:00 p.m. 09/27

SUBJECT: PRESIDENTIAL REMARKS: C.S.C.E. MINISTERIAL, NEW YORK
(09/26 5:00 p.m. draft)

	ACTION FYI			ACTION	FYI
VICE PRESIDENT	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	MCCLURE	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
SUNUNU	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input 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 checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
CARD	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	UNTERMEYER	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
CICCONI	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	ROGERS	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>
DEMAREST	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	PINKERTON	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
FITZWATER	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	WINSTON	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" 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 2:00 p.m. on 09/27, with a copy to my office. Thanks.

RESPONSE:

Minor comments
AA

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

90 SEP 25 PM 5:17

McGroarty/Dooley
September 26, 1990
5:00 pm
[CSCE.UN]

PRESIDENTIAL REMARKS: C.S.C.E. MINISTERIAL
NEW YORK CITY, NEW YORK
OCTOBER 1, 1990
3:00 PM

[Introductory acknowledgements.] It is a pleasure to welcome all of you to the United States -- and my great honor to host this, the first-ever C.S.C.E. Ministerial held on American soil. //

Welcome also to all our guests -- from more than 80 nations across the globe. Your presence here ~~today~~ ^{is an important} reminds ~~us~~ ^{that} the concerns that bring the nations of Europe and North America together ^{today} affect the future of peace and freedom not only across the Atlantic -- but around the world. ///

In this past year, we've witnessed a world of change -- and even now a new world continues to unfold before our eyes. // Moments ago -- right here in this building -- I looked on as the delegates of the Four Powers in Germany formally relinquished the rights and responsibilities they had held for 45 years. /// With those final strokes of the pen ends an era of discord and division -- a dark chapter in the history of Europe, and the world. ///

Mr. Genscher and Mr. de Maiziere: No longer is your nation -- so long divided East from West -- a symbol of Cold War and conflict. // No longer is Germany one nation split between two

worlds. /// We rejoice with you and the German people that your nation is united once more. //

Germany's long-awaited day of celebration is merely the most recent in a chain-reaction of changes this past year that transformed a continent, ~~and swept away forever an era of discord and division.~~ and swept away forever an era of ~~discord and division.~~ //

This transformation is testimony to the power of the principles in the founding charter of the CSCE -- the Helsinki Final Act. // There -- in the human rights and fundamental freedoms set down in Helsinki 15 years ago -- we find the cause and catalyst of what I call the Revolution of 89. //

In the darkest days of dictatorship, those principles blazed forth -- a bright star, inspiring ordinary men ^{and women} to extraordinary acts. // Think of **Walesa**, the father of Solidarity. // Of **Sakharov** and **Sharansky** -- of their unflinching humanity in the face of repression. // Of **Havel** and **Mazowiecki** [Mah-zo-VYET-ski]: not so very long ago political prisoners -- now President and Prime Minister of our newest democracies. // Think of all the millions of ordinary men and women: at long last, free to speak their minds -- free to live, work and worship as they wish. ///

CSCE shares in this monumental triumph of the human spirit. /// **Our challenge now** is to keep pace with the tremendous political transformations that have changed the face of Europe -- to create a CSCE that can remain at the cutting edge of change, and consolidate these great gains for freedom. In Eastern and

Central Europe -- a CSCE capable of helping hard-won democratic principles take root and draw strength. // And in those nations where democracy remains a dream -- a CSCE that continues to stand fast for the principles of freedom, justice, and equality, that promise life and hope. //

The outlines of this new CSCE are already becoming clear. In July, at the London NATO summit, the leaders of the Atlantic Alliance put forward a series of proposals aimed at strengthening the CSCE -- and channeling its energies in new directions.

We urge the member nations of the CSCE:

- ** To create a **Center for the Prevention of Conflict** -- to build on the CSCE's success in establishing confidence and security-building measures that have done so much to reduce the risk of war by accident or miscalculation. //
- ** To establish a small **permanent secretariat** to serve the CSCE -- one that could support an accelerated schedule of CSCE consultations and review conferences. ///
- ** To create a **CSCE elections office** -- to foster free and fair elections: the fundamental democratic principle from which ~~all~~ others follow. ///
- ** And finally, to invite member nations to convene an **"Assembly of Europe"**: a parliament where the growing family of democracies, [old and new], can chart a common course towards this new Europe, whole and free. ///

I urge the ministers to make this meeting a milestone in the history of the CSCE -- one that shapes this institution to meet the changing needs of the new Europe. ///

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#

WHITE HOUSE STAFFING MEMORANDUM

DATE: 09/26/90 ACTION/CONCURRENCE/COMMENT DUE BY: 2:00 p.m. 09/27

SUBJECT: PRESIDENTIAL REMARKS: C.S.C.E. MINISTERIAL, NEW YORK
(09/26 5:00 p.m. draft)

