

Originally Processed With FOIA(s):
2009-0275-S

FOIA Number:
2009-0275-S

FOIA MARKER

**This is not a textual record. This is used as an
administrative marker by the George Bush Presidential
Library Staff.**

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

OA/ID Number: 85036
Folder ID Number: 85036-002

Folder Title:
Appointments Completed, January to December 1992 [4]

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

Withdrawal/Redaction Sheet

(George Bush Library)

Doc. No. / Type	Subject/Title	Date	Restriction	Classification
01. Memo	Peggy Jordan to Distribution List Re: Visit of Sir Colin McColl on April 7 (1 pp.)	3/16/92	(b)(1)	SECRET
02a. Memo	Bruce O. Riedel to Florence E. Gantt, et.al. Re: Indian Defense Minister (1 pp.)	3/25/92	(b)(1)	SECRET
02b. Memo	W. Robert Pearson to Brent Scowcroft Re: Request for Appointment for Indian Defense Minister (1 pp.)	3/26/92	(b)(1)	SECRET
02c. Report	Re: Biography (1 pp.)	n.d.	(b)(1)	C
03a. Note	Tim Deal to Brent Scowcroft Re: [attached cable] (1 pp.)	4/2/92	(b)(1)	
03b. Cable	Re: CIVAIR: April 2 Update (4 pp.)	4/2/92	(b)(1)	SECRET
03c. Memo	Timothy E. Deal to Florence E. Gantt, et.al. Re: Aviation Dispute with France (2 pp.)	4/3/92	(b)(1)	SECRET
03d. Cable	Re: CIVAIR: Carriers Refile Schedules (2 pp.)	4/3/92	(b)(1)	C
04a. Memo	Tony Wayne to Brent Scowcroft Re: Presidential Delegation to the Seville World's Fair (1 pp.)	3/16/92	(b)(1)	SECRET

Page 1 of 2

Collection:

Record Group: Bush Presidential Records
Office: Scowcroft, Brent, Collection
Series: Administrative Files
Subseries:
WHORM Cat.:
File Location: Appointments Completed, January to December 1992 [4]

Pinksheet Number: cap2261
OA/ID Number: 85036-002
Date Closed: 9/27/2010
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
04b. Memo	Brent Scowcroft to Constance B. Horner Re: Presidential Delegation for the Seville World's Fair (2 pp.)	n.d.	(b)(1)	
04c. Memo	W. Robert Pearson to Brent Scowcroft Re: Presidential Delegation for the World's Fair (2 pp.)	2/27/92	(b)(1)	✓
05. Report	Re: MIA2 Conversion Program (3 pp.)	n.d.	(b)(1)	
06a. Coversheet	Re: [Biography] (1 pp.)	3/24/92	(b)(1)	S
06b. Memo	Re: [Biography] (1 pp.)	3/24/92	(b)(1)	S
07a. Memo	Edward A. Hewett to Florence E. Gantt, et.al. Re: Notes for Meeting with Ambassador Vorontsov (1 pp.)	3/3/92	(b)(1)	✓
07b. Memo	Edward A. Hewett to Florence E. Gantt, et.al. Re: For 3:30 Brent Scowcroft Meeting with Vorontsov (1 pp.)	3/4/92	(b)(1)	✓

Collection:

Record Group: Bush Presidential Records
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Appointment Schedule
Brent Scowcroft
04/08/92 - 04/08/92



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

Wednesday 04/08/92

6:45AM 7:05AM Dep residence en route office
 7:15AM 8:00AM B-C-S Bkfst - Here (CONFIRM/ORDER SET UP)
 7:45AM 8:00AM PDB Briefer -
 8:00AM 8:30AM Chief of Staff's Daily Mtg - Roosevelt Room
 8:30AM 8:45AM P/PDB Briefer - Oval
 8:45AM 9:15AM P/NSB - Oval
 10:00AM 11:00AM P/Cong'l Ldrship Meeting - Cabinet Room
 NOON 1:00PM (TBC) Lunch w/Henry A. Grunwald, Council on Foreign
 Relations - ORDER SETUP
 1:30PM 2:00PM P/Sec Baker - Oval

12-3-22

General -

He asked for dinner on
 April 6 or 7 or
 breakfast or lunch on
 April 8

If above meets w/ your
 approval I will call
 Grunwald

Okay BD Other _____

J.

12:00
Wed
4-8-92

March 16, 1992

Florence:

Nancy Kirk from Mr. Grumwald's office called to schedule a bite to eat with General Scowcroft for the week of April 6th. Nancy said that he would like to have dinner with the General on either April 6th or 7th or Breakfast or Lunch on April 8th. As you see from the attached letter, the General has invited him to have a bite to eat, and that is why Nancy is calling. I told her that you would call next week to try to arrange something. Her number is 212/319-3644.

Mary

12-3-22

HENRY ANATOLE GRUNWALD

654 Madison Avenue, Suite 1605
New York, N.Y. 10021
Tel. (212) 319-3644
Fax (212) 319-3646

March 11, 1992

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

Dear Brent:

Many thanks for your letter of February 21. I assure you that Richard Haass will be considered very seriously and, in fact, he will hear from me directly soon.

I appreciate your invitation for a chat and a bite. I would enjoy that very much indeed, and I will certainly let you know the next time I am in Washington -- probably early April.

With warm regards.

Sincerely,

A handwritten signature in blue ink, appearing to be 'HAG', with a long, sweeping horizontal stroke extending to the right.

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

February 21, 1992

Dear Henry:

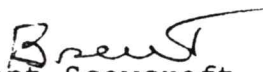
I am writing to you in your capacity as Chairman of the Search Committee for the position of Editor of **Foreign Affairs**.

I would like to propose for that position Richard Nathan Haass, who is my Senior Director on the NSC staff for Near East and South Asian Affairs. I have attached his resume as background, but let me also make a few more personal comments. Richard is a phenomenal person. He is an academic in the finest sense of the word, with awesome special qualifications in both Europe and the Middle East. He couples his impressive substantive background with an analytical and inquiring mind and enviable ability to write and edit. I believe I know a fair amount about the qualities desirable for the position of Editor, and I can say in all candor I can think of no one more qualified for that position. He would bring outstanding foreign affairs competency, thorough managerial skills and enviable command of the literary arts to the position, to the great benefit of **Foreign Affairs** and the Council.

I could go on at length, but rather than add to your reading burden, let me simply offer to discuss Richard and his qualifications with you or the Committee should you seek additional insights on his suitability.

Finally, Henry, I am pleased to see you profitably engaged. The next time you plan to be in Washington, give me a call. I would love to have a chat and offer you a bite to eat.

Sincerely,


Brent Scowcroft

Enclosure

Mr. Henry A. Grunwald
Chairman, Search Committee
Council on Foreign Relations
58 East 68th Street
New York, NY 10021

Tues
Apr 7
5:00

NATIONAL SECURITY COUNCIL

16-Mar-1992 13:15 EDT

~~SECRET~~

MEMORANDUM FOR: SEE BELOW

FROM: Peggy Jordan
(JORDAN)

SUBJECT: Visit of Sir Colin McColl on April 7

Would the General have 15 minutes on Tuesday, April 7 (between 3:30 P.M. - 5:30 P.M.) to see Sir Colin McColl who oversees Britain's foreign intelligence service (SIS)? Sir Colin McColl would like to pay a courtesy call on the General. Jim Pavitt recommends that the General see Sir Colin McColl.

CIA is hosting Sir Colin McColl.

Jim will forward the appropriate paperwork soon.
Thanks

Distribution:

FOR: Mary C. Emery	(EMERY)
FOR: Florence E. Gantt	(GANTT)
FOR: Kristen K. Cicio	(CICIO)
FOR: Dona F. Proctor	(PROCTOR)
CC: James L. Pavitt	(PAVITT)
CC: Peggy Jordan	(JORDAN)

DECLASSIFIED
PER NSC WAIVER, 1500 2021-02
By SS NARA, Date 3/13/24

Apr 7
Tue
3:00

NATIONAL SECURITY COUNCIL

25-Mar-1992 12:16 EDT

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

MEMORANDUM FOR:

Florence E. Gantt	(GANTT)
Mary C. Emery	(EMERY)
Wilma G. Hall	(HALL)

FROM: Bruce O. Riedel
(RIEDEL)

SUBJECT: Indian Defense Minister

Indian Defense Minister Pawar will visit Washington in early April and would like to call on General Scowcroft on April 7 after 1400 or on 8 April in the morning. Pawar is seeing Eagleburger at State and Cheney at DOD. We recommend a meeting if Brent's schedule can accomodate Pawar. Please let me know if we can schedule.

CC: Donna P. Mmoh	(MMOH)
CC: Kathy Leahy	(LEAHY)

DECLASSIFIED
PER NSC WAIVER, 1500 8021-02
By SS NARA, Date 3/7/24

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~
NSC/S PROFILE

RECORD ID: 9202342
RECEIVED: 27 MAR 92 11

TO: SCOWCROFT

FROM: PEARSON, W

DOC DATE: 26 MAR 92
SOURCE REF: 9206536

KEYWORDS: INDIA
ANSA

ARMS CONTROL

PERSONS: PAWAR, SHARAD

CHENEY, R

SUBJECT: REQUEST FOR APPT FOR INDIAN DEFMIN SHARAD PAWAR 7 - 8 APR

ACTION: PREPARE MEMO FOR SCOWCROFT

DUE DATE: 31 MAR 92

STATUS: S

STAFF OFFICER: HAASS

LOGREF:

FILES: WH

NSCP:

CODES:

DOCUMENT DISTRIBUTION

FOR ACTION
HAASS

FOR CONCURRENCE
GORDON
RIEDEL

FOR INFO
GANTT
SITTMANN

UNCLASSIFIED UPON
REMOVAL OF CLASSIFIED
ATTACHMENTS

CAP

9/27/10

COMMENTS: _____

DISPATCHED BY _____ DATE _____ BY HAND W/ATTCH

OPENED BY: NSJEB

CLOSED BY:

DOC 1 OF 1

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~



9206536

United States Department of State

Washington, D.C. 20520

March 26, 1992

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

DECL:OADR

2342

Just
4/7

3:00 PM.

