

President George H.W. Bush Oral History Project

Briefing Materials

Thomas R. Pickering

December 14, 2010

Prepared by M. Joel Voss, Research Assistant
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MAY NOT BE REPRODUCED OR CIRCULATED

THOMAS R. PICKERING NEWS TIMELINE

Prepared by M. Joel Voss

Miller Center of Public Affairs, University of Virginia, 08/19/2010

- 1953-1956** Thomas Pickering earns his B.A. from Bowdoin College, an M.A. from the Fletcher School of Law and Diplomacy at Tufts University, and an M.A. from the University of Melbourne in Australia. (<http://www.state.gov>)
- 1956-1959** Pickering is on active duty in the United States Navy.
- 1959-1961** Pickering serves in the Bureau of Intelligence and Research in the Arms Control and Disarmament Agency of the State Department. (<http://www.state.gov>)
- 1962-1964** Pickering receives an assignment to Geneva. He serves as a political advisor to the U.S. Delegation to the Eighteen Nation Committee on Disarmament. (<http://www.state.gov>)
- 1965-1967** Pickering serves in the U.S. embassies at Zanzibar and Tanzania. (<http://www.state.gov>)
- 1969** Pickering returns to Washington D.C. to serve as the deputy director of the Bureau of Political-Military Affairs. (<http://www.state.gov>)
- 1973-1974** Pickering serves as the Executive Secretary of the Department of State and Special Assistant to Secretaries Henry Kissinger and William Rogers. (<http://www.state.gov>)
- 1974-1978** Pickering serves as ambassador to Jordan. (<http://www.sourcewatch.org>)
- 1978-1981** Pickering serves as assistant secretary for Oceans and International Environmental and Scientific Affairs at the State Department. (<http://www.sourcewatch.org>)
- 1981-1983** Pickering serves as ambassador to Nigeria. (<http://www.sourcewatch.org>)
- 1983-1985** Pickering serves as ambassador to El Salvador. (<http://www.state.gov>)
- 1985-1988** Pickering serves as ambassador to Israel. (<http://www.state.gov>)
- 1988**
- December* On the 6th, President-elect George H. W. Bush names Pickering as United States ambassador to the United Nations (UN). (*The New York Times*, 12/07/1988)

1989

- March* On the 20th, Pickering is sworn in as ambassador to the UN. (*The Washington Post*, 03/20/1989)
- June* In response to an American veto of a UN resolution condemning Israel's policies in its occupied territories, Pickering states, "The American dissenting vote was in reaction to the resolution's 'unbalanced' condemnation of Israel 'without any reference to any of the serious acts of violence by the other side.'" However, he urges Israel to exercise restraint in the occupied territories. (*The New York Times*, 06/10/1989)
- August* On the 31st, after a United States abstention of a UN Security Council (UNSC) vote condemning Israel for forced deportations, Pickering states, "We do not believe that repeated resort to the Security Council will help address the underlying problems of finding peace." (*The Washington Post*, 08/31/1989)
- October* On the 23rd, Pickering says that he believes the Nicaraguan Sandinistas are attempting to rig elections in the country. Pickering states, "Managua views democratic reform as 'little more than another obstacle to be overcome in continuing to violate international, hemispheric and regional commitments.'" (*The Washington Times*, 10/24/1989)
- On the 25th, Pickering delivers a check for \$65 million to the UN as part of the U.S.'s dues. The total amount of U.S. dues is approximately \$216 million. (*The St. Petersburg Times*, 10/26/1989)
- November* On the 7th, the U.S. votes for a UNSC resolution to create a Central American observer group. In response to the U.S. vote, Pickering suggests that "the Sandinistas should not have ended their cease-fire recently and the rebels should not have suspended monthly talks aimed at a resolution to the conflict." (*The Washington Times*, 11/08/1989)
- On the 7th, the U.S. vetoes a UNSC resolution condemning Israel's siege of the occupied territories. Pickering defends the vote by saying "the text before the Council today, like others before it, criticizes Israeli actions without any regard for the existing political and security situation in the occupied territories." (*The New York Times*, 11/08/1989)
- December* Pickering states that the 44th session of the UN General Assembly (UNGA) is "one of the most constructive and realistic within memory." (*The New York Times*, 12/20/1989)
- Pickering suggests that the UN should refrain from discussing Panama's political turmoil until after the Organization for American States (OAS) has time to examine the situation. (*The New York Times*, 12/22/1989)

