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2009-0275-S

FOIA Number:
2009-0275-S

FOIA MARKER

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Record Group/Collection: George H.W. Bush Presidential Records
Collection/Office of Origin: Scowcroft, Brent, Collection
Series: Administrative Files
Subseries:

OA/ID Number: 85034
Folder ID Number: 85034-006

Folder Title:
Appointments Completed, January to December 1990 [2]

Stack:	Row:	Section:	Shelf:	Position:
V	0	0	0	0

Withdrawal/Redaction Sheet (George Bush Library)

Doc. No. / Type	Subject/Title	Date	Restriction	Classification
01a. Memo	Philip Zelikow to Florence E. Gantt and Wilma G. Hall Re: Meeting with Minister-President Wallman at 5:00 pm (2 pp.)	5/22/90	(b) (1)	C
01b. Report	Re: Biography (2 pp.)	5/17/90	(b)(1)	C
02. Memo	Arnold Kanter to Florence E. Gantt Re: May 11 Meeting with Ron Lehman (2 pp.)	5/10/90	(b)(1)	S
03. Handwritten Notes	Re: [Michael Sandberg] [Personal Information Redacted] (1 pp.)	n.d.	(b)(6)	
04. Memo	Sandra Charles to Brent Scowcroft and Robert M. Gates Re: Request for Meeting with Indian Principal Secretary to the Prime Minister (1 pp.)	3/29/90	(b) (1)	C
05. Memo	Adrian A. Basora to Florence E. Gantt Re: Visit of Admiral Lanxade (1 pp.)	3/29/90	(b)(1)	S
06. Letter	JayneAnne Rex to Florence Gantt Re: [photo opportunities] [Personal Information Redacted] (1 pp.)	2/27/90	(b)(6)	
07. Report	Re: Biography (1 pp.)	1/26/90	(b)(1)	C

Collection:

Record Group: Bush Presidential Records
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Series: Administrative Files
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WHORM Cat.:
File Location: Appointments Completed, January to December 1990 [2]

Pinksheet Number: cap2252
OA/ID Number: 85034-006
Date Closed: 9/20/2010
FOIA/Sys Case #: 2009-0275-S[2]
Re-review Case #:
P-2/P-5 Review Case #:

Withdrawal/Redaction Sheet (George Bush Library)

Doc. No. / Type	Subject/Title	Date	Restriction	Classification
08a. Memo	Eric Melby to Brent Scowcroft Re: White House Summit Group Meeting, Tuesday, March 27, 2:30 p.m., Situation Room (3 pp.)	3/27/90	(b)(1)	C
08b. Summary	Re: Summary of Key Points from the San Francisco Sherpa Meeting (1 pp.)	n.d.	(b)(1)	C
09. Memo	Adrian A. Basora to Florence E. Gantt Re: Visit of Pascal Lamy (2 pp.)	3/26/90	(b)(1)	S
10. Memo	Deborah Baker to Distribution List Re: Request for Meeting with General Scowcroft (1 pp.)	3/19/90	(b)(1)	C
11. Memo	Brenda I. Hilliard to Distribution List Re: Presidential Appointment (1 pp.)	3/13/90	(b)(1)	S
12. Memo	David C. Miller, Jr. to Brent Scowcroft Re: CINC's Drug Plans (1 pp.)	3/6/90	(b)(1)	S

Collection:	
Record Group:	Bush Presidential Records
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Subseries:	
WHORM Cat.:	
File Location:	Appointments Completed, January to December 1990 [2]
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Pinksheet Number:	cap2252
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General - Do you have any
interest in the Mtg on Friday?
NO ~~X~~

5:30 Fri
5/25

NATIONAL SECURITY COUNCIL

Bromley does want

21-May-1990 15:29 EDT

UNCLASSIFIED

MEMORANDUM FOR:

Florence E. Gantt

OK B

(GANTT)

FROM:

Wilma G. Hall
(HALL)

Other

SUBJECT:

Allan Bromley Meeting

Florence,

Dr. Allan Bromley just called again for General Scowcroft. He wants to schedule another meeting with General Scowcroft but also hoped to speak with him briefly on the phone to invite him to a brain-storming session from 1:30-4:30 pm on Friday, May 25th at CQ (722 Jackson Place).

At Richard McCormack's request at State, he has put together a "high-powered crew" to put together a half dozen really major changes that leaders of the Free World might have to cope with in the next 20-50 years. The President wants to discuss these issues in the G-7 discussions.

The meeting participants will include:

Felix Rohyn - Economist from New York
Bob Noise - w/INTEL
Bill Perry
Don Peterson - just retired from Ford Motor Company
Phil Abelson
Maxine Singer
Mary Good

Admiral Crowe will try to make it also.

(NOTE: Spellings of names may not be accurate)

Dr. Bromley is on the General's phone list.

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

Lambsdorf is
set to see you
at one tomorrow.

Please mention
to President
about possible
dropby at 1:15
or so.

Florence

Lambsdorff

The Chairman of the Liberal Party Count Lambsdorff is in Washington from Wednesday, May 23, to Saturday, May 26. He has come to Washington to take part in the annual conference of the Bretton Woods Committee where - together with President Delors and other important statesmen - he will make a speech on assistance to Eastern Europe.

His preferred time-frames for a meeting with the President, which we gave to your office, would be Thursday, May 24, and the morning of Friday, May 25.

Thurs
May 24
11:30 AM

May 23, 1990

General --

3-12-30

Ralph Publicover
5-2-52

Ambassador Acland called asking to come see you tomorrow before 2:00. I explained your schedule was heavy and said I would get back to them. His assistant called back and said he wanted to discuss military developments in Pakistan and Kashmir implications. He said he knew Bob had just gotten back from that area and if your schedule couldn't handle it could he discuss it with Bob Gates.

If you are interested in seeing him, you can at 11:30.

Have Bob see him _____ Go ahead, schedule at 11:30

Other _____

Florence

462-1340

Philip Zelikow
Richard Hovav

Solarz is going to try to
make it at 12:45 but
not lunch.

May 23, 1990



OK

General --

Ginny wanted to make sure you knew the following before you talk with Solarz:

We understand from Solarz' staff that he is leaning toward postponing the hearing today if we are not going to have the decision announced.

Ginny wants you to push hard to have him postpone the hearing for a few days.

Ginny is now asking if you can call Solarz + get him to postpone hearing!!

Same subject:

Jim Cicconi said we need to have the Joint Resolution re China signed today even if we aren't going to announce -- is that a problem?

Go ahead get Joint Resolution signed _____

I need to talk with Cicconi _____

Other _____

Florence

P.S. If you have not given readout on Foley call, Ginny would like a call.

NATIONAL SECURITY COUNCIL

22-May-1990 09:25 EDT

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

MEMORANDUM FOR:

Florence E. Gantt (GANTT)
Wilma G. Hall (HALL)

FROM: Philip Zelikow
(ZELIKOW)

SUBJECT: Meeting with Minister-President Wallmann at 5:00 pm

Florence/Wilma: Please pass the following to the General in preparation for his 5:00 pm meeting with Wallmann.

Wallmann, a member of the CDU, is minister-president of Hesse. He is a friend of the US, and your meeting with him will reinforce our influence with this important political figure as well as giving you a chance to gain further insight into the current FRG political situation. Wallmann is a staunch supporter of a continued US military presence in the FRG, and in Hesse, but he is concerned about the need to lower the US military profile in his state to make our presence more sustainable over the long-term. This morning's Post reported on a speech Wallmann delivered yesterday, May 21, in which he indicated his desire to see US forces leave Frankfurt, explaining: "We will belong to NATO. We want the presence of NATO and the American troops. ... But we have to be able to assure our citizens that we're prepared to take advantage of detente and that a reduction of forces will come."

Specifically, Wallmann would like to spur US-German discussions on moving American military bases away from heavily populated areas, such as Frankfurt. He would especially welcome US withdrawal from Rhein-Main AB, since he believes an expansion of Frankfurt airport is essential to Hesse's continued prosperity. The Frankfurt area leans to the left politically, and US departure from Rhein-Main (or the Maurice Rose Army Airfield) would cause little economic dislocation. Wallmann knows, however, that the US military presence in more rural areas of Hesse (like Fulda, Giessen, Hanau, and Darmstadt) is desired by those communities and is economically important to them. On the basing issue, you can assure Wallmann that we support close consultation with our German friends in deciding how to drawdown our presence in years to come. (We would prefer, however, to work primarily through the Federal government in dealing with the Laender, and Cheney and Stoltenberg agreed on that principle.)

Beyond constituent concerns, Wallmann will be well placed to provide a sympathetic, but more detached, perspective, on the CDU's electoral prospects after the loss of Lower Saxony last week, Kohl's desire for early all-German elections, and Lafontaine's decision to take the West

SPD into open opposition against the state treaty on economic and monetary union.

For your part, you can assure Wallmann that, as the President said last week during Kohl's visit, we support rapid movement toward unification and are prepared to back the Chancellor's timetable. Further, we will seek to wrap up the Two Plus Four process to insure that internal unification is coupled with the restoration of full sovereignty to the new German state. We think a prompt final settlement is in the interest of European security, to prevent lingering uncertainty about Germany's Alliance status and to place the future of the Soviet military presence in Germany back in the hands of the German people. At the same time, we will need the energetic support of those German leaders who support the continued full membership of Germany in NATO along with a significant US military in the Federal Republic to guarantee stability in the new Europe.

CC: Robert Blackwill

(BLACKWILL)

Ask Gen
where this
stands.
5:00 P.M.
Today 5/22

NATIONAL SECURITY COUNCIL

17-May-1990 16:54 EDT

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

MEMORANDUM FOR:

Florence E. Gantt
Dona F. Proctor

(GANTT)
(PROCTOR)

FROM:

Robert L. Hutchings
(HUTCHINGS)

SUBJECT:

Appointment Request

Please pass to the General.

We understand that Horst Teltschik prevailed upon you to meet with Walter Wallmann, Minister-President of Hesse, on May 21 or 22. As a CDU stalwart in an important Land, Wallmann will be important to Chancellor Kohl's reelection. More importantly, because of the huge U.S. military presence in Hesse, Wallmann's support and understanding will be vital to maintaining our continued strong presence. If you agree to a meeting, we will arrange a White House photographer for still photos, as Horst suggested.

Wallmann's availability is as follows:

May 21 -- up to 11:45 a.m., 2:00 p.m., and 5:00 -7:00 p.m.

May 22 -- up to 10:15 a.m., 2:15 p.m., and 4:00 p.m. on

CC: Robert Blackwill

(BLACKWILL)

DECLASSIFIED

PER NSC WAIVER, August 6, 2010

By CAP NARA, Date 9/16/10

Withdrawal/Redaction Sheet

(George Bush Library)

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01b. Report	Re: Biography (2 pp.)	5/17/90	(b)(1)	C

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P-2/P-5 Review Case #:	Disposition Date:
AR Case #:	MR Case #:
AR Disposition:	MR Disposition:
AR Disposition Date:	MR Disposition Date:

RESTRICTION CODES

Presidential Records Act - [44 U.S.C. 2204(a)]

P-1 National Security Classified Information [(a)(1) of the PRA]
P-2 Relating to the appointment to Federal office [(a)(2) of the PRA]
P-3 Release would violate a Federal statute [(a)(3) of the PRA]
P-4 Release would disclose trade secrets or confidential commercial or financial information [(a)(4) of the PRA]
P-5 Release would disclose confidential advice between the President and his advisors, or between such advisors [(a)(5) of the PRA]
P-6 Release would constitute a clearly unwarranted invasion of personal privacy [(a)(6) of the PRA]

C. Closed in accordance with restrictions contained in donor's deed of gift.

PRM. Removed as a personal record misfile.

Freedom of Information Act - [5 U.S.C. 552(b)]

(b)(1) National security classified information [(b)(1) of the FOIA]
(b)(2) Release would disclose internal personnel rules and practices of an agency [(b)(2) of the FOIA]
(b)(3) Release would violate a Federal statute [(b)(3) of the FOIA]
(b)(4) Release would disclose trade secrets or confidential or financial information [(b)(4) of the FOIA]
(b)(6) Release would constitute a clearly unwarranted invasion of personal privacy [(b)(6) of the FOIA]
(b)(7) Release would disclose information compiled for law enforcement purposes [(b)(7) of the FOIA]
(b)(8) Release would disclose information concerning the regulation of financial institutions [(b)(8) of the FOIA]
(b)(9) Release would disclose geological or geophysical information

Jues 5/22
4:00

NATIONAL SECURITY COUNCIL

15-May-1990 17:51 EDT

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

MEMORANDUM FOR: SEE BELOW

FROM: Deborah Baker
(BAKER)

SUBJECT: Amb. McNamara Meeting with the General

Confirming our conversation on the phone today regarding McNamara appointment.

Tuesday, May 22, 4:00-4:30 p.m.

Ambassador Miller and Mr. Pryce will attend.

Thank you.....debs

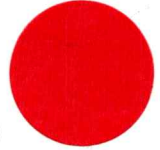
Distribution:

FOR: Florence E. Gantt	(GANTT)
FOR: Wilma G. Hall	(HALL)
CC: Diane L. Edwards	(EDWARDS)
CC: William T. Pryce	(PRYCE)
CC: Mary K. Blair	(BLAIR)
CC: Donald C. Johnson	(JOHNSOND)
CC: David Pacelli	(PACELLI)
CC: Brenda I. Hilliard	(HILLIARD)
CC: Diane G. Ross	(ROSSDG)
CC: Barbara Browne	(BROWNE)
CC: Wendy E. Gray	(GRAY)
CC: Robin A. Uhl	(UHL)

DECLASSIFIED
PER NSC WAIVER, August 6, 2010
By CAP NARA, Date 9/16/10

Thurs.
May 17
6:00 P.M.

11:35 a.m.
May 16, 1990



General:

Robert Haldeman
10-27-26

Bob Haldeman called --

Paul Istum 4-2-~~85~~⁵⁵

He is in Washington this week; going to the Soviet Union next week.

He asked if it might be possible to meet with you briefly -- tell you what he's up to.

Okay to schedule

Regret; compressed schedule
with upcoming travel

Wilma

Bob Haldeman -
Radisson Plaza Hotel: 845-1010, Room 2914
(Pls leave msg if no answer)

**NATIONAL SECURITY COUNCIL
EXECUTIVE SECRETARIAT STAFFING DOCUMENT**

TIME STAMP

URGENT

SYSTEM LOG NUMBER: 3734

ACTION OFFICER: 90 MAY 10 P 3 1100
BLACKW

DUE: ASAP 10 MAY 90

Prepare Memo For Scowcroft/Gates

Appropriate Action

Prepare Memo For Cicconi

Prepare Memo for Hughes

Prepare Memo _____

to _____

CONCURRENCES/COMMENTS*

PHONE* to action officer at ext. 5112

FYI

- Basora
- Beers
- Blackwill
- Charles
- Coulson
- Davis
- Deal
- Dorminey
- Dyke
- Gordon
- Grimes
- Haass
- Hayden
- Hutchings
- Jackson
- Kanter
- Kitchen
- LaMagna

FYI

- Lampley
- Levin
- Mahley
- Mandel
- Melby
- Menan
- Merchant
- Miller
- Needels
- Paal
- Pacelli
- Passage
- Pilling
- Popadiuk
- Pryce
- Rademaker
- Rice
- Rodman

FYI

- Rostow
- Salvetti
- Tilley
- Tobey
- Van Eron
- Watson
- Welch
- Whitley
- Wilson
- Working
- Zelikow
- GANTT
- _____
- _____
- _____
- _____
- _____

INFORMATION

- Hughes
- Scowcroft (advance)

- Sittmann
- Gates (advance)

- Exec. Sec. Desk
- Secretariat

COMMENTS

URGENT

Logged By SA

Return to Secretariat

Columbia University in the City of New York | New York, N.Y. 10027

SCHOOL OF LAW

435 West 116th Street

April 26, 1990

3734 5/1/90 F
Rec'd
Nky Se
Mon
2:00 5/14

The Honorable Brent Scowcroft
National Security Adviser
The White House
Washington, D. C. 20500

Dear Brent:

It was good to see you the other day at the White House reception for the Trilateral Commission. As I mentioned to you, Larry Eagleburger has kindly arranged for me to do a USIA tour through the two Germanies, Poland, Czechoslovakia, and Hungary in June and early July. I shall also be spending a week in Moscow in early June co-chairing a meeting with senior Soviet officials on the Soviet economy and on the question of eventual Soviet participation in GATT, the World Bank, and the IMF.

It would be useful if I could have the opportunity to meet with you before I start this trip. I will be in Washington on Thursday, May 10, and wonder if we could get together at some point on that day at your convenience. Breakfast or lunch would be great if you have the time, otherwise a visit to your office. Perhaps your office could get in touch with my secretary on (212) 880-4923 to let us know.

In the meantime, I take the liberty of sending along an article of mine which will appear next month in the Washington Quarterly. The title is deliberately provocative, but if you have time to look through it I suspect you will find a number of things where I believe we both agree.

With best wishes,

Sincerely,



Richard N. Gardner
Professor of Law and
International Organization

P.S. Perhaps your office could also arrange for me to have a few minutes with Bob Blackwill as well.

The Comeback of Liberal Internationalism

Richard N. Gardner

THE COLLAPSE OF the Soviet empire in Eastern Europe and the dramatic changes now underway in the Soviet Union have opened up yet another debate on the basic philosophy that should guide U.S. foreign policy. For some, the answer will be a new isolationism—a “come home America” to focus on neglected economic and social problems. For others, it will be a new nationalism, a unilateral global exercise of U.S. power now that the Soviet Union seems too weak and self-preoccupied to stand in the way of the United States. The thesis of this essay, however, is that the extraordinary events of the last year should encourage Americans to return to the foreign policy philosophy that guided this country from the onset of World War II to the tragic involvement in Vietnam. It is the only foreign policy philosophy that will enable the United States to cope with the challenges and opportunities in the new era in which it suddenly finds itself. That philosophy is best described by a phrase that is now unfashionable and even repugnant in some quarters, but let us give

it its proper name: liberal internationalism.

One should begin by defining the “L word.” Liberal internationalism is the intellectual and political tradition that believes in the necessity of leadership by liberal democracies in the construction of a peaceful world order through multilateral cooperation and effective international organizations. In the period during and immediately after World War II, this meant first and foremost U.S. leadership. It still does, although now with a much greater sharing of costs and decision making with new power centers in Europe, Asia, and the developing world.

The historic point of reference for someone like myself is the era of Presidents Franklin D. Roosevelt and Harry S. Truman, when my generation came of age politically, and when this country led in the creation of a network of international organizations to promote collective security, economic welfare, and human rights. These organizations include, to mention only the most important, the United Nations (UN), the North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO), the Organization of American States (OAS), the World Bank, the International Monetary Fund (IMF), and the General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade (GATT). These organizations will be even more important in the future than they were in the past and will need to be supplemented by at

Richard N. Gardner is former U.S. ambassador to Italy and Professor of Law and International Organization at Columbia University. He cochairs with Vladimir Shustov of the Soviet Foreign Ministry an unofficial U.S.-Soviet working group on multilateral cooperation under the auspices of the United Nations Associations of the two countries.

least one new organization—a pan-European institution built on the foundations of the Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe (CSCE) that monitors progress under the Helsinki accords.

To someone of a centrist foreign policy persuasion, such as this writer, liberal internationalism always has been based on realism as well as idealism, on balance of power politics as well as world order politics. President Roosevelt had first to lead the United Nations to victory in the war against the Axis powers before he could found a global peace organization of the same name. President Truman found it necessary to create a NATO to contain Communist aggression even as he launched the Marshall Plan and the Point Four Program.

The L Word Myth

Contrary to what is often asserted by its critics, liberal internationalism has never meant utopian universalism. The early postwar presidents were willing to act regionally or unilaterally when global action was impractical. However, when acting outside the U.N., they generally sought to act "inside the Charter," in Senator Arthur Vandenberg's felicitous phrase—that is, in conformity with Charter standards for regional action or individual and collective self-defense. Nor has liberal internationalism ever meant, as some have argued, an open-ended commitment to contain communism or fight for human rights in every part of the world, regardless of risks, and no such commitment was intended by the often-quoted "pay any price, bear any burden" rhetoric of the inaugural address of President John F. Kennedy. To make a commitment to the "survival and success of freedom" in the world, as Kennedy did, does not re-

quire mindless intervention everywhere. On the contrary, it requires the prudent and selective exercise of military and economic power where the benefits outweigh the costs. The Vietnam disaster was not the result of liberal ideology, but of a profound failure of judgment about Vietnamese realities and the futility, as Paul Nitze put it, of "trying to prop up a corpse."

The enemies of liberal internationalism have been those on the right who understand only balance of power politics and those on the left who understand only world order politics, when in fact both have been needed in the last 50 years in order to safeguard U.S. interests and defend freedom in the world. This will continue to be true in future years, even if, as this essay suggests will be the case, security threats from the Third World will take precedence over the threat from the Soviet Union. Still, it will be the world order side of liberal internationalism that will be required increasingly as the United States confronts the challenges and opportunities of the years ahead.

Let us be clear at the outset that a commitment to multilateralism should not be an excuse for isolationism or an abdication of U.S. responsibility. Where multilateral solutions cannot be found, other options must be considered. This is already done in trade policy, where the United States makes some agreements with all GATT members, some agreements with those members willing to undertake a higher level of obligation in new GATT codes, still other agreements in the form of free trade agreements with countries like Canada and Israel and, very exceptionally, where it uses the threat or application of unilateral trade restrictions to counter unfair trade practices, as under the "Super 301" authority of the 1988 Trade Act.

In the area of security, UN peace-keeping operations often will serve U.S. interests, but, for the foreseeable future, the United States will have to reserve the option of acting outside the UN together with its allies or even alone where UN action is impractical and freedom and security are at stake. Thus, the sending of U.S. and allied warships to the Persian Gulf was a justifiable action, as was the bombing of Tripoli in response to Libyan terrorism. When acting outside the UN, as noted earlier, the United States also should try to act "inside the Charter," conforming its behavior to internationally accepted principles interpreted in a way that the United States would be prepared to live with in future circumstances. The national foreign policy debate of the United States should not focus on the choice between balance of power politics and world order politics, but rather on how the two can be reconciled and harmonized in the complex circumstances that face policymakers in the real world.

How far the United States has strayed from this kind of discussion can be seen from the debates over two recent publishing events that have agitated the foreign policy community. Consider first Francis Fukuyama's article, "The End of History" and the debate it stimulated in the *National Interest*. Fukuyama began his article by equating the collapse of communism with "the universalization of Western liberal democracy as the final form of human government"—an outcome devoutly to be wished but hardly to be taken for granted in a world where repressive and authoritarian non-Communist regimes still hold sway over a large proportion of mankind. He claimed that the end of the ideological struggle between capitalism and communism would mean the "end of history" and usher in "a very sad

time." The Cold War, he wrote with some nostalgia, had called forth "daring, courage, imagination and idealism." Now, with the death of communism, the United States faces only "centuries of boredom."¹

That a senior official responsible for policy planning in the State Department could consider boring the prospect of a world of proliferating high tech weapons, smouldering ethnic and national conflicts, and population and environmental trends that call into question humanity's very capacity to survive on this planet, is, to say the least, disquieting. No less disquieting is the fact that neither Fukuyama nor any of the distinguished persons who commented on his article in the *National Interest* considered that the same "daring, courage, imagination, and idealism" that went into the Cold War might be needed in equal measure for the building of an effective system of international cooperation to keep the peace, defend freedom, and assure human survival in the post-Cold War era.

Another example of how far the intellectual climate has strayed from the postwar traditions of liberal internationalism may be found in the debate over Paul Kennedy's *The Decline and Fall of the Great Powers*.² Kennedy brilliantly described how dominant powers, such as Spain in the sixteenth century, France in the eighteenth century, and Great Britain in the nineteenth century, all lost preeminence because their political and military commitments outran their technological and economic capacities. The book can be read as a useful warning that the United States must not continue to neglect, as it clearly has in recent years, the technological and economic foundations of its national strength. Unfortunately, much of the debate on the book has centered on the sup-

posed inevitability of the decline of the United States as a result of so-called imperial overstretch and on the question of which power—Japan, a unifying Europe, or whoever—might now replace the United States as global number one.

As Joseph Nye has pointed out, however, the prospect that the United States faces in the real world is one of power diffusion rather than hegemonic transition.³ The United States has the resources to play a world role and at the same time deal with its domestic problems. Moreover, there is no challenger around to supplant it as a world power when one looks at military, economic, and cultural factors in combination. Yet, the United States obviously will not be the hegemonic power in the twenty-first century that it was for much of the twentieth century. Therefore, the answer to the question of "who will be in charge of the twenty-first century" will be, as Harlan Cleveland once put it, that "nobody will be in charge." It is precisely because the United States faces a world in which nobody is in charge that it needs better international institutions for shared decision making and shared responsibility.

A New Soviet Union, A New Europe

How would a foreign policy guided by liberal internationalism respond to the opportunities and challenges that this country faces in the 1990s? Let us begin with relations with the new Soviet Union and the new Europe.