MEMORANDUM FOR BRENT SCOWCROFT
THE WHITE HOUSE

Subject: Request for Appointment for Indian Defense Minister
Sharad Pawar

Indian Defense Minister Pawar will be in the United States April 5-9 at the invitation of Defense Secretary Cheney, who will receive him on April 7. Pawar, a potential Prime Minister, wants to get acquainted with U.S. policymakers and to exchange ideas on a full range of security and defense cooperation issues. Pawar's visit, our first opportunity to explore these issues with the political leadership, should advance our goal of using India's desire for closer defense ties to build a better overall relationship and offer an opportunity for high-level discussion of proliferation concerns.

The Department believes it would be valuable to our policy goals for you to meet with Minister Pawar during his visit and strongly recommends that you receive him on the afternoon of April 7 or, alternatively, the afternoon of April 8.

W. Robert Pearson
Executive Secretary

Attachment:

Biographic Information.

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

DECLASSIFIED

PER DOS WAIVER, November 6, 2015

By SS NARA, Date 3/7/24

Withdrawal/Redaction Sheet

(George Bush Library)

Document No. and Type	Subject/Title of Document	Date	Restriction	Class.
02c. Report	Re: Biography (1 pp.)	n.d.	(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 1992 [4]

Date Closed:	9/27/2010	OA/ID Number:	85036-002
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

NATIONAL SECURITY COUNCIL

4/3 9am

Mtg re:
French
Aviation
Dispute

April 2, 1992

Brent,

Re a possible call to Vedrine, as you will see from the attached cable, the French position appears unyielding with French officials asserting that U.S. countermeasures would constitute unilateral action on our part.

Your call could help us discern whether the French have any intention of agreeing to a breathing spell.

If not, we need to bring forward the options paper for the President ASAP.


Tim Deal

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~ ATTACHMENT

UNCLASSIFIED UPON
REMOVAL OF CLASSIFIED
ATTACHMENTS

SS 317124

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

NATIONAL SECURITY COUNCIL

02-Apr-1992 12:01 EDT

MEMORANDUM FOR:

FROM:

(WHSR_ROUTER@WHSR)

SUBJECT:

CIVAIR: APRIL 2 UPDATE

<DIST>

PRT: HILL HOWE SCOWCROFT SIT SITTMANN
SIT: DEAL GOMPERT FILE MELBY SIT SUM SUM2 VAX WAYNE

<PREC>

IMMEDIATE

<CLAS>

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

<OSRI>

RUFHFR

<DTG>

021643Z APR 92

DECLASSIFIED

PER DOS WAIVER, November 6, 2015

By SS NARA, Date 3/7/24

<ORIG>

FM AMEMBASSY PARIS

<TO>

TO RUEHC/SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 4618
RUEBBA/DEPT OF TRANSPORTATION IMMEDIATE

<SUBJ>

CIVAIR: APRIL 2 UPDATE

<TEXT>

BT

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~ SECTION 01 OF 03 PARIS 09392

STATE FOR EB/TRA/TARRANT AND EB/TRA/SN/CUNDIFF

ALSO FOR EB/TRA/AN/SPIEGEL

DOT FOR GRETCH, MCDERMOTT, AND STREET

E.O. 12356: DECL: OADR

TAGS: EAIR, PREL, FR

SUBJECT: CIVAIR: APRIL 2 UPDATE

1. ~~CONFIDENTIAL~~ -- ENTIRE TEXT.

~BEGIN SUMMARY~

2. SUMMARY. ON APRIL 2 U.S. CARRIERS RECEIVED THE
EXPECTED LETTERS FROM THE DGAC INSTRUCTING THEM TO
SUBMIT NEW SUMMER PROGRAMS BY NOON, APRIL 3.
CAPACITY CEILINGS IN THOSE LETTERS ARE CONSISTENT
WITH THE MARCH 17 GOF CAPACITY CHART. THE CARRIERS

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

HERE SEEM NOT TO HAVE DECIDED HOW OR WHETHER TO RESPOND. AMBASSADOR RAISED ISSUE FORCEFULLY WITH EUROPEAN AFFAIRS MINISTER GUIGOU (SEE SEPTTEL). ELYSEE ADVISOR MOREL, RESPONDING TO DCM'S DEMARCHE, WAS RELUCTANT TO ADD ANOTHER ISSUE TO A CHARGED POLITICAL AGENDA BUT TOOK OUR POINTS ON SERIOUSNESS OF ISSUE. DGAC GOURGEON AND QUILES ADVISOR COMBES SHOWED NO FLEXIBILITY TO "BARGAIN" OVER CAPACITY. THEY SAID THEY HAVE CABINET APPROVAL FOR THEIR POSITION AND ARE PREPARED TO FACE WHATEVER SCENARIO MAY FOLLOW. THE FRENCH INDICATED THAT ANY USG RETALIATION TO THEIR CAPACITY DEMANDS WOULD BE TREATED AS A "UNILATERAL U.S. RESPONSE OUTSIDE THE FRAMEWORK OF THE BILATERAL AGREEMENT" AND COULD LEAD TO FRENCH RENUNCIATION OF THE ACCORD. END SUMMARY. ~END SUMMARY~

DGAC LETTERS SENT TO CARRIERS

3. THE DGAC HAS FAXED LETTERS DATED APRIL 1 TO U.S. CARRIERS HERE DEMANDING SUBMISSION OF NEW SUMMER PROGRAMS BY NOON, APRIL 3. (ONE SUCH LETTER HAS BEEN FAXED TO EB/TRA.) THE LETTERS GIVE CAPACITY CEILINGS WHICH CORRESPOND TO THE NUMBERS IN THE GOF'S MARCH 17 CAPACITY CHART (ROUNDED TO NEAREST THOUSAND).

4. A SAMPLING OF LOCAL CARRIER MANAGERS CONFIRMED THEIR RECEIPT OF THE LETTERS BUT IT WAS UNCLEAR WHETHER OR HOW THEY WILL RESPOND. SOME SAID THEY ARE AWAITING "INSTRUCTIONS FROM THE USG" IN WASHINGTON, OTHERS WERE DISCUSSING OPTIONS WITH THEIR MANAGEMENT IN THE U.S. CONTINENTAL, NOTING THAT THEY WERE FROZEN AT 1991 LEVELS WITHOUT EVEN A 15 PERCENT INCREASE, FOUND THE LETTER "TOTALLY UNACCEPTABLE." AMBASSADOR RAISES ISSUE WITH MINISTER GUIGOU

5. THURSDAY CALL ON MINISTER OF EUROPEAN AFFAIRS ELISABETH GUIGOU, DURING WHICH AMBASSADOR RAISED CIVAIR ISSUE, WILL BE REPORTED SEPTTEL. ELYSEE ADVISOR RESPONDS TO DCM DEMARCHE

6. AFTER UNCHARACTERISTIC DIFFICULTY IN GETTING THROUGH DUE TO UNFOLDING POLITICAL CRISIS, ELYSEE DIPLOMATIC ADVISOR PIERRE MOREL AND DCM FINALLY SPOKE ON THURSDAY. AFTER DCM OUTLINED IN DETAIL THE URGENCY AND SERIOUSNESS OF THE CIVAIR CONFRONTATION AND BOTH ITS ECONOMIC AND POLITICAL IMPLICATIONS, MOREL INITIALLY DEMONSTRATED RELUCTANCE TO ADD ANOTHER ISSUE TO THE POLITICAL AGENDA AT AN ALREADY DIFFICULT MOMENT. HOWEVER, HE GRASPED THE FACT THAT THIS PROBLEM NEEDS URGENT, HIGH-LEVEL ATTENTION AND AGREED TO LOOK INTO IT AND GET BACK TO DCM. GOF SHOWING NO FLEXIBILITY

7. EMINCOUNS AND CIVAIR OFFICER CALLED LATE WEDNESDAY ON DGAC PIERRE-HENRI GOURGEON AND QUILES

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

ADVISOR MICHEL COMBES. THEY SHOWED NO FLEXIBILITY AT ALL. COMBES ALL BUT CONFIRMED QUILES' DEPARTURE TO ANOTHER MINISTERIAL POST (INTERIOR, FINANCE, TRADE, INDUSTRY?) BY SAYING HE HAD INVITED GOURGEON TO THE MEETING "TO PROVIDE CONTINUITY." GOURGEON SAID THAT THE GOF'S ACCEPTANCE OF A GLOBAL 15 PERCENT INCREASE WAS PROBABLY THE GOF'S BOTTOM LINE: "WE PREFERRED AN

3T

#9392

3T

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~ SECTION 02 OF 03 PARIS 09392

STATE FOR EB/TRA/TARRANT AND EB/TRA/SN/CUNDIFF

ALSO FOR EB/TRA/AN/SPIEGEL

DOT FOR GRETCH, MCDERMOTT, AND STREET

E.O. 12356: DECL: OADR

TAGS: EAIR, PREL, FR

SUBJECT: CIVAIR: APRIL 2 UPDATE

3 - 9 PERCENT INCREASE, AND NOW WE ARE NOT BARGAINING." HE PUT THE ACCENT ON THE "FRENCH FLAG," SPEAKING OF AIR FRANCE NOT AS JUST ANOTHER AIRLINE BUT AS HAVING BROADER SYMBOLIC VALUE FOR FRANCE. THEY DID NOT VARY ONE IOTA FROM THE STANDARD FRENCH LINES ON CHAPTER 11 ("THEY ARE ROTTING THE MARKET"), THE NEGATIVE EFFECTS OF FARE WARS AND "ENDLESS" PROMOTIONAL FARES, FRANCE'S DEMONSTRATED OPENNESS TO EIGHT U.S. CARRIERS, ETC.