On the 23rd, the U.S., Britain, and France veto a resolution condemning U.S. intervention in Panama. Pickering argues that the intervention was a necessity to protect American citizens and the Canal. (*The New York Times*, 12/24/1989)

1990

- April* The Department of State releases its annual study on UNGA voting. The study analyzes every vote taken in the UNGA for each year. Pickering suggests that “seventy percent of the world agrees with us [U.S.] all the time.” (*The New York Times*, 04/03/1990)
- May* On the 15th, Pickering meets with the Conference of Presidents, a lobbying group which represents nearly 50 Jewish groups. The Conference of Presidents suggests that the United States “is working with Arab delegates on a resolution sharply critical of Israel’s immigration policy.” (*The New York Times*, 05/18/1990)
- June* Pickering and his wife attend a White House dinner for Mikhail Gorbachev. (*The New York Times*, 06/01/1990)
- July* After Haiti asks the UN to monitor its upcoming elections, Pickering states, “The United States is gratified by the spread of democracy in the world and thinks Haiti’s request merits sympathetic attention by the United States.” (*The New York Times*, 07/22/1990)
- August* Shortly after Iraq invades Kuwait, Pickering tells the UNSC that “it is a time for peace and diplomacy, not for war and aggression. The world is watching what we do and will not be satisfied with vacillation and procrastination.” In the meantime, the UNSC votes overwhelmingly to condemn Iraq’s actions. (*The New York Times*, 08/03/1990)
- On the 3rd, Secretary of State James Baker III and Soviet Foreign Minister Eduard Shervardnadze issue a joint U.S.- Soviet declaration condemning Iraqi aggression in the Middle East. (George Bush and Brent Scowcroft, *A World Transformed*, New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1998, p. 326)
- On the 4th, Pickering begins working on a draft resolution to sanction Iraq if the country refuses to withdraw from Kuwait. Pickering says, “There is strong interest within the Council for moving toward sanctions if Iraq fails to withdraw.” (*The New York Times*, 08/04/1990) Pickering’s efforts are part of a larger U.S. effort of “coercive diplomacy,” which starts with diplomatic pressures, then moves to economic pressure before finally increasing America’s military presence in the Middle East. Each of the three stages of coercive diplomacy uses the UN as the starting point for action. (James A. Baker, III, *The Politics of Diplomacy: Revolution, War and Peace, 1989-1992*, New York, G.P. Putnam’s Sons, 1995, p. 277)

As part of the U.S.'s efforts to create successful coercive diplomacy, Baker sets out to build a coalition against Iraq in the UN for both "legal and practical matters." (Baker, p. 279) Baker's strategy is to start with the British, then move to the French, and then the Soviets. After a consensus with them is forged, Baker plans to move on to the Chinese. Over the next month, Baker is in constant contact with diplomats in an effort to help pass UN resolutions against Iraq. (Baker, p. 280)

On the 5th, Pickering suggests that the UNSC favors curtailment of any oil trading with Iraq or now-occupied Kuwait. If the UNSC approves it, it will only be the third time in history that the UNSC has used its Article 41 powers. (*The New York Times*, 08/06/1990)

On the 6th, the UNSC votes 13-0 in favor of sanctions (UN Resolution 665). Baker calls it "a pivotal moment in the diplomatic process" because the Soviets voted in favor of sanctions against a client state. (Baker, p. 287; *The New York Times*, 08/06/1990, 08/07/1990; *The Washington Post*, 08/07/1990)