Mikhail Gorbachev's radical changes in the domestic political and economic order of the Soviet Union, if they can be carried through successfully, will make that country (or what is left of it after the possible secession of the Baltic states and other repub-

lics) a better place for the Russian people to live in and a less threatening and more cooperative country for free nations to work with. Perhaps less well understood are all the implications of his new thinking (*novoe myshlenie*) in the field of foreign affairs. He has set aside the Marxist-Leninist doctrine of international class warfare and replaced it with the Western and even bourgeois concept of the promotion of common interests and common human values. He has committed his country to respect the principle of free choice of political systems and nonintervention in the internal affairs of other countries. His willingness to stand aside and permit the collapse of Communist regimes in Eastern Europe should convince even the most skeptical that these expressions of new thinking are not just propaganda to lull gullible people in the West.

There is equal reason to take Gorbachev and his senior officials seriously when they call for the strengthening of the UN, the subordination of foreign policies to the international rule of law, and the entry of the Soviet Union into world economic organizations. Listening to Soviet speeches at the last two UN General Assemblies, in the words of one U.S. observer, has been like "hearing Adlai Stevenson in Russian translation." Does this mean that the concept of a cooperative world order launched by Roosevelt and embodied in the UN Charter is now, after 45 years of Soviet aggression and obstructionism, once again a realistic possibility? How should the United States respond?

To begin with, the United States should not lose the careful equilibrium between balance of power politics and world order politics that has brought it this far. Just as the Republican and Democratic Parties both can take credit for the policy of containment

and the birth of NATO, so both can take credit for the modernization of the strategic deterrent, the deployment of the Pershing and cruise missiles in Europe, and the successful military aid to the Afghan resistance that forced Soviet withdrawal from Afghanistan. These three policies—courageously supported by both Presidents Jimmy Carter and Ronald Reagan—demonstrated to Gorbachev and the Soviet leadership that the West would resist Soviet aggression and intimidation and that the Soviet economy could not match Western military efforts.

As the United States fashions its policy toward the new Europe, the balance of power element in liberal internationalism will be needed in the future as it has in the past. Despite the demise of the Warsaw Pact, NATO and the presence of U.S. air, sea, and ground forces in Europe will be needed for the foreseeable future for at least three reasons. The first reason is to provide an insurance policy against a return of the Soviet Union to aggressive policies, a perhaps remote but still conceivable contingency if Gorbachev were succeeded by an orthodox Communist or a Russian nationalist-chauvinist. The second reason is to keep the formidable military potential of a united Germany locked into NATO's integrated military structure. The third reason is to provide a military capability against security threats to the NATO nations and their Middle East allies from countries such as Libya, Syria, Iraq, and Iran. The administration of George Bush has been right to emphasize the continued importance of NATO's military as well as political role, but it will have a formidable job of education to perform on this point with both U.S. and European public opinion in the months ahead.

If balance of power politics still will be necessary, it is in the new possibilities for world order politics that liberal internationalism finally can come into its own. Both the Soviet Union and the United States now perceive a common interest in working through the UN to avert or contain conflicts in the Third World that might otherwise provide occasions for their competitive intervention. A recent report by an unofficial group cochaired by Vladimir Shustov, director of the Research Coordination Center of the Soviet Foreign Ministry, and this author confirmed that there is now an unprecedented degree of consensus between our two countries on the need to strengthen the secretary general's role in preventive diplomacy and enhance the effectiveness of UN peacekeeping operations.⁴ This broad measure of agreement in a private dialogue has been reflected in the UN, where the two countries worked together through the Security Council to end the Iran-Iraq War, to authorize the UN-OAS monitoring of Nicaragua's elections and the patrolling of Central American borders, and, perhaps most impressive, to make possible the successful transition of Namibia to nationhood through free elections. Looking ahead, it is clear that both countries are prepared to support an ambitious UN role in Cambodia and Western Sahara, once the parties to those conflicts are ready to compose their differences.

The potential for U.S.-Soviet collaboration on world order issues goes well beyond peacekeeping and peacemaking. The bilateral dialogue now includes regular discussion of transnational issues, such as drugs, terrorism, and the environment, and the common ground thus identified is reflected in Soviet-U.S. cooperation on these issues at the UN. It is increas-

ingly clear that the main obstacles now to effective UN action are not differences between the United States and the Soviet Union, but between developed and developing countries.

This is not to say that there is a complete identity of views between the United States and the Soviet Union; of course not. The differences, however, are no longer ideological. Rather, they are based on different perceptions of national interest defined in pragmatic terms, in the same way that the United States often differs in the UN from allies such as France or Japan. What is particularly striking is the new Soviet emphasis on seeking consensus in UN bodies, particularly with the United States. It has abandoned its former policy of supporting the most extreme anti-Western resolutions sponsored by radical Third World regimes. There is no doubt that these beneficial changes are due to Gorbachev's personal leadership, but it is also true that the Soviet Foreign Ministry has played a critical role in the way it has implemented the new thinking and provided fresh ideas to give it content. For this, Foreign Minister Eduard Shevardnadze, Deputy Foreign Minister Vladimir Petrovsky, Deputy Legal Adviser Sergei Ordzhonikidze, and International Organizations Department head Andrei Kozzyrev deserve much credit, as does the Soviet Union's able UN Ambassador Alexander Belonogov.

There are several factors in Soviet policy, however, that should dictate caution in assessing the prospects for future Soviet-U.S. collaboration on a world order agenda. To begin with, the Soviet approach to world order politics is much too UN-centered. Soviet rhetoric about the UN playing the central role in international politics is clearly unrealistic; the bulk of security and economic issues of importance

must continue to be dealt with outside the world organization. Then again, as Soviet leaders will admit in private, their country only recently has moved from seeing the UN as a place for polemics to a place where serious business can be done; it is short of people with knowledge and experience in the way that UN political and economic programs actually function and it has had little to contribute thus far on the details of UN budget and administrative reform. Moreover, its financial contributions to UN voluntary programs, such as the United Nations Development Program (UNDP) and United Nations Children's Fund (UNICEF), are exceedingly modest. Finally, the political and public opinion basis for Gorbachev's and the Foreign Ministry's policies is fragile. One easily can imagine different UN policies coming from a future Soviet leader who was a chauvinistic Russian nationalist or a traditional Communist. Even with a Gorbachev, a Supreme Soviet with real powers over foreign affairs and budget might prove as skeptical toward spending money for international organizations as the U.S. Congress. Given its economic problems and its shortage of hard currency, moreover, the Soviet capacity to match its enthusiasm for greater UN activity with proportionately greater contributions will be limited severely for the next few years.

With all these qualifications, however, the new Soviet approach to world order issues should be encouraged by a positive response from the United States. U.S. policy toward the UN and other international agencies, as will be suggested later, is sometimes shortsighted and is handicapped by failure to meet its financial obligations. The U.S. must take a more positive approach to multilateral cooperation, and not just in the areas of UN peace-

keeping and peacemaking or in the transnational agenda of drugs, terrorism, and the human environment. There are at least four other promising areas which Gorbachev's new policy has opened up.

Human Rights. The first is human rights. One of the most striking contributions of liberal internationalism was to make human rights a central concern of the UN, along with collective security and economic cooperation. There was thus established the revolutionary concept that how a nation treats its own citizens is no longer its own business alone, but also the business of the international community. Under Eleanor Roosevelt's leadership, the UN adopted the *Universal Declaration of Human Rights*, which stands to this day as the most comprehensive and widely recognized standard by which the human rights record of governments is judged. Despite initial opposition from conservatives in the United States, there is now a broad bipartisan consensus that human rights should be part of the U.S. foreign policy agenda and that this country's concern with human rights should apply to both right and left wing dictatorial regimes. Building on UN standards and benefiting from U.S. leadership, the CSCE process following up the Helsinki Final Act has been increasingly effective in monitoring human rights practices and it undoubtedly contributed to the dramatic transition of the East European countries to democracy.

Until the arrival of Gorbachev, the Soviet Union was in hard-line opposition on human rights issues, insisting that international discussion of its domestic human rights practices constituted illegal intervention in its internal affairs. Now the Soviet leadership is supporting international oversight of

domestic human rights practices, suggesting that Gorbachev possibly may see in strengthened UN and CSCE human rights processes a way of reinforcing the reforms he is undertaking in his own country. Certainly it was striking to see the Soviet Minister of Justice Venyamin Yakovlev in Geneva in the fall of 1989 responding constructively to probing questions from the experts on the UN Human Rights Committee regarding the consistency of Soviet laws and practices with the *UN Covenant on Political and Civil Rights*.

There are a number of ways that the United States can seize the opportunity presented by the new Soviet human rights policy. The United States can work with the Soviet Union and the new democracies of Eastern Europe to make the UN human rights bodies more objective in examining human rights violations in every part of the world. The United States can encourage the work of the special UN rapporteurs investigating individual countries and those looking at specific problems such as torture, religious intolerance, and summary or arbitrary executions. The United States can mobilize the full resources of its government and private sector to make a success of the Human Rights Conference that will be held in Moscow in 1991 as part of the CSCE process. The United States can encourage private U.S. organizations to work with counterpart groups in Western Europe in providing assistance to the Soviet Union and East European governments in their efforts to promote democracy and the rule of law. Finally, the United States, at long last, could ratify the *UN Covenant on Civil and Political Rights*, thus enabling this country to participate in the Human Rights Committee's periodic reviews of compliance by the Soviets, East Eu-

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ropeans, and others of their obligations under that Instrument.

International Law. Another historic component of liberal internationalism has been its emphasis on the development of international law and on international adjudication and arbitration as a means of resolving international disputes. Here again, a changed Soviet approach is opening up new opportunities. For years, the Soviet Union insisted on contrasting Communist and Western approaches to international law and opposing the compulsory jurisdiction of the International Court of Justice (World Court). Now Soviet leaders are emphasizing that the foreign policies of nations should be subordinated to a common international rule of law. Moreover, they are asserting their willingness to accept the compulsory jurisdiction of the World Court in certain circumstances.

This new Soviet interest in international law and the World Court comes at an awkward time for the United States. In recent years, the executive branch and the Congress have been less than consistent, to say the least, in their commitment to international law. The unilateral reinterpretation by the United States of the Anti-ballistic Missile Treaty (ABM), the U.S. failure to pay legally binding UN assessments, the U.S. mining of Nicaragua's harbors, and the U.S. termination of its acceptance of the World Court's compulsory jurisdiction are just a few of the examples that could be cited. Yet, the observance and further development of international law is in the national interest of the United States, a democratic nation that believes in the rule of law at home, and a status quo power that seeks stability and order abroad. Those Americans who say that there

is no such thing as international law really are asserting a profoundly un-American idea—that the United States should not honor its international commitments. The turnaround in Soviet attitudes could be the occasion to reexamine some current U.S. attitudes.

Moreover, the United States could initiate an intensive dialogue between officials and scholars in the Soviet Union and the United States on the content of international law in key areas, including controversial ones like the use of armed force. It is in the respective national interest of the two countries to provide clear limits on the use of armed force by both large and small nations, while at the same time permitting nations to resort to force for individual and collective self-defense and in other exceptional circumstances, as in defense of their citizens overseas. A dialogue on international law may not lead to full or early agreement, but it could narrow differences and enhance mutual understanding. Of course, the United States should also begin such discussions with its allies in Europe and Asia, to try to bring order out of the present disarray between the industrialized democracies on the use of force and other sensitive international law questions.

On the question of the International Court of Justice, the United States and the Soviet Union have begun official discussions on a common acceptance of a limited form of compulsory jurisdiction. It is not realistic to expect the two countries to accept such jurisdiction in controversies arising out of the use of armed force, where national security interests are too great, the facts often difficult to establish, and the international rules still insufficiently developed, especially where civil wars are concerned. Still, the two countries could accept the jurisdiction of the

Court for the interpretation of specific treaties to which they are parties, and perhaps also in certain carefully defined areas of international law, such as foreign investment or the law of the sea. To enhance their confidence in the Court, they could provide that cases between them would be decided by chambers of the Court, panels of 5 of the 15 judges selected by the Court after consultation with the parties. Once a Soviet-U.S. agreement is reached on a form of compulsory jurisdiction, it could be put to other UN members for consideration.

The Economy. Gorbachev's letter to the Paris economic summit of 1989 announced a new Soviet interest in participating in the management of the world economy. It is clear that the Soviet leadership sees advantages in ending the country's historic policy of autarky and in participating in the international division of labor and the transnational flow of investment, technology, and management skills. If the Soviet Union really moves toward a market economy and shifts resources from military production to consumption goods, it is in the Western interest to help reinforce these trends, not only through bilateral measures, such as trade agreements and joint ventures, but through enhanced multilateral cooperation. Observer status in GATT, the World Bank, and the IMF would be a good way to start. Full membership could be granted after a transitional period based on the achievement of specific reforms in the Soviet economy such as market pricing, enterprise autonomy, and ruble convertibility. During the transition period, teams from these international economic organizations could provide guidance and training to help the Soviet Union in its difficult transition from a command economy to a market

economy. Membership in GATT, IMF, and the World Bank, however, should not give the Soviets a free ride. They should pay their full dues as a developed country by opening their market to Third World products and providing their fair share of multilateral development aid to poor nations in Asia, Africa, and Latin America.

Arms Control. The spread of advanced weaponry in the Third World represents a growing security problem and another priority for cooperation between the United States and the Soviet Union. There are now five acknowledged nuclear weapons countries: the United States, the Soviet Union, the United Kingdom, France, and China. Four other countries, India, Pakistan, Israel, and South Africa, are believed to have nuclear weapons capabilities. Iran, Iraq, Libya, and North Korea are seeking to acquire nuclear weapons. By the year 2000, there will be 40,000-50,000 kilograms of separated plutonium in international commerce as a result of peaceful nuclear activities, a target for theft by terrorists and radical governments. Many of the Third World countries that are now nuclear capable or that are seeking nuclear weapons are also busy developing medium-range and long-range missiles. There are 9 countries that have both missiles and chemical weapons, and that number could be as high as 15 or 20 by the year 2000.

Among the most important near-term goals for East-West cooperation should be the strengthening of the nonproliferation regime for nuclear weapons, the conclusion of a treaty banning chemical weapons, and a common missile control regime. With a world in prospect in which unstable Third World governments will be armed with long-range weapons of

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great destructiveness, U.S.-Soviet leadership in this kind of global cooperation is not utopian, it is *realpolitik*.

Eastern Europe. A final word in this review of East-West relations is needed on some implications for international cooperation of the emergence of independent democracies in Eastern Europe. First, UN work in peacekeeping, economic cooperation, and human rights will feel the benefit of the transformation of East European countries from satellites of the Soviet Union to truly independent actors. Second, the new European Bank for Reconstruction and Development should be supported as a vehicle to assist the transition of the East European countries to market economies. Third, the United States should begin negotiations on transforming the CSCE process into a permanent Organization for Security and Cooperation in Europe (OSCE), with a strong secretariat and four high-level councils to deal with political, economic, environmental, and human rights issues. The new OSCE could be headquartered in Berlin, if that city becomes the capital of a unified Germany. In addition to providing a more effective vehicle for pan-European cooperation, OSCE would give the new democracies of Eastern Europe a needed place for cooperation with one another and the rest of Europe, would provide an additional framework for reassurance about a unified Germany, and would reconfirm the presence of the United States as a European power. In supporting an OSCE, the United States should make very clear that it regards the proposed new organization as a supplement to NATO and the European Community, not as a substitute for them or as a means of diminishing their responsibilities.

Multilateralism and North-South Issues

If changes in East-West relations are providing new challenges and opportunities for liberal internationalism, the same is no less true of the trends in North-South relations. For most countries of Latin America and Africa, the decade of the 1980s was one of stagnant or even declining living standards. Now, as they enter the 1990s, the developing nations in these continents and the poor countries of Asia are rightly concerned that as large Western resources are mobilized for German reunification and aid to Eastern Europe there will be diminished attention to their own needs. Such a result would be particularly unfortunate at a time when many of these countries are moving away from the statist ideology, the poor economic management, and the widespread corruption that have been at the root of their failures in development. Although the principal responsibility for economic development will continue to rest with the developing countries themselves, the present \$50 billion annual negative resource transfer from these countries to the developed world will have to be reversed if growth in the Third World is to be revived.

The idea of international assistance to help the less developed countries develop their human and material resources was launched in the Roosevelt and Truman period and accepted by all subsequent administrations, whether Republican or Democratic. This element of liberal internationalism, however, although accepted in principle, has received declining real financial support in recent years, except where immediate security interests have been predominant. Neither humanitarian considerations nor the clear economic interest of the United

States in Third World development have been sufficient to reverse the trend. Nevertheless, in the years ahead, liberal internationalism will find two new and powerful rationales for helping the developing countries: the threat of irreversible harm to the global environment and the peril of uncontrolled population growth coupled with massive South-North migration.

The people of the United States, like the citizens of other countries, are beginning to be concerned about global greenhouse warming, caused mainly by the burning of fossil fuels and tropical deforestation, phenomena that could cause catastrophic changes in the world's climate and sea level as early as the middle of the next century. They are also learning about the threat that the use of chlorofluorocarbons poses to the ozone layer, the global atmospheric shield against the ultraviolet radiation that causes cancer and other damage to life on earth. What has been less well understood is that these perils cannot be averted without the cooperation of developing as well as developed countries, and that for the Third World to take the necessary measures of self-restraint will require a huge amount of assistance in technology transfer, the training of people, and financial support. India may phase out the use of chlorofluorocarbons, China may moderate its burning of coal, Brazil may stop the destruction of its Amazon rainforest, but only at a price. That price will be new forms of multilateral assistance. Without it, Third World countries will have neither the economic means nor the political will to take their share of environmental responsibility. The United States and other developed countries would thus end up as environmental hostages to the Third World, as desperation born of poverty

in poor countries accelerates the assault already underway on the world's fragile life support system.

Population growth could provide the second stimulus for a new interest in North-South economic cooperation. World population, which stood at only 1.5 billion at the beginning of this century and is 5 billion today, is predicted by the UN to reach 6.2 billion in the year 2000 and 8.5 billion in 2025. The world population will level off at 9 to 14 billion some time in the next century. Whether this planet's population stabilizes at the low or high end of that range will fundamentally determine the prospects for economic welfare and security, not only of developing countries, but of developed countries, including the United States. To understand the gravity of population trends, it is necessary only to consider that between now and the year 2025 Mexico is expected to grow from 85 to 150 million, Brazil from 144 to 246 million, Egypt from 51 to 94 million, Ethiopia from 45 to 112 million, Nigeria from 105 to 301 million, Bangladesh from 110 to 235 million, and India from 819 to 1,445 million. No government, no academic expert, has the faintest idea of how to provide adequate food, housing, health care, education, and gainful employment to such exploding numbers of people, particularly as they crowd into megacities such as Mexico City, Calcutta, and Cairo.

With such an explosive growth in numbers, there will be little hope of saving the rainforests, the topsoil, or the climate balance so essential to human life. Our descendants will witness human misery, political upheaval, and violence born of human desperation on a scale that one can scarcely imagine. They will also witness mass migrations from South to North on an unparalleled scale—a human tidal

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wave that is unlikely to be stopped by immigration laws and physical barriers. The rate of illegal immigration already being experienced in the United States and Europe is but a small augury of things to come.

There is no easy answer to the world population problem, but it surely has to begin with an international effort to make information and means of family planning available to all persons in the child-bearing years. Achieving this goal will require a substantial increase in the resources now devoted to family planning in developing countries. It will also require strengthened programs of health care and education and measures to enhance the rights of women in society. None of this is likely to happen without action through the UN system, and without leadership from the United States.

Although recent years have seen a growing understanding of the need for "sustainable development," there is still little appreciation of the magnitude of the investment sums that will have to be mobilized within the developing countries and from international aid in order to make this concept a reality in the Third World. A recent study by the former secretary general of the World Commission on Environment and Development, based on work done by the World Bank and the Worldwatch Institute, came up with some awesome figures for average annual financial requirements between 1990 and 2000: \$19.3 billion for soil conservation, \$5.3 billion for reforestation, \$27 billion for population control, \$30 billion for enhancing energy efficiency, \$15.6 billion for renewable forms of energy, plus \$27.3 billion for reducing Third World indebtedness. This adds up to an average annual total of \$124.6 billion or a total for the decade of \$1,371 billion.⁵ Even if these estimates are two, three, or even

four times too high, they suggest that there is a large gap between the rhetoric of environmental protection in both developing and developed countries and the willingness of these countries to pay the price for it.

West-West Relations

Perhaps the greatest challenge to liberal internationalism will be in facing up to the economic and political adjustments needed in West-West relations. So much has been written about these issues that they need only be enumerated here: how to bring the Uruguay Round of trade negotiations to a successful conclusion, how to complete Europe's 1992 agenda in a manner that respects the interests of outsiders, how to strengthen the international monetary system, and how to achieve a fairer burden-sharing between the industrialized democracies on military and aid expenditures. All of these tasks will require greater progress in multilateral cooperation than has ever been witnessed before.

The most urgent requirement of all for the future of liberal internationalism is to get on with the reduction of the presently unsustainable West-West imbalances. In the last eight years, the United States has run cumulative current account deficits with the rest of the world of over \$800 billion, transforming its position from that of a more than \$100 billion net creditor to that of a more than \$700 billion net debtor. Although the current account position of the United States has improved somewhat recently, the U.S. external deficit in 1990 will remain in excess of \$100 billion and could start growing again as U.S. oil imports and the price of oil both rise. Meanwhile, the external surpluses of Germany and Japan are

running at about \$60 billion per year, with little diminution in prospect.

Unless corrected in the next few years, these large imbalances could one day trigger a financial crisis and a severe world recession. Even if such a dramatic outcome is avoided, the continuation of large U.S. deficits is likely to fuel U.S. protectionism, sour the U.S. foreign policy mood, and make it impossible for the United States to dedicate sufficient resources to the challenges and opportunities in East-West and North-South relations described earlier.

The measures needed to correct these imbalances are easy to recite and less easy to implement. From Japan, the need is for much greater efforts to open its domestic market, to increase its untied development aid, and to stimulate domestic demand. From Germany, the need is for similar actions and assurances that the understandable concentration on the economic tasks of German reunification does not come at the expense of Germany's global responsibilities. From the United States, serious action must be forthcoming in order to increase competitiveness and to reduce the U.S. budget deficit, which is still running at around \$150 billion. That budget deficit would be in excess of \$200 billion if the U.S. government did not employ the social security surplus for current spending, and if it included all the costs of the Savings and Loan bailout. The United States continues to pretend, through unrealistic forecasts and accounting gimmicks, that it is meeting the Gramm-Rudman-Hollings targets for deficit reduction, but the truth is that without bold action the deficit will remain in the \$100-150 billion range in the years ahead, and could increase substantially with a major recession.

The Gramm-Rudman-Hollings

process has not actually reduced the deficit, but in combination with anti-internationalist political currents it has played havoc with the expenditures needed to sustain the international leadership of the United States. The U.S. overseas diplomatic establishment, educational exchanges, and bilateral development aid all have been savaged by harmful reductions. The United States is in arrears by \$700 million in its contributions to the UN and its specialized agencies, which damages valuable UN operations in peacekeeping, development, human rights, and environmental protection and diminishes U.S. influence. The United States also lags behind in its payments to multilateral financial institutions, such as the World Bank, the International Finance Corporation, and the Asian Development Fund. As long as the U.S. budget deficit is not dealt with seriously, the United States is unlikely to face up to these financial obligations of world leadership, much less assume new ones. Urgent U.S. domestic needs also will go inadequately funded. From the problems of drugs, the homeless, education, and crumbling U.S. infrastructure, on the one side, to the problems of Central America, Eastern Europe, Third World development, and global warming on the other, the United States will be facing its responsibilities with empty pockets.

Although it has become commonplace to say it, it remains true that the problem of the United States is not a shortage of economic resources, but a shortage of political will. To reduce substantially the U.S. budget deficit and to support presently underfunded domestic and international programs of top priority would require \$100 billion per year in the short run and \$200 billion per year in the long run, which represents 2 percent and 4 percent re-

spectively of the \$5 trillion U.S. national income. If progress in U.S.-Soviet relations continues, the United States can fund much of this through cuts in the defense budget. Still, this country will also have to bite the bullet of finding additional revenue. The slogan of "no new taxes" is simply not compatible with the requirements of U.S. world leadership. The sooner the United States faces up to this reality, the better.

A Liberal Internationalist Future?

There are three provocative questions about the future of liberal internationalism that deserve attention before concluding this essay. Unfortunately, each requires more discussion than space allows, but they can at least be identified and some answers may be sketched.

First Question: Can multilateral diplomacy and multilateral institutions deal with the world order agenda in a manner that is acceptable to the United States? It is in the nature of any large organization that no single member can have its way all of the time. Reliance on international organizations does involve risks. It may lead to decisions to act over U.S. opposition, or the failure to act when the United States is prepared to do so. The deficiencies of the UN and many of its agencies are well known: uneven administration in the secretariats, inadequate influence for the major contributors over budgets and programs, poor coordination of sectoral activities, and often a paralyzing lack of political consensus. The situation is better in the international financial institutions, where weighted voting applies, and in

the central trade forum known as GATT. Even in these institutions, however, the United States cannot have its way all of the time. The United States must balance the disadvantages of working through international organizations against the disadvantages of acting alone. Multilateral action usually serves the U.S. national interest, enlisting needed support from other countries, sharing economic burdens and political responsibility, and accomplishing tasks that the United States could not achieve as well, or at all, by unilateral action. The United States must, of course, have the common sense to be selective—putting, for example, its main emphasis for peacekeeping on the Security Council, where the United States can exercise the veto, and opposing General Assembly recommendations that work against U.S. interests.