3. COMBES (WHO IS NOT A CIVAIR EXPERT) EMPHASIZED THAT FRANCE IS NOT ISOLATED IN ITS POSITIONS. THE U.K. AND ITALY HAVE MORE RESTRICTIVE AGREEMENTS WITH THE U.S. THAN DOES FRANCE; PERHAPS THEY PROVIDE A BETTER MODEL, HE SUGGESTED. FRENCH VIEWS ON CHAPTER 11 ARE ACCEPTED BROADLY THROUGHOUT EUROPE, HE SAID. WE RESPONDED THAT THE CHAPTER 11 ISSUE WAS AN ABSOLUTELY NON-NEGOTIABLE MATTER OF SOVEREIGNTY, AND OBSERVED THAT OUR CARRIERS DO NOT HAVE ACCESS TO GOVERNMENT "CAPITAL INFUSIONS" LIKE AIR FRANCE.

9. COMBES AND GOURGEON BOTH ARGUED THAT THEIR ACTIONS TO RESTRICT U.S. CAPACITY ARE CONSISTENT WITH THE 1946 AGREEMENT'S "UNDUE HARM" PROVISIONS. WE STATED THAT THE USG CONSIDERS THIS APPROACH TO BE A VIOLATION OF THE ACCORD AND NOTED THE POSSIBILITY OF A "REACTION." THE FRENCH RESPONDED THAT ANY SUCH "REACTION" WOULD BE, IN THEIR EYES, "AN ESCALATION AND A UNILATERAL ACTION INCONSISTENT WITH THE AGREEMENT" WHICH COULD WELL LEAD THEM TO RENOUNCE THE AGREEMENT. "WE ARE PREPARED TO ENVISAGE ALL SCENARIOS," CONCLUDED GOURGEON.

10. WE RELAYED A QUESTION FROM WASHINGTON ABOUT WHETHER FRANCE WAS REALLY PREPARED AT THIS MOMENT FOR A MAJOR POLITICAL CONFRONTATION WITH THE U.S. THE FRENCH RESPONDED THAT THEY DID NOT WELCOME FURTHER CONFRONTATION BUT, IN THE DEFENSE OF THEIR NATIONAL INTERESTS, WERE PREPARED FOR ONE IF NEED BE. REFERRING TO THE QUILES-CARD TELCON, THEY SAID THAT

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

BOTH DUMAS AND QUILES WERE WELL AWARE OF THE ISSUE AND HAD APPROVED THE FRENCH POSITION. GOURGEON ASSERTED THAT ANY FRENCH MINISTER, MADE AWARE OF THE "FACTS" OF THIS CASE, WOULD REACH THE SAME CONCLUSION. (COMMENT: THEY DID NOT SEEM TO TEMPER THEIR CERTAINTY ABOUT THIS POINT DESPITE THE PROSPECT OF A NEW GOVERNMENT WITHIN HOURS. END COMMENT.) WE DEPARTED WITH AGREEMENT ON BOTH SIDES THAT THE SITUATION WAS EXTREMELY DANGEROUS AND THAT FLEXIBILITY ON BOTH SIDES APPEARED TO HAVE BEEN EXHAUSTED.

ATTALI: "THIS IS A WAR"

11. FORMER VICE-PRESIDENT MONDALE, WHO HAS JUST MET WITH AIR FRANCE PRESIDENT BERNARD ATTALI, TOLD ECONCOUNS THAT ATTALI HAD EXPRESSED FIRMNESS ON THE ISSUE AND SAID "THIS IS A WAR."
FRENCH TOURISM SECTOR POWERLESS TO HELP

12. ECONCOUNS AND CIVAIR OFFICER CALLED THURSDAY ON DIRECTOR GENERAL JANAILLAC OF MAISON DE LA FRANCE (FRENCH PRIVATE SECTOR EQUIVALENT OF USTTA) TO SEEK HELP IN AVOIDING GOF ACTION THAT WOULD BE INIMICAL TO FRENCH TOURISM INTERESTS. AFTER ECONCOUNS' DETAILED PRESENTATION, JANAILLAC EXPRESSED SYMPATHY WITH GOAL OF INCREASING U.S. TOURISM TO FRANCE BUT, ALMOST GRATUITOUSLY, SAID A 40 PERCENT INCREASE IN CAPACITY IS "NOT SERIOUS." HE WAS KEEN ON SERVICE TO NEW FRENCH AND U.S. GATEWAYS, COOL ON NEW CAPACITY TO TRADITIONAL GATEWAYS, AND SAW SERVICES TO FLORIDA AS DRAWING FRENCH PEOPLE TO THE U.S. BUT NOT THE REVERSE. HIS VIEW WAS THAT THE PRESIDENT OF AIR FRANCE HAS MORE CLOUT THAN EITHER THE ENTIRE TOURISM INDUSTRY (TOO SEGMENTED) OR THE MINISTER OF TOURISM.
PRESS CLIPS TO FOLLOW

13. SEPTTEL PROVIDES A NEWS SUMMARY OF TODAY'S PRESS ACCOUNTS OF THE FAILED MARCH 30 - 31 NEGOTIATION. IN

BT

#9392

BT

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~ SECTION 03 OF 03 PARIS 09392

STATE FOR EB/TRA/TARRANT AND EB/TRA/SN/CUNDIFF

ALSO FOR EB/TRA/AN/SPIEGEL

DOT FOR GRETCH, MCDERMOTT, AND STREET

E.O. 12356: DECL: OADR

TAGS: EAIR, PREL, FR

SUBJECT: CIVAIR: APRIL 2 UPDATE

RESPONSE TO UNBALANCED NATURE OF THESE ARTICLES,

EMINCOUNS CONDUCTED BACKGROUND PRESS BRIEFING FOR

LOCAL PRESS TODAY. CURLEY

BT

#9392

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

NATIONAL SECURITY COUNCIL

03-Apr-1992 08:15 EDT

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

MEMORANDUM FOR:

Florence E. Gantt
Wilma G. Hall
Dona F. Proctor
Kristen K. Cicio

(GANTT)
(HALL)
(PROCTOR)
(CICIO)

FROM: Timothy E. Deal
(DEAL)

DECLASSIFIED
PER NSC WAIVER, 1500 2021-02
By SS NARA, Date 3/7/24

SUBJECT: Aviation Dispute with France

Please pass to the General and the Admiral for the 9:00 a.m. meeting with Card and Eagleburger.

Here is the situation as of 8:30 a.m.:

-- As required by French authorities, U.S. carriers refiled their schedules for the summer season with no changes in most cases. That means that most, but not all, of our carriers have proposed additional seats/flights beyond what the French have authorized. According to Embassy Paris, the "flashpoint" remains Sunday's United flight from Dulles which involves the change from a B-767 to a B-747 (all seats reportedly sold).

-- The French have the General's message and are "working on" a response, which they have promised by the end of the day. Reportedly, Dumas will also reply to Baker. (We have not information on what may be in the responses). Amb. Curley is seeking an appointment with the new Transport Minister (Jean Louis Bianco).

Our DOT is likely to propose seat-for-seat retaliation. That is, the US would require Air France to refile its schedule for the summer season and give it ceilings reduced by the 500,000 seats the French took away from the US carriers. (This would hit Air France hard since it carries only one-third of the total traffic).

Both State and DOT have given up on the all cargo countermeasure as unworkable.

The issues for this meeting are:

1. Do we retaliate immediately (i.e. have a Presidentially approved order in hand requiring Air France to refile with substantially reduced ceilings) or do we wait to see what happens over the weekend?

2. Should any retaliatory measure be exactly tit-for-tat or do we take account of Air France's smaller passenger share?

3. Should we undertake any further high-level demarches (e.g. a call to Mitterrand)?

Concurrence by: Tony Wayne

Withdrawal/Redaction Sheet

(George Bush Library)

Document No. and Type	Subject/Title of Document	Date	Restriction	Class.
03d. Cable	Re: CIVAIR: Carriers Refile Schedules (2 pp.)	4/3/92	(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 1992 [4]

Date Closed:	9/27/2010	OA/ID Number:	85036-002
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.

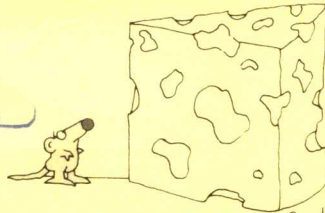
Freedom of Information Act - [5 U.S.C. 552(b)]

(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

MEMO FROM THE 'BIG CHEESE':

Per the General -
OK to schedule
but inform
Roman

Thurs. ~~3~~ 4/2
4:30



630032 © RPP, Inc. Reymen

Document Originally
Attached to
Following Page

Feb 11, 1992

Dear Brent,

I need a Scowcroft fix
about the world. It's been a
long time. Any chance for
a few minutes one of these
days just to talk about
U.S. power and how to
use it now?

Warm regards,

Henry

Fri 4/3
11:00 Am

NATIONAL SECURITY COUNCIL

01-Apr-1992 15:04 EDT

CONFIDENTIAL

MEMORANDUM FOR: SEE BELOW

FROM: Torkel Patterson
(PATTERSON)

SUBJECT: Japan Deputy ForMin Saito Rqst to see the General

Florence:

Japan's Deputy Foreign Minister Saito, who took Owada's place in charge of political affairs, wants to come to Washington tomorrow to see Larry Eagleberger, Kanter and General Scowcroft about Japanese contributions to aid to the former Soviet Union. This is in response to the President's recent letter seeking Japanese assistance and to the President's announcement today.