	ACTION FYI			ACTION FYI	
VICE PRESIDENT	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	MCCLURE	<i>N/C</i>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>
SUNUNU	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	NEWMAN		<input type="checkbox"/>
<i>Boothley</i> SCOWCROFT	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	PORTER	<i>N/C</i>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>
DARMAN <i>N/C</i>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	ROGICH	<i>N/C</i>	<input type="checkbox"/>
CARD	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	UNTERMAYER		<input type="checkbox"/>
CICCONI	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	ROGERS		<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>
DEMAREST	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	PINKERTON	<i>N/C</i>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>
FITZWATER	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	WINSTON	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>
GRAY	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	_____		<input type="checkbox"/>
HAGIN	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	_____		<input type="checkbox"/>
HOLIDAY <i>N/C</i>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	_____		<input type="checkbox"/>

REMARKS:

Please provide any comments/recommendations directly to Chriss Winston by 2:00 p.m. on 09/27, with a copy to my office. Thanks.

RESPONSE:

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

30 SEP 26 7:23 P

90 SEP 26 PM 5:17

McGroarty/Dooley
September 26, 1990
5:00 pm
[CSCE.UN]

PRESIDENTIAL REMARKS: C.S.C.E. MINISTERIAL
NEW YORK CITY, NEW YORK
OCTOBER 1, 1990
3:00 PM

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Welcome also to all our guests -- from more than 80 nations across the globe. Your presence here today reminds us that the concerns that bring the nations of Europe and North America together affect the future of peace and freedom not only across the Atlantic -- but around the world. ///

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(09/26 5:00 p.m. draft)

	ACTION FYI			ACTION FYI	
VICE PRESIDENT	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	MCCLURE	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
SUNUNU	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input 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 checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input 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"/>	ROGERS	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>
DEMAREST	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	PINKERTON	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
FITZWATER	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	WINSTON	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" 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 2:00 p.m. on 09/27, with a copy to my office. Thanks.

7930

RESPONSE:

OK BJB for SR

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

90 SEP 26 PM 5:17

McGroarty/Dooley
September 26, 1990
5:00 pm
[CSCE.UN]

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OCTOBER 1, 1990
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WHITE HOUSE STAFFING MEMORANDUM

90 SEP 28 09:31

DATE: 09/26/90 ACTION/CONCURRENCE/COMMENT DUE BY: 2:00 p.m. 09/27

SUBJECT: PRESIDENTIAL REMARKS: C.S.C.E. MINISTERIAL, NEW YORK
(09/26 5:00 p.m. draft)

	ACTION FYI			ACTION	FYI
VICE PRESIDENT	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	MCCLURE	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
SUNUNU	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input 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 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"/>	ROGERS	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>
DEMAREST	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	PINKERTON	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
FITZWATER	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	WINSTON	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" 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 2:00 p.m. on 09/27, with a copy to my office. Thanks.

RESPONSE:

10 comments 9/27

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

WHITE HOUSE STAFFING MEMORANDUM

30 SEP 27 P2: 28

DATE: 09/26/90 ACTION/CONCURRENCE/COMMENT DUE BY: 2:00 p.m. 09/27

SUBJECT: PRESIDENTIAL REMARKS: C.S.C.E. MINISTERIAL, NEW YORK
(09/26 5:00 p.m. draft)

	ACTION FYI			ACTION FYI	
	ACTION	FYI		ACTION	FYI
VICE PRESIDENT	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	MCCLURE	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
SUNUNU	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input 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 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"/>	ROGERS	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>
DEMAREST	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	PINKERTON	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
FITZWATER	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	WINSTON	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" 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:

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RESPONSE: *No comment*

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

Ciceoni / Gardner edits

90 SEP 25 PM 5:17

McGroarty/Dooley
September 26, 1990
5:00 pm
[CSCE.UN]

PRESIDENTIAL REMARKS: C.S.C.E. MINISTERIAL
NEW YORK CITY, NEW YORK
OCTOBER 1, 1990
3:00 PM

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Folder

McGroarty/Dooley
September 26, 1990
5:00 pm
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OCTOBER 1, 1990
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An agreement to reduce conventional forces remains the cornerstone of a new security architecture for Europe. For that reason, the United States believes a conventional arms accord is an essential prerequisite to a CSCE Summit. // And in spite of the very real progress our negotiators report, difficult decisions and complex arms issues remain unresolved. //

So today, I call on all the Ministers gathered here to take this message to the negotiators now working in Vienna: **We must redouble our efforts in the weeks ahead.** // We must resolve outstanding issues and reach agreement -- so that a Summit can be held this year. ///

Fifteen years ago -- in a Europe divided East from West -- the CSCE offered a vision of a Europe united -- whole and free. /// Today -- with that new Europe within reach -- the CSCE remains central to all that Europe can become. ///

Once again, welcome. // May the spirit that has carried Europe forward guide your discussions -- and may you meet with every success.