If a policy based on greater use of multilateral institutions is to be credible, the United States will need to devote more high-level effort to making these institutions work more effectively. Multilateralism must not mean the tyranny of the small country majority or the lowest common denominator of recalcitrant members. Multilateralism should mean structured decision-making devices to provide "power steering" on budgets and programs and greater use of "coalitions of the willing" in which like-minded countries act together under a UN umbrella, through programs financed by voluntary contributions. More attention should also be given to finding outstanding persons to lead the international agencies. For example, the United States should start right now to identify first-rate candidates to replace UN Secretary General Javier Perez de Cuellar when his term expires at the end of 1991.

Second Question: Can liberal internationalism coexist with domestic liberalism? To put it another way, is the ambitious multilateral agenda outlined in this essay sufficiently compelling to obtain the needed commitment of U.S. leadership and resources in the face of equally compelling domestic priorities? I believe the answer can be yes, but the case for a greater commitment of U.S. resources to international affairs has yet to be made effectively to the U.S. electorate, to the Congress, or even to the U.S. foreign policy establishment.

A little over 20 years ago, in 1969, UN Secretary General U Thant warned that mankind had

perhaps 10 years left . . . to launch a global partnership to curb the arms race, to improve the human environment, to defuse the population explosion, and to supply the required momentum to world development efforts. If such a global partnership is not forged within the next decade, then I very much fear that the problems . . . will reach such staggering proportions that they will be beyond our capacity to control.⁶

I confess to having written those words for U Thant in 1969, and to having unduly foreshortened the timetable for remedial action in an effort to dramatize the issues. But looking in 1990 at those same problems—weapons proliferation, population, the environment, and the growth in the numbers of the world's desperate poor—it may no longer be an exaggeration to say that the next 10 years will be decisive. If the international community does not take effective action on these problems in the 1990s, what kind of world will today's children face in the next century? If a president were willing to put the question in this

way to the people of the United States—governing as if the future mattered—liberal internationalism would have a chance of success in the face of the competing claims of domestic liberalism.

Third Question: Will the Democratic Party or the Republican Party be the best protagonist of liberal internationalism in the crucial decade that lies ahead? The answer is far from clear.

President Bush might not relish the designation, but he may wind up as one of the most liberal internationalist presidents of recent years. He has brought the United States back to the moderate Republicanism of the era of Gerald Ford. His broad experience in foreign affairs, including his brief service as U.N. ambassador, has given him a realistic appreciation of the international problems facing the country and the value of working through global organizations as well as through our alliances. Although he attacked Michael Dukakis for an excessive devotion to multilateralism during the 1988 presidential campaign and called the UN "an unreal place . . . torn by tensions," one of his first acts after inauguration was to invite Secretary General Perez de Cuellar to Washington for a private working dinner. He has pledged that his administration "will do its best to strengthen the UN and to reassert positive leadership there."⁷ He has appointed as UN Ambassador one of the State Department's finest career diplomats, Thomas Pickering. He already has exercised strong leadership in NATO on East-West issues, particularly in the conventional arms negotiations. He has demonstrated a firm commitment to the multilateral trade and financial institutions and is pledged to multilateral action on the global environment.

It is too early to make an assessment

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of the Bush presidency in foreign affairs, but from a liberal internationalist perspective there are at least two important areas that cause concern. One is the world population issue where, in deference to the "right to life" movement, the president is carrying forward the Reagan administration cutoff of aid to the UN Fund for Population Activities and to the International Planned Parenthood Federation. If the U.S. government is serious on world environment and development, it has to face up to the population question. The second area, as already suggested, is fiscal policy. The Bush administration's failure to deal realistically with the budget deficit and the need for new taxes is opening up a large gap between its proclaimed objectives and the means available for achieving them. This is as painfully obvious in international affairs as it is in domestic policy.

What of the Democrats? Many leaders of the Party still carry forward the Roosevelt-Truman legacy of liberal internationalism, but the longer the Party is locked out of the White House the harder it will be to exercise the leadership that does justice to that legacy. Congress is dominated increasingly by constituency politics, and it is difficult to reconcile constituency politics with U.S. leadership in a rule-based international system of cooperation. The temptation toward unilateralism and shortsighted nationalism is particularly evident in the negative attitudes of some congressional Democrats on trade policy and on appropriations for the State Department and the multilateral financial institutions. At the same time, some senators, such as Bill Bradley and Albert Gore, have been charting new and constructive directions on the global environment, Third World debt, and East-West relations.

This article closes as it began, with the "L word." If the Democrats refuse to give in to shortsighted constituency pressures, if they are not afraid to be known as liberals in foreign policy, and if they define their liberalism in a realistic way to encompass both world order politics and balance of power politics, then they may earn the chance to recapture the White House and once again direct the country's foreign policy. If they fail to do these things, it will be the Republican Party, exercising the powers of the executive in response to the new imperatives of interdependence, that will be the standard bearer of the liberal internationalist tradition of Roosevelt and Truman as the United States moves toward the twenty-first century. Still, the question of which political party carries forward the tradition of liberal internationalism is less important than the categorical imperative that one of them must do it. The successful pursuit of all U.S. foreign policy concerns—in security, economics, environment, and human rights—hangs in the balance.

Notes

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Fri 5/11

Met w/Deal

NATIONAL SECURITY COUNCIL

11-May-1990 11:35 EDT

UNCLASSIFIED

MEMORANDUM FOR:

Florence E. Gantt

(GANTT)

FROM:

Pat A. Battenfield
(BATTENFIELD)

SUBJECT:

Exim Loans/Helicopters for Turkey

Florence, Tim suggested the following individuals for meeting on above subject: Mike Hayden, Wendy Chamberlin, Dan Levin, Tim Deal and possibly Hutchings or Basora.

CC: Wilma G. Hall

(HALL)

CC: Diane L. Edwards

(EDWARDS)

CC: Timothy E. Deal

(DEAL)

CC: Margrethe Lundsager

(LUNDSAGER)

Withdrawal/Redaction Sheet

(George Bush Library)

Document No. and Type	Subject/Title of Document	Date	Restriction	Class.
02. Memo	Arnold Kanter to Florence E. Gantt Re: May 11 Meeting with Ron Lehman (2 pp.)	5/10/90	(b)(1)	S

Collection:

Record Group: Bush Presidential Records
Office: Scowcroft, Brent, Collection
Series: Administrative Files
Subseries:
WHORM Cat.:
File Location: Appointments Completed, January to December 1990 [2]

Date Closed:	9/20/2010	OA/ID Number:	85034-006
FOIA/SYS Case #:	2009-0275-S[2]	Appeal Case #:	
Re-review Case #:		Appeal Disposition:	
P-2/P-5 Review Case #:		Disposition Date:	
AR Case #:		MR Case #:	
AR Disposition:		MR Disposition:	
AR Disposition Date:		MR Disposition Date:	

RESTRICTION CODES

Presidential Records Act - [44 U.S.C. 2204(a)]

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P-2 Relating to the appointment to Federal office [(a)(2) of the PRA]
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P-6 Release would constitute a clearly unwarranted invasion of personal privacy [(a)(6) of the PRA]

C. Closed in accordance with restrictions contained in donor's deed of gift.

PRM. Removed as a personal record misfile.

Freedom of Information Act - [5 U.S.C. 552(b)]

(b)(1) National security classified information [(b)(1) of the FOIA]
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(b)(9) Release would disclose geological or geophysical information

NATIONAL SECURITY COUNCIL

11-May-1990 09:58 EDT

UNCLASSIFIED

MEMORANDUM FOR:

Florence E. Gantt

(GANTT)

FROM:

Condoleezza Rice
(RICE)

SUBJECT:

Meeting with Bill Perry and Ash Carter

Florence please pass to Brent before his meeting with Bill Perry today.

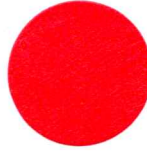
Bill will want to talk with you about the report issued May 1 by the Carnegie Commission on Science, Technology, and Government.

The report essentially reviews the problems of the US government's establishment for decisionmaking on science, technology, research and development.

The most important recommendation from your point of view is that there be a new White House structure (an advisory panel on national security and science and technology. The panel would be jointly chaired by the Assistant to the President for Science and Technology (currently Bromley) and the Assistant to the President for National Security Affairs (currently you).

You may want to talk with Bill about how he sees the scope of this new panel.

NATIONAL SECURITY COUNCIL



May 10, 1990

NOTE FOR BRENT SCOWCROFT
ROBERT GATES

FROM: VIRGINIA A. LAMPLEY

Attached are topics Fred McClure
intends to bring up at the Governor's
10:00 meeting this morning.

Attachment

5/10/90

CONGRESSIONAL ISSUES

I. FY 1990 Supplemental

The appropriations bill is now in conference with two significant issues: first, abortion and death-penalty language was included in the Senate version - a SAP was issued indicating that the President would veto the bill if the abortion language is not removed - a deal may be in the works to drop both the abortion and death-penalty language; secondly, no Brooke-Alexander waivers were included in the bills, thus the waivers need to be added in conference - a controversial issue since some Democrats (Reps. Moakley, Studds, & Solarz) want to hold the waivers hostage in order to gain the Administration's acceptance of restrictive Salvador language in the House authorization bill (which will be considered on the Floor next week).

II. China MFN Status

The Jackson-Vanik waiver to permit continued MFN status for China must be issued prior to June 3. In addition, June 4 is the anniversary of the Tiananmen crack-down. Curtailment of MFN for China will likely have a significant impact on bilateral trade, which amounted to \$12 billion in imports from China and \$6 billion in exports to China in 1989. In a related effort, the House is working on a measure to the mini-trade bill that would permit a Congressional joint resolution of disapproval for J-V waivers, a move that will restore much of Congress' jurisdiction over trade matters that was lost as a result of the 1983 Chadha Supreme Court decision (abolishing the legislative veto).

III. Soviet Trade Agreement

The US and the Soviet Union are negotiating a trade agreement that will permit MFN status for the Soviet Union. This effort was initiated by the Malta Summit and is hoped to reach fruition in time for the Washington Summit. The Senate has passed legislation which will require Congress to approve trade agreements on an up and down, no amendment, fast track basis. House action could be complete by the end of May (see China MFN).

IV. Eastern Europe

In February the President submitted legislation that would have added \$300 million to the existing Eastern European aid package and broadened the eligibility of eastern European countries. The House Foreign Affairs Committee increased the funding to \$579 million and has rolled the request into the regular FY91 Foreign Aid Authorization bill, but Floor action has not yet been scheduled. The Senate Foreign Relations Committee has taken no action on this legislation to date, but will likely substantially increase the funding level.

LEGISLATIVE UPDATE MEETING

MAY 10, 1990

AGENDA

ABORTION

AMERICANS WITH DISABILITIES ACT

AMTRAK REAUTHORIZATION

BUDGET AND BUDGET PROCESS REFORM

CAMPAIGN FINANCE REFORM

CENTRAL AMERICA SUPPLEMENTAL

CHILD CARE

CHINA/MFN SANCTIONS

CIVIL RIGHTS

CRIME/DRUGS

EDUCATION

ENVIRONMENTAL ISSUES

Clean Air

EPA Cabinet Status

FARM BILL

HATCH ACT

PARENTAL LEAVE

VOTER REGISTRATION

("MOTOR VOTER BILL")

May 1, 1990

General:

Re dinner with NATO Secy General Dr. Manfred Woerner, I have checked all your (and my) favorite restaurants -- only the following are open for dinner on Sunday evening. Please indicate your first and second choice:

Closed

- Jean Pierre 6:00 - 10:00 pm
1835 K St, NW
- Le Jardin 5:30 - 10:00 pm
1113 23rd St, NW
- Duke Ziebert's 5:00 - 10:00 pm
1050 Connecticut Ave, NW
- Mr. K's 1:30 - 9:30 pm
2121 K St, NW

Otherwise, we can choose from:

- ^{800 16th St.} Hay Adams Hotel
- Madison Hotel
- Four Seasons Hotel
- Willard Hotel

*Mgr Dave Gillespie Room
John Hoy Denery
638-6600*

You can, of course, "write in" a choice and I will check it out.

Thanks,

wilma

Philip Zelikow

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

Jim Cunningham

Brussels

Sec. Gen

NATO ~~Gen Sec~~ ~~Roemer~~

Sunday 5-6-90

7:30 Dinner

Stafford

Clarence

State Security - ~~XXXXXXXXXX~~

663-0198

April 17, 1990

FLORENCE:

Amb Richard Gardner called (yes, again):

He will be in Washington Apr 23-25 for the WH reception for the Members of the Trilateral Commission on 4/23 and other meetings. Amb Gardner would like to meet with General Scowcroft to discuss a USIA delegation that Les Gelb has named him to be part of and several other subjects. He proposes (1) "staying with the General following the WH reception for a drink/meeting or possibly dinner if General can do it; (2) meeting on Tuesday (he's available 2:30-4:30 pm) OR (3) meeting on May 10 when he returns to Washington for another visit."

I told him that you would be back in touch with him.

Wilma

General -

*you never answered
me on this one -*

7.

later

Appointment Schedule
 Brent Scowcroft
 05/07/90 - 05/07/90

5/7-
 Mon
 6 PM

April							May							June						
S	M	T	W	T	F	S	S	M	T	W	T	F	S	S	M	T	W	T	F	S
1	2	3	4	5	6	7			1	2	3	4	5						1	2
8	9	10	11	12	13	14	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	3	4	5	6	7	8	9
15	16	17	18	19	20	21	13	14	15	16	17	18	19	10	11	12	13	14	15	16
22	23	24	25	26	27	28	20	21	22	23	24	25	26	17	18	19	20	21	22	23
29	30						27	28	29	30	31			24	25	26	27	28	29	30

Monday 05/07/90

- 6:45AM 7:05AM Dep residence en route office
- 7:15AM 7:30AM PDB Briefer -
- 7:30AM 8:00AM WH Senior Staff Meeting - Roosevelt Room
- 8:00AM 8:15AM P/PDB Briefer - Oval
- 8:15AM 8:45AM P/NSB - Oval
- 9:30AM 10:00AM Address 8th Annual "Washington Conference" sponsored by Cong Oxley & Gillmore - Rm 450 EOB (Lampley #1494)
- 10:00AM P/Mtg w/NATO SYG Manfred Woerner - Oval
- 11:00AM Jorge Salazar 1-17-35 (305-348-3400)
- 3:00PM 3:10PM P/Mtg w/PM R. Namaliu of New Guinea - Oval
- 3:30PM 4:00PM (P/Sec Brady - Oval)
- 3:30PM 4:30PM Mtg re LA Debt/Economy w/Baker/Brady/Darman/Greenspan and Sununu - HERE (FYI: Brady's Ofc calling meeting)
- 5:00PM 5:30PM Senior Directors/Directors Staff Mtg - Rm 208 EOB
- 6:00PM 8:00PM Dropby Farewell Reception IHO Archbishop Pio Laghi - 3339 Mass Ave, NW (RSVP: 333-7121 between 1-3 pm)

General --

6:00

Doesn't plan to attend + one

Arnie called to ask that I set up a PRINCIPALS ~~ONLY~~ meeting on START on Monday, May 7. I am prepared to set it up for 5:30 for one hour, which means you could still dropby at the Pio Laghi reception.

You haven't had a Senior Directors /Directors Staff meeting in a long time so I hesitate cancelling it -- but if you wish to do the START meeting earlier, I can cancel it. Please advise.

START Mtg at 5:30 _____ Cancel Staff Mtg & do START at 5:00 _____

Baker - OK +1 Bartholomew
 Cheney - OK +1
 Powell - OK +1 Graves
 Gates
 Kantor

REQUEST FOR APPOINTMENT

To: Officer-in-Charge
Appointments Center
Room 060, OEOB

Please admit the following appointments on Monday, May 07 1990
for BRENT SCOWCROFT/ROBERT GATES of WHITE HOUSE :
(Name of Person to be Visited) (Agency)

S-SCOWCROFT G=GATES

6:00pm	S	Stephen HADLEY	2-13-47
		Paul WOLFOWITZ	12-22-43
		Gen Howard GRAVES	8-15-39
		General Colin POWELL	4-5-37
		Reginald BARTHOLOMEW	2-17-36

MEETING LOCATION

Building: WHITE HOUSE Requested by: Dona Proctor
Room No 1st FL, W.W. Room No 1F WW Telephone 2255
Time of Meeting ABOVE Date of Request: May 3, 1990

Additions and/or changes made by telephone should be
limited to five (5) names or less

APPOINTMENTS CENTER: SIG/OEOB - 395-6046 or WHITE HOUSE - 456-6742

April 25, 1990

Jheru
Jay ~~*Wad*~~ *S/S* *5/3*
4:30

General --

10-7-30

Ambassador Dubinin has requested a courtesy farewell call with you. Shall I go ahead and set it up?

I have no choice Other

Brent

we need to talk
about this (today) -
vote scheduled for Wednesday!

I have
put them on the
calendar for 9:00 am
5/9

1:20 pm, May 8, 1990

General:

RH

Called
3:00 pm



Seymour Reich called from Jerusalem --

Wants to talk with you about draft of a Resolution that's before the Security Council. He feels very strongly -- he knows about the substance of this issue -- and wants to share some concerns that he has about reaction to the Resolution as he has seen it.

I offered to transfer him to Richard Haass -- he wanted this message passed to you and if you felt it appropriate, he would of course talk with Richard BUT he would prefer to speak directly with you about this -- it's something he feels can't wait until his return. He urges that you return his call before he departs his hotel.

Will be departing Jerusalem in 3 hours on a flight to return to New York -- will be back in New York tomorrow morning.

Wilma

Seymour Reich - in Jerusalem: (972) (2) 69-77-77 -- Room 913
(Hotel LeRomme)

Has Seen

Wed
May 2
3:00 PM

NATIONAL SECURITY COUNCIL

01-May-1990 15:31 EDT

UNCLASSIFIED

MEMORANDUM FOR: SEE BELOW

FROM: Jeffrey J. Jakuboski
(JAKUBOSKI)

SUBJECT: Farewell Photo-ops

*Photographs
Ordered*

The following NSC staff members will be able to attend tomorrow's farewell photo-op in General Scowcroft's office at 3:00PM.

Linda Ebben - photo-op with Gen. Scowcroft
Mary Rogers - photo-op with Gen. Scowcroft and Mr. Gates
Alan Peterson - photo-op with Gen. Scowcroft and Mr. Gates
Will Owen - photo-op with Gen. Scowcroft
Dennis Kirchdoerfer - photo-op with Gen. Scowcroft
Ken Johnson - photo-op with Gen. Scowcroft and Mr. Gates

I will bring a brief bio. and a farewell plaque on each person listed above tomorrow morning.

Jeff J.

Distribution:

FOR: Florence E. Gantt
FOR: Wilma G. Hall
FOR: Diane L. Edwards
FOR: Dona F. Proctor
CC: Nancy V. Menan
CC: Cornelius O'Leary
CC: Joe Laposa
CC: Ralph H. Sigler
CC: William F. Sittmann
CC: Cathy Millison
CC: Brenda I. Hilliard
CC: Janis K. Whitley
CC: Helen Pahlke
CC: Gilda Kay
CC: Steven D. Tilley
CC: Barbara Browne

6 = BS
2 =

(GANTT)
(HALL)
(EDWARDS)
(PROCTOR)
(MENAN)
(OLEARY AT A1 AT VAXE)
(LAPOSA)
(SIGLER AT A1 AT VAXE)
(SITTMANN)
(MILLISON)
(HILLIARD)
(WHITLEY)
(PAHLKE)
(KAY)
(TILLEY)
(BROWNE)

9:30 a.m.
May 1, 1990



4:30

General:

Bob Barrett called --

Harold Burson (of Burson & Marstelle -- the largest PR firm in the world) will be coming to the White House tomorrow for meetings with David Demarest and others. (This is the same Harold Burson who a couple of years ago was interested in purchasing Kissinger & Associates.)

Bob asked if it might be possible for Harold Burson to stop by your office for 5 minutes just to say hello -- that he's really a nice guy and Bob thinks it would be an enjoyable visit for you and worthwhile too.

Okay for Florence to offer 5 min-dropby

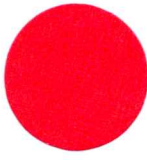
Regret; schedule too compressed

Wilma

NOTE: Florence, Bob Barrett will call you/me later today to get General's reaction.

Wed
May 2

2-15-21



March 7, 1990

General --

✓ Have you thought about the meeting with Baker/Cheney/Powell on START -- do you want Principals only or can each bring a staff member?

Principals Only ✓ Principal plus one _____

✓ The President wants to give Jack Lawn an award when he comes in for his photo-op. Before Jim Cicconi does ~~at~~ ~~lost~~ of research on awards that are available, he wanted to know if you had any problems with the President giving him an award.

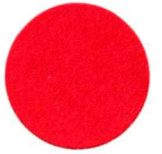
No problem ✓ Other _____

Florence

✓ Do you want Jim Deal to sit in on the 1:30 mtg, as notetaker?

Yes _____ Not necessary ✓

May 4, 1990



General:

Ed Yeo would like to come in to see you on Saturday. He will call Diane Saturday am for your reply.

Okay to schedule?

- Yes
- Prefer to do on Monday
- Regret; unable to do

Wilma

done
7:30 pm, Mon, 5/7/90



*Butchings
checking
w/ Havel's
people 2/13*

February 12, 1990

General --

You asked our staff to inquire whether Czech President Havel would have some time in his schedule to meet with Harold Brown at Johns Hopkins here in town. Havel will meet with the President on the 20th of February. Adrian Basora checked and was told Havel's schedule is full but if you felt this was a high priority "they" would be willing to look at his calendar again. Please advise if you want our staff to do anything.

Depends what else would have to be dropped.

Remember we got a call from Dr. Brzezinski office saying his wife is the grandniece of former Czech President Benes. Muska Brzezinski would like to be invited to a function during his visit here. As you and I discussed, there is no function at the WH since the luncheon will be a working luncheon. Do you know if the President is planning any kind of a small social or something? Should I check with State?

- I'll speak with the President _____
- Ask State _____
- Other _____

Trudy
833-2408

Florence

April 12, 1990

Florence:

Pierre Lellouche will be coming from Paris for a visit in Washington on April 25, 26 and early morning of April 27 and would like very much to meet with General Scowcroft.

Scheduled for 3:00 pm, Wednesday, April 25th. I asked that Mr. Lellouche call after he arrives in Washington to reconfirm appointment. If appt needs to be changed, I told his secy you would call her.

DOB: 5-03-51

Ofc: 331-42-76-5293

His secy offers their FAX number should you prefer to use this to communicate: FAX: 331-42-76-6215

Wilma

de/19Apr

another item for the 25th.
Pierre Lellouche will be staying
at the Park-Hyatt 789-1234 (FYI)

April 24, 1990

General --

I have cleared Sir Michael G. R. Sandberg for 7:45 in the morning, Wednesday, April 25. Senator Baker is in California and will not be able to attend. I talked with Cran Montgomery who is going to escort Sir Michael Sandberg to the White House. He knows you are planning to take him in to see the President at 8:00. Cran said if you don't want him to join the meeting he will just sit in the Lobby.

Florence

OK
AD

Withdrawal/Redaction Sheet

(George Bush Library)

Document No. and Type	Subject/Title of Document	Date	Restriction	Class.
03. Handwritten Notes	Re: [Michael Sandberg] [Personal Information Redacted] (1 pp.)	n.d.	(b)(6)	

Collection:

Record Group: Bush Presidential Records
Office: Scowcroft, Brent, Collection
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Sid ^{7:45}G.R. berg 5-31-27

- Michael Sandberg - Howard Baker
- Meet w/P (Hong Kong - Shanghai
Bank)

Cron Montgomery

Chas Geoyer C.

(b)(6)

*Trued
4/24
11:30 AM*

NATIONAL SECURITY COUNCIL

21-Mar-1990 13:54 EDT

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

MEMORANDUM FOR:

Florence E. Gantt (GANTT)
Wilma G. Hall (HALL)

FROM: Philip Zelikow
(ZELIKOW)

SUBJECT: Appointment Request for Sir Percy Cradock

Sir Percy Cradock, Thatcher's personal foreign affairs adviser and the head of the UK's Joint Intelligence Committee, will be in Washington next month. The Embassy is requesting an appointment for him with General Scowcroft during the morning of April 24.

We recommend that the General agree to meet with Sir Percy. Bob Blackwill would join the General for this meeting.

CC: Robert Blackwill (BLACKWILL)

DECLASSIFIED
PER NSC WAIVER, August 6, 2010
By CAP NARA, Date 9/16/10

March 30, 1990

General --

Mr. Yeo has called several times today. He says Paul Volcker has been asked to go to the Soviet Union by the Soviet Finance Minister. Mr. Yeo told Volcker he should seek advice from you -- either directly or through Mr. Yeo. Volcker is going to wait a couple of days hoping to hear from you. I passed to Bob and he said he wanted to talk with you about it. Mr. Yeo will call again sometime tomorrow.