Saito would like to see the General at 5pm or after tomorrow or on Friday morning. The Japanese Embassy apologizes for the short notice.

Given that this is a Presidential initiative and that the Japanese response will be important, we recommend that the General see him.

V/r, Torkel.

Distribution:

FOR: Florence E. Gantt	(GANTT)
FOR: Wilma G. Hall	(HALL)
FOR: Dona F. Proctor	(PROCTOR)
FOR: Kristen K. Cicio	(CICIO)
CC: Douglas H. Paal	(PAAL)
CC: Edward A. Hewett	(HEWETT)
CC: R. Nicholas Burns	(BURNS)
CC: Nancy H. Maxfield	(MAXFIELD)
CC: Patty A. Daniel	(DANIEL)
CC: Cheryl C. Davis	(DAVIS)
CC: Wendy E. Gray	(GRAY)
CC: Brenda I. Hilliard	(HILLIARD)
CC: Cathy Millison	(MILLISON)
CC: Mary C. Emery	(EMERY)
CC: Cynthia M. Hindle	(HINDLE)

DECLASSIFIED
PER NSC WAIVER, August 6, 2010
By CAP NARA, Date 9/27/10

April 1
Wed
4:00 P.M.

March 23, 1992

General --

Bruce called me over a week ago to remind me that you had agreed to promote him "when the time comes." Well, it's here. Bruce says April 1, 1992 is the day. Shall I go ahead and schedule it?

Okay _____ Me and my big mouth ✓

Other _____

Jeff Jakubowski Lordling

Florence

OK

March 18, 1992

Florence:

Bruce Caughman called to tell you that he will be promoted on April 1, 1992 and so "that is a good day". He said that you were waiting for this information. His work phone number is 513/255-1424 and his home phone number is 513/429-5268.

Mary

10:30
Wed
4-1-92

March 19, 1992

Florence:

Kay from Ann Armstrong's (Former Ambassador to UK and Republican Big Wig) office called to schedule an appointment with the General for Wednesday, April 1. I told her that you would need to get back to her on Monday on whether or not it would be possible. Kay seemed to think that the subject of this meeting would be the GATT Committee to which Ms. Armstrong has been appointed.

Mary

POC: Kay 512/595-5551

I checked w/ Eric
Melby and he couldn't
find a GATT connection
for this woman.

me

MEMORANDUM
OF CALL

Previous editions usable

TO:

Bell

☐ YOU WERE CALLED BY—

☐ YOU WERE VISITED BY—

Fred Bush

OF (Organization)

☐ PLEASE PHONE ►

☐ FTS

☐ AUTOVON

011 345 423 7700

☐ WILL CALL AGAIN

☐ IS WAITING TO SEE YOU

☐ RETURNED YOUR CALL

☐ WISHES AN APPOINTMENT

MESSAGE

It is currently 7:30pm
his 6 hrs ahead of
DC. 1-2 Apr

RECEIVED BY

Wendy

DATE

3/19

TIME

1320

Wants to meet w/ BS
re attached -
wants to reclaim

OK to set up

UNITED STATES
PAVILION
Seville Expo '92

Just
4:00 PM
3/31/92

Office of the United States Commissioner General
Paseo de las Delicias, 7
41012 Seville, Spain

Local #

From U.S.A. *OH-*

Telephone: 34-5-423-7859

Fax: 34-5-423-7877

Within Spain

(95) 423 78 59

(95) 423 78 77

401-7162

TO: William Sittman

FAX NUMBER:

FROM: Fred Eush

DATE: March 13, 1992

TOTAL NO. OF PAGES:

SUBJECT:

* * * * *

MESSAGE

Dear Bill,

As I mentioned on the phone last week, I will be in Washington on April 1 and 2 and would like to meet briefly with Mr. Scowcroft to discuss the Presidential delegation to Seville in May for Expo 92. We are the only major country that has not as yet determined who will represent us at Expo. With only two months until our National Day, I am hopeful that a decision can be made not only so the Spanish can plan their part of this but so we also can do our part in a proper way. Thank you for your assistance and I look forward to hearing from you.

Bush Presidential Library Photocopy

*Flo. I spoke w/ Fred
We await your
call after 23
B L*

UNITED STATES
NAVY
NAVY

Office of the United States Ambassador General
Paseo de las Delicias
11011 Seville, Spain

FROM U.S.A. ON-
Telephone: 34-9-413-1875
Fax: 34-9-413-1877

Within Spain
(92) 413 18 52
(92) 413 18 77

FAX

FROM: U.S.A. ON-

TOTAL

MESSAGE

Dear Bill,

As I mentioned on the phone last week, I will be in Washington on April 1 and 2 and would like to meet briefly with Mr. Snowcroft to discuss the Presidential delegation to Seville in May for Expo 92. We are the only major country that has not as yet determined who will represent us at Expo. With only two months until our National Day, I am hopeful that a decision can be made not only so the Spanish can play their part of this but so we also can play a proper way.

no paper
needed

F-10
The answer is
yes
Fred

101-
7102

UNCLASSIFIED
NSC/S PROFILE

RECORD ID: 9200797
RECEIVED: 03 FEB 92 17

TO: DE OJEDA, JAIME

FROM: SCOWCROFT

DOC DATE: 09 MAR 92
SOURCE REF:

KEYWORDS: SPAIN

AP

PERSONS: CASINELLO, EMILIO

SUBJECT: REPLY TO SPANISH AMB OJEDA RE VISIT OF SEVILLE WORLD FAIR OFFICIAL

ACTION: SCOWCROFT SGD LTR / REGRET

DUE DATE: 06 FEB 92

STATUS: C

STAFF OFFICER: WAYNE

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

FOR CONCURRENCE

FOR INFO
GOMPERT
NSC CHRON
WAYNE

COMMENTS: _____

DISPATCHED BY _____ DATE _____ BY HAND W/ATTCH

OPENED BY: NSNGB

CLOSED BY: NSMEM

DOC 4 OF 4

UNCLASSIFIED

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

March 9, 1992

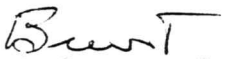
Dear Mr. Ambassador:

Sam Skinner informed me of your letter regarding the desire of Emilio Cassinello, Commissioner General of the Seville 92 Expo, to meet with the President.

I understand that Ambassador Cassinello has been helpful and supportive of U.S. participation in the Seville Expo, and that his visit to the United States will increase awareness of the Fair and support for U.S. participation. We fully support those objectives.

Unfortunately, his travel to the United States comes at a very busy time for the President. It will regrettably not be possible for him to receive Ambassador Cassinello. My best regards.

Sincerely,


Brent Scowcroft

His Excellency
Jaime de Ojeda
Ambassador of Spain
2700 15th St. NW
Washington, D.C. 20009

NATIONAL SECURITY COUNCIL
WASHINGTON, D.C. 20506

0797

February 24, 1992

ACTION

Natl Sec Advisor
has seen

MEMORANDUM FOR BRENT SCOWCROFT

THROUGH: DAVID C. GOMPERT 

FROM: TONY WAYNE 

SUBJECT: Reply to Spanish Ambassador Ojeda on Visit of
Seville World's Fair official

SIGNED

Spanish Ambassador Ojeda wrote Chief of Staff Skinner seeking a meeting with the President for the Commissioner General of the Seville World's Fair, Emilio Cassinello, in February or March.

You may remember that Henry Catto wrote you earlier seeking an appointment for Cassinello during January. At that time, you sent forward an appointment request which was declined, and you subsequently informed Mr. Catto by letter.

We have attached a reply from you to Ambassador Ojeda indicating that a meeting with the President will not be possible given the press on the President's schedule.

RECOMMENDATION

That you sign the attached letter to Ambassador Ojeda.

Attachments

Tab I Reply to Ambassador Ojeda
Tab II Incoming Letter from Ambassador Ojeda
Tab III Interim Reply from Chief of Staff Skinner



El Embajador de España

Washington, D.C., January 15, 1992

The Honorable
Samuel K. Skinner
Chief of Staff to the President
The White House
1600 Pennsylvania Avenue, N.W.
Washington, D.C. 20500

Dear Mr. Skinner

I am very glad to congratulate you for your important assignment at the White House. I am certain that the President couldn't have thought of a more adequate person, although I am sorry to lose a friend in Transportation. I suppose your projected trip to Spain will not be possible now, but remember that you will always be welcome over there if you find the time... or if you convince the President to honor Spain with a State visit.

I am also pleased to inform you that the Head of Seville's World Fair (Expo '92), Mr. Emilio Cassinello, is scheduled to visit the U.S. before the Fair is inaugurated, which as you know, will be in April of this year.

The purpose of his visit is both to increase U.S. public awareness of the Fair, and to help those responsible for the American Pavilion in their last effort to obtain sponsors so that the U.S. presence in Seville may be a total success.

It would be a great honor for Mr. Cassinello to be received briefly by President Bush. We are sure that this meeting would highly promote the objectives of his visit, and thus assure the success of the U.S. Pavilion in Seville.

Mr. Cassinello would be available to travel to Washington at the convenience of the President, although the dates that would be most suitable for him would be from the 5th to the 14th of February or from the 24th to the 31st of March.

I will await to hear from you regarding this matter.

Yours ever

Jaime de Ojeda

Jaime de Ojeda
Ambassador of Spain

January 23, 1992

Dear Mr. Ambassador:

Thank you for your very kind letter.

While I have a healthy respect for the challenges that lie ahead, I am eager to serve President Bush. Your vote of confidence means a great deal to me, and I appreciate your warm words of support.