On the 9th, the UNSC declares Iraq's annexation of Kuwait null and void. The decision is unanimous. (*The New York Times*, 08/10/1990; *The Washington Post*, 08/10/1990)

On the 18th, Pickering states that the UN Secretary General has been authorized to engage immediately in the Iraq crisis by the UNSC. In the meantime, Bush calls up members of the military reserves. (*The Washington Post*, 08/18/1990)

On the 18th, after a UNSC resolution ordering Iraq to free all foreigners, Pickering states that, "Baghdad is going to hold all foreigners hostage, all third-country nationals are at risk now." (*The New York Times*, 08/19/1990)

On the 23rd, Pickering and his counterparts in Britain and France agree on a draft text calling for military action to back up sanctions against Iraq. On the 25th, the resolution is adopted. Afterwards, Pickering defends the resolution by arguing that Iraq has evaded resolutions of the UNSC and "this has prompted the council to take one of the most important decisions in its history." (*The St. Petersburg Times*, 08/26/1990; *The New York Times*, 08/24/1990)

September

The UNSC votes to limit humanitarian food aid to occupied Kuwait and Iraq. Pickering suggests the resolution is fair and that it will help maintain the UN trade embargo. (*The New York Times*, 09/14/1990)

On the 16th, Pickering calls for the UNSC to work immediately on creating new ways to enforce previous UN resolutions over Iraq. (*The New York Times*, 09/17/1990)

On the 17th, Pickering briefs Bush on how the resolution processes are unfolding in the UNSC. (*The Washington Post*, 09/18/1990)

October

On the 5th, Iraqi representatives at the UN argue that the world is near war because of U.S. actions in the region. Pickering responds by stating, “Iraq’s arguments are a distortion, a deliberate misrepresentation...Iraq has looted and pillaged in Kuwait, has tortured. Iraq is an outlaw. It violated the most basic (UN) charter obligations...Iraq should get out of Kuwait, and it should get out now.” (*The St. Petersburg Times*, 10/06/1990)

On the 12th, the UNSC votes unanimously for a resolution condemning Israeli actions in the occupied territories. However, Pickering clarifies the depth of the resolution by stating that “most obviously and certainly this resolution makes clear it does not address in any way the status of the Middle East peace process, nor does it change in any way the role of the United Nations in that regard.” (*The New York Times*, 10/13/1990)

On the 18th, Pickering meets with Jewish leadership in an effort to explain the recent U.S. vote against Israel in the UNSC. (*The New York Times*, 10/18/1990)

Pickering meets with diplomats at the UN to discuss the situation in El Salvador. (*The Washington Post*, 10/18/1990)

On the 25th, Pickering meets with representatives from Malaysia, Ethiopia, Colombia, Ivory Coast, Zaire, Yemen and Cuba, who are on the UNSC, in an effort to gain further support for new resolutions against Iraq. (*The New York Times*, 10/26/1990)

On the 29th, Pickering takes part in an informal consultation by the Security Council's Military Staff Committee, which is the UN's primary military group. The meeting comes after another UNSC resolution against Iraq. (*The Washington Post*, 10/30/1990)

November

Pickering takes over as President of the UNSC. (*The New York Times*, 11/10/1990)

Pickering states that the UN is going “back to the drawing board” over issues surrounding the Israeli-Palestinian settlement disputes. (*The New York Times*, 11/22/1990)

On the 28th, Pickering suggests that at least 13 members of the UNSC favor a resolution which would give the UN the right to use force to end the Persian Gulf Crisis. (*The New York Times*, 11/29/1990)

On the 29th, Baker chairs the Security Council resolution 678 vote calling for “all necessary means” including the use of force. The resolution passed 12-2 with

China abstaining and Cuba and Yemen voting against the resolution. The deadline for Iraq to withdraw and cooperate is set for January 15th, 1991. (Bush and Scowcroft, p. 414)