*Done
Call
Cpl.
2:50*

JK

Harry Huge wants to set up an appointment for you to meet with Kalle Tenno -- says you know him -- to talk about Estonia. He wants to do this sometime next week. Is this something you want to do or should I ask staff for recommendation?

I'll do _____

Ask staff _____

Other ✓ _____

Claudia
467-8360

Enzo Dechiara has called requesting to see you about something PERSONAL -- hopefully before April 6. His secretary could not tell me anything more. Shall I schedule?

Yes, for 10 minutes ✓ _____

Other _____

Brenda
553-0063

Wed
4-18
11:30
AM

Robert⁴Ellsworth has called requesting an appointment for Jean-Luc Lagardere, CEO of MATRA, French Aerospace. He is hoping to do this sometime the week of April 17 == preferably the 18th, 19th, or 20th. Do you want to do this or should I just ask staff for recommendation. A little blurb on Mr. Lagardere is attached.

I'll see _____

Ask Staff for recommendation _____ ✓

628-1144

Lois Deckert JEAN-LUC LAGARDERE 2-10-28
ROBERT F. ELLSWORTH 6-11-26
JEAN-LOUIS JERGORIN 4-22-46

Florence

ROBERT ELLSWORTH & CO., INC.
2001 L STREET, N. W., SUITE 601
WASHINGTON, D. C. 20036

(202) 628-1144
FAX: (202) 331-8735
TELEX: 4930221 RECO

TELECOPIER COVER, PAGE

TO: Name: Florence Gantt
Firm/Company: Office of Gen. Scowcroft
Location: NSC
Telecopier Number: 456-2883

COPY TO: Name: N/A Fax #: N/A

FROM: Name: Lois Decker
Company: Robert Ellsworth & Co., Inc.
Location: Washington, D.C.
Office Phone Number: 202 628-1144
Telecopier Number: 202 331-8735

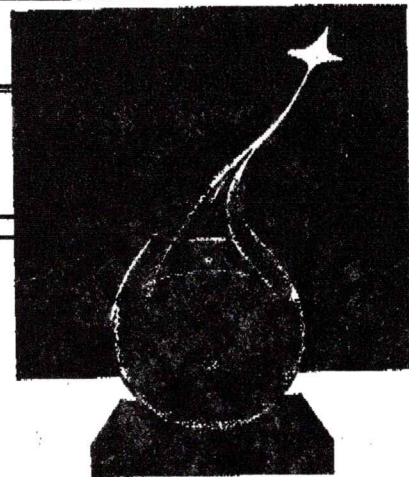
DATE: 26 March 1990

TOTAL NUMBER OF PAGES, INCLUDING COVER PAGE IS 2.

If you do not receive the number of pages indicated above, please call 202 628-1144.

Florence,
Call if you need more info or
have any questions/concerns. Thanks,
LOIS

AEROSPACE LAUREATE



Jean-Luc Lagardere, Matra chairman and chief executive officer.

and GEC to create the first pan-European space company. The new company, Matra Marconi Space, is a holding under which Matra's Space Branch is the French affiliate, and GEC's Marconi Space System is the British affiliate. A step toward the linkup of Matra and GEC was taken in 1988, when GEC took a 4% holding in Matra when the French company was privatized. Since then, GEC increased its Matra holdings to 5%.

In Germany, Matra is discussing linkups in the space sector with the newly formed Deutsche Aerospace industry group. Deutsche Aerospace brings together Dornier, Messerschmitt-Boelkow-Blohm, MTU and

Diehl took control of the remaining 80% of BGT's capital.

Matra's 1990s strategy, developed by Lagardere, Camus and Gergorin, also foresees an increased penetration of the North American market. To achieve this goal, Matra purchased Fairchild Space and Defense Corp. in 1989 from Banner Industries, giving Matra a solid operational base for its North American market development.

A U. S. management team was selected by Matra to head the company. The team's job is to boost Fairchild's established U. S. activities in Earth observation satellites and C³I (command, control, communications and intelligence), and to develop synergies with Matra in these two sectors.

Matra's 1989 actions are expected to be followed by similar steps in 1990 that are designed to further reinforce its role as a key player on the international aerospace scene, particularly in Europe as the continent moves toward a unified market in 1993. □

AERONAUTICS/PROPULSION:

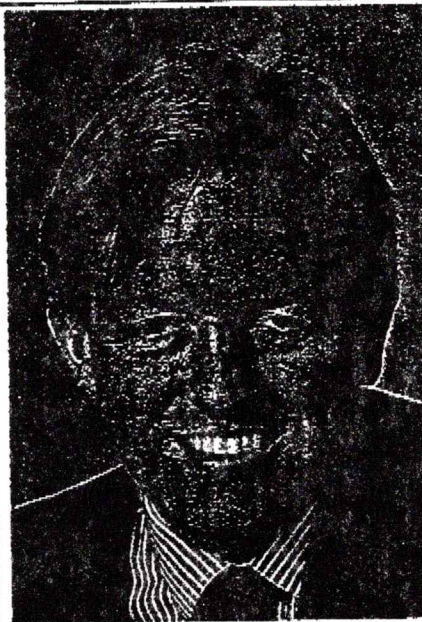
Jean-Luc Lagardere, Philippe Camus, Jean-Louis Gergorin

On the threshold of the 1990s, France's Matra is positioning itself for the international market challenges of the next decade.

The Matra corporate management team, lead by Chairman and Chief Executive Officer Jean-Luc Lagardere, with Philippe Camus, senior vice president and chief financial officer; and Jean-Louis Gergorin, senior vice president-strategy/development, pursued a policy in 1989 to consolidate Matra's position in Europe and establish a solid operational base in the U. S.

Matra's 1990s gameplan is based on a new organizational setup that was created by the spinoff of its defense and space group activities into new international companies. Matra has established two holding companies to facilitate the entry of European aerospace firms into its space/defense sector activities. Matra, in turn, will acquire shareholdings in the defense/space sectors in those European firms that buy into the holding companies.

As part of their strategy for the coming decade, Lagardere, Camus and Gergorin spent 1989 focusing their European consolidation efforts on the United Kingdom and Germany. One major step was the agreement in December by Matra



Philippe Camus, Matra senior vice president and chief financial officer.

Telefunken SystemTechnik GmbH. under the management of Daimler-Benz. In 1988, Daimler-Benz acquired 4% of Matra stock, which was put on the market as part of Matra's privatization, and Daimler-Benz increased its shareholding in 1989 to 5%. In October, Matra signed an agreement for a joint venture between its Matra MHS semiconductor production subsidiary and the Daimler Benz Group's Telefunken Electronic GmbH. (TEG).

Another part of Matra's German strategy in 1989 was its Defense Branch's agreement in October to purchase a 20% share in the capital of Bodenseewerk Geratetechnik GmbH. (BGT), a producer of missiles and seekers. BGT was sold by its former U. S. owner, and West Germany's



Jean-Louis Gergorin, Matra senior vice president-strategy and development.

UNCLASSIFIED
NSC/S PROFILE

RECORD ID: 9002627
RECEIVED: 04 APR 90 15

TO: SCOWCROFT

FROM: ORDWAY
MILLER

DOC DATE: 04 APR 90
SOURCE REF:

KEYWORDS: SOUTH AFRICA

ANSA

PERSONS: VILJOEN, GERRIT

SUBJECT: REQUEST SCOWCROFT MEET W/ VILJOEN / SOUTH AFRICA MIN OF
CONSTITUTIONAL DEVELOPMENT 17 - 18 APR

ACTION: SCOWCROFT APPROVED RECOM

DUE DATE: 07 APR 90

STATUS: C

STAFF OFFICER: ORDWAY

LOGREF:

FILES: WH

NSCP:

CODES:

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FOR ACTION

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COMMENTS: _____

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DOC 1 OF 1

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ACTION DATA SUMMARY REPORT

RECORD ID: 9002627

DOC ACTION OFFICER

001 SCOWCROFT
001

CAO ASSIGNED ACTION REQUIRED

Z 90040417 FOR DECISION
X 90040714 SCOWCROFT APPROVED RECOM

NATIONAL SECURITY COUNCIL
WASHINGTON, D.C. 20506

4:00
Jules 4/17

2627

April 4, 1990

w/Sumner

ACTION

MEMORANDUM FOR BRENT SCOWCROFT

THROUGH: DAVID C. ~~MILLER~~ MILLER, JR.
FROM: JOHN M. ORDWAY
SUBJECT: Appointment for Gerrit Viljoen

Gerrit Viljoen, South Africa's Minister for Constitutional Development, will be in Washington April 17-18. The South African Embassy has requested that you meet with him, and the State Department concurs.

Viljoen is the key adviser to de Klerk on the negotiating process. Mandela, has publicly described Viljoen as one of three government officials in whom he has confidence. Viljoen's ministry is already beginning to examine constitutional models for a post-apartheid South Africa.

A meeting with Viljoen would give you a good opportunity to explore the SAG's current thinking, in advance of the de Klerk visit to Washington. It would also underscore our willingness to work constructively with the SAG in moving the negotiating process forward. We strongly recommend that you set aside 30 minutes to see Viljoen.

RECOMMENDATION

That you agree to meet with Minister Viljoen for 30 minutes on April 17 or 18.

Approve

Disapprove

April 13, 1990

Florence:

Per our telcon, Ron Lehman, Dir/ACDA, is scheduled for 15 minutes with General Scowcroft on Monday, April 16th at 11:30 a.m.

Arnie Kanter will attend (or John Gordon if Arnie is not available).

Wilma

POC: Barbie 647-9610

Ron Lehman - DOB: 3-25-46

5:30
Fri 4/5

NATIONAL SECURITY COUNCIL

05-Apr-1990 09:53 EDT

UNCLASSIFIED

MEMORANDUM FOR:

Florence E. Gantt
Wilma G. Hall
Diane L. Edwards

(GANTT)
(HALL)
(EDWARDS)

FROM:

Susan G. Bunch
(BUNCH)

SUBJECT:

hostages

David would like 5 minutes with the General on hostages. thanks a bunch...

only

April 5, 1990

4/c
4:30

General --

I have scheduled the Argentine Economic Minister, Antonio Erman Gonzalez, to see you at 4:00 p.m. tomorrow. He will bring with him as an interpreter, Felix Alberto Camarasa who is the Argentine ED(?) man at the World Bank per Ed Yeo. Mr. Yeo said he would like to talk with you on the telephone tomorrow before you meet with them. At that point you can tell Mr. Yeo if he should come with them or not. Please advise.

I'll talk with Ed Yeo on the telephone _____

Other _____

Florence

April 4, 1990

General --

Ed Yeo called to let you know he had breakfast with the Mexican Ambassador, Petricioli -- said they talked about the leak (free trade). FYI

He was also going to be meeting with the Argentine Economic Minister, Gonzales -- he will be here to a few days. Mr. Yeo thinks it would be good for you to meet with him sometime on Friday. Says he will not ask for anything -- no intervention with IMF. He is handling the "broadening out" of that country. If it can be done, he's the man to do it. Yeo said the it would be helpful for him if he were to be able meet with you.

Shall I go ahead and schedule something?

Yes _____

Invite Pryce _____ Deal _____ Other _____

Other _____

Florence

Mr. Yeo
452-2249

NATIONAL SECURITY COUNCIL
WASHINGTON, D.C. 20506

March 29, 1990

ACTION

MEMORANDUM FOR BRENT SCOWCROFT
ROBERT M. GATES

DECLASSIFIED
PER NSC WAIVER, 1500 2021-02
By SS NARA, Date 3/6/24

THROUGH: RICHARD N. HAAS *[Signature]*

FROM: *[Signature]* SANDRA CHARLES

SUBJECT: Request for Meeting with Indian Principal
Secretary to the Prime Minister

Mr. E. G. Deshmukh, the Principal Secretary to Prime Minister Singh, will be in Washington April 4-6 to attend the U.S./Indo Joint Business Council meeting. He has asked to see you (you met him last year when he was Rajiv Gandhi's principal secretary), along with DoD and State officials.

In view of developments in Kashmir, his visit provides an excellent opportunity to send a strong message to the Prime Minister of our concerns about the continued escalation by both the Indian and Pakistani military, and the potential risk of a conflict if escalation continues. We also can reemphasize our call for a dialogue by both countries to curb the rhetoric that has heightened the tensions, and reiterate the necessity for the GOI to address the political and economic grievances that underlie the Kashmiri crisis.

Also, the Indians need to be urged to refrain from use of arms in quelling demonstrations and impeding illegal border crossings.

The Deputies Committee will be discussing diplomatic messages to both India and Pakistan on Wednesday, April 4.

RECOMMENDATION

That you or Bob agree to meet with Mr. Deshmukh on Thursday, April 5 at whatever time is convenient.

Approve *[Signature]* Disapprove _____

*3:00
Dues
4/5*

Withdrawal/Redaction Sheet

(George Bush Library)

Document No. and Type	Subject/Title of Document	Date	Restriction	Class.
05. Memo	Adrian A. Basora to Florence E. Gantt Re: Visit of Admiral Lanxade (1 pp.)	3/29/90	(b)(1)	S

Collection:

Record Group: Bush Presidential Records
Office: Scowcroft, Brent, Collection
Series: Administrative Files
Subseries:
WHORM Cat.:
File Location: Appointments Completed, January to December 1990 [2]

Date Closed: 9/20/2010	OA/ID Number: 85034-006
FOIA/SYS Case #: 2009-0275-S[2]	Appeal Case #:
Re-review Case #:	Appeal Disposition:
P-2/P-5 Review Case #:	Disposition Date:
AR Case #:	MR Case #:
AR Disposition:	MR Disposition:
AR Disposition Date:	MR Disposition Date:

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- P-1 National Security Classified Information [(a)(1) of the PRA]
- P-2 Relating to the appointment to Federal office [(a)(2) of the PRA]
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- P-4 Release would disclose trade secrets or confidential commercial or financial information [(a)(4) of the PRA]
- P-5 Release would disclose confidential advice between the President and his advisors, or between such advisors [(a)(5) of the PRA]
- P-6 Release would constitute a clearly unwarranted invasion of personal privacy [(a)(6) of the PRA]

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- (b)(3) Release would violate a Federal statute [(b)(3) of the FOIA]
- (b)(4) Release would disclose trade secrets or confidential or financial information [(b)(4) of the FOIA]
- (b)(6) Release would constitute a clearly unwarranted invasion of personal privacy [(b)(6) of the FOIA]
- (b)(7) Release would disclose information compiled for law enforcement purposes [(b)(7) of the FOIA]
- (b)(8) Release would disclose information concerning the regulation of financial institutions [(b)(8) of the FOIA]
- (b)(9) Release would disclose geological or geophysical information

4/4/90

RICHARD S. BEYEA, JR.

Brigadier General Richard S. Beyea, Jr., USAF (Ret.), is current Director of the Community Counterintelligence and Security Countermeasures Office of the Intelligence Community Staff. He has held this position since April, 1988. Prior to assuming these duties, General Beyea was Commander of the Air Force Office of Special Investigations (AFOSI) in which he was responsible for providing independent professional investigative services to Commanders of all Air Force activities about counterintelligence, fraud and major criminal matters by using a worldwide network of agents stationed at all Air Force installations. He has also served as the Air Staff Assistant Inspector General for Special Investigations.

Dick Beyea was born September 22, 1935. He attended Texas A&M University and graduated from the U.S. Military Academy at West Point in 1958. He holds a Masters degree from George Washington University.

Among many decorations Dick Beyea holds the Distinguished Service Medal, the National Intelligence Distinguished Service Medal, the Legion of Merit, Meritorious Service Medal with two oak leaf clusters, Air Force Commendation Medal with one oak leaf cluster, and the Vietnam Service Medal with eight service stars. In 1984, he received the Association of Federal Investigators' Leadership Award.

Dick Beyea is personable, correct, loyal and meticulous in carrying out his responsibilities. He is fully qualified professionally to meet the statutory requirements and would carry out his responsibilities in a highly professional manner. He is doing good work in his present position.

RICHARD S. BEYEA, JR.

Brigadier General Richard S. Beyea, Jr., USAF (Ret.), is Director, Community Counterintelligence and Security Countermeasures Office (CCISCMO), Intelligence Community Staff (ICS). He assumed this position on 24 April 1988. As Director, CCISCMO, General Beyea is responsible for advising and assisting the Director of Central Intelligence (DCI) by assessing the foreign intelligence threat to the United States and evaluating Community counterintelligence (CI) and security countermeasures (SCM) policies, programs, priorities, and activities; by providing support to the National Advisory Group for CI and SCM and its subordinate committees; by advising and supporting the DCI and the Community regarding protection of sensitive compartmented information, protection of intelligence sources or methods, and by maintaining the DCI's Unauthorized Disclosure Analysis Center that detects, authenticates, and reports unauthorized disclosures, recommends appropriate investigative action, and sensitizes senior policy makers to the disclosure problem; by providing support to the ICS on questions concerning budgets and resources for foreign CI and SCM within the National Foreign Intelligence Program; by providing an office for services of common concern; and by facilitating matters pertaining to development of CI and SCM policy. He also serves as the chairman of both the DCI's Security Forum and the Unauthorized Disclosure Committee.

Before assuming duties as Director, CCISCMO, General Beyea was Commander of the Air Force Office of Special Investigations (AFOSI), Bolling Air Force Base (AFB), Washington, DC. AFOSI is responsible for providing independent professional investigative services to commanders of all Air Force activities about CI, fraud, and major criminal matters by using a worldwide network of agents stationed at all Air Force installations and at a variety of special operating locations. General Beyea also served as the Air Staff Assistant Inspector General for Special Investigations.

General Beyea was born 22 September 1935 in Atlanta, GA. He graduated from Highland Park High School in Dallas, TX, in 1953. From 1953 to 1954 he attended Texas Agricultural and Mechanical University and graduated from the US Military Academy, West Point, NY, in 1958. The General received his Master's degree from the George Washington University, Washington, DC, in 1974. Along with specialized CI training, he completed the Squadron Officers' School at Maxwell AFB, AL, and the Industrial College of the Armed Forces and the National War College, both located at Fort Lesley J. McNair, Washington, DC.

General Beyea attended the US Air Force Special Investigations School in 1959. He became a special agent and an investigating officer and served as Commander, AFOSI Detachment 1902, Castle AFB, CA; AFOSI Detachment 2453 at Royal Air Force Station Fairford, England; and AFOSI Detachment 6298 at Royal Air Force Station Alconbury, England. In 1965 he was assigned to the Counterespionage Branch, Counterintelligence Division, Hqs. AFOSI. From 1968 to 1970 he served as Chief, Counterespionage Operations Branch, AFOSI District 51 in Bangkok, Thailand.

He participated in the Son Tay prisoner rescue attempt as security and CI officer, Joint Contingency Task Group, and in December 1970 became Chief, European Branch, CI Division, Hqs., AFOSI. He subsequently served as the AFOSI Hqs. Squadron Commander, executive to the Commander, liaison officer, and in September 1975 became the AFOSI Chief of Staff. After a tour at Kadena Air Base, Japan, as the Commander of the 18th Combat Support Group and Base Commander, he assumed duties as Commander, AFOSI, in June 1980. He was promoted to Brigadier General on 24 December 1982, with a date of rank of 1 October 1982, and retired from the Air Force on 1 March 1988.

General Beyea's decorations and awards include the Distinguished Service Medal, National Intelligence Distinguished Service Medal, Legion of Merit, Meritorious Service Medal with two oak leaf clusters, Air Force Commendation Medal with one oak leaf cluster, Air Force Outstanding Unit Award Ribbon with three oak leaf clusters, National Defense Service Medal with one service star, Vietnam Service Medal with eight service stars, Air Force Longevity Service Award Ribbon with six oak leaf clusters, Small Arms Expert Marksmanship Ribbon, Korean National Police Medal, Philippine Intelligence Medal, Republic of Vietnam Gallantry Cross with palm, and Republic of Vietnam Campaign Medal. In 1984 the General also received the Association of Federal Investigators' Leadership Award.

General Beyea is married to Betty Blakley of Merced, CA. They have one son: Richard S. Beyea, III, and their home is in Alexandria, Virginia.

*Ambassade de France
aux Etats-Unis*

Avec les compliments de l' Ambassade de France

From:

Jacques Andréani

ADDRESS BY JACQUES ANDREANI
FRENCH AMBASSADOR TO THE UNITED STATES
HARVARD UNIVERSITY
CAMBRIDGE, MASSACHUSETTS, 9 MARCH 1990

EUROPE IN THE PROCESS OF CHANGE:
THE FRENCH VIEW

IN THE AFTERMATH OF WORLD WAR II, THE OUTLINES OF THE NEW EUROPE WERE DETERMINED BY THE PARTICULAR NATURE OF THE SOVIET REGIME, BY ITS MILITARY POWER AND BY THE DOMINATION IT HAD BEEN ESTABLISHING OVER EASTERN EUROPE.

FORTY-FIVE YEARS LATER, THE CHANGES IN THE USSR AND THE EASTERN COUNTRIES ARE BRINGING THIS POSTWAR SYSTEM TO AN END AND CLEARING THE WAY FOR THE CONSTRUCTION OF A NEW SYSTEM.

IN THE SOVIET UNION, THE STARTING POINT FOR CHANGE WAS THE EFFORT TO REFORM THE MANAGEMENT OF THE ECONOMY, WHICH WAS EVIDENTLY INEFFICIENT. FACED WITH OPPOSITION IN THIS FIELD, MR. GORBACHEV TRIED TO BYPASS THE PROBLEM THROUGH A SERIES OF POLITICAL OFFENSIVES AIMED AT THE BUREAUCRACY. HE PUT PRESSURE ON THE MEMBERS OF THE PARTY APPARATUS BY THREATENING TO HAVE THEM UNSEATED THROUGH THE INTRODUCTION OF A GENUINE ELECTORAL PROCESS WITH A PLURALITY OF CANDIDATES. POLITICALLY, THIS OFFENSIVE FINDS EXPRESSION IN GORBACHEV'S ALLIANCE WITH INTELLECTUALS, DISSIDENTS, VICTIMS OF STALINISM. ON THE INSTITUTIONAL PLAN, THIS OFFENSIVE LEADS TO DEMOCRATIZATION ON BOTH THE ELECTORAL AND THE PARLIAMENTARY LEVELS (WITH THE CREATION OF THE CONGRESS OF DEPUTIES). IN THE LONG RUN, THE USSR IS HEADING TOWARD A MULTIPARTY SYSTEM. GORBACHEV IS ATTEMPTING TO SET UP A NEW POLITICAL ARRANGEMENT WHICH SHALL BE MADE OF THE CONCENTRATION OF POWERS IN THE HANDS OF A SINGLE MAN--HIMSELF--PERHAPS IN THE LONG TERM ELECTED BY UNIVERSAL VOTE, COMBINED WITH A BROAD DEBATE CONDUCTED AT ALL LEVELS.

BUT THE DESCRIPTION WHICH I HAVE JUST BEEN GIVING YOU DOES NOT GO TO THE HEART OF THE PROBLEM. FOR A FULL UNDERSTANDING OF THESE DEVELOPMENTS, WE MUST ANALYZE THE SITUATION AT THE DEEPER LEVEL, THE LEVEL OF RELATIONS BETWEEN THE STATE AND CIVIL SOCIETY. ALL THIS POLITICAL AGITATION THAT IS CURRENTLY SHAKING THE SOVIET UNION--IT WAS MADE POSSIBLE BY GORBACHEV, BUT IT IS NOT GORBACHEV WHO CREATED IT. THE COMMUNIST REGIME IN THE SOVIET UNION HAS BEEN GRADUALLY EATEN AWAY BY THE DEFECTS THE SYSTEM HAS ENGENDERED. THE PEOPLE KNEW THAT THE MYTHS ON WHICH THE SYSTEM WAS BASED WERE FALSE. BUT THEY HAD GROWN ACCUSTOMED TO A DOUBLE STANDARD. IN OTHER WORDS, THE VAST MAJORITY OF THE PEOPLE IN THE SOVIET UNION, INCLUDING THOSE WHO WERE IN POSITIONS OF RESPONSIBILITY, WERE NOT BELIEVERS IN THE IDEOLOGY, BUT THEY BEHAVED AS IF THEY WERE BELIEVERS. THIS SYSTEM OF DOUBLE STANDARDS LED TO THE DISAPPEARANCE OF ALL MORAL RESPONSIBILITY, TO THE WIDESPREAD DISSEMINATION OF CYNICISM AND GUILTY CONSCIENCE, WHICH REINFORCED THE INEFFICIENCY OF THE SYSTEM, BECAUSE EVERYONE WAS LYING, EVERYONE WAS CHEATING. AS THE INEFFICIENCY OF THE SYSTEM BECAME STRONGER AND MORE OBVIOUS, THE GOVERNMENT WAS GROWING WEAKER, WAS LOSING ITS AUTHORITY. AND GORBACHEV DESERVES CREDIT FOR UNDERSTANDING THAT HE HAD NOT TO REJECT THIS WEAKENING OF THE GOVERNMENT BUT TO ACCEPT IT IN A SENSE, TO ACCEPT THIS DECLINING ROLE OF CENTRAL AUTHORITY AND TO LET CIVIL SOCIETY SPEAK UP AND ACT. HELENE CARRERE D'ENCAUSSE HAS SHOWN VERY WELL THAT WE ARE WITNESSING TODAY, NOT ONLY THE LIBERALIZATION OF A STATE, BUT ABOVE ALL THE REBIRTH OF MORAL CONSCIENCE AND CIVIC CONSCIENCE IN SOVIET SOCIETY. GORBACHEV SHOWED THAT THIS DOUBLE LANGUAGE, THIS DOUBLE STANDARD, THIS "DOUBLESPEAK" WAS NO LONGER NECESSARY, AND IN DOING THAT, HE HAS ALLOWED THIS TRANSFORMATION TO TAKE PLACE. THE POLITICAL ACTIVITY WHICH CAME OUT OF ALL THAT, ALL THIS POLITICAL TURMOIL, WHICH IS IN GREAT PART SPONTANEOUS, HAS STRENGTHENED GORBACHEV'S POLITICAL OFFENSIVE AGAINST THE BUREAUCRACY. BUT FOR THAT TO OCCUR, CIVIL SOCIETY HAD TO BE READY, FAR BENEATH THE SURFACE, TO RECONSTITUTE ITSELF.