I will be certain that the President's staff is aware of Mr. Emilio Cassinello's visit to Washington. Hopefully, a meeting with President Bush can be arranged within the dates you have indicated.

With warmest regards,

Sincerely,

Samuel K. Skinner
Chief of Staff

His Excellency
Jaime de Ojeda
Ambassador of Spain
2700 15th Street
Washington, D.C. 20009

SKS/MO/pt (Corres.#: 614058)

cc: Mike Ortega, OEOB, Rm. 54-A

cc: Kathy Super, Pres. Scheduling

✓ cc: NSC w/cc incoming

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

1524

NATIONAL SECURITY COUNCIL
WASHINGTON, D.C. 20506

DECLASSIFIED
PER NSC WAIVER, 1500 2021-02
By SS NARA, Date 3/7/24

March 16, 1992

*Brewster,
The General
said this
memo is ok.
I couldn't
find the orig
Jovan*

ACTION

MEMORANDUM FOR BRENT SCOWCROFT

THROUGH: DAVID GOMPERT *DS*

FROM: TONY WAYNE *aw*

SUBJECT: Presidential Delegation to the Seville World's Fair

May 17 is the national day for the United States at the Seville World's Fair. So far, 78 heads of state and government are committed to attend the Fair on their national day. This includes Presidents Mitterrand and Yeltsin, Chancellor Kohl, King Hussein and Royal heads of state from Norway, Sweden, Belgium, the Netherlands and Monaco. King Juan Carlos and Queen Sophia will reside in Seville during the Expo.

We believe the U.S. should send a similarly distinguished representative. As the President is not available, we and the State Department suggest Mrs. Bush or the Vice President. Fred Bush, the U.S. commissioner General for the Seville Fair, has independently written Mrs. Bush and the Vice President.

If the Vice President should attend, we recommend that he consider a stop in Lisbon. As you know, Portugal is currently the President of the European Community, and we are in the midst of important bilateral base negotiations. A visit could be useful for the base talks and would signal our recognition of the importance of the EC presidency.

We have discussed a possible visit with the Vice President's office. They are interested but yield to Mrs. Bush's priority.

RECOMMENDATION

That you sign the attached memo to Connie Horner.

Approve _____ Disapprove _____

Attachments

Tab I Memo to Connie Horner
Tab II Incoming from State

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

Declassify on: OADR

OBE
*Mrs Bush has
another commitment
- may ask to change
opening date*

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

DECLASSIFIED
PER NSC WAIVER, 1500 2021-02
By SS NARA, Date 3/7/24

MEMORANDUM FOR CONSTANCE B. HORNER

FROM: BRENT SCOWCROFT

SUBJECT: Presidential Delegation for the Seville World's Fair

The Seville World's Fair, called Expo '92, runs from April 20-October 12. Built around the theme of the Columbus Quincentenary, the Expo has attracted the participation of over 100 countries and 22 international organizations. Each country will have a national day at the Fair and is invited to send a high-level delegation for the festivities. May 17 is designated for the United States.

So far, 78 heads of state and government are committed to attending on their national days. This includes Presidents Mitterrand, Yeltsin and von Weizsaecker, Chancellor Kohl, King Hussein and royal representatives from Norway, Sweden, Belgium, the Netherlands and Monaco. King Juan Carlos and Queen Sophia will reside in Seville during the Fair.

We recommend that the U.S. send a similarly distinguished delegation. As the President is not available, we suggest that Mrs. Bush or the Vice President be designated as the President's representative. The Spanish government had invited the President and Mrs. Bush plus a three member delegation. If the President designates a representative, the Spanish will provide three rooms for two days in Seville. If the Vice President attends, we would suggest that he also stop in Madrid for talks with appropriate Spanish government officials and in Portugal, currently president of the EC, for talks on a range of issues which would include ongoing U.S.-Portugal negotiations on the future use of the U.S. base at Lajes.

Our presence is a singular opportunity to highlight American creativity and excellence at a major world event of commerce and culture. The highest possible U.S. representation will lend additional stature to the U.S. pavilion and demonstrate recognition of Spain's efforts to stage the Expo.

As for the two other members of the delegation, among the possibilities are: John Brademas, President of NYU (which is

establishing a new center of Spanish studies); Frank Donatelli of the Quincentennial Commission; Pepe Fanjul (a Cuban-American businessman, suggested by Ambassador Zappalla); a politician from a state with Hispanic-American roots; a representative from Kansas City, MO. which is Seville's sister city.

We also recommend that a Special Air Missions Aircraft be made available to transport the members of the Presidential delegation to and from the Expo.



Washington, D.C. 20520

February 27, 1992

1524

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~
DECL:OADR

MEMORANDUM FOR BRENT SCOWCROFT
THE WHITE HOUSE

Subject: Presidential Delegation for the World's Fair

The World's Fair (Expo '92) will take place in Seville, Spain from April 20-October 12, 1992. We recommend that the President appoint a personal representative to the United States National Day celebration on May 17. Given the high level participation from other countries, it would be appropriate to consider similarly distinguished personages from the United States, such as Mrs. Bush and/or the Vice President. This information has also been provided in a parallel memo to Mr. Jackson.

The Spanish Government has invited the President, Mrs. Bush and a three-member delegation to be its guests at our National Day, offering official accommodations and support services for three days to the group. If the President chooses instead to designate a representative, three rooms would be provided for two days. The Spanish Note Verbal is attached.

The Expo is a centerpiece of Spain's many activities in 1992 commemorating the Quincentenary anniversary of Columbus' voyage. The Spanish government is investing considerable resources and national prestige in its success. Over 100 countries and 22 international organizations will participate.

Organizers state that representatives to the respective national days are expected to include Presidents Mitterrand, Yeltsin and von Weizsaecker, Chancellor Kohl, EC President Delors, King Hussein, the Royal Couples from Norway, Sweden, Belgium and the Netherlands, and Prince Rainier and the entire Royal Family of Monaco. So far, 78 heads of state have committed to attend. Spanish King Juan Carlos and Queen Sofia are to reside in Seville throughout the Expo.

Our presence is a singular opportunity to highlight American creativity and excellence at a major world event of commerce and culture. U.S. involvement in Seville is particularly important as the European Community Single Market is to be launched at the end of this year. The highest possible U.S. representation on our National Day would lend additional stature and support to the U.S. pavilion. It also would demonstrate U.S. appreciation for and recognition of the great efforts made by the Government and people of Spain to stage the Expo.

DECLASSIFIED

PER DOS WAIVER, November 6, 2015

By SS NARA, Date 3/7/24

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

- 2 -

Because of scheduling concerns and the prominence of a Presidential delegation, we also recommend that a Special Air Missions Aircraft be made available on a non-reimbursable basis to transport the members of the Presidential delegation from Washington to the Expo and back.

A handwritten signature in black ink, appearing to read "W. Robert Pearson". The signature is fluid and cursive, with a long horizontal stroke at the end.

W. Robert Pearson
Executive Secretary

Attachment: Spanish Note Verbal

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

*Embajada de España*

UNOFFICIAL TRANSLATION

V E R B A L N O T E

Nº 125

The Embassy of Spain presents its compliments to the Department of State and has the pleasure to convey the invitation extended by the Government of Spain to a high-ranking United States official, who would be the guest of honor in the celebrations held during EXPO '92, on the occasion of the National Day.

In 1992, Seville's World Fair will gather the greatest number of official participants in the history of the Universal Expositions. Undoubtedly, this event holds great importance as a world forum, both for Spain as the host country, and for the more than 100 participating countries. The National Days will provide a great opportunity to strengthen cooperation and understanding in the international community.

For the reasons stated above, the Spanish Government would be pleased to have the United States represented at the highest level possible. This would highlight the celebration of that National Day and would multiply its importance among the media. The events and the shows that would take place on that day would also hopefully serve to promote cultural cooperation and a better understanding among all peoples.

The Government of Spain would be responsible for providing all the local transportation needs, hotel accommodations, security requisites and other services for the Head of the State and his spouse, as well as three additional hotel rooms for their accompanying delegation for a period of three nights in Seville.

In the event this visit is performed by a representative of the U.S. Government, the invitation would be extended under the same conditions as the ones explained above, except that we would provide three hotel rooms for two nights.

The Embassy of Spain would be grateful if the Department of State could reply to this invitation by December 1st, 1991.

The Embassy of Spain avails itself of this opportunity to renew to the Department of State the assurances of its highest consideration.

Washington, D.C., October 21, 1991



9100-3244

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON



General -

These are the
letters Dick Canes
wants you to present.

Shall I go
ahead & set
up a photo-op?

OK B

UNCLASSIFIED
NSC/S PROFILE

RECORD ID: 9201685
RECEIVED: 04 MAR 92 14

TO: CANAS
ET AL

FROM: PRESIDENT

DOC DATE: 12 MAR 92
SOURCE REF:

KEYWORDS: BRAZIL
PERU
COLOMBIA

BOLIVIA
VENEZUELA
MEXICO

PERSONS: GELBARD, B
MEYERS, B

CANAS
BECKER, D

SUBJECT: PRES LTRS TO OFFICIAL DELEGATION ON PRE SUMMIT MISSION TO SOUTH AMER

ACTION: PRES SGD LTRS

DUE DATE: 07 MAR 92

STATUS: C

STAFF OFFICER: MCNAMARA

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

FOR CONCURRENCE

FOR INFO
MCNAMARA
NSC CHRON

COMMENTS: *** LTRS DISPATCHED TO MCNAMARA FOR DELIVERY *** WEA 3/12/92

DISPATCHED BY WEA DATE 3/12 BY HAND W/ATTCH

OPENED BY: NSMEM

CLOSED BY: NSWEA

DOC 3 OF 3

UNCLASSIFIED

**National Security Council
The White House**

PROOFED BY: _____

LOG # 1685

URGENT NOT PROOFED: _____

SYSTEM PRG NSC INT

BYPASSED WW DESK: _____

DOCLOG _____ A/O _____

	SEQUENCE TO	HAS SEEN	DISPOSITION
<i>WFO</i> Ken Hill	<u>1</u>	_____	<u>A</u>
Bill Stittmann	_____	_____	_____
Jon Howe	_____	_____	_____
Brent Scowcroft	_____	_____	_____
Bill Stittmann	_____	_____	_____
Situation Room	_____	_____	_____
West Wing Desk	<u>2</u>	<u>AM 3/12</u>	<u>D</u>
NSC Secretariat	<u>3</u>	<u>USA 3/12</u>	<u>D</u>
_____	_____	_____	_____
_____	_____	_____	_____

☒ A = Action ☐ I = Information ☐ D = Dispatch ☐ R = Retain ☐ N = No further Action

cc: VP Skinner Other _____

Should be seen by: _____
(Date/Time)

COMMENTS

Date 3/12/92?