1991

January

In response to a new diplomatic effort by the French in order to exhaust all possibilities in lieu of war in the Persian Gulf, Pickering states, "No [the French proposal is not acceptable]. We made it very clear that we don't believe the creation of the linkage [between Iraq's withdrawal from Kuwait and a larger Middle East conference] that appears to be in the French text...is a real contribution at the present time....I think what they have intended to do is to somehow take an intransigent Saddam Hussein and offer him more and more." (*The Washington Post*, 01/15/1991)

On the 16th, during a private debate by the UNSC on the next steps to be taken in the Persian Gulf, the United States, Britain, and France inform the rest of the UNSC that they are now taking military action against Iraq. Pickering tells the UNSC "that the Bush Administration will hold the Iraqi leadership responsible for any destruction of Kuwait's oilfields and for any acts of terrorism carried out against the United States or our allies." (*The New York Times*, 01/17/1991)

On the 17th, the Gulf War begins with an air offensive.

On the 23rd, in response to questions by reporters asking if the UNSC has any more room to create a peace settlement to end hostilities in Kuwait, Pickering states, "Such work should be done in national capitals; the Security Council is for resolutions." (*The New York Times*, 02/24/1991)

Following Iraq's refusal to accept all twelve of the resolutions passed against it, Pickering says, "The council isn't here bargaining with Iraq. It's made no deals. The council's been very clear. Tell us when you are ready to comply with the 12 resolutions, and we'll take our next steps from there." (*The New York Times*, 02/28/1991)

March

On the 1st, Iraq's UN envoy meets with Pickering and gives in to two more peace demands made by Bush on the previous night. The demands Iraq acquiesced to include releasing all POWs and promising to participate in military talks with the Allies. (*The New York Times*, 03/01/1991)

On the 2nd, the UNSC approves a resolution supporting Bush's proposition that UN troops maintain a presence in the region until Iraq acquiesces to all terms of peace negotiated by the UN. Pickering states, "[The passage of this resolution can now] turn our attention from a war we never wanted, from the tragedy precipitated by Iraq to the greatest challenge of all: building lasting peace and security." (*The New York Times*, 03/03/1991)

April After the UNSC votes to formally end hostilities in Iraq, Pickering states, “The council has just acted on one of the most important proposals ever placed before it. This resolution is unique and historic: It fulfills the hope of mankind to make the United Nations an instrument of peace and stability...It endeavors to get at the core problems which led us into the gulf crisis, and it shows us what must be done to lead us out.” (*The Washington Post*, 04/04/1991)

On the 8th, European government officials call for a safe haven for the Kurdish minority in Iraq. Pickering points out that “the general idea, including a safe haven or area of tranquility is one that ‘matches our hopes.’” (*The New York Times*, 04/09/1991)

On the 24th, Pickering says that it is highly unlikely that Saddam Hussein would face indictments on war crimes while he was still the leader of Iraq. Additionally, Pickering delivers a letter to Iraq’s Ambassador to the UN informing him that Iraq must withdraw forces near a Kurdish camp. (*The Washington Times*, 04/24/1991; *The Washington Post*, 04/26/1991)

May Asked by reporters if the U.S. would okay a request for a delay in war reparations payments by Iraq, Pickering responds that the Iraqi request for a five-year delay on war reparations is likely to occur. (*The New York Times*, 05/07/1991)

On the 24th, the UNSC votes 15-0 to condemn the Israeli practice of forced deportations inside the Palestinian territories. Pickering remarks, “The United States has consistently opposed the deportation of Palestinians.” Further, [the deportations] do not contribute to current efforts for peace.” However, he says the U.S. is convinced negotiations will move forward. (*The New York Times*, 05/25/1991)

June On the 3rd, from Bonn, Germany, Pickering argues that the “United Nations has no role to play in the current crisis in Yugoslavia unless European efforts fail.” Yugoslavia is an important international concern because the country is splintering into smaller republics and violence appears imminent. (*The Washington Post*, 06/04/1991)