TO THIS EMERGING CIVIL SOCIETY, THE LEADERS HAD TO SPEAK A NEW LANGUAGE. GORBACHEV ABANDONED THE IDEA OF MOBILIZING ENERGIES BY MEANS OF THE OLD SOVIET UNION'S FOUNDING MYTHS: A RADIANT FUTURE, THE STATE OF THE WORKERS, THE AVANT-GARDE PARTY OF THE PROLETARIAT, THE MONOLITHIC UNITY OF THE PARTY AND THE PEOPLE AND ALL THAT. HE INVITED THE SOVIETS TO RECOGNIZE THE UNIVERSAL NATURE OF CERTAIN HUMAN VALUES, AND HIS APPROACH SEEMS TO BE A COMPROMISE BETWEEN A VESTIGE OF COMMUNIST DISCOURSE AND THE SOCIAL-DEMOCRATIC SENSIBILITY, WITH A TENDENCY TO DRAW GRADUALLY CLOSER TO THE SOCIAL-DEMOCRATIC IDEOLOGY.

BUT THESE NICE WORDS AND THIS NICE SOCIAL DEMOCRATIC TYPE OF LANGUAGE ARE NOT ALL THAT THE SOVIET PEOPLE ARE HEARING NOW. BY DISTANCING ITSELF AND ALLOWING THE SOCIAL DEBATE TO DEVELOP, THE GOVERNMENT IS UNLEASHING NOT ONLY DEMOCRATIC FORCES, BUT ALL SORTS OF OTHER FORCES, AMONG WHICH THE FORCES OF TRADITIONAL RUSSIAN SPONTANEITY--AUTHORITARIANISM, CHAUVINISM, ANTISEMITISM--AND THE LEADER MUST FIND HIS WAY THROUGH A WHOLE SET OF COMPLEX POLITICAL DRIVES, WITHOUT KNOWING BEFOREHAND WHAT KIND OF POLITICAL COMPROMISE HE MAY BE ABLE TO ARRIVE AT. AND THIS IS ONE REASON WHY THE SITUATION IN THE SOVIET UNION IS SO UNPREDICTABLE.

THIS DECLINING ROLE OF THE SOVIET STATE AND THE WEAKENING OF THE REVOLUTIONARY IDEOLOGY HAVE CERTAIN EFFECTS ON FOREIGN POLICY. AS IN DOMESTIC AFFAIRS, IT IS HARD TO KNOW WHAT PART OF THE CHANGES IS ATTRIBUTABLE TO THE WEAKNESS OF THE SYSTEM AND WHAT PART IS ATTRIBUTABLE TO A CHANGE IN MOTIVATION. IN OTHER WORDS, IF THE SOVIET UNION IS BECOMING MORE COOPERATIVE, IS IT BECAUSE IT HAS LOST THE ARMS RACE, BECAUSE IT CANNOT AFFORD ANY MORE ADVENTURES IN AFRICA OR IN AFGHANISTAN? OR IS IT BECAUSE, IN ACCORDANCE WITH THE WEAKENING OF IDEOLOGY ON THE SOVIET SCENE, THE LEADERS HAVE DECIDED THAT ON THE INTERNATIONAL SCENE AS WELL THEY SHOULD PLAY BY A SET OF RULES, THEY SHOULD ACCEPT A SERIES OF RULES OF THE GAME? IN ANY CASE, THESE CHANGES THAT HAVE TAKEN PLACE IN THE SOVIET UNION WERE INCOMPATIBLE WITH THE USSR'S MAINTAINING A REPRESSIVE ATTITUDE TOWARD THE COUNTRIES OF EASTERN EUROPE.

IN THESE COUNTRIES, THE INEFFICIENCY OF THE SYSTEM HAD BEEN APPARENT A VERY LONG TIME AGO. BUT CHANGE WAS BLOCKED BECAUSE IT WAS FELT THAT IT WAS IMPOSSIBLE BEFORE SOMETHING HAD STARTED TO MOVE IN THE SOVIET UNION ITSELF. SO THERE WAS A DEADLOCK. THE TYPICAL DEADLOCKED SITUATION WAS POLAND, WHERE SOLIDARITY COULD NOT DO ANYTHING AGAINST THE GOVERNMENT, THE GOVERNMENT COULD NOT DO ANYTHING AGAINST SOLIDARITY. WHEN THINGS STARTED TO MOVE SERIOUSLY IN THE SOVIET UNION, THE POLISH COMMUNISTS WERE ABLE TO ACCEPT A COMPROMISE, DEADLOCK WAS UNBLOCKED AND COMPROMISE WAS MADE IN POLAND. THIS COMPROMISE WENT A VERY LONG WAY, SINCE IT AMOUNTED TO TURNING OVER THE ESSENTIAL PART OF POWER TO THE OPPOSITION FORCES.

THESE EVENTS IN POLAND IN 1989 SET OFF THE SERIES OF CHANGES ELSEWHERE. UNTIL THAT MOMENT, EVERY COMMUNIST LEADER--HOWEVER BAD, HOWEVER UNPOPULAR--HAD FELT PROTECTED BY A VAGUE POSSIBILITY OF SOVIET REACTION IN HIS FAVOR, OF SOVIET INTERVENTION. FROM THE MOMENT WHEN THE SOVIETS OBSERVED FROM THE SIDELINES AS THE POLISH COMMUNISTS RELINQUISHED POWER, NONE OF THE COMMUNIST LEADERS COULD FEEL SAFE ANYMORE; INDEED, THEY ALL FELL FROM POWER IN THE SECOND HALF OF 1989. IN SEVERAL COUNTRIES, THE OPPOSITION HAS RISEN TO POWER. FREE ELECTIONS HAVE BEEN PROMISED EVERYWHERE.

PRESIDENT MITTERRAND MADE A PREDICTION WHILE THESE EVENTS WERE TAKING PLACE. HE SAID: "THE REVOLUTION HAS GONE FROM THE SOVIET UNION TO EASTERN EUROPE. LATER IT WILL COME BACK FROM EASTERN EUROPE TO THE SOVIET UNION." THIS IS INDEED WHAT HAS HAPPENED, BECAUSE THIS QUICK DEVELOPMENT, THIS AVALANCHE IN THE EASTERN COUNTRIES, HAS SET AN EXAMPLE THAT STRONGLY REINFORCED THE DEMANDS BEING EXPRESSED BY SOVIET SOCIETY--AND THIS ON TWO DIFFERENT ISSUES.

FIRST OF ALL, SINCE IT HAS BEEN SEEN THAT THE SOVIET UNION DID NOT USE FORCE TO PREVENT ITS SATELLITE STATES FROM EXPELLING COMMUNISM, THEN WHAT WOULD PREVENT THE NON-RUSSIAN REPUBLICS--WHICH WERE INCORPORATED WITH THE SOVIET UNION ROUGHLY AT THE SAME TIME THAT POLAND AND CZECHOSLOVAKIA WERE INCORPORATED IN THE EASTERN BLOC AND INDEED IN JUST AS ARBITRARY AND BRUTAL A WAY--WHAT WOULD PREVENT THESE REPUBLICS FROM DECLARING THEIR INDEPENDENCE, WHICH IS THE CASE WITH THE BALTIC STATES NOW?

SECONDLY, OTHER REPERCUSSIONS OF THE EVENTS IN EASTERN EUROPE: THE ACCEPTANCE EVERYWHERE OF FREE MULTIPARTY ELECTIONS REINFORCED THOSE IN THE SOVIET UNION WHO WANTED THE POLITICAL CHANGE TO GO STILL FURTHER, AND THIS LEADS TO THE RECENT DECISION ON THE ABOLITION OF ARTICLE 6, WHICH PAVES THE WAY (PROBABLY AFTER SOME TIME) FOR COMPETITION AMONG SEVERAL PARTIES, EVEN IN THE SOVIET UNION. THIS IS THE LOGICAL RESULT OF THE EVENTS IN POLAND, CZECHOSLOVAKIA, HUNGARY AND THE GDR.

SO WITHIN A FEW MONTHS, ALL THE MAIN ELEMENTS OF THE POSTWAR SYSTEM VANISHED. THE REST, INCLUDING THE PRESENCE OF SOVIET TROOPS, IS ALSO PROBABLY GOING TO DISAPPEAR. THIS TRANSFORMATION HAS ENORMOUS CONSEQUENCES.

WE MUST UNDERSTAND THESE CONSEQUENCES IN ORDER TO KNOW HOW TO REACT TO THEM. THE HARDEST PROBLEM CONCERNS THE PACE OF EVENTS; WE ARE WITNESSING EVOLUTIONS WHICH SHOULD TAKE PLACE AS AN ENSEMBLE, IN A SAME FRAMEWORK, BUT IT'S VERY HARD, BECAUSE SOME ARE GOING VERY SLOWLY AND SOME VERY QUICKLY. AND SO YOU HAVE THE PROBLEM OF COMBINING TOGETHER EVOLUTIONS AND REVOLUTIONS.

THUS EVEN THE MOST THOUGHT-OUT, WELL-CONCEIVED PLANS RISK BEING OVERTAKEN BY EVENTS AT THE VERY MOMENT THAT THEY ARE INTRODUCED. THIS IS THE CASE OF THE EXCELLENT PAPER BY STANLEY HOFFMANN THAT APPEARED IN THE NEW YORK REVIEW OF BOOKS IN JANUARY. I TRULY REGRET THAT THE ACCELERATION OF EVENTS MAKES IT IMPOSSIBLE TO PUT STANLEY HOFFMANN'S VERY GOOD IDEAS INTO PRACTICE. HIS PAPER DEMONSTRATES WISDOM AND AN UNDERSTANDING OF ALL THE FACTORS THAT MUST BE TAKEN INTO CONSIDERATION; BUT UNFORTUNATELY, SOMETIMES EVENTS ARE NOT AS SENSIBLE AS WE ARE.

THE MOST RAPID EVOLUTION IS THE MOVEMENT TOWARD GERMAN UNITY. AS IT IS NO LONGER POSSIBLE, INDEED, TO MAINTAIN AN EAST GERMAN SOCIAL SYSTEM THAT IS DIFFERENT FROM THE WEST GERMAN SOCIAL SYSTEM, THERE IS NO JUSTIFICATION FOR TWO GERMANY'S, AND REUNIFICATION BECOMES INEVITABLE. WE ACCEPT IT FULLY. YET WE REALIZE THAT SOME OF THE MEASURES TO BE TAKEN INVOLVE THE GERMANS ALONE, WHILE OTHERS INVOLVE THE OPINION AND THE CONSENT, INDEED, OF OTHER COUNTRIES. I AM REFERRING IN PARTICULAR TO THE FOUR COUNTRIES THAT HAVE RIGHTS AND RESPONSIBILITIES IN GERMANY. THESE ISSUES MUST BE RESOLVED, AND THE TIME AVAILABLE FOR RESOLVING THEM IS UNDOUBTEDLY A BIT SHORTER THAN STANLEY HOFFMAN HAD IN MIND.

TWO OF THESE ISSUES ARE PARTICULARLY IMPORTANT.

ONE IS THE QUESTION OF BORDERS. IT MUST BE CLEARLY ESTABLISHED, WHEN REUNIFICATION IS ACHIEVED, THAT THIS REUNIFICATION INVOLVES TERRITORIES OF THE FRG, THE GDR AND BERLIN, AND NO OTHER TERRITORIES. IT MUST BE CLEARLY ESTABLISHED THAT UNIFIED GERMANY WILL NOT ATTEMPT TO EXPAND BEYOND THESE LIMITS. THAT MEANS THAT WHEN THE TIME COMES, AN AGREEMENT, BINDING UNDER INTERNATIONAL LAW, MUST BE CONCLUDED, AND THAT PENDING THAT, A VERY CLEAR AND NONAMBIGUOUS COMMITMENT SHOULD BE MADE.

FINALLY, I DO NOT EXPECT SERIOUS DIFFICULTIES IN RESOLVING THIS ISSUE, INSPITE OF THE HESITATIONS WHICH WE COULD OBSERVE, BECAUSE I DON'T SEE ANY WIDE SUPPORT IN GERMAN OPINION FOR AN EXPANSIONIST POLICY.

THE SECOND ISSUE CONCERNS THE STATUS OF A REUNIFIED GERMANY IN RELATION TO ALLIANCES.

REUNIFIED GERMANY WILL PROBABLY WANT TO BE IDENTIFIED WITH THE WEST AND BELONG TO THE ATLANTIC ALLIANCE. BUT EXTENDING NATO MILITARY FORCES TO THE POLISH BORDER WOULD MEET WITH OBJECTIONS FROM THE SOVIET UNION AND THE COUNTRIES OF EASTERN EUROPE. A COMPROMISE MUST, THEN, BE SOUGHT. MANY PEOPLE TODAY EXPECT TO FIND THIS COMPROMISE IN A FORMULA THAT WOULD CONSIST OF HAVING GERMANY IN NATO BUT DEMILITARIZATION OF THE TERRITORY THAT IS TODAY THE GDR. THIS IS A DIFFICULT PROBLEM. IT MUST BE SETTLED WITH RESPECT FOR THE LEGITIMATE INTERESTS OF ALL PARTIES AND WITHOUT WEAKENING THE ATLANTIC ALLIANCE.

THIS LEADS TO THE MORE GENERAL QUESTION: WHAT WILL BE THE FUTURE STRUCTURE OF THE EUROPEAN CONTINENT?

IN THE POSTWAR YEARS, EUROPE WAS DIVIDED BETWEEN TWO BLOCS. THERE WERE NEUTRAL COUNTRIES. THEY PLAYED NO PART IN EUROPEAN DIPLOMACY.

TODAY, WE HAVE A DIVISION IN FOUR GROUPS. THE FIRST IS THE WESTERN. IT INCLUDES THE MEMBERS OF THE EUROPEAN COMMUNITY AND THE EUROPEAN MEMBERS OF THE ATLANTIC ALLIANCE.

THE SECOND GROUP IS COMPOSED OF THE NEUTRAL AND NON-ALIGNED COUNTRIES WHICH, SINCE HELSINKI, ARE INTERESTED IN PLAYING AN ACTIVE ROLE IN PANEUROPEAN CONSULTATION AND COOPERATION.

THE THIRD GROUP COMPRISES THE FORMER SATELLITES OF THE SOVIET UNION. THE FOURTH IS THE SOVIET UNION ITSELF.

ACCORDING TO THE LOGIC OF THE CURRENT EVOLUTION, THE WARSAW PACT IS CONDEMNED EITHER TO DISAPPEAR OR TO LOSE ALL ITS MILITARY AND POLITICAL MEANING.

CONSEQUENTLY, IF WE WANT TO MAINTAIN A DEFENSIVE ARRANGEMENT BETWEEN WESTERN EUROPE AND THE UNITED STATES, AS I THINK WE SHOULD, WE WILL HAVE AN ASYMMETRICAL SYSTEM OF SECURITY IN WHICH THERE WILL BE ARRANGEMENTS IN THE WESTERN COUNTRIES WHICH WILL NOT CORRESPOND TO SIMILAR ARRANGEMENTS IN THE EAST.

WHEN THE ATLANTIC ALLIANCE WAS CREATED, IT WAS NOT CREATED AS A COUNTERPART TO THE WARSAW PACT, WHICH DID NOT EXIST. IT WAS CREATED IN RESPONSE TO A SOVIET THREAT. THIS THREAT WAS THE RESULT OF SEVERAL FACTORS: THE EXPANSIONIST BEHAVIOR OF THE USSR, THE PRESENCE OF POWERFUL SOVIET FORCES IN EASTERN AND CENTRAL EUROPE, THE GLOBAL MILITARY CAPACITY OF THE SOVIET UNION AND FINALLY, THE GEOGRAPHIC ASYMMETRY WHICH MADE IT IMPOSSIBLE TO DEFEND EUROPE WITHOUT AN EARLY COMMITMENT OF THE UNITED STATES.

SOME OF THESE FACTORS ARE NO LONGER THERE. SOVIET INTENTIONS SEEM TO BE PEACEFUL. IT LOOKS AS IF SOVIET TROOPS WILL RETURN TO HOME TERRITORY. WE ARE ON THE WAY TO ELIMINATING THE DISPARITIES BETWEEN CONVENTIONAL FORCES IN EUROPE, AND REMOVING THE CHEMICAL THREAT. NEVERTHELESS THERE REMAIN THREE FACTORS: FIRST, A GENERAL UNCERTAINTY ABOUT THE FUTURE--WILL THE POSITIVE TRENDS THAT WE SEE TODAY BE DURABLE AND PERMANENT? SECOND, THE SOVIET UNION'S OVERALL MILITARY CAPACITY REMAINS ENORMOUSLY HUGE. AND THIRD, NATURALLY THE GEOGRAPHICAL ASYMMETRY IS STILL THERE BECAUSE THE SHAPE OF THE CONTINENT HAS NOT BEEN MODIFIED.

IN OUR VIEW, THESE FACTORS ARE SUFFICIENT TO LEAD US TO MAINTAIN AN ALLIANCE WITH THE UNITED STATES, BACKED BY A MILITARY PRESENCE IN EUROPE.

ADMITTEDLY, IF THE SOVIET UNION, IN THE COURSE OF THE NEXT FEW YEARS, WITHDRAWS FROM GERMAN TERRITORY AND FROM EASTERN EUROPE IN GENERAL, STRONG PRESSURE WILL BUILD FOR A CONCOMITANT WITHDRAWAL OF U.S. FORCES FROM EUROPE. THE PRESSURE WILL EXIST IN THE UNITED STATES FOR BUDGETARY REASONS AND IT WILL ALSO BE FELT IN EUROPE, PERHAPS IN GERMANY. IT WILL BE NOURISHED BY SOVIET POLICY. CLEARLY, ONE CANNOT REASONABLY IMAGINE TEN YEARS FROM NOW, LET'S SAY, SOVIET TROOPS ENTIRELY RETURNED ON THEIR TERRITORY AND 225,000 AMERICAN SOLDIERS IN EUROPE, UNLESS THERE WERE A COMPLETE REVERSAL IN THE PRESENT EVENTS AND A RENEWAL OF TENSION. SO THE PRESSURE WILL BE IRRESISTIBLE TOWARD A SUBSTANTIAL DIMINUTION OF THE NUMBER OF AMERICAN FORCES. YET, IT IS MY BELIEF THAT PEOPLE WILL NOT WANT TO SEE THAT NUMBER AT ZERO FOR QUITE SOME TIME AND MAY ACTUALLY WANT IT TO STAY FAIRLY SIGNIFICANT.

THE FUTURE WILL DEPEND ALSO, IN THIS RESPECT, ON THE ROLE THE EUROPEANS WILL PLAY OR WILL NOT PLAY IN THEIR OWN DEFENSE. THE CONSTRUCTION OF A POLITICAL ENTITY IN EUROPE SHOULD LEAD LOGICALLY TO A SITUATION IN WHICH THE MEMBER STATES ACCEPT SHARED RESPONSIBILITIES IN THE FIELD OF SECURITY. THE TWELVE COUNTRIES OF THE COMMUNITY CANNOT POOL THE ESSENCE OF THEIR ECONOMIC, CULTURAL AND HUMAN INTERESTS WITHOUT AT SOME POINT ACQUIRING INSTRUMENTS THAT WOULD ENABLE THEM TO ACT COLLECTIVELY IN THE DEFENSE OF THESE SAME INTERESTS. IN THIS RESPECT, THE TIMID STEPS EUROPEANS HAVE TAKEN IN THE WESTERN EUROPEAN UNION MIGHT BE RESUMED IN THE YEARS AHEAD IN THIS FRAMEWORK UNTIL SUCH TIME AS THE EUROPEAN COMMUNITY ITSELF CAN SERVE AS THE FRAMEWORK FOR THESE JOINT EFFORTS. WHEN THAT DAY COMES, WHEN THERE IS A EUROPEAN ARRANGEMENT FOR DEFENSE, IT WILL BE ESSENTIAL TO RESTRUCTURE THE DEFENSE RELATIONS BETWEEN THE UNITED STATES AND WESTERN EUROPE; AND WE SHOULD PREPARE FOR THIS.

IN THE MIDST OF ALL THE UNCERTAINTIES SURROUNDING THE FUTURE OF THE CONTINENT, WE CAN ALL AGREE ON ONE POINT: THE EUROPEAN COMMUNITY REPRESENTS THE STRONGEST STRUCTURE. IT HAS BEEN A MAJOR FACTOR IN THE DISLOCATION OF THE SOVIET SYSTEM IN CENTRAL EUROPE, BECAUSE THE IMAGE OF A HIGHLY SUCCESSFUL COMMUNITY WITH THE CAPACITY TO EXPAND AND TO RADIATE INFLUENCE AROUND IT HAS WHETTED THE APPETITES OF THE POPULATION OF THE COMMUNIST COUNTRIES AND STRENGTHENED THEIR DESIRE FOR RADICAL CHANGES TO MAKE THEIR SOCIAL AND ECONOMIC ORGANIZATION LESS DIFFERENT FROM OURS AND MORE CAPABLE OF INTERACTING WITH IT.

TODAY, THE COMMUNITY IS PREPARING TO WELCOME THE GERMAN DEMOCRATIC REPUBLIC IN ITS MIDST, EITHER AS ITS THIRTEENTH PARTNER OR AS A DIRECT CONSEQUENCE OF GERMAN REUNIFICATION. THE COMMUNITY IS THE STRUCTURE WHICH IS BEST PREPARED TO ORGANIZE THE WELCOMING BACK IN EUROPE OF THE NEWLY FREED COMMUNIST COUNTRIES. IT IS COORDINATING THE ECONOMIC AID TO THESE COUNTRIES FROM 24 WESTERN STATES, INCLUDING THE UNITED STATES. ON FRANCE'S INITIATIVE, THE COMMUNITY HAS PROPOSED THE SETTING UP OF A EUROPEAN BANK FOR RECONSTRUCTION AND DEVELOPMENT TO HELP THESE COUNTRIES OF EASTERN EUROPE. IN THE LONG TERM, WE WILL MAKE COOPERATIVE ARRANGEMENTS WITH THESE COUNTRIES, SINCE IT IS GENERALLY UNDERSTOOD THAT IT WILL NOT BE POSSIBLE FOR THEM TO BECOME MEMBERS OF THE EEC IN THE FORESEEABLE FUTURE.

THUS A NEW "ARCHITECTURE" WILL BE TAKING SHAPE, WITH A SOLID CORE COMPOSED OF THE TWELVE MEMBERS OF THE EEC AND AN OUTER RING COMPOSED OF THE MEMBERS OF THE EFTA AND THE EASTERN AND CENTRAL EUROPEAN COUNTRIES.

HOWEVER, ALL THIS WILL NOT BE POSSIBLE UNLESS THE COMMUNITY STEPS UP ITS OWN EFFORTS TOWARD INTEGRATION. IF ONE WERE TO CONSIDER THE NEW PROSPECTS IN EASTERN EUROPE AND GERMAN REUNIFICATION AS A PRETEXT FOR SLOWING DOWN THE EUROPEAN INTEGRATION EFFORT IN THE WEST, THAT WOULD BE INDEED A SERIOUS SETBACK AND A DEFEAT FOR THE EUROPEAN COMMUNITY. QUITE THE CONTRARY, WE THINK THAT THE NEW PROSPECTS IN EASTERN EUROPE ARE YET ANOTHER REASON WHY WE WANT EUROPEAN CONSTRUCTION TO BE ACCELERATED AND INTENSIFIED. THIS IS THE POSITION THAT WAS FIRMLY ADOPTED AT THE EUROPEAN COUNCIL IN STRASBOURG IN DECEMBER AND THAT HAS BEEN STRESSED ON SEVERAL OCCASIONS SINCE THEN, BOTH BY FRANCOIS MITTERRAND AND BY THE PRESIDENT OF THE COMMISSION, JACQUES DELORS, WHO IS WELL KNOWN IN THIS BUILDING.