DISPATCH INSTRUCTIONS:

*P12 letters of
Commendation for Survivors*
National Security Council
The White House

PROOFED BY: WEM

LOG # 165

URGENT NOT PROOFED: _____

SYSTEM ARS NSC INT

BYPASSED WW DESK: _____

DOCLOG BAO

WEM

	SEQUENCE TO	HAS SEEN	DISPOSITION
Ken Hill	<u>1</u>	<u>K</u>	<u>A</u>
Bill Sittmann	<u>2</u>	<u>W</u>	
Jon Howe	<u>3</u>	<u>NA</u>	<u>D</u>
Brent Scowcroft			
Bill Sittmann			
Situation Room			
West Wing Desk	<u>4</u>	<u>WFA 3/11</u>	<u>D</u>
NSC Secretariat			

A = Action I = Information D = Dispatch R = Retain NI = No further Action

cc: VP Skinner Other _____

Should be seen by: _____
(Date/Time)

*WWD - When letters are signed
please contact Ted McNam
who will deliver them.*

DISPATCH INSTRUCTIONS:

Ex Sec's Office has desked to

Pres.
3/31
3:00pm
FILE

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

March 12, 1992

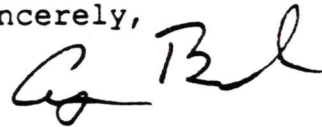
Dear Dick:

Now that the San Antonio Summit is over and before we all move on to other activities, I wanted to take this opportunity to thank you for your contribution to the Summit. In particular, Barbara and I were relieved to learn that you and the rest of your party survived the air crash in South America last January with only minor injuries. As a crash survivor myself, I know that it must have been a harrowing experience.

Your mission was vital to preparations for the anti-drug summit. Just traveling to six countries in a week's time is arduous enough under the best of circumstances. To have crash landed in a Brazilian swamp mid way through the trip, and then through your resourcefulness and resolve to have continued and finished the mission on schedule was highly commendable and well beyond the normal call of duty.

The success of the summit is attributable in no small part to your personal efforts both for the initial consultations in capitals and the preparation of the San Antonio Declaration in Quito. I want to personally thank you and commend your dedication. May God continue to bless and keep you well.

Sincerely,



Mr. Richard L. Canas
Director of International Programs
National Security Council
Old Executive Office Building
Room 302
Washington, D.C. 20506

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

March 12, 1992

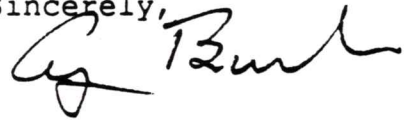
Dear Bob:

Now that the San Antonio Summit is over and before we all move on to other activities, I wanted to take this opportunity to thank you and your team for your contribution to the Summit. In particular, Barbara and I were relieved to learn that you and the rest of your party survived the air crash in South America last January with only minor injuries. As a crash survivor myself, I know that it must have been a harrowing experience.

Your mission was vital to preparations for the anti-drug summit. Just traveling to six countries in a week's time is arduous enough under the best of circumstances. To have crash landed in a Brazilian swamp mid way through the trip, and then through your resourcefulness and resolve to have continued and finished the mission on schedule was highly commendable and well beyond the normal call of duty.

The success of the Summit is attributable in no small part to your personal efforts as team leader both for the initial consultations in capitals and the preparation of the San Antonio Declaration in Quito. I want to personally thank you and commend your dedication. May God continue to bless and keep you well.

Sincerely,



Ambassador Robert S. Gelbard
Principal Deputy Assistant
Secretary for Inter-American Affairs
Department of State
Room 6258
Washington, D.C. 20520

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

March 12, 1992

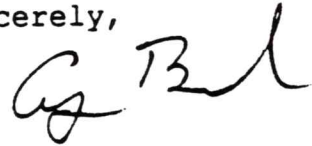
Dear David:

Now that the San Antonio Summit is over and before we all move on to other activities, I wanted to take this opportunity to thank you for your contribution to the Summit. In particular, Barbara and I were relieved to learn that you and the rest of your party survived the air crash in South America last January with only minor injuries. As a crash survivor myself, I know that it must have been a harrowing experience.

Your mission was vital to preparations for the anti-drug summit. Just traveling to six countries in a week's time is arduous enough under the best of circumstances. To have crash landed in a Brazilian swamp mid way through the trip, and then through your resourcefulness and resolve to have continued and finished the mission on schedule was highly commendable and well beyond the normal call of duty.

The success of the Summit is attributable in no small part to your personal efforts both for the initial consultations in capitals and the preparation of the San Antonio Declaration in Quito. I want to personally thank you and commend your dedication. May God continue to bless and keep you well.

Sincerely,



Mr. David C. Becker
Regional Narcotics Coordinator
Office of Andean Affairs
Bureau of Inter-American Affairs
Department of State
Room 5906
Washington, D.C. 20520

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

March 12, 1992

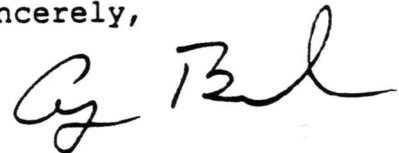
Dear Ralph:

Now that the San Antonio Summit is over and before we all move on to other activities, I wanted to take this opportunity to thank you for your contribution to the Summit. In particular, Barbara and I were relieved to learn that you and the rest of your party survived the air crash in South America last January with only minor injuries. As a crash survivor myself, I know that it must have been a harrowing experience.

Your mission was vital to preparations for the anti-drug summit. Just traveling to six countries in a week's time is arduous enough under the best of circumstances. To have crash landed in a Brazilian swamp mid way through the trip, and then through your resourcefulness and resolve to have continued and finished the mission on schedule was highly commendable and well beyond the normal call of duty.

The success of the summit is attributable in no small part to your personal efforts both for the initial consultations in capitals and the preparation of the San Antonio Declaration in Quito. I want to personally thank you and commend your dedication. May God continue to bless and keep you well.

Sincerely,



Mr. Ralph F. Ives, III
Director for Andean Countries Affairs
U.S. Trade Representative
600 17th Street, N.W.
Room 523
Washington, D.C. 20506

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

March 12, 1992

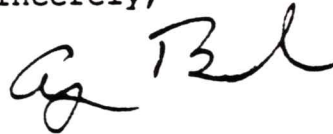
Dear Bob:

Now that the San Antonio Summit is over and before we all move on to other activities, I wanted to take this opportunity to thank you for your contribution to the Summit. In particular, Barbara and I were relieved to learn that you and the rest of your party survived the air crash in South America last January with only minor injuries. As a crash survivor myself, I know that it must have been a harrowing experience.

Your mission was vital to preparations for the anti-drug summit. Just traveling to six countries in a week's time is arduous enough under the best of circumstances. To have crash landed in a Brazilian swamp mid way through the trip, and then through your resourcefulness and resolve to have continued and finished the mission on schedule was highly commendable and well beyond the normal call of duty.

The success of the summit is attributable in no small part to your personal efforts both for the initial consultations in capitals and the preparation of the San Antonio Declaration in Quito. I want to personally thank you and commend your dedication. May God continue to bless and keep you well.

Sincerely,



Mr. Robert P. Meyers, Jr.
Director of the Office of
Program Management
Bureau of International Narcotics Matters
Department of State
Room 7811
Washington, D.C. 20520

THE PRESIDENT HAS SEEN
3/12/92 1685

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

March 11, 1992

12 MAR 11 P9:38

ACTION

MEMORANDUM FOR THE PRESIDENT

FROM: BRENT SCOWCROFT *BS*
SUBJECT: Commendation Letters for Official Party
Involved in Air Crash

Purpose

To recognize the dedication of a U.S. official delegation involved in an air crash during their pre-summit mission to South America in preparation for the San Antonio Summit.

Background

Between January 6-16, 1992, Bob Gelbard, former U.S. Ambassador to Bolivia, led an official U.S. delegation to five Andean countries and Mexico in preparation for the San Antonio Summit. The other delegates included: Dick Canas, NSC Director; Bob Meyers and David Becker of State, and Ralph Ives of USTR.

The group traveled to Peru, Venezuela and Colombia, meeting with high level officials in preparation for the drug summit. At 11:00 AM on January 10 the group left Colombia enroute to La Paz, Bolivia on a U.S. Army C-12 aircraft. While over the Andes, the aircraft encountered navigation difficulties. Running low on fuel and with engine and radio problems the pilots finally looked for a place to set down. At about midnight, they were fortunate enough to locate the lights of a small town hundreds of miles off course in the middle of northern Brazil's Pantanal swamp. With fuel expired, the aircraft tried to land on a small, dimly lit flat but crashed instead into the adjacent jungle.