July On the 15th, in response to Iraqi suggestions that the United States will attack the country again over Iraqi intransigence on weapons inspections, Pickering states, “We have extreme doubts we will hear anything but a reconfirmation of what we have already heard, which is a tale of Iraqi duplicity.” (*The St. Petersburg Times*, 07/16/1991)

On the 18th, Pickering attends a House Foreign Affairs Committee hearing concerning Iraq and weapons of mass destruction (WMD). During the meeting he testifies, “The Security Council may soon explore a measure permitting oil exports...under full and complete United Nations control to meet Iraq’s ‘minimum humanitarian needs.’” (*USA Today*, 07/19/1991) Meanwhile, the International

Atomic Energy Agency (IAEA) releases documents citing Iraq for its violations concerning agreements to release all information pertaining to its nuclear research. In response, Pickering argues that it is a “pattern of reckless defiance....” (*The Associated Press*, 07/19/1991; *The Washington Post*, 07/19/1991)

On the 25th, Iraq releases some information concerning their nuclear facilities meeting a July 24th UN deadline. (*United Press International*, 07/25/1991)

August On the 15th, the UNSC votes to allow Iraq six months to export oil for humanitarian needs. Pickering states that this allowance does not mean that sanctions are being dropped against Iraq. He explains, “In fact, it will strengthen the sanctions by preventing the Iraqi government from seeking political gains through the misery of the Iraqi people which it has caused.” (*United Press International*, 08/15/1991)

September On the 4th, while traveling in Brazil, Pickering meets with President Alfredo Cristiani of El Salvador. The two discuss peace negotiations in El Salvador prior to peace talks at the UN later in the month. (*United Press International*, 09/05/1991)

On the 16th, in response to Iraq’s proposed conditions for allowing weapons inspectors back into the country, Pickering posits that, “the Iraqi response is “not entirely negative” but “the Security Council does not accept conditional application of its resolution.” On the 17th, Pickering points out that Bush has not ruled out the possibility of military action in Iraq. (*USA Today*, 09/17/1991, 09/18/1991; *Star Tribune*, 09/18/1991)

On the 23rd, Iraq detains UN weapons inspectors. Reportedly, the inspectors had found documents showing that Iraq had a nuclear weapons program. Pickering calls the detention a “serious incident” and reaffirms the U.S.’s position that “they want unconditional acceptance of [Security Council] Resolution 707.” (*United Press International*, 09/23/1991)

On the 29th, rebels loyal to the Duvalier family stage a military coup against Haitian President Jean-Bertrand Aristide. (<http://www.state.gov>)

October On the 9th, Cyrus Vance is appointed special envoy to Yugoslavia by Secretary General Javier Perez de Cuellar in order to help broker peace in the region. On the 14th, Vance arrives in Croatia with other members of a UN fact-finding group to assess whether 10,000 UN troops should be deployed in the region. (*The Financial Times*, 10/09/1991, 10/14/1991)

On the 11th, during a speech to the UNGA, Pickering states, “The armed men who illegally seized power in Haiti are marching against the tide of history. This small band must not prevail over the more than 1.5 million people who participated in

free and fair elections in Haiti. Democracy, constitutional order, and, most importantly, the people of Haiti will triumph.” During the session, the UNGA votes unanimously to condemn the coup. (*The Associated Press*, 10/11/1991)

On the 11th, Pickering argues, “The Iraqis have shown themselves to be notoriously untrustworthy [and] as a result, obviously ongoing monitoring is required to protect the world from the re-creation of these horrible programs that Saddam has indulged himself in until now.” (*The Seattle Post-Intelligencer*, 10/12/1991)

On the 21st, Pickering meets with the House Foreign Affairs Middle East Subcommittee. The focus of the meeting quickly turns to the effect sanctions may have on children in Iraq and humanitarian problems in general. (*The Associated Press*, 10/21/1991)

December On the 29th and 30th, Pickering attends peace meetings with the UN secretary general and president of El Salvador. Reportedly, the role of U.S. diplomats in the meetings remains unclear. On the 31st, an agreement is reached ending the civil war. (*The Associated Press*, 12/30/1991, 01/01/1992)