WE MUST, THEN, PRESS ON WITH OUR EFFORTS FOR THE SINGLE MARKET, WHICH IS TO TAKE EFFECT AT THE BEGINNING OF 1993. THE STRASBOURG SUMMIT ALSO MOVED TO GO BEYOND THE SINGLE MARKET TO ECONOMIC AND MONETARY UNION AMONG THE TWELVE ON THE BASIS OF THE PLAN PROPOSED BY JACQUES DELORS. THIS PLAN PROVIDES FOR THE STRENGTHENING OF THE EUROPEAN MONETARY SYSTEM; THEN IN A SECOND PHASE, THE CREATION OF A FEDERAL CENTRAL BANK MORE OR LESS ALONG THE LINES OF THE FEDERAL RESERVE HERE; IN THE THIRD PHASE, THE RATES BETWEEN THE EUROPEAN CURRENCIES WILL BECOME FIXED RATES OF EXCHANGE. AND THIS WILL OPEN THE WAY FOR THE FINAL PHASE, THE SINGLE MONETARY UNIT.

THIS MONETARY UNION PRESUPPOSES ECONOMIC UNION, BECAUSE YOU CANNOT ACHIEVE A SINGLE CURRENCY WHILE HAVING SIGNIFICANT DIFFERENCES IN ECONOMIC TRENDS AMONG THE VARIOUS COUNTRIES, WHICH MEANS THAT IF WE ARE TO SUCCEED, WE HAVE TO GIVE THE COMMUNITY ORGANS THE POWER TO MAKE IMPORTANT ECONOMIC POLICY DECISIONS, EVENTUALLY BY MAJORITY VOTE, WHICH WILL BE MANDATORY FOR MEMBER STATES. THIS IS EXACTLY WHAT THE DELORS PLAN PROPOSES.

AND IT IS EASY TO SEE THAT ALL THAT, FROM MONETARY UNION TO ECONOMIC UNION, FINALLY LEADS TO POLITICAL UNION, AND MEMBER STATES WILL TRANSFER THESE DECISION-MAKING POWERS TO COMMUNITY INSTITUTIONS ONLY IF THIS IS ACCOMPANIED BY DEMOCRATIC CONTROLS--WHICH BRINGS US TO POSSIBLE DEVELOPMENTS IN EUROPEAN COMMUNITY INSTITUTIONS.

WHILE WE DO THAT, WHILE WE TRY TO ACHIEVE THIS VERY CLOSE INTEGRATION, WHAT WILL THE EX-COMMUNIST COUNTRIES OF EASTERN EUROPE DO? WILL THEY TRY TO FORM A GROUP AMONG THEMSELVES IN ACCORDANCE WITH THE PLAN WHICH PRESIDENT HAVEL ADVOCATES WHEN HE TALKS ABOUT THE STRUCTURE THAT WOULD UNITE POLAND, CZECHOSLOVAKIA AND HUNGARY? WHILE SUCH A REGIONAL GROUPING IS CERTAINLY DESIRABLE, IT MIGHT NOT GO VERY FAR. THE SORT OF SECOND "COMMON MARKET" AMONG THE EASTERN EUROPEAN COUNTRIES, SOMEWHAT LIKE WHAT WE INSTITUTED IN WESTERN EUROPE AFTER THE WAR, IS NOT VERY PROBABLE. WE CAN EXPECT A TENDENCY FOR EACH OF THESE COUNTRIES TO ADDRESS THE WESTERN COUNTRIES ON ITS OWN ACCOUNT AND FOR EACH TO TRY TO STRIKE THE BEST DEAL WITH THE EUROPEAN COMMUNITY AND WITH THE UNITED STATES.

BUT THIS INDIVIDUAL APPROACH WILL STILL BE INADEQUATE. BEING UNABLE TO JOIN THE COMMUNITY IN THE FORESEEABLE FUTURE, THE COUNTRIES OF EASTERN EUROPE WILL NEED TO PARTICIPATE WITH US IN SOME KIND OF A MULTILATERAL ENTITY. THERE ARE SEVERAL POSSIBILITIES. THE CSCE CAN BE INSTITUTIONALIZED AND COULD PLAY A ROLE IN SOME AREAS, ESPECIALLY IN POLITICAL CONSULTATIONS AND ALSO IN THE SETTLEMENT OF DISPUTES, SINCE ONE HAS TO THINK OF THE POSSIBLE RISKS THAT MAY RESULT FROM THE RESURGENCE OF TRADITIONAL PROBLEMS OF BORDERS AND MINORITIES, AND THE NATIONALIST PASSIONS THAT MAY ACCOMPANY THEM. IT IS ALSO CONCEIVABLE THAT THE EAST EUROPEAN COUNTRIES COULD JOIN THE COUNCIL OF EUROPE. LASTLY, THE IDEA OF A EUROPEAN CONFEDERATION EMBRACING ALL EUROPEAN COUNTRIES OF DEMOCRATIC GOVERNMENT MAY ALSO CONSTITUTE A PROSPECT FOR THE FUTURE THAT WOULD CHANNEL THEIR ASPIRATIONS.

IS THERE A PLACE IN THIS SCENARIO FOR THE SOVIET UNION? THE USSR, AS WE ALL KNOW, IS BOTH A EUROPEAN COUNTRY AND A SUPER-STATE TRANSCENDING EUROPE. IT HAS LONG SOUGHT TO BE DOMINANT ON THE CONTINENT. WHAT WILL BE ITS POLICY? IN THE PAST, ITS AIM WAS TO MAINTAIN ITS GRIP ON EASTERN EUROPE; IT HAS RENOUNCED THIS. IN THE PAST, IT SOUGHT TO PREVENT GERMAN REUNIFICATION IN A WESTERN FRAMEWORK; IT WILL BE OBLIGED TO ACCEPT IT. IN THE PAST, IT HAS TRIED TO HINDER THE PROGRESS OF COMMUNITY CONSTRUCTION IN WESTERN EUROPE; IT HAS FAILED. LASTLY, THE SOVIET UNION AIMED TO WEAKEN AND CUT THE LINK BETWEEN WESTERN EUROPE AND THE UNITED STATES. THIS IS THE ONE POINT ON WHICH THE OLD GOALS OF SOVIET POLICY MAY STILL BE RELEVANT IN THE YEARS TO COME. THE SOVIETS MAY THINK, AS WE SAW, THAT THEIR OWN WITHDRAWAL FROM EASTERN EUROPE, TOGETHER WITH THE REASSERTION OF A STRONG GERMAN NATIONAL CONSCIOUSNESS, WILL LEAD TO A WITHDRAWAL OF THE AMERICANS FROM EUROPE. IT IS UP TO US TO DO WHAT WE CAN TO PREVENT THAT FROM HAPPENING.

THIS RISK--AGAINST WHICH WE CAN VERY WELL DEFEND OURSELVES--SHOULD NOT LEAD US TO EXCLUDE THE SOVIET UNION FROM FUTURE DEVELOPMENTS IN EUROPE. EVEN IF THE WARSAW PACT CEASES TO EXIST, EVEN IF SOVIET TROOPS LEAVE GERMANY AND EASTERN EUROPE, THE SOVIET UNION WILL STILL HAVE AN UNDENIABLE RIGHT TO BE INVOLVED IN THE MAIN PROBLEMS OF SECURITY ON THE EUROPEAN CONTINENT. IT IS TAKING PART IN THE SCSE. ITS EVOLUTION TOWARD A DEMOCRATIC SYSTEM IS MUCH MORE DIFFICULT AND UNCERTAIN THAN THAT OF THE OTHER COUNTRIES CLOSER TO US. BUT WE THINK THAT THE SUCCESS OF THIS EVOLUTION IS TO BE DESIRED, JUST AS YOU DO IN THE UNITED STATES. AND IT IS TRUE ALSO THAT THE SUCCESS OF THIS EVOLUTION IN THE SOVIET UNION IS A VERY IMPORTANT CONDITION OF STABILITY FOR ALL THE REST. THAT IS WHY WE MAINTAIN THAT THE EFFORTS TO HELP POLAND, CZECHOSLOVAKIA, HUNGARY AND THE OTHER COUNTRIES OF EASTERN EUROPE SHOULD BE EXTENDED TO THE SOVIET UNION AND THAT WHEN WE ENVISAGE A EUROPEAN CONFEDERATION BASED ON DEMOCRATIC AFFILIATION, WE DO NOT SEE WHY THE SOVIET UNION SHOULD NOT TAKE ITS PLACE THERE, ONCE FREE INSTITUTIONS HAVE BEEN SET UP AND CONFIRMED IN THE SOVIET UNION.

WHAT ABOUT THE UNITED STATES? I DON'T IMAGINE THERE IS ANY COUNTRY IN EUROPE WHICH WANTS THE UNITED STATES TO DISSOCIATE ITSELF FROM THE SITUATION ON OUR CONTINENT. YOUR COUNTRY MUST PLAY A ROLE IN EUROPE'S SECURITY FOR QUITE SOME TIME TO COME. WE BELIEVE SUCH A ROLE WILL BE PLAYED IN THE FRAMEWORK OF AN ALLIANCE, WHICH PERHAPS WILL NOT HAVE THE SAME STRUCTURE, THE SAME BALANCE BETWEEN AMERICA AND EUROPE AS THE PRESENT NATO, BUT WHICH WILL CLEARLY EXPRESS AND ALSO REFLECT IN VISIBLE MILITARY TERMS THE SOLIDARITY BETWEEN THE TWO SIDES OF THE ATLANTIC.

WE ARE PLEASED TO SEE THAT THE UNITED STATES RECOGNIZES THE EUROPEAN COMMUNITY'S ROLE AS A DRIVING FORCE IN EUROPEAN EVENTS, AND IN PARTICULAR, ITS CENTRAL FUNCTION IN THE COOPERATION WITH EASTERN EUROPE. THE UNITED STATES HAS ALWAYS ENDORSED EUROPEAN CONSTRUCTION, AND LAST YEAR AGAIN, PRESIDENT BUSH SAID IN BRUSSELS THAT HE VIEWED THE ACCELERATION AND INTENSIFICATION OF EUROPEAN INTEGRATION AS SOMETHING POSITIVE.

AT THE SAME TIME, THE U.S. ADMINISTRATION IS EXPRESSING ITSELF IN FAVOR OF CLOSER TIES BETWEEN THE COMMUNITY AND THE UNITED STATES, ESPECIALLY REGARDING CONSULTATIONS ON COMMUNITY ISSUES AND POLITICAL QUESTIONS.

WE ARE NATURALLY IN FAVOR OF STRONGER TIES. IN PREPARING THE NECESSARY ARRANGEMENTS FOR REINFORCING CONSULTATION BETWEEN THE EC COUNTRIES AND THE UNITED STATES, OUR AMERICAN FRIENDS SHOULD UNDERSTAND THAT OUR MAIN AMBITION IN EUROPE AT THIS STAGE IS TO GIVE OUR COMMUNITY A DECISION-MAKING CAPACITY, NOT JUST ON ISSUES AFFECTING OUR COMMON FUTURE, BUT ALSO ON ISSUES AFFECTING OUR RELATIONS WITH OTHER COUNTRIES IN THE WORLD. IT IS NOT AN EASY TASK, ESPECIALLY WHEN WE ARE DEALING WITH INTERNATIONAL POLICY. IN A WAY, WE ARE STARTING FROM SCRATCH. WE HAVE BEEN TALKING OF EUROPEAN POLITICAL COOPERATION FOR OVER 20 YEARS, BUT IT IS ONLY NOW STARTING TO BECOME A REALITY, AND EVERYBODY HAS TO ADJUST TO THAT. IT IS VITAL TO US TO BE ABLE TO DO THAT--TO BE ABLE, AS EUROPEANS, TO DETERMINE OUR COURSE. WE ASPIRE TO NOTHING OTHER THAN TO ASSUME, IN YOUR OWN WORDS, "AN EQUAL AND INDEPENDENT POSTURE AMONG THE POWERS OF THE EARTH." ANY PROPOSAL TO STRENGTHEN EURO-AMERICAN HABITS OF CONSULTATION WHICH WILL RESPECT THIS AMBITION OF OURS AND DO NOT MAKE IT MORE COMPLEX WILL HAVE OUR SUPPORT.

IT IS NOT CONTRADICTORY TO WANT A STRONG AND INDEPENDENT WESTERN EUROPE, OPEN ALSO TO THE EAST, AND TO WANT AT THE SAME TIME A SOLID LINK BETWEEN THAT EUROPE AND THE UNITED STATES. AND THIS IS, IN FACT, PRECISELY WHAT THE FRENCH GOVERNMENT IS SEEKING.

Tues
Apr. 3.
2:00 PM

March 20, 1990

General --

c. 10-17-48

Edward Luck of the UN Association has asked to see you for 15 minutes on Tuesday, April 3 -- the secretary could not give me a subject. He probably wants to ask for something . . . like last time!!!!

Florence

212-697-3232
(3:30 is not a good time for
Mr. Luck)

OK



March 26, 1990

General --

Tom DeFrank has called again wanting to see you one more time. He says you had agreed to do this. I will go ahead and put him on the calendar.

Okay *w/ Roman* Other

*Tues 4/3
11:00 am 20 minutes*

Withdrawal/Redaction Sheet

(George Bush Library)

Document No. and Type	Subject/Title of Document	Date	Restriction	Class.
06. Letter	JayneAnne Rex to Florence Gantt Re: [photo opportunities] [Personal Information Redacted] (1 pp.)	2/27/90	(b)(6)	

Collection:

Record Group: Bush Presidential Records
Office: Scowcroft, Brent, Collection
Series: Administrative Files
Subseries:
WHORM Cat.:
File Location: Appointments Completed, January to December 1990 [2]

Date Closed: 9/20/2010	OA/ID Number: 85034-006
FOIA/SYS Case #: 2009-0275-S[2]	Appeal Case #:
Re-review Case #:	Appeal Disposition:
P-2/P-5 Review Case #:	Disposition Date:
AR Case #:	MR Case #:
AR Disposition:	MR Disposition:
AR Disposition Date:	MR Disposition Date:

RESTRICTION CODES

Presidential Records Act - [44 U.S.C. 2204(a)]

P-1 National Security Classified Information [(a)(1) of the PRA]
P-2 Relating to the appointment to Federal office [(a)(2) of the PRA]
P-3 Release would violate a Federal statute [(a)(3) of the PRA]
P-4 Release would disclose trade secrets or confidential commercial or financial information [(a)(4) of the PRA]
P-5 Release would disclose confidential advice between the President and his advisors, or between such advisors [(a)(5) of the PRA]
P-6 Release would constitute a clearly unwarranted invasion of personal privacy [(a)(6) of the PRA]

C. Closed in accordance with restrictions contained in donor's deed of gift.

PRM. Removed as a personal record misfile.

Freedom of Information Act - [5 U.S.C. 552(b)]

(b)(1) National security classified information [(b)(1) of the FOIA]
(b)(2) Release would disclose internal personnel rules and practices of an agency [(b)(2) of the FOIA]
(b)(3) Release would violate a Federal statute [(b)(3) of the FOIA]
(b)(4) Release would disclose trade secrets or confidential or financial information [(b)(4) of the FOIA]
(b)(6) Release would constitute a clearly unwarranted invasion of personal privacy [(b)(6) of the FOIA]
(b)(7) Release would disclose information compiled for law enforcement purposes [(b)(7) of the FOIA]
(b)(8) Release would disclose information concerning the regulation of financial institutions [(b)(8) of the FOIA]
(b)(9) Release would disclose geological or geophysical information

HOWARD C. NIELSON
THIRD DISTRICT, UTAH

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1-800-245-1426

February 27, 1990

Mrs. Florence Gatt
Office of General Brent Scowcroft
The White House
Washington, D.C. 20500

NOTE IN
TO THE
GENERAL
3/9

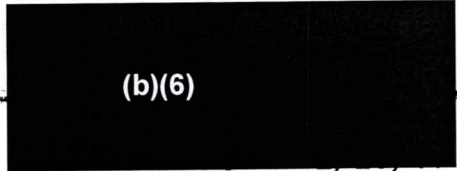
Dear Mrs. Gantt,

Recently my assistant spoke with a member of your staff concerning possibilities of a photo opportunity with General Scowcroft. She mentioned that the chance for such a photograph existed, but that your office would need the names of the group members wishing to meet the General.

The following are the names of a group of interns, all but one from Brigham Young University, who admire General Scowcroft and would sincerely appreciate the opportunity to meet him. They, like the General, are native Utahns. They are all actively involved in working on legislative issues. One, Darcy Wride, is a former ROTC cadet who is currently working on national defence issues. Greg Stewart is assisting in foreign affairs concerns.

Their social-security numbers and dates of birth are included should you need them for security reasons.

Michael Lane Mower
Gregory Vern Stewart
~~Gregory Owen Lunt~~
Darcy Jones Wride
Brian Destry Hickman



CONTACT POINT

Thank you very much for your consideration of this request.

Sincerely,

JayneAnne Rex
Intern Coordinator

Bush Presidential Library Photocopy

NATIONAL SECURITY COUNCIL

02-Apr-1990 09:29 EDT

UNCLASSIFIED

MEMORANDUM FOR: SEE BELOW

FROM: Jeffrey J. Jakuboski
(JAKUBOSKI)

SUBJECT: Monday's Photo-op

Florence,

The following NSC staff members will be able to attend this afternoon's photo-op at 3:00pm with General Scowcroft.

G. Philip Hughes - wife
Bill Gunnels - wife
Tom Crompton - wife
Bret Wilson - wife
Dan Rhea - no guests

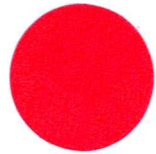
I will bring you all the plaques and bios around 2:00pm today.
Have a great day!

Jeff J.

Distribution:

FOR: Florence E. Gantt	(GANTT)
CC: Wilma G. Hall	(HALL)
CC: Diane L. Edwards	(EDWARDS)
CC: William F. Sittmann	(SITTMANN)
CC: John G. Grimes	(GRIMES)
CC: Janis K. Whitley	(WHITLEY)
CC: Joe Laposa	(LAPOSA)
CC: Cornelius O'Leary	(OLEARY AT A1 AT VAXE)
CC: Richard Broome	(BROOME)
CC: Patrick H. Linhares	(LINHARES)
CC: Thomas R. Crompton	(CROMPTON AT A1 AT VAXE)
CC: Bret T. Wilson	(WILSONB)
CC: Charles W. Gunnels	(GUNNELS)
CC: Daniel M. Rhea	(RHEA)
CC: Helen Pahlke	(PAHLKE)
CC: G. Philip Hughes	(HUGHES)
CC: Cathy Millison	(MILLISON)
CC: Barbara Browne	(BROWNE)
CC: Brenda I. Hilliard	(HILLIARD)
CC: Ralph H. Sigler	(SIGLER AT A1 AT VAXE)

March 2, 1990



General:

*Samuel Lewis
W. 10-1-30*

*4:30
Thurs.
3/29*

Amb Sam Lewis, President & CEO/Institute of Peace, called --

w/Condi

Would like to arrange a meeting for himself and John Moore, Chairman of the Board, to talk with you about some things the Institute of Peace is doing re the Soviet Union and Eastern ~~Union~~ that you ought to know about and would find interesting.

Europe

Would like to get together next week if your schedule will permit.

Okay to schedule

Okay, but let's defer for a while

Wilma

Condi says not necessary to do unless Lewis is a friend & you feel you want to do.

Fi

Amb Lewis: 457-1700

*JOHN
NORTON
MOORE
6-12-37*

NOTE FOR FLORENCE: John Moore will be travelling to Moscow Mar 19-23; will need to work around those dates.

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

NATIONAL SECURITY COUNCIL
WASHINGTON, D.C. 20506

2207

March 22, 1990

ACTION

MEMORANDUM FOR BRENT SCOWCROFT

THROUGH: ROBERT D. BLACKWILL

FROM: ROBERT L. HUTCHINGS

SUBJECT: Appointment Request for Norwegian Defense Minister
Per Ditlev-Simonsen

*RB
RZ/18*

Ditlev-Simonsen will be here March 27-29 at the invitation of Secretary Cheney and has requested a meeting with you. This will be his first trip to the U.S. since becoming Defense Minister last fall. He will be meeting with Reg Bartholomew at State.

Given the full schedule Ditlev-Simonsen will have at the Pentagon, we believe you can easily decline. If you choose to meet with him, he will be available the morning of March 28 and early morning, March 29.

Arnie Kanter *AK* concurs.

RECOMMENDATION

That you authorize us to decline on your behalf.

Approve _____

Disapprove _____

If he wants, I will meet briefly w/ him.

*Wed 3/28
9:45
15 min*

Attachment
Tab I Biography

DECLASSIFIED
PER NSC WAIVER, August 6, 2010
By CAF NARA, Date 9/6/10

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

Declassify on: OADR

Withdrawal/Redaction Sheet

(George Bush Library)

Document No. and Type	Subject/Title of Document	Date	Restriction	Class.
07. Report	Re: Biography (1 pp.)	1/26/90	(b)(1)	C

Collection:

Record Group: Bush Presidential Records
Office: Scowcroft, Brent, Collection
Series: Administrative Files
Subseries:
WHORM Cat.:
File Location: Appointments Completed, January to December 1990 [2]

Date Closed: 9/20/2010	OA/ID Number: 85034-006
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P-2/P-5 Review Case #:	Disposition Date:
AR Case #:	MR Case #:
AR Disposition:	MR Disposition:
AR Disposition Date:	MR Disposition Date:

RESTRICTION CODES

Presidential Records Act - [44 U.S.C. 2204(a)]

- P-1 National Security Classified Information [(a)(1) of the PRA]
- P-2 Relating to the appointment to Federal office [(a)(2) of the PRA]
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- P-5 Release would disclose confidential advice between the President and his advisors, or between such advisors [(a)(5) of the PRA]
- P-6 Release would constitute a clearly unwarranted invasion of personal privacy [(a)(6) of the PRA]

C. Closed in accordance with restrictions contained in donor's deed of gift.

PRM. Removed as a personal record misfile.

Freedom of Information Act - [5 U.S.C. 552(b)]

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- (b)(8) Release would disclose information concerning the regulation of financial institutions [(b)(8) of the FOIA]
- (b)(9) Release would disclose geological or geophysical information

NATIONAL SECURITY COUNCIL

08-Mar-1990 18:11 EDT

UNCLASSIFIED

MEMORANDUM FOR: SEE BELOW

FROM: Brenda I. Hilliard
(HILLIARD)

SUBJECT: Presidential Appointment

We have just been informed that Scheduling has placed a 5 minute meeting/photo op between the President and the U.S. Ambassador to Bahrain, Charles Hostler, on the President's calendar March 28, at 11:45 a.m. for 5 minutes in the Oval Office.

Distribution:

FOR: Sandra Charles	(CHARLES)
CC: Richard N. Haass	(HAASS)
CC: Kathy Leahy	(LEAHY)
CC: Linda Crowell	(CROWELL)
CC: G. Philip Hughes	(HUGHES)
CC: Michael B. Donley	(DONLEY)
CC: Daniel L. Snyder	(SNYDER)
CC: Cathy Millison	(MILLISON)
CC: Barbara Browne	(BROWNE)
CC: Diane G. Ross	(ROSSDG)
CC: Florence E. Gantt	(GANTT)
CC: Diane L. Edwards	(EDWARDS)
CC: Wilma G. Hall	(HALL)
CC: Dona F. Proctor	(PROCTOR)
CC: William F. Sittmann	(SITTMANN)
CC: Wendy E. Gray	(GRAY)

Tues
3/27

2:30-3:30

Sic Room

NATIONAL SECURITY COUNCIL

21-Mar-1990 08:15 EDT

UNCLASSIFIED

MEMORANDUM FOR:

Florence E. Gantt

(GANTT)

FROM:

Timothy E. Deal
(DEAL)

SUBJECT:

White House Summit Group

General Scowcroft called me yesterday and said that Gov. Sununu wanted to schedule another meeting of the White House Summit Group soon. I noted that we are having a Summit Sherpa meeting in San Francisco this weekend. The General thought we should therefore aim for next week. He said that you might try to find a convenient time for the principals (Sununu, Scowcroft, Baker, Brady, Gates). If you can find a time when the principals are available, we will then invite the others (Fitzwater, Rogich, Porter, Malek, Boskin, McCormack, and Mulford).

Thanks for your help.

CC: Pat A. Battenfield

(BATTENFIELD)

Co-chair w/ Sununu
Gates to attend also.

Florence Smith

REQUEST FOR APPOINTMENTS

To: **Officer-in-charge**
Appointments Center
Room 060, OE08

Please admit the following appointments on Tuesday, March 27, 19 90
for Governor Sununu/Brent Scowcroft of _____:
(NAME OF PERSON TO BE VISITED) (AGENCY)

Richard McCormack 3/6/41
David Mulford 6/27/37

passholders:

- Secretary James Baker
- Secretary Nicholas Brady
- Marlin Fitzwater
- Robert Gates
- James Cicconi
- Roger Porter
- Charles Hagel
- Michael Boskin
- Timothy Deal
- Eric Melby
- Robert Blackwill

MEETING LOCATION

Building <u>White House</u>	Requested by <u>Patricia Battenfield</u>
Room No. <u>Situation Room</u>	Room No. <u>365</u> Telephone <u>3622</u>
Time of Meeting <u>2:30 p.m.</u>	Date of request <u>March 27, 1990</u>

Additions and/or changes made by telephone should be limited to three (3) names or less.