The occupants suffered only minor injuries including a broken arm to one of the pilots. The forward part of the aircraft was totally destroyed. The cause of the crash is still under investigation and may possibly involve pilot error.

After spending the night seeing to the injured and notifying the appropriate U.S. and foreign agencies, the delegation was picked up by U.S. officials from La Paz and flown to La Paz where they continued their tight schedule of meetings with host country officials. Given the option to return home, each group member declined without hesitation knowing the time constraints of the scheduled summit. Improvising their travel with a combination of military and commercial flights, the delegation continued its

cc: Vice President
Chief of Staff

journey to Ecuador and Mexico, completing the mission on schedule. Despite the crash, they managed to cover the seven countries in 10 days.

Since they were on a Presidential mission, I feel that a letter from you recognizing their dedication is warranted.

RECOMMENDATION

That you sign commendation letters to the members of the U.S. delegation at Tab A.

Attachment

Tab A Letters of Commendation

NATIONAL SECURITY COUNCIL

WASHINGTON, D.C. 20506

1685

March 10, 1992

ACTION

MEMORANDUM FOR BRENT SCOWCROFT

FROM: TED MCNAMARA *DM*
SUBJECT: Presidential Letters of Commendation for
Survivors of Air Crash

As you know, Bob Gelbard led an interagency team, consisting of Dick Canas from my office and three officials from State and USTR, on a pre-summit trip to the five Andean countries and Mexico. The plan was to cover all the countries in ten days. On the fourth leg between Bogota and La Paz, the U.S. Army aircraft developed navigational problems, became lost, ran out of fuel and crash landed in Corumba, Brazil. Miraculously, no one was seriously hurt. The cause is still under investigation and may possibly involve pilot error.

Faced with a harrowing experience, the group acted professionally and competently under very adverse conditions. They had the option of discontinuing the mission and returning home but, knowing the time constraints of the upcoming summit, declined. Nursing minor injuries, they continued and completed their mission on schedule. Their attitude, dedication, and professional behavior is commendable.

Since they were on a mission for the President, I feel that it is fitting that the President sign letters of commendation to them.

RECOMMENDATION

That you sign the memorandum at Tab I to the President.

Attachments

Tab I Memo for the President
Tab A Letters of Commendation

Mon
3/30
3:00 pm

NATIONAL SECURITY COUNCIL

24-Mar-1992 11:15 EDT

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

MEMORANDUM FOR:

Mary C. Emery	(EMERY)
Wilma G. Hall	(HALL)
Florence E. Gantt	(GANTT)

FROM: Bruce O. Riedel
(RIEDEL)

SUBJECT: Ambassador to pakistan

Nick Platt, our ambassador to Pakistan is in Washington and would like to see General Scowcroft Monday, March 30 in the afternoon. Would you please see if Brent is interested?

DECLASSIFIED
White House Guidelines
E.O. 13526, SEC 3.4 (b), September 11, 2006
By CAP NARA, Date 9/27/10

UNCLASSIFIED
NSC/S PROFILE

RECORD ID: 9200544
RECEIVED: 24 JAN 92 18

SUBSISTENCE

TO: SCOWCROFT

FROM: OXLEY, MICHAEL G

DOC DATE: 23 JAN 92
SOURCE REF:

KEYWORDS: DEFENSE BUDGET
NCO

DEFENSE POLICY

PERSONS:

SUBJECT: FUNDING FOR LIMA ARMY TANK PLANT / SITE OF ARMY MI ABRAMS MAIN
BATTLE TANK

ACTION: PREPARE MEMO FOR SCOWCROFT

DUE DATE: 28 JAN 92

STATUS: S

STAFF OFFICER: PILLING

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
PILLING

FOR CONCURRENCE
GORDON
JONES
LAMPLEY

FOR INFO

COMMENTS: _____

DISPATCHED BY _____ DATE _____ BY HAND W/ATTCH

OPENED BY: NSWEA

CLOSED BY:

DOC 1 OF 1

UNCLASSIFIED



June 3/10
2:00 P.M.

0544

CONGRESS OF THE UNITED STATES
HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
WASHINGTON, D. C. 20515

MICHAEL G. OXLEY
OHIO

January 23, 1992

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

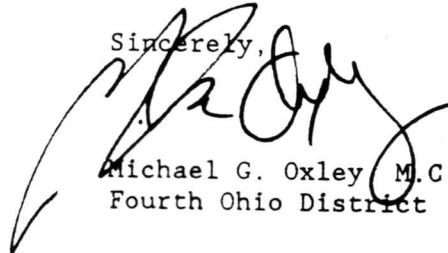
Dear General Scowcroft:

The Lima Army Tank Plant, which is located in my congressional district, is the primary site for the manufacture and assembly of the Army's M1 Abrams Main Battle Tank. I am writing to request a meeting with you, at your earliest convenience, to discuss the future of the tank plant. If possible, I would like to include George Psihas, manager of General Dynamics Land Systems Division, in our discussion.

In recent weeks, published reports have described a Department of Defense decision to rescind congressionally mandated funding for programs to purchase new M1A2 tanks and upgrade M1s to the M1A2 configuration. This is the specific topic I wish to address.

Thank you for your consideration. I will be pleased to come to your office, if that is most convenient. I look forward to hearing from you.

Sincerely,



Michael G. Oxley, M.C.
Fourth Ohio District

MGO/bf

Withdrawal/Redaction Sheet

(George Bush Library)

Document No. and Type	Subject/Title of Document	Date	Restriction	Class.
05. Report	Re: MIA2 Conversion Program (3 pp.)	n.d.	(b)(1)	

Collection:

Record Group: Bush Presidential Records

Office: Scowcroft, Brent, Collection

Series: Administrative Files

Subseries:

WHORM Cat.:

File Location: Appointments Completed, January to December 1992 [4]

Date Closed: 9/27/2010 **OA/ID Number:** 85036-002

FOIA/SYS Case #: 2009-0275-S[2]

Re-review Case #:

P-2/P-5 Review Case #:

AR Case #:

AR Disposition:

AR Disposition Date:

Appeal Case #:

Appeal Disposition:

Disposition Date:

MR Case #:

MR Disposition:

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

NATIONAL SECURITY COUNCIL

11-Mar-1992 11:33 EDT

UNCLASSIFIED

MEMORANDUM FOR: SEE BELOW

FROM: Cynthia M. Hindle
(HINDLE)

SUBJECT: B-C-S Breakfast Items

State has called in the following agenda items for Friday,
March 13 breakfast:

1. Aftermath of Tariq Aziz visit to the UN
POC: Joe Marty
Phone: 647-1616
NSC POC: Bruce Reidel/Richard Haass
NSC Concurrence: Nancy Dyke
2. DoD Support for Cambodia Peacekeeping Operations
POC: Will Imbrie
Phone: 647-2641
NSC POC: Tim Carney/Doug Paal

Please forward your one page, non-log paper to the Exec Sec's
office by 3:00 p.m. tomorrow afternoon.

Thanks

Distribution:

FOR: Bruce O. Riedel	(RIEDEL)
FOR: Richard N. Haass	(HAASS)
FOR: Timothy M. Carney	(CARNEY)
FOR: Douglas H. Paal	(PAAL)
FOR: Nancy B. Dyke	(DYKE)
CC: Kathy Leahy	(LEAHY)
CC: Donna P. Mmoh	(MMOH)
CC: Patty A. Daniel	(DANIEL)
CC: Cheryl C. Davis	(DAVISC)
CC: Tracey R. Collins	(COLLINS)
CC: Florence E. Gantt	(GANTT)
CC: Wilma G. Hall	(HALL)
CC: Dona F. Proctor	(PROCTOR)
CC: Kristen K. Cicio	(CICIO)
CC: Wendy E. Gray	(GRAY)
CC: Brenda I. Hilliard	(HILLIARD)
CC: Cathy Millison	(MILLISON)
CC: Mary C. Emery	(EMERY)

NATIONAL SECURITY COUNCIL

26-Mar-1992 18:10 EDT

UNCLASSIFIED

MEMORANDUM FOR:

Florence E. Gantt
Wilma G. Hall
Dona F. Proctor
Kristen K. Cicio

(GANTT)
(HALL)
(PROCTOR)
(CICIO)

FROM: Roseanne M. Hill
(HILLR)

SUBJECT: participants

Confirming participants for Lacaya meeting for tomorrow:
Minister Antonio Lacayo and Ambassador Ernesto Palazzo

CC: John F. McShane

(MCSHANE)

NATIONAL SECURITY COUNCIL

26-Mar-1992 15:13 EDT

UNCLASSIFIED

MEMORANDUM FOR:

Florence E. Gantt	(GANTT)
Wilma G. Hall	(HALL)
Dona F. Proctor	(PROCTOR)
Kristen K. Cicio	(CICIO)

FROM: Roseanne M. Hill
(HILLR)

SUBJECT: Lacayo Meeting

Lacayo Meeting change to 4:30 has been given to the Nicaraguans. The Nicaraguans attending are as follows:

Minister Antonio Lacayo
Ambassador Ernesto Palazzo
Jorge Salaverry
Sonia Roa, Counselor of Cultural and Press Affairs

CC: John F. McShane

(MCSHANE)

NATIONAL SECURITY COUNCIL

26-Mar-1992 15:52 EDT

UNCLASSIFIED

MEMORANDUM FOR:

Florence E. Gantt	(GANTT)
Wilma G. Hall	(HALL)
Dona F. Proctor	(PROCTOR)
Kristen K. Cicio	(CICIO)

FROM: Roseanne M. Hill
(HILLR)

SUBJECT: Participants for the Lacayo meeting

Bill has asked me to contact Mr. Salaverry to tell him that General Scowcroft would like a small meeting and to invite only Lacayo and Ambassador Palazzo. I'm working on that at present.