1992

January On the 6th, Pickering addresses the UNSC regarding Israeli deportations of Palestinian civilians. Pickering states, “Any persons charged with wrongdoing, should be brought before a court of law based on the evidence, and be given a fair trial which would afford a full judicial process.... We have repeatedly urged the government of Israel to immediately and permanently cease deportations, and to comply fully with the Fourth Geneva Convention in all of the territories which it has occupied since June 5, 1967.” (*Inter Press Service*, 01/06/1992)
On the 21st, the UNSC votes unanimously to pass a resolution condemning Libya’s refusal to hand over terrorist suspects in the 1988 bombing of Pan Am Flight 103. (*The Associated Press*, 01/21/1992)

February In early February, according to Pickering, “The United Nations is considering sending another envoy to Yugoslavia to attempt to break the stalemate over peacekeepers.” Recently, the Croatian president agreed to peace terms but Serbian leaders refuse to follow suit. (*The Associated Press*, 02/07/1992)

Secret meetings are reportedly occurring between the new UN Secretary General Boutros Boutros-Ghali and Pickering over potential UN reforms. (*Inter Press Service*, 02/07/1992)

On the 17th, in response to Iraq’s ineffective response on disclosing its WMD program, the UNSC reportedly dispatches an official to Iraq to seek compliance. Pickering notes that all options are still on the table. (*Inter Press Service*, 02/18/1992; *USA Today*, 02/19/1992)

Sheikh Abbas al-Musawi, secretary-general of Hezbollah, is killed with his family and four others when Israeli helicopter gunships strike in southern Lebanon. Pickering comments, "The members of the council are deeply concerned about the renewed cycle of violence in Southern Lebanon and elsewhere in the region....The council deplores, in particular, the recent killings and the continued violence which threatens to claim additional lives and to destabilize the region." Lebanon is under the watch of the international community because the country recently ended a fifteen-year civil war. (*Inter Press Service*, 02/19/1992)

On the 21st, the UNSC agrees to send a 14,000 member peace-keeping force to Yugoslavia. Pickering asserts that "the resolution reflects the unanimity of the council's response to the situation in Yugoslavia, including its determination that the situation constitutes a threat to international peace and security." However, he notes that the cost still needs to be worked out among the UNSC members. (*United Press International*, 02/21/1992)

On the 24th, Bush officially announces that he will send Pickering to India as U.S. ambassador and nominate Edward J. Perkins as U.S. ambassador to the UN. Bush's decision draws criticism from numerous sides, because Pickering is viewed as a master diplomat by his peers and the media. (*Inter Press Service*, 02/24/1992)

March

Baker, Under Secretary of State for Political Affairs Robert Kimmitt, and Pickering develop a plan for a UN-established demilitarized zone in southern Iraq. General Norman Schwarzkopf dismisses the idea as having "no military value," and delaying U.S. withdrawal in the region. (Michael R. Gordon and Bernard E. Trainor, *The General's War*, Boston: Little, Brown, and Co., 1995, pp. 450-451)

On the 2nd, Pickering testifies before the House Foreign Affairs Subcommittee on the UN's role in Iraq. (*The San Francisco Chronicle*, 03/02/1992)

On the 11th, Pickering states, "Without full and unconditional compliance [by Iraq on weapons inspections], the chances for lifting the sanctions are nil." (*The Associated Press*, 03/11/1992) Additionally, Pickering argues that a nuclear facility at al-Atheer "should be immediately and completely destroyed" by UN inspectors. (*USA Today*, 03/13/1992)

In response to a Libyan offer to hand over suspects in the Pan Am 103 bombing, Pickering says, "It seems to be more of a stall than compliance." (*The St. Louis Post-Dispatch*, 03/24/1992) On the 31st, the UNSC votes to impose sanctions on Libya. (*United Press International*, 03/31/1992)