APPOINTMENTS CENTER: SIG/OE08 - 395-6046 or WHITE HOUSE - 456-6742

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

2340

NATIONAL SECURITY COUNCIL
WASHINGTON, D.C. 20506

March 27, 1990

INFORMATION

MEMORANDUM FOR BRENT SCOWCROFT

DECLASSIFIED
PER NSC WAIVER, 1500 2021-02
By SS NARA, Date 3/6/24

THROUGH: TIMOTHY E. DEAL *g*

FROM: ERIC MELBY *M.*

SUBJECT: White House Summit Group Meeting, Tuesday,
March 27, 2:30 p.m., Situation Room

The White House Summit Group (WHSG) is scheduled to meet today to discuss preparations for Houston. An agenda is at Tab I; a list of participants is at Tab II. The meeting is likely to focus on economic issues as political issues are being handled largely in other fora.

The March 23-25 Sherpa meeting in San Francisco was a stock-taking exercise, touching on the traditional economic issues (e.g., the near-term economic outlook, the trade round) as well as some newer political/economic topics (e.g., the economic effects of German unification, the integration of the USSR into the world economic system). (Summary of meeting at Tab III.) No overall theme for the Summit has yet emerged, and the selection of a theme should be a primary objective of today's meeting.

In that regard, we have heard numerous suggestions about "Democracy in the 1990's," "The Democratic Transition," "The Freedom Summit," etc. But as you said yesterday, these are fine-sounding phrases with little operational content. While our media advisers may be able to suggest a catchy phrase, we believe that Houston should be about democracy and free markets. By this we mean that the fledgling democracies in Eastern Europe and the successors to the military juntas in Central and South America have one important thing in common: their democratic revolution cannot be complete or lasting if these governments do not attack their economic problems with the same fervor they have shown in setting up multiparty political systems. To succeed, they need to dismantle highly centralized, heavily subsidized, inefficient statist economies. Their revolutions will remain unfinished and ultimately unsuccessful unless these governments take the plunge into free market economics. Under this overarching theme linking democratic change to open markets, we should be able to pull together what might appear at first glance to be disparate issues:

-- The necessity of close cooperation among the Summit Seven in guiding their economies through what may become more

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

Declassify on: OADR

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

turbulent waters this year so that the prosperity of the 1980's can continue in the 1990's.

- The need for the industrial powers, through a successful completion of the Uruguay Round, to open up their own markets to give the newest entrants onto the world economic stage necessary access and a way to earn their keep.
- The importance of the "demonstration effect" of prosperous Western economies on the emerging democracies in Eastern Europe, Latin America, and Asia.
- The integration of the former Communist countries into the world economic system.
- The recognition by the more advanced developing countries that they too must play by the international rules of the game.
- The need to provide adequate resources, bilaterally and multilaterally, for those developing countries which undertake genuine political and economic reform.

Under such a theme, the Heads could address: East-West economics; international trade; the economic effects of environmental deterioration; and the problems of developing countries.

The President has yet to establish himself as the leader of the G-7 on international economics. Houston is his chance. Exerting leadership will require a willingness to take risks, particularly on forging a G-7 consensus on economic relations with the Soviet Union, on trade and on developing countries. The public perception of the largest industrialized countries unable to tackle key economic issues could have damaging consequences for the world economy and for the President.

The other countries are looking for the President's Houston agenda. We must present the President with options and, once he has decided on his priorities, convey these to his Summit colleagues. Until we do this, the planning process will continue to meander.

Meeting Scenario

If you agree with this theme, we suggest you outline it at the beginning of the WHSG, then ask Dick McCormack to report on San Francisco and ask Jim Baker, Nick Brady, Mike Boskin, and Roger Porter for their views. You should stress the need for bold, innovative proposals which would enable the President to lead on the key international economic issues.

The Sherpa team (McCormack, Mulford, Deal) should be asked to prepare within two weeks an options paper on economic objectives

at the Summit for review by principals after which it would be sent to the President for decision.

Attachments

Tab I Agenda
Tab II List of Participants
Tab III Summary of Key Points from the San Francisco Sherpa Meeting

cc: Robert Blackwill

WHITE HOUSE SUMMIT GROUP MEETING

DATE: March 27, 1990
LOCATION: Situation Room
TIME: 2:30 p.m. - 3:30 p.m.

Agenda

Introduction	Brent Scowcroft
Report on San Francisco Sherpa Meeting	Richard McCormack
Discussion Of Key Issues	All Participants
Logistics Update	Charles Hagel
Conclusion	Brent Scowcroft

Participants

Governor Sununu (Co-Chairman)
Brent Scowcroft (Co-Chairman)

Secretary James Baker
Secretary Nicholas Brady
Marlin Fitzwater
James Cicconi
Robert Gates
Roger Porter
Charles Hagel
Michael Boskin
Richard McCormack
David Mulford
Timothy Deal
Robert Blackwill
Eric Melby

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Summary of Key Points from the San Francisco Sherpa Meeting

The key points from the San Francisco meeting were:

- Nigel Wicks (U.K.) stressed Thatcher's strong personal desire that Heads of State and Government (hereafter "the Heads") at Houston focus on economic issues. Derek Burney (Canada) and Horst Kohler (Germany) reiterated the importance that Heads demonstrate a willingness and ability to tackle tough economic issues such as growth, inflation, trade, developing countries.
- All countries believe that political events in Eastern Europe, Germany and the Soviet Union present good opportunities for expanding global economic growth and that the Summit should support these opportunities by word and deed. France and Germany said they would raise Cocom at Houston if the June High Level Meeting did not result in a drastically reduced Cocom list comprised of truly strategic items.
- Attali said he would recommend to Mitterrand that France not convene an "exploratory" meeting for a possible 1992 North/South Summit, taking into account opposition from the U.S., UK and Japan. However, all Sherpas said Houston would have to deal in a credible way with concerns by developing countries that the Summit countries favor Eastern Europe at their expense.
- All countries believe Heads must have a serious, substantive discussion of trade, particularly the Uruguay Round. The U.S., Canada and U.K. were most vocal in favoring strong Summit endorsement of significant achievements in all areas under discussion in the GATT, including agriculture. France and the EC still see the U.S. as the problem, particularly our position on agriculture and our Super 301 legislation.
- Environment was seen as an important issue, although countries differ in the scope of the Houston discussion. Most countries want specific commitments, particularly on CO2 emissions and a global climate convention. Burney emphasized the need to focus on one or two major environmental issues and avoid a "laundry list" approach which dilutes the impact of any Summit call for action.
- On narcotics, all countries endorsed continuing the work on money-laundering begun by the Financial Action Task Force set up at the Paris Summit.

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PER NSC WAIVER, 1500 2021-02
By SS NARA, Date 3/6/24

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Declassify on: OADR

Withdrawal/Redaction Sheet

(George Bush Library)

Document No. and Type	Subject/Title of Document	Date	Restriction	Class.
09. Memo	Adrian A. Basora to Florence E. Gantt Re: Visit of Pascal Lamy (2 pp.)	3/26/90	(b)(1)	S

Collection:

Record Group: Bush Presidential Records
Office: Scowcroft, Brent, Collection
Series: Administrative Files
Subseries:
WHORM Cat.:
File Location: Appointments Completed, January to December 1990 [2]

Date Closed: 9/20/2010	OA/ID Number: 85034-006
FOIA/SYS Case #: 2009-0275-S[2]	Appeal Case #:
Re-review Case #:	Appeal Disposition:
P-2/P-5 Review Case #:	Disposition Date:
AR Case #:	MR Case #:
AR Disposition:	MR Disposition:
AR Disposition Date:	MR Disposition Date:

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- (b)(9) Release would disclose geological or geophysical information

Mon
3/26
11:30 AM



NATIONAL SECURITY COUNCIL

19-Mar-1990 08:14 EDT

UNCLASSIFIED

MEMORANDUM FOR: SEE BELOW

FROM: Pat A. Battenfield
(BATTENFIELD)

SUBJECT: 1 Appointment Request -- Pascal Lamy

Florence, Eric Melby is on travel this week. He asked me to send you the following note from him:

The EC office called me to request an appointment with Brent Scowcroft on March 26 for Pascal Lamy, Delors' Chef de Cabinet. Lamy will be in the U.S. for the Sherpa meeting March 23-25 for the Houston Summit. He wants to talk about Houston and other U.S.-EC issues.

Tim Deal and Bob Blackwill recommend that Scowcroft see Lamy.

POC: Karen Peters at EC office here (862-9511)

FTI - I will schedule

Distribution:

FOR: Florence E. Gantt
CC: Wilma G. Hall
CC: Timothy E. Deal
CC: Robert Blackwill
CC: Adrian A. Basora
CC: Eric D. Melby

(GANTT)
(HALL)
(DEAL)
(BLACKWILL)
(BASORA)
(MELBY)

*Mon 3/26
2:15 PM.
W-Jhuro
612-726-
2091*

2. NEW REQUEST

*Fred Malek wants to come
see you to close loop
on logistics for Economic
Summit -*

Okay - ✓ Other

*JC
408-
0290*

Fri
3/23
3 PM

NATIONAL SECURITY COUNCIL

19-Mar-1990 13:04 EDT

CONFIDENTIAL

MEMORANDUM FOR: SEE BELOW

FROM: Deborah Baker
(BAKER)

SUBJECT: Request for Meeting with General Scowcroft

Vice President Billy (Guillermo) Ford of Panama will be in the United States this week (Thursday and Friday). He has requested meetings with the Vice President, General Scowcroft and Bill Pryce.

After speaking with the OVP, a tentative breakfast with VP Ford and others will be held in the VP's OEOB office at 0900. State would like to set up all the meetings on one day, if possible. Mr. Pryce is available all day Friday.

Could we try to set up some time Friday morning for VP Ford to meet with the General? Thanks.....Debs

Shall I go ahead & set it up?
okoy ✓ *Other*

Distribution:

- | | |
|------------------------|--------------|
| FOR: Florence E. Gantt | (GANTT) |
| FOR: Wilma G. Hall | (HALL) |
| FOR: Diane L. Edwards | (EDWARDS) |
| CC: William T. Pryce | (PRYCE) |
| CC: David Pacelli | (PACELLI) |
| CC: Mary K. Blair | (BLAIR) |
| CC: Donald C. Johnson | (JOHNSON) |
| CC: Brenda I. Hilliard | (HILLIARD) |
| CC: Cathy L. Millison | (MILLISON) |
| CC: Diane G. Ross | (ROSSDG) |
| CC: Barbara Browne | (BROWNE) |
| CC: Wendy E. Gray | (GRAY) |

DECLASSIFIED
PER NSC WAIVER, 1500 2021-02
By SS NARA, Date 3/6/24

7:00
3/23
2:00 pm

March 20, 1990

General --

Mr. Yeo called asking for an appointment with you sometime before 5:00 p.m. on Friday, March 23 -- said he would need some time to talk -- maybe 30 minutes plus. Shall I go ahead and schedule?

Yes 20 min Max Other _____

Ann
Renee
452-2249

Renee
212-720-6085

Florence

March 20, 1990

Thurs,
3/22
~~11:30~~
3:30

General --

Jim Robinson of American Express has called requesting an appointment with you on Thursday, March 22 after 2:30 p.m. His secretary wasn't sure what the subject was but said he may wish to discuss the Eisenhower Foundation -- we just got a FAX from the American Assembly about the President presenting the Eisenhower medal to General Powell and seeking your advice on this idea. Shall I set up an appointment?

Okay



Other

Fran
822-6680

Helena 212-640-5842 Florence

James D. Robinson
11-19-35

The American Assembly

412 Altschul Hall
BARNARD COLLEGE
COLUMBIA UNIVERSITY
NEW YORK, NEW YORK 10027-6598

SERVICE TO DEMOCRACY AWARD RECIPIENTS

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W. AVERELL HARRIMAN
ROBERT S. MCNAMARA
SANDRA DAY O'CONNOR
BRENT SCOWCROFT
CYRUS R. VANCE
PAUL A. VOLCKER

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ROBERT O. ANDERSON
JAMES L. FERGUSON
REGINALD H. JONES
DONALD E. PETERSEN
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March 19, 1990

General Brent Scowcroft
Assistant to President for
National Security Affairs
White House
1600 Pennsylvania Avenue, N.W.
Washington, DC 20500

Dear Brent:

The American Assembly is delighted that General Colin Powell will accept our Eisenhower medal as the Service to Democracy Award recipient. The award for the private sector will go to Roberto Goizueta for his distinguished record as Chairman of The Coca-Cola Company.

The Assembly would be greatly honored if President Bush could present this year's Eisenhower Award to General Powell. Jim Robinson, as Chairman of The Eisenhower Centennial Commission will present the private sector award to Mr. Goizueta. I would appreciate your advice about the appropriateness of sending to the President's staff a request for a ceremony to take place on any date of his preference in the fall. It need not occupy more than 15 minutes of his schedule.

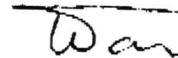
If you think the idea has merit, could you suggest how and who to contact on the President's staff? Attached is a draft that we prepared for that purpose.

We would be most grateful if you could let us know within the next few weeks whether or not this is a viable plan. We have nearly six months lead time to plan this event, and hope to make it an appropriate conclusion to the celebration of the Eisenhower Centennial Year, as well as the Assembly's Fortieth Anniversary.

Page 2
March 19, 1990
General Brent Scowcroft

Thank you very much for your advice once again. Best regards.

Sincerely,



Daniel A. Sharp
President

DAS/nvw

Enc: Draft letter to President's staff

P.S. If NPR was right this morning, I wish you a happy birthday.

P.P.S. On March 27 I will be at a White House lunch hosted by the President and Mrs. Bush on behalf of the Eisenhower Centennial Commission. Perhaps we might talk at that time, or a few moments after lunch.

The American Assembly

412 Altschul Hall
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COLUMBIA UNIVERSITY
NEW YORK, NEW YORK 10027-6598

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Secretary-Treasurer

March 20, 1990

A first draft for letter to the White House.

The Service to Democracy Awards was created in 1980 to commemorate the 30th anniversary of the creation of The American Assembly, which is a forum designed to examine the complex issues of U.S. public policy. Since 1980 the Dwight D. Eisenhower medal, named in honor of the Assembly's founder and guiding spirit, has been presented to many of the most distinguished individuals in America's public and private sectors. Honorees from the public and private sectors who have joined then Vice President George Bush in accepting this award are listed on this letterhead.

In 1989 The American Assembly presented its Eisenhower medal to Brent Scowcroft and to Edmund T. Pratt, Jr., Chairman of Pfizer, Inc. In 1990, the Centennial of Dwight Eisenhower's birth, The American Assembly will celebrate its fortieth anniversary, and the tenth year of its Service to Democracy Awards, by honoring General Colin Powell, Chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff, and Roberto C. Goizueta, Chairman of Coca-Cola Company.

James D. Robinson III, Chairman of American Express Company and the Eisenhower Centennial Committee will chair the Service to Democracy Awards Reception, which will be a culminating event of the Centennial celebration.

In this most special year, The American Assembly and the Eisenhower Centennial Commission would be honored if President George Bush consented to host the awards ceremony at the White House, and share his legacy as a prior recipient of this Eisenhower medal by presenting this year's public sector award to General Powell. Jim Robinson would present the private sector award to Mr. Goizueta.

Page 2
Draft for White House letter

The Eisenhower Centennial Committee and The American Assembly would be pleased to work closely with The White House staff on arranging all aspects of this event, which would involve approximately ten to fifteen minutes of the President's schedule.

At the ceremony we would like to present to the President a photograph of Senator Prescott Bush taken in 1958 while he participated in the 14th American Assembly on "United States Monetary Policy".

The President's participation in this year's Service to Democracy Awards Reception would be one of the most memorable moments in the history of The American Assembly, befitting the 100th anniversary of the birth of Dwight D. Eisenhower.

February 12, 1990

12:00
Fri 3/2
See
lunch

General --

Arnie Kanter thought it might be a good idea for you to invite the Secretary of the Air Force, Don Rice, to lunch or a meeting. What say you?

Let's do lunch -- one-on-one w/Arnie _____

Let's do mtg -- one-on-one _____ w/Arnie _____

Other _____

Florence

Jay Ward
2/28

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

Alice x 5042

Dr. Boshen

x 2. 4

etc

5-10 Days

in the Mess.

Withdrawal/Redaction Sheet

(George Bush Library)

Document No. and Type	Subject/Title of Document	Date	Restriction	Class.
11. Memo	Brenda I. Hilliard to Distribution List Re: Presidential Appointment (1 pp.)	3/13/90	(b)(1)	S

Collection:

Record Group: Bush Presidential Records
Office: Scowcroft, Brent, Collection
Series: Administrative Files
Subseries:
WHORM Cat.:
File Location: Appointments Completed, January to December 1990 [2]

Date Closed: 9/20/2010	OA/ID Number: 85034-006
FOIA/SYS Case #: 2009-0275-S[2]	Appeal Case #:
Re-review Case #:	Appeal Disposition:
P-2/P-5 Review Case #:	Disposition Date:
AR Case #:	MR Case #:
AR Disposition:	MR Disposition:
AR Disposition Date:	MR Disposition Date:

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NATIONAL SECURITY COUNCIL

08-Mar-1990 09:48 EDT

UNCLASSIFIED

MEMORANDUM FOR: SEE BELOW

FROM: Jeffrey J. Jakuboski
(JAKUBOSKI)

SUBJECT: The Appointment of Dennis Cheney to the Regular AF

The Senate has confirmed the current year 1989 Regular Air Force appointment board nomination list.

Captain Dennis W. Cheney, currently assigned to the Situation Room has accepted the Regular Air Force offer, is medically qualified, and may now execute the oath of office.

On Wednesday March 21, 1990 at 4:00PM, General Scowcroft will administer the oath of office to Dennis. Family and Relatives may accompany Dennis and staff members are welcome to attend.

Thanks,

Jeff J.

Distribution:

FOR: Joe Laposa	(LAPOSA)
FOR: John G. Grimes	(GRIMES)
FOR: G. Philip Hughes	(HUGHES)
FOR: Janis K. Whitley	(WHITLEY)
FOR: Cornelius O'Leary	(OLEARY AT A1 AT VAXE)
FOR: William F. Sittmann	(SITTMANN)
CC: Florence E. Gantt	(GANTT)
CC: Gilda Kay	(KAY)

March 16, 1990
4:40 p.m.

*June 3/20
6:00
PM*

Florence:

David, Amb Dubinin's ofc, called --

Ambassador enroute back from Moscow -- has instructions to brief President Bush or "whoever the President designates" on events/state of current play in Moscow.

Amb Dubinin arriving in DC on 6:30 or 7:30 pm Saturday Shuttle from New York -- would be available to brief after arrival or at 10:00 a.m. Sunday morning.

I discussed with Bob Gates -- he recommended that appointment be scheduled with General Scowcroft for Monday morning. Amb Dubinin will not be in DC on Monday; returns Tuesday afternoon.

Per Bob's instructions, I went back to David and said General would see Amb Dubinin Tuesday afternoon; that Florence would call him Monday to schedule timing.

Wilma

BE
cc: Diane Edwards

*OK to
Schedule*

737-
7915

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

March 12, 1990

Dona,

Per our conversation of a few moments ago, attached is backup information on the PIOB's Courtesy Call with General Scowcroft -- 2:45PM March 20, 1990.

PIOB Chairman - Gov. Thompson
Member - Gen Jordan
Member - Prof McConnell

Counsel to the Board - Seth
L. Hurwitz.

If you have any additional questions you may call me on X2530.

vr,


Joan

THE WHITE HOUSE
Office of the Press Secretary

For Immediate Release

February 16, 1990

EXECUTIVE ORDER

12701
- - - - -

AMENDING EXECUTIVE ORDER NO. 12334

By the authority vested in me as President by the Constitution and laws of the United States of America, and in order to amend Executive Order No. 12334, it is hereby ordered that the second sentence of section 1 of Executive Order No. 12334 shall be deleted and the following sentence inserted in lieu thereof: "One member shall be designated by the President as Chairman."

GEORGE BUSH

THE WHITE HOUSE,

February 14, 1990.

#

THE WHITE HOUSE
Office of the Press Secretary

For Release After
1:45 p.m. Briefing

December 4, 1981

EXECUTIVE ORDER

-- 12334 --

PRESIDENT'S INTELLIGENCE OVERSIGHT BOARD

By the authority vested in me as President by the Constitution and statutes of the United States of America, and in order to enhance the security of the United States by assuring the legality of activities of the Intelligence Community, it is hereby ordered as follows:

Section 1. There is hereby established within the White House Office, Executive Office of the President, the President's Intelligence Oversight Board, which shall be composed of three members. One member, ~~appointed from among the membership of the President's Foreign Intelligence Advisory Board,~~ shall be designated by the President as Chairman. Members of the Board shall serve at the pleasure of the President and shall be appointed by the President from among trustworthy and distinguished citizens outside the Government who are qualified on the basis of achievement, experience and independence. The Board shall utilize such full-time staff and consultants as authorized by the President.

Sec. 2. The Board shall:

- (a) Inform the President of intelligence activities that any member of the Board believes are in violation of the Constitution or laws of the United States, Executive orders, or Presidential directives;
- (b) Forward to the Attorney General reports received concerning intelligence activities that the Board believes may be unlawful;
- (c) Review the internal guidelines of each agency within the Intelligence Community concerning the lawfulness of intelligence activities;
- (d) Review the practices and procedures of the Inspectors General and General Counsel of the Intelligence Community for discovering and reporting intelligence activities that may be unlawful or contrary to Executive order or Presidential directive; and
- (e) Conduct such investigations as the Board deems necessary to carry out its functions under this Order.

Sec. 3. The Board shall, when required by this Order, report directly to the President. The Board shall consider and take appropriate action with respect to matters identified by the Director of Central Intelligence, the Central Intelligence Agency or other agencies of the Intelligence Community. With respect to matters deemed appropriate by the President, the Board shall advise and make appropriate recommendations to the Director of Central Intelligence, the Central Intelligence Agency, and other agencies of the Intelligence Community.

more

(OVER)

Sec. 4. The heads of departments and agencies of the Intelligence Community shall, to the extent permitted by law, provide the Board with all information necessary to carry out its responsibilities. Inspectors General and General Counsel of the Intelligence Community shall, to the extent permitted by law, report to the Board concerning intelligence activities that they have reason to believe may be unlawful or contrary to Executive order or Presidential directive.

Sec. 5. Information made available to the Board shall be given all necessary security protection in accordance with applicable laws and regulations. Each member of the Board, each member of the Board's staff, and each of the Board's consultants shall execute an agreement never to reveal any classified information obtained by virtue of his or her service with the Board except to the President or to such persons as the President may designate.

Sec. 6. Members of the Board shall serve without compensation, but may receive transportation, expense, and per diem allowances as authorized by law. Staff and consultants to the Board shall receive pay and allowances as authorized by the President.

RONALD REAGAN

THE WHITE HOUSE,

December 4, 1981.

THE WHITE HOUSE

Office of the Press Secretary

For Immediate Release

February 26, 1990

The President today announced his intention to appoint the following individuals to be Members of the President's Intelligence Oversight Board:

JAMES R. THOMPSON, JR., of Illinois. He would succeed W. Glenn Campbell. Upon his appointment he will be designated Chairman. Currently, James R. Thompson serves as the Governor of Illinois.

AMOS A. JORDAN, JR., of Virginia. He would succeed Charles Tyroler II. Currently, Dr. Jordan serves as Vice Chairman of the Board of Trustees and as the Henry Kissinger Chair in National Security Policy at The Center for Strategic and International Studies in Washington, D.C.

#

THE WHITE HOUSE

Office of the Press Secretary

For Immediate Release

November 29, 1988

The President today announced his intention to appoint Michael W. McConnell to be a Member of the President's Intelligence Oversight Board. He would succeed Charles Jarvis Meyers.

Since 1985, Mr. McConnell has been Assistant Professor of The Law School at the University of Chicago in Illinois. Prior to this, he was Assistant to the Solicitor General at the Department of Justice in Washington, D.C., 1983-1985. He was Assistant General Counsel of the Office of Management and Budget, 1981-1983; a law clerk to Justice William J. Brennan, Jr. of the U.S. Supreme Court, 1980-1981; and a law clerk to Chief Judge J. Skelly Wright of the U.S. Court of Appeals for the D.C. Circuit, 1979-1980.

Mr. McConnell was graduated from Michigan State University (B.A., 1976) and The Law School at the University of Chicago (J.D., 1979). He was born May 18, 1955 in Louisville, Kentucky. He is married, has two children and resides in Chicago, Illinois.

#

March 8, 1990

General --

James Thompson, IOB, has asked to come see you on March 20.
Shall I go ahead and schedule?

Yes Invite staff

Other

Joan
x2530

*230 Tues Mar 20
Kerwitz will escort
all are passholders*

Mon 3/26

4:00

March 19, 1990

General --

Governor Shafer has returned from his trip to China and has asked to come see you. Shall I reluctantly schedule?