#

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

September 27, 1990

MEMORANDUM FOR CHRISS WINSTON

FROM: ROGER B. PORTER *RBP*

SUBJECT: Presidential Remarks: C.S.C.E. Ministerial, New
York

We have reviewed the attached draft and have no suggested changes from a policy standpoint. We approve of the draft remarks in their current form.

cc: James W. Cicconi

WHITE HOUSE STAFFING MEMORANDUM

DATE: 09/26/90 ACTION/CONCURRENCE/COMMENT DUE BY: 2:00 p.m. 09/27

SUBJECT: PRESIDENTIAL REMARKS: C.S.C.E. MINISTERIAL, NEW YORK
(09/26 5:00 p.m. draft)

	ACTION FYI			ACTION	FYI
VICE PRESIDENT	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	MCCLURE	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
SUNUNU	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input 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 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"/>	ROGERS	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>
DEMAREST	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	PINKERTON	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
FITZWATER	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	WINSTON	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" 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 2:00 p.m. on 09/27, with a copy to my office. Thanks.

Steve:

RESPONSE:

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

90 SEP 26 PM 5:17

McGroarty/Dooley
September 26, 1990
5:00 pm
[CSCE.UN]

PRESIDENTIAL REMARKS: C.S.C.E. MINISTERIAL
NEW YORK CITY, NEW YORK
OCTOBER 1, 1990
3:00 PM

[Introductory acknowledgements.] It is a pleasure to welcome all of you to the United States -- and my great honor to host this, the first-ever C.S.C.E. Ministerial held on American soil. //

Welcome also to all our guests -- from more than 80 nations across the globe. Your presence here today reminds us that the concerns that bring the nations of Europe and North America together affect the future of peace and freedom not only across the Atlantic -- but around the world. ///

In this past year, we've witnessed a world of change -- and even now a new world continues to unfold before our eyes. // Moments ago -- right here in this building -- I looked on as the delegates of the Four Powers in Germany formally relinquished the rights and responsibilities they had held for 45 years. /// With those final strokes of the pen ends an era of discord and division -- a dark chapter in the history of Europe, and the world. ///

Mr. Genscher and Mr. de Maiziere: No longer is your nation -- so long divided East from West -- a symbol of Cold War and conflict. // No longer is Germany one nation split between two

worlds. /// We rejoice with you and the German people that your nation is united once more. //

Germany's long-awaited day of celebration is merely the most recent in a chain-reaction of changes this past year that transformed a continent -- and swept away forever an era of discord and division. //

This transformation is testimony to the power of the principles in the founding charter of the CSCE -- the Helsinki Final Act. // There -- in the human rights and fundamental freedoms set down in Helsinki 15 years ago -- we find the cause and catalyst of what I call the Revolution of 89. //

In the darkest days of dictatorship, those principles blazed forth -- a bright star, inspiring ordinary men to extraordinary acts. // Think of **Walesa**, the father of Solidarity. // Of **Sakharov** and **Sharansky** -- of their unflinching humanity in the face of repression. // Of **Havel** and **Mazowiecki** [Mah-zo-VYET-ski]: not so very long ago political prisoners -- now President and Prime Minister of our newest democracies. // Think of all the millions of ordinary men and women: at long last, free to speak their minds -- free to live, work and worship as they wish.

///

CSCE shares in this monumental triumph of the human spirit. /// **Our challenge now** is to keep pace with the tremendous political transformations that have changed the face of Europe - - to create a CSCE that can remain at the cutting edge of change, and consolidate these great gains for freedom. In Eastern and

Central Europe -- a CSCE capable of helping hard-won democracy take root and draw strength. // And in those nations where democracy remains a dream -- a CSCE that continues to stand fast for the principles of freedom that promise life and hope. //

The outlines of this new CSCE are already becoming clear. In July, at the London NATO summit, the leaders of the Atlantic Alliance put forward a series of proposals aimed at strengthening the CSCE -- and channeling its energies in new directions.

We urge the member nations of the CSCE:

** To create a **Center for the Prevention of Conflict** -- to build on the CSCE's success in establishing confidence and security-building measures that have done so much to reduce the **risk of war by accident or miscalculation**. //

** To establish a small **permanent secretariat** to serve the CSCE -- one that could support an accelerated schedule of CSCE consultations and review conferences. ///

** To create a **CSCE elections office** -- to foster free and fair elections: the fundamental democratic principle from which all others follow. ///

** And finally, to invite member nations to convene an **"Assembly of Europe"**: a parliament where the growing family of democracies, [old and new], can chart a common course towards this new Europe, whole and free. ///

I urge the ministers to make this meeting a milestone in the history of the CSCE -- one that shapes this institution to meet the changing needs of the new Europe. ///

And let me mention one more area where rapid progress is critical: the on-going negotiations on **Conventional Forces in Europe**. //

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HAGIN	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>		<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
HOLIDAY	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>		<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>

REMARKS:

Please provide any comments/recommendations directly to Chriss Winston by 2:00 p.m. on 09/27, with a copy to my office. Thanks.

RESPONSE:

NO COMMENTS. THANKS.
 HOLLY WILLIAMSON *HW*
 9-27-90

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

WHITE HOUSE STAFFING MEMORANDUM



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REMARKS:

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RESPONSE:

No Comment.

90 SEP 27 12:35:06

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