May

Pickering leaves his job as UN ambassador to the United Nations. (<http://archive.usun.state.gov>)

August

Pickering becomes United States ambassador to India. Over the next seven years, he goes on to become ambassador to Russia and under secretary of state for political affairs. (*United Press International*, 05/25/1992; <http://www.state.gov>)

THOMAS R. PICKERING SUGGESTED TOPICS

Prepared by M. Joel Voss

Miller Center of Public Affairs, University of Virginia, 09/01/2010

Early Relationship with Bush

- When did you first meet George H. W. Bush? What were your early impressions of him?
- How did you come to serve as United States ambassador to the United Nations (UN)? Explain the process through which you were appointed and confirmed.
- Describe your early professional and personal relationship with President Bush. How did your relationship with President Bush evolve from 1989 until the end of Bush's term?

United States Ambassador to the United Nations

- What were your primary responsibilities? With whom did you most closely work? What special difficulties arose from working at the UN?
- Do you believe the end of the Cold War had a significant effect on U.S. relations with other UN members?
- Describe your working relationship with President Bush, Congress, and the Department of State? Did you have considerable autonomy or was policy primarily determined by Baker, Bush, or other key policy makers?
- Discuss your working relationship with interest groups and NGOs?
- What were the major issues for the United States in the UN prior to the Gulf War?
- Describe your efforts to garner support for the U.S.'s invasion of Panama to remove General Noriega.
- How did your view Haiti's request that the UN monitor the island nation's elections? Discuss the UN's response to the military against Haitian President Aristide.
- Discuss Iraq's invasion of Kuwait and the immediate issues surrounding the invasion as it pertained to the United States and United Nations. Did Bush become more active in your work at the UN? If so, how?
- Discuss your working relationship with members of the United Nations Security Council (UNSC).
- Elaborate on your role in crafting and passing numerous resolutions against Iraq's actions in Kuwait during the crisis and the conflict. What were the major difficulties you faced during this time, as you tried to build an international coalition against Iraq's aggression?
- How did military action become the chosen option to the Persian Gulf Crisis? Was the decision to intervene militarily met with much resistance in the UNSC? Do you still believe military action was the best solution to Iraq's invasion of Kuwait?
- Elaborate on your efforts in the UN to end military operations against Iraq, including introducing weapons inspectors into Iraq, creating a southern demilitarized zone, and addressing the Kurdish problem in the north. How did you respond to Iraq's non-compliance with UN Resolutions 770 and 715, regarding Iraqi nuclear facilities and weapons?
- Discuss your role in the UN regarding issues surrounding Israel and the Palestinians, especially the U.S. veto of the resolution condemning Israel in June 1989 when you were the Security Council president.
- Discuss your role in the UN regarding the crisis in Yugoslavia. What was the rationale of letting the UN take the lead rather than Europe?
- Discuss your role in the UN regarding democratization in South and Central America, particularly your presence at the December 1991 meetings to end the Salvadoran civil war.
- Discuss your role in potential UN reforms during your tenure.

- Nearly 20 years after you originally stated that “efforts to settle regional conflict is a growth industry,” do you still believe this to be the case? If not, why?

Ambassador to India

- Describe your selection as U.S. ambassador to India. What did Bush discuss with you about what he wanted to accomplish in India and the region?
- What were the major issues and accomplishments you achieved and failed to achieve before President Bush left office?

The Bush Presidency in Retrospect

- What do you consider your greatest accomplishments as ambassador to the UN?
- What were the strengths and weaknesses of the Bush presidency? What features of the Bush presidency were overlooked or misunderstood by the press?
- How effective was President Bush as a foreign policy leader?
- How should the Bush presidency be viewed in history? What were its most significant achievements?
- What episodes or events are especially instructive or revealing for the historian trying to assess this presidency?

TIMELINES

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- John Wright, “Progress in Salvadoran Talks, but No Breakthrough Seen,” *The Associated Press*, 12/30/1991

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