Okay _____ Other _____

862-9700

Florence

RAYMOND P. Shafer

3-5-17

March 15, 1990

Florence:

Governor Raymond Shafer would like to schedule brief appt with General Scowcroft as early as possible next week. He is back from China and would like to give General a report on the trip.

Would like to invite General to lunch but knows how difficult it is for him to get out; he would be pleased to dropby office and give a readout.

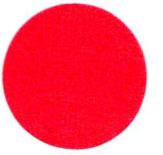
I told Gov Shafer that you would be in touch with him on Monday.

Wilma

Gov Shafer: 862-7900

Florence

March 16, 1990



General Scowcroft (or Bob Gates) is invited to a luncheon in honor of Prime Minister Mazowiecki of Poland hosted by Acting Secretary of State Larry Eagleburger.

Time and Date: 12:30 PM
Wednesday, March 21, 1990

Place: The Madison Room
8th Floor - State Department

Accept Regret

Wilma

Delester mtg w/ P is at 1:30 - not sure if you plan to attend but this luncheon will surely go beyond

RSVP: April 647-1735

cc: Diane Edwards

*There is also a 2:00 Mtg w/ Pres. + Cheney - Jarmon - Sumner
~~State is asking~~ Scowcroft
who will attend!!!*

February 12, 1990

Mon
3/19
2:00
P.M.

General --

Bud McFarlane is back from his trip to Moscow and Japan and has called in requesting to see you. He knows this week is busy because of Cartagena.

Schedule him after Cartagena [& invite appropriate staffers]

Other _____

Florence

223-2073

NATIONAL SECURITY COUNCIL
WASHINGTON, D.C. 20506

January 11, 1990

*Cancelled*ACTION

MEMORANDUM FOR BRENT SCOWCROFT

THROUGH: KARL JACKSON *KJS*
FROM: DOUGLAS PAAL *DP*
SUBJECT: Invitation to Meeting with C.S.I.S.
Northeast Asia Council

Joe Jordan has invited you again (Tab A) to a breakfast or meeting with the Northeast Asia Council. You canceled a meeting with this group of prominent Koreans in October.

RECOMMENDATION

That you agree to meet with the C.S.I.S. Northeast Asia Council on Tuesday, March 13, 1990.

Approve *DP*

Disapprove _____

*Suggest
mtg @ 4pm*

Attachment

Tab A Jordan/Scowcroft Letter dated 1/3/90 w/attachment



Staff

Center for Strategic & International Studies
Washington, DC

0226

JAN 9 1990

Amos A. Jordan
Vice Chairman, Board of Trustees
Henry Kissinger Chair in National Security Policy

January 3, 1990

The Honorable
Brent Scowcroft
Assistant to the President
for National Security Affairs
The White House
1600 Pennsylvania Avenue, N.W.
Washington, D.C. 20500

Dear Brent:

The CSIS Northeast Asia Council will be holding its next meeting in Washington March 12-14. You will recall that we had scheduled a meeting between you and this group of senior Korean legislators, business leaders and government officials when they were in Washington last October, but that the force of events (Panama!) prohibited your attendance at the last minute.

I would like to suggest that you meet with the group over breakfast on the morning of Tuesday, March 13 here at CSIS at 8:30 am (We could also bring them to the OEOP if that is necessary.)

I very much hope that you can do this one. This meeting will take place at a key moment in U.S./ROK relations, just before the Pentagon will submit its report to Congress on the U.S. troop presence in Korea in compliance with the Nunn/Warner legislation. Your insights on these and other issues would be of enormous value to the group.

We do not have a confirmed list of participants yet for the meeting, but I am enclosing a copy of the names of the core membership which is indicative. Please let me know if I can provide you with any further information.

Dave Abshire joins me in best wishes and in the hope that you can accept our invitation.

Yours sincerely,


Amos A. Jordan



Center for Strategic & International Studies
Washington, DC

KOREAN DELEGATION TO THE NORTHEAST ASIA COUNCIL

National Assembly

Lee Jong Chan, DJP
Rha Woong Bae, DJP
Park Chung Soo, DJP
Lee Tae SUP, DJP
Suh Sang Mok, DJP
Dho Young Shim, DJP
Park Sil, PFD
Soon Sung Cho, PPD
Chung Jey Moon, RDP
Lee Hee Il, NDRP
Chung Moon Jong, Independent

Governeemnt

Hyun Hong Choo, Minister of Legislation
Choi Chong Yoon, Senior Secretary to the President
for Political Affairs
Koo Bohn Young, Secretary for Economic Affairs, Office
of the President

Corporate

Cho Choon Kun, President, Korean Air
Cho Wuk Rai, President, Hyosung Group
Kim Duk Choong, Executive Counselor, Daewoo
Kim Hong Dum, President, Yukong Ltd.
Koo Pyong Hwoi, Vice Chairman, Lucky Goldstar Group
Lee Sung Won, President Ssangyong Oil Refining Co.
Park Young Oh, Vice Chairman, Doosan Group
Park Ung Suh, Executive Vice President, Samsung Group
Sung Hack Chung, Vice Chairman and CEO, Kyungin Energy Co., Ltd.

NATIONAL SECURITY COUNCIL
WASHINGTON, D.C. 20506

1440

February 23, 1990

Cancelled

ACTION

MEMORANDUM FOR BRENT SCOWCROFT

FROM: PETER W. RODMAN *PR*

SUBJECT: "Quarterback of Industry" Award for Bill Marriott

You have been invited by the Quarterback Club of Washington, D.C., to present their "Quarterback of Industry" Award to J. W. Marriott, Jr., at their dinner on Saturday, March 10 (Tab II). I understand that Bill Marriott asked to have you as presenter, and that you have indicated interest in doing it. Your schedule is open.

A suggested reply at Tab I would accept.

Concurrence by: Roman Popadiuk *RP*

RECOMMENDATION

That you accept the invitation and sign the reply at Tab I.

Attachments

Tab I Letter of Acceptance
Tab II Incoming Invitation

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

February 28, 1990

Dear Mr. Geoghan:

Thank you for your kind letter inviting me to present your Quarterback of Industry Award to Bill Marriott at your dinner on March 10, 1990.

I am honored and pleased to accept. Please keep in touch with my Special Assistant, Florence Gantt, at 456-2255, to coordinate arrangements.

I congratulate you on the good work you are doing to support the fight against cystic fibrosis, and I look forward to being there on March 10.

Sincerely,



Brent Scowcroft

Mr. Robert J. Geoghan
President
The Quarterback Club of
Washington, D.C.
6931 Arlington Road
Bethesda, Maryland 20814



National Headquarters
6931 Arlington Road, Bethesda, Maryland 20814 (301) 652-SACK

Founder and President
Robert J. Geoghan

Office of the President: 9053 Shady Grove Court
Gaithersburg, MD 20877-1301
301-948-0050

February 21, 1990

Mr. Brent Scowcroft
Assistant to the President
for National Security Affairs
The White House
Washington, DC 20500

Dear Mr. Brent Scowcroft:

The Quarterback Club of Washington, D. C., will proudly host the National Quarterback Awards Dinner on Saturday, March 10, 1990, at the Washington Hilton & Towers.

This gala black-tie event, which benefits the Cystic Fibrosis Foundation, honors the top quarterbacks of the professional, collegiate, and high school ranks, as well as the leading "quarterbacks" of government, industry, and entertainment.

Mr. J. W. Marriott, Jr., chairman and president of the Marriott Corporation, will be presented the Quarterback of Industry Award. It is my great pleasure to invite you to present the award to Bill Marriott.

Legendary NFL quarterbacks, George Blanda and Bob Waterfield, will be inducted into the Quarterback Hall of Fame. Enclosed is a list of other award winners.

I hope that you will be able to present the award to Bill Marriott. Please do not hesitate to call me at 301-948-0050 if you have any questions. Thank you for your consideration.

Sincerely,

Robert J. Geoghan
President

RJG:eem

1470 P. 02
Staff General is interested in doing this

Schedule is open at this time.

Understand Bill Marriott asked to have you present the award.

By Don Flowers



"Old people die with achievements, memories. Children die with opportunities, dreams."

— Frank Deford

When former *Sports Illustrated* writer Frank Deford published *Alex: The Life of a Child* in 1985, it was a cry from the heart of a grieving father. It touched the hearts of millions—including the founder and president of The Quarterback Club of Washington, DC, Bob Geoghan.

Alexandra Deford died of cystic fibrosis at the age of eight in 1982. Her father recounted her short life story. But in this tale of the end of her life, Bob Geoghan saw a new beginning—The Quarterback Club's fund-raising efforts for the Cystic Fibrosis Foundation.

Today, Quarterback Club members' dues benefit the Foundation. The annual National Quarterback Awards Dinner does, too. So does the Mark Rypien Celebrity Golf Classic and each year's Redskins luncheon series.

All of this helps the Foundation fund valuable research—like the effort which in August 1989 produced the discovery of the gene which causes CF. A cure is not far behind, and The Quarterback Club joins the thousands of parents, friends and families of those with CF in striving to reach that cure.

Alex Deford's bright smile and unwavering enthusiasm left a legacy of hope to fellow CF sufferers. To honor her memory, The Quarterback Club presents the "Alex Award" at the National Quarterback Awards Dinner each year to the outstanding humanitarian of the year.



TO: SCOWCROFT

FROM: GEOGHAN, ROBERT J

DOC DATE: 21 FEB 90
SOURCE REF:

KEYWORDS: SPEECHES

ANSA

PERSONS: MARRIOTT, BILL

SUBJECT: INVITATION TO PRESENT AWARD TO BILL MARRIOTT AT QUARTERBACK CLUB ON
10 MAR

ACTION: PREPARE MEMO FOR SCOWCROFT DUE DATE: 26 FEB 90 STATUS: S

STAFF OFFICER: RODMAN

LOGREF:

FILES: WH

NSCP:

CODES:

D O C U M E N T D I S T R I B U T I O N

FOR ACTION
RODMAN

FOR CONCURRENCE
POPADIUK

FOR INFO
GANTT
HUGHES

COMMENTS: _____

DISPATCHED BY _____ DATE _____ BY HAND W/ATTCH

OPENED BY: NSJRP

CLOSED BY:

DOC 1 OF 1

UNCLASSIFIED
NSC/S PROFILE

RECORD ID: 9001440
RECEIVED: 22 FEB 90 20

TO: SCOWCROFT

FROM: GEOGHAN, ROBERT J

DOC DATE: 21 FEB 90
SOURCE REF:

KEYWORDS: SPEECHES

ANSA

PERSONS: MARRIOTT, BILL

SUBJECT: INVITATION TO PRESENT AWARD TO BILL MARRIOTT AT QUARTERBACK CLUB ON
10 MAR

ACTION: PREPARE MEMO FOR SCOWCROFT DUE DATE: 26 FEB 90 STATUS: S

STAFF OFFICER: RODMAN

LOGREF:

FILES: WH

NSCP:

CODES:

DOCUMENT DISTRIBUTION

FOR ACTION
RODMAN

FOR CONCURRENCE
POPADIUK

FOR INFO
GANTT
HUGHES

General is interested in doing this - in stopping

COMMENTS: _____

DISPATCHED BY _____ DATE _____ BY HAND W/ATTCH

OPENED BY: NSJRP CLOSED BY: DOC 1 OF 1

UNCLASSIFIED



National Headquarters
6931 Arlington Road, Bethesda, Maryland 20814 (301) 652-SACK *this.*

Founder and President
Robert J. Geoghan

Office of the President: 9053 Shady Grove Court
Gaithersburg, MD 20877-1301
301-948-0050

Schedule is open at this time.

February 21, 1990

Mr. Brent Scowcroft
Assistant to the President
for National Security Affairs
The White House
Washington, DC 20500

*Mr. Scowcroft
Bill Marriott
asked to have
you present
the award*

Dear Mr. Brent Scowcroft:

*By Don
Flower*

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Sincerely,

Robert J. Geoghan

Robert J. Geoghan
President

RJG:em

FACTS ABOUT CYSTIC FIBROSIS

Cystic fibrosis is a hereditary disease affecting some 30,000 young people nationwide. It is the number one genetic killer of children.

People with CF must fight for breath every day of their lives. The disease primarily affects the lungs, pancreas and sweat glands. It causes the body to produce a thick, sticky mucus which makes digestion difficult and clogs the lungs, leading to infection and lung damage and, many times, death.

FACTS ABOUT THE QUARTERBACK CLUB

When the Monday Morning Quarterback Club got its start in 1965, it consisted of a small group of men who met with some of the Redskins team members after each home game.

Twenty-five years later the luncheons continue — with attendance now averaging 250 people! But today's Quarterback Club is much, much more. An active Club membership also holds a Super Bowl party, takes a trip to Redskins training camp every year and attends other football-related activities. "Quarterback Snaps" keeps members informed about Club news and Redskins highlights. The National Quarterback Awards Dinner annually draws nearly 1000 guests, including quarterbacks from all of the NFL teams and inductees into the prestigious National Quarterback Hall of Fame.

While The Quarterback Club provides entertaining sports-related activities in the Washington community, its primary goal is to conduct these events to raise funds for the Cystic Fibrosis Foundation. The Quarterback Club is committed to making cystic fibrosis history. For information on how you can help — and also take advantage of Quarterback Club membership — call or write The Quarterback Club today.

The Quarterback Club of Washington, DC
National Headquarters
6931 Arlington Road, Suite 200
Bethesda, MD 20814
(301) 652-SACK



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achievements, memories.
Children die with
opportunities, dreams."*

— Frank Deford

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All of this helps the Foundation fund valuable research—like the effort which in August 1989 produced the discovery of the gene which causes CF. A cure is not far behind, and The Quarterback Club joins the thousands of parents, friends and families of those with CF in striving to reach that cure.

Alex Deford's bright smile and unwavering enthusiasm left a legacy of hope to fellow CF sufferers. To honor her memory, The Quarterback Club presents the "Alex Award" at the National Quarterback Awards Dinner each year to the outstanding humanitarian of the year.



UNCLASSIFIED
NSC/S PROFILE

RECORD ID: 9001440
RECEIVED: 22 FEB 90 20

TO: GEOGHAN, ROBERT J

FROM: SCOWCROFT

DOC DATE: 28 FEB 90
SOURCE REF:

KEYWORDS: SPEECHES

ANSA

PERSONS: MARRIOTT, BILL

SUBJECT: REQUEST SCOWCROFT ADDRESS QUARTERBACK OF INDUSTRY AWARD FOR MARRIOTT
10 MAR

ACTION: SCOWCROFT SGD LTR / ACCEPT

DUE DATE: 26 FEB 90

STATUS: C

STAFF OFFICER: RODMAN

LOGREF:

FILES: WH

NSCP:

CODES:

DOCUMENT DISTRIBUTION

FOR ACTION

FOR CONCURRENCE

FOR INFO

GANTT
POPADIUK
PROCTOR
RODMAN

COMMENTS: _____

DISPATCHED BY _____ DATE _____ BY HAND W/ATTCH

OPENED BY: NSJRP

CLOSED BY: NSJWD

DOC 3 OF 3

UNCLASSIFIED

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WASHINGTON
February 28, 1990

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Washington, D.C.
6931 Arlington Road
Bethesda, Maryland 20814

NATIONAL SECURITY COUNCIL
WASHINGTON, D.C. 20506

1440

February 23, 1990

SIGNED

ACTION

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A suggested reply at Tab I would accept.

Concurrence by: Roman Popadiuk *RP*

RECOMMENDATION

That you accept the invitation and sign the reply at Tab I.

Attachments

Tab I Letter of Acceptance
Tab II Incoming Invitation

1989 NATIONAL QUARTERBACK AWARDS DINNER

AWARD WINNERS

Local High School Quarterback of the Year

Terry Wolfram
Springbrook High School
Silver Spring, Maryland

Local College Quarterback of the Year

Lee DeBose
Howard University
Washington, D.C.

National High School Quarterback of the Year

Rick Mirer
Goshen High School
Goshen, Indiana

National College Quarterback of the Year

Troy Aikman
UCLA
Los Angeles, California

Professional Quarterback of the Year

Boomer Esiason
Cincinnati Bengals
Cincinnati, Ohio

Outstanding Achievement Award

NFL Films
Steve Sebol, President

Quarterback of Industry

Donald E. Petersen
Chairman and CEO
Ford Motor Company

National Quarterback Hall of Fame Inductees

Norm Van Brocklin Y.A. Tittle
Philadelphia Eagles New York Giants

The Alex Award

Victor K. Kiam II
Chairman and CEO
Remington Products, Inc.
Owner, New England Patriots

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Cancelled

Mon -
March 12
2:00 PM.

NATIONAL SECURITY COUNCIL

The clear

05-Jan-1990 15:28 EDT

5-3-23

UNCLASSIFIED

MEMORANDUM FOR:

Florence E. Gantt

(GANTT)

FROM:

Deborah Baker
(BAKER)

SUBJECT:

RE: William Jordan

WILLIAM J. JORDEN
w/ PRYCE

Bill says there is no reason not to. He (Jordan) might provide some interesting prospectives. Bill Pryce says he knows Bill Jordan pretty well and would like to sit in, if convenient.

Just for information: Mr. Jordan wrote the definitive book on the Panama Canal Treaty Negotiations.

Good to hear from you

Wm J. Jordan

General -

Shall I go ahead +
invite Mr. Jordan ~~it~~ in

For lunch _____ w/ Pryce

mtg only _____ ✓ w/ Pryce

Other _____

525-5087

7.

NOTE SENT
TO
PRYCE
FOR
RECOMM

December 28, 1989

General --

Walt Rostow called to congratulate you and all re Panama -- said it was first-rate. He also said he had been in touch with William Jorden, former Ambassador to Panama. Ambassador Jorden is in close touch with a number of the key civilian figures in Panama now and Mr. Rostow is suggesting that you may want to have Bill in for lunch or a meeting to talk with him. He lives in McLean and his number should be in the phone book. If not, Mr. Rostow said he could get it for us.

See if you can scheduled Bill Jorden _____

Other ask Pryce what he thinks. I
like Bill, but...

Florence

~~223-6770~~
~~Jane~~

Brent: We just found out that Sen Warner may call you about this issue to come in to discuss it.

Recommend you take the initiative and call Warner. Ginny concurs.

NATIONAL SECURITY COUNCIL

07-Mar-1990 19:32 EDT

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

-Arnie

MEMORANDUM FOR: SEE BELOW

FROM: Arnold Kanter
(KANTER)

SUBJECT: SENATE GOP OBJECTIONS TO CFE MANPOWER LIMITS

Dona:

Please give the following message to Bob and Brent. Thanks.

-- Arnie

Brent:

As I mentioned to Bob in staff meeting this afternoon, we learned that the Republicans on the SASC, led by Warner, are considering sending a letter (to the President?) asking him to reconsider the Ottawa deal on U.S. and Soviet manpower. The 30,000 cap on U.S. manpower outside the Central Zone really troubles them, presumably on "insufficient flexibility" grounds.

Such a letter could be a real problem, simply because of where it comes from. It is one thing to have to rebut Nunn's criticisms, something I think we have been fairly successful in doing given the solid phalanx formed by you, Cheney, and Powell in support of the decision. It is another thing to have to take on all of the SASC Republicans. At best, such a letter could turn the "success of the President's manpower initiative" into a pyrrhic victory. At worst, it could threaten to reopen the manpower issue and invite new Soviet attempts to limit the size of the Bundeswehr in CFE.

! | This one probably is worth a call from you to Warner that explained why Ottawa was a good deal, why his concerns may be overstated if not misplaced, and the problems such a letter would cause.

If you do decide to make such a call, please let Ginny or me know in advance so that we can give Warner's staffer the heads up he is entitled to.

Thanks.

DECLASSIFIED
PER NSC WAIVER, August 6, 2010
By cap NARA, Date 9/16/10 -- Arnie

For 11:00 mtg

~~RG~~
BS

See me

Brady
Tehesett

Alvin
Stalderberg
Wynnet Beard
Paper Sched.
Proposal
Packag

NATIONAL SECURITY COUNCIL

07-Mar-1990 09:22 EDT

UNCLASSIFIED

MEMORANDUM FOR:

Florence E. Gantt

(GANTT)

7:30 3/9
1:30

FROM:

David Pacelli
(PACELLI)

SUBJECT:

Request for Appointment with the General

The U.S. Ambassador to Guatemala, Thomas Stroock, has requested an appointment with the General. Both the State Department and we support this request.

The Ambassador is free any time today, tomorrow, or Friday, except 11:30 a.m.-12:30 p.m. on Thursday, when he meets with Secretary Baker. (Stroock plans to go back to Guatemala on Saturday.)

The Ambassador just had a dustup with Guatemalan President Cerezo over the government's slowness on human rights issues. The government accused him of not speaking officially for the USG. He was "recalled" by the State Department for consultations to show that he was. A White House appointment would help him.

Stroock has also requested a meeting with the President. Neither State nor we support this request. We are, however, working on a Presidential letter to Cerezo on democracy and human rights, based on a State Department draft.

Bill Pryce concurs with above.

CC: Dona F. Proctor
CC: Wilma G. Hall
CC: Diane L. Edwards

(PROCTOR)
(HALL)
(EDWARDS)

19

*Shall I schedule
for you? OK*

Withdrawal/Redaction Sheet

(George Bush Library)

Document No. and Type	Subject/Title of Document	Date	Restriction	Class.
12. Memo	David C. Miller, Jr. to Brent Scowcroft Re: CINC's Drug Plans (1 pp.)	3/6/90	(b)(1)	S

Collection:

Record Group: Bush Presidential Records
Office: Scowcroft, Brent, Collection
Series: Administrative Files
Subseries:
WHORM Cat.:
File Location: Appointments Completed, January to December 1990 [2]

Date Closed: 9/20/2010	OA/ID Number: 85034-006
FOIA/SYS Case #: 2009-0275-S[2]	Appeal Case #:
Re-review Case #:	Appeal Disposition:
P-2/P-5 Review Case #:	Disposition Date:
AR Case #:	MR Case #:
AR Disposition:	MR Disposition:
AR Disposition Date:	MR Disposition Date:

RESTRICTION CODES

Presidential Records Act - [44 U.S.C. 2204(a)]

P-1 National Security Classified Information [(a)(1) of the PRA]
P-2 Relating to the appointment to Federal office [(a)(2) of the PRA]
P-3 Release would violate a Federal statute [(a)(3) of the PRA]
P-4 Release would disclose trade secrets or confidential commercial or financial information [(a)(4) of the PRA]
P-5 Release would disclose confidential advice between the President and his advisors, or between such advisors [(a)(5) of the PRA]
P-6 Release would constitute a clearly unwarranted invasion of personal privacy [(a)(6) of the PRA]

C. Closed in accordance with restrictions contained in donor's deed of gift.

PRM. Removed as a personal record misfile.

Freedom of Information Act - [5 U.S.C. 552(b)]

(b)(1) National security classified information [(b)(1) of the FOIA]
(b)(2) Release would disclose internal personnel rules and practices of an agency [(b)(2) of the FOIA]
(b)(3) Release would violate a Federal statute [(b)(3) of the FOIA]
(b)(4) Release would disclose trade secrets or confidential or financial information [(b)(4) of the FOIA]
(b)(6) Release would constitute a clearly unwarranted invasion of personal privacy [(b)(6) of the FOIA]
(b)(7) Release would disclose information compiled for law enforcement purposes [(b)(7) of the FOIA]
(b)(8) Release would disclose information concerning the regulation of financial institutions [(b)(8) of the FOIA]
(b)(9) Release would disclose geological or geophysical information

March 2, 1990

Florence:

Subject: Notes/Messages

*320-3537 after 7:00 P.M.
Fry 11:15 - Wed
3/7*

- 1) Hans Binnendijk called re his request to meet with General Scowcroft on Mon-Tues-Wed of next week. I told him that you/Gen were travelling; that it has been a hectic week; that you will be back in touch with him re his request.
- 2) Will Taft will be in town week of March 12th; wants to meet with General. I referred request to Philip Zelikow.

3) Re: Harold Agnew Appt - Wednesday, March 7

Marge called (619/455-2081) -- Dr. Agnew gave David Miller a Video tape "**Cryo Fracture**" which Dr. Agnew would like to have available during his appt with General Scowcroft. I asked Marge if Dr. Agnew intended that the video be played during his appt and she said that wasn't made clear to her but it seemed to be what he had in mind.
FYI: Video is 10-minutes duration.

*Mike Fry
Working
on
paper*

I told her I would pass this info along to you & got his DOB which I have posted to calendar.

Wilma

NATIONAL SECURITY COUNCIL

20-Feb-1990 16:47 EDT

UNCLASSIFIED

MEMORANDUM FOR:

Florence E. Gantt
Diane L. Edwards

(GANTT)
(EDWARDS)

FROM: Robert L. Hutchings
(HUTCHINGS)

RLH

SUBJECT: Ambassador Secchia

*11:30 Mon
3/5*

Please pass to Brent and Bob.

Ambassador Secchia, who will be in town March 5-7, now requests a meeting with both the General and Bob. We recommend that either of both agree to meet with him, preferably before Italian Prime Minister Andreotti's meetings with the President on the 6th. Secchia will be meeting with Governor Sununu at 9:45 a.m. March 5.

CC: Robert Blackwill

(BLACKWILL)

General -

Shall I schedule?