CC: John F. McShane

(MCSHANE)

FLO - we recommend that the General see

Lacayo - I'm pretty sure he will want to. or at least
won't want to turn him down. *Bill*

NATIONAL SECURITY COUNCIL

12-Mar-1992 09:14 EDT

CONFIDENTIAL

*OK to
Schedule*

MEMORANDUM FOR:

William T. Pryce

(PRYCE)

FROM:

John F. McShane
(MCSHANE)

SUBJECT:

Lacayo meeting with Scowcroft

As I mentioned yesterday, Nicaraguan First Secretary called yesterday to request a meeting with General Scowcroft for Antonio Lacayo, Nicaraguan President Chamorro's Minister of the Presidency and son-in-law. Lacayo will be in town the week of March 23 and will be having many meetings around town, including a probable meeting with Secretary Baker. His schedule is clear on the following days:

Monday 23 March	Available all day.
Tuesday 24th	10:00-2:00 pm and after 3:30 pm
Wednesday 25th	All morning, and after 4:00 pm
Thursday	Not available
Friday	Before 11:00 am and all afternoon

I'll respond to the Nicaraguan Embassy as soon as we know if and when General Scowcroft will meet with Lacayo.

CC: Robert B. Morley

(MORLEY)

DECLASSIFIED

White House Guidelines

E.O. 13526, SEC 3.4 (b), September 11, 2006

By CAP NARA, Date 9/24/10

NATIONAL SECURITY COUNCIL

24-Mar-1992 18:29 EDT

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

MEMORANDUM FOR:

Florence E. Gantt	(GANTT)
Mary C. Emery	(EMERY)
Dona F. Proctor	(PROCTOR)

FROM: James R. Keith
(KEITH)

SUBJECT: Memo for Solarz Meeting with the General

Florence:

The last talking point in the subject memo for the General's Wednesday, 6:00 p.m. meeting should be If Raised Only. We did not mean to suggest that the General should raise this point, but wanted him armed with something to say in case Mr. Solarz asks him about it. Mea culpa. Thanks, Jim.

DECLASSIFIED
PER NSC WAIVER, August 6, 2010
By CAP NARA, Date 9/27/10



14000 GEORGIA AVENUE
SILVER SPRING, MARYLAND 20906-2972
(301) 231-1000

February 9, 1992

JOHN R. GANTT
Vice President
Sales and Marketing

General Scowcroft —

A couple of weeks ago, I attended a presentation by Lester Thurow, Dean of the Sloan School of Management at MIT. His "New Economic Game" discussion was very thought provoking — especially in an era of dynamic change and unpredictable future.

Dean Thurow is serving as an economic advisor to Governor Clinton and other Democratic candidates. Some of these views are being expressed by those candidates this week.

I thought you would find the presentation interesting and perhaps might pass it to President Bush.

Most sincerely,

A handwritten signature in black ink that appears to read "Bob". The signature is stylized with a large, looped 'B' and a horizontal line extending to the right.

22 JAN 92

"A New Economic Game"

Dean Lester C. Thurow
Global Economist

Sloan School of Management
Massachusetts Institute of Technology

A NEW ECONOMIC GAME

Two centuries have passed since the industrial revolution began. Based on a quick start in the 19th century Great Britain was the dominant economic power with the world's highest per capita GNP. America caught up with Great Britain at the turn of the century. In the aftermath of World War II, it generated what was by far the world's highest per capita GNP (more than twice that of any country except Canada); it was the world's dominate economic power. Economically the 20th century belonged to the United States.

In the last half of the 20th century the key economic conflict was between communism and capitalism. It now seems slightly foolish, but in the second half of the 1950s it looked like communism might win. In that decade the Soviet Union was growing faster than the United States and the first satellite launched into space was the Soviet's sputnik. An American satellite couldn't be gotten off the ground. China had just gone communist and most of the Third World saw the USSR as the only model for making it into the advanced industrial world. When Krushchev pounded his shoe on his United Nation's desk and announced that he would bury the west economically and technologically (and by implication militarily), there were real worries that he might succeed.

The economic and military competition between communism and capitalism is over -- capitalism won. What had looked like it might become an economic superpower in the 1950s had by the

1990s become an economic basket case. Even in military terms the USSR looks less formidable in the early 1990s than it looked a decade earlier. Ultimately modern military establishments are no stronger than the economic under-pinnings that support them.

But this is not to say that the competition between different social systems is over. Another three way competition is, in fact, already underway. The Anglo-saxon American-British form of capitalism faces a German form of capitalism in Europe and a Japanese form of capitalism in Asia. In this new competition all sides claim to be capitalistic, but each organizes their capitalism very differently.

America and Britain trumpet individualistic values -- the brilliant entrepreneur, Nobel prize winners, large wage differentials, individual responsibility for skills, easy firings and quits, profit maximization, hostile mergers and takeovers -- the Lone Ranger. In contrast Germany and Japan trumpet communitarian values -- business groups, social responsibility for skills, team work, firm loyalty, industry strategies, active government policies to promote growth -- das Volk, Japan Inc.

The Germans talk about the 'social market' where governments play an important role in insuring that everyone has the skills necessary to participate in the market. Their European partners, the French, by law require firms to invest 1 percent of sales in worker training. German co-determination requires a broadening of the stakeholders beyond that of the traditional capitalistic owners to include workers. Governments directly own shares in many companies (Lufthansa, Volkswagen, etc.). Governments help organize

efforts, such as Airbus Industries, to insure that their firms get into important high tech high capital intensive activities such as civilian aircraft production. Discussions are now underway as to how European economic 'strategies' should be developed and implemented to supplement national strategies.¹ Success and failure is not left to the market's spontaneous combustion.

The Japanese believe in strategic planning at the level of the business group and the nation as well as at the level of the firm. The Anglo-saxon goals of profit maximization are replaced by those of market share maximization or value added maximization -- a game that might better be known as strategic conquest (see Chapter ...) While Anglo-saxons believe in 'consumer economics', the Japanese believe in 'producer economics'.

By the calendar the 21st century has not yet quite begun, but an economic historian of the future will date the end of the 20th century slightly early. Economically a new game and a new century will begin at the stroke of midnight on December 31, 1992. At that moment the United States will for the first time in more than a century become the second largest economy in the world. The aggregate GNP of the European Common Market with its 337 million people will be larger than that of the United states.

The historian of the future will record that the new century begins with three relatively equal contenders for the honor of having the 21st century named for them -- Japan, Europe centered around its richest country Germany, and the United States. Measured in terms of external purchasing power (how much can be bought if one's income is spent abroad) the per capita GNPs of Japan and Germany

are slightly larger than that of the United States. The exact amount depends upon the precise values of the dollar, mark and yen when the measurements are taken. Measured in terms of internal purchasing power (how much can be bought if one's income is spent at home) America's per capita GNP is higher than that of Germany or Japan.² The precise amount depends upon whether the measurements include social services and leisure or only private goods and services.^{3,4} Put the two measures of per capita GNP together, however, and the three contenders can be viewed as roughly equal rivals.

Before examining the strengths and weaknesses of the three contesting teams, however, it is important to understand how the economic game of the 21st century will differ from that of the 20th century. In many respects it will be a different game played with new rules.

TRADITIONAL SOURCES OF WEALTH

Traditionally there have been four avenues whereby individuals, firms, and countries could be rich. They could gain an income advantage over their competitors if they possessed more natural resources, were born rich and enjoy the advantages of having more capital, employed superior technologies, or were more skilled. Technological and institutional changes, however, have substantially altered the nature of these four sources of competitive advantage.

NATURAL RESOURCES

With the exception of a few countries that possess massive amounts of oil, natural resources have essentially ceased to be a source of competitive advantage. Only three percent of the

American population now make their living in farming, timbering, fishing, and mining.⁵

In the next century their numbers will be even smaller. Even today many of that three percent are part-time farmers who earn most of their family income off the farm.

Technology is leading to a world where fewer and fewer natural resources are being used per unit of GNP. America uses less steel in 1990 than it did in 1960 while the GNP is 2 1/2 times as large.⁶ And the material science revolution that is now underway is going to further dramatically reduce the use of almost all scarce natural resources per unit of GNP.

Not having natural resources may in fact be an advantage. The Japanese have the world's best steel industry without either local iron ore or coal. And this is an advantage since they are not locked into poor quality, high cost, local sources of supply. They can buy wherever quality and price are best. There is no need to buy low quality British coal or Messabi iron ore.

For all practical purposes natural resources have dropped out of the competitive equation. Having them is not the way to become rich. Not having them is not a barrier to becoming rich.

CAPITAL

In the 21st century being born rich becomes less of a competitive advantage than it was in the 20th century. With a world capital market poor countries such as Thailand can borrow the money to build facilities just as capital intensive as those built in rich countries such as Japan. Korea's consumer electronics

factories don't look much different than those of Japan despite the fact that Japan's per capita GNP is six times that of Korea.

A world capital market has come about partly because of institutional changes (deregulation of financial markets) and partly because of technological developments. In the 1950s an Italian who wanted to move money into Switzerland had to fill his backpack with lira and walk across the Alps. Today he can move his money on a personal computer. When money can be moved on a PC there is no such thing as stopping money from flowing around the world. Countries have, and are abolishing, the last of the post-World War II capital controls (Italy did so in early 1990; France and Japan still have some controls left) but the impact of these regulations would be minimal even if they are not abolished. Technology will make them irrelevant.

In principle once adjustments are made for expected swings in foreign exchange rates, inflation rates, and local risks world capital market should insure equal real interest rates and equal capital availabilities wherever one is geographically located. Capital should drop out of the competitive equation just as raw materials have dropped out of the competitive equation. Everyone would have equal access to and pay equal amounts for capital. Those with higher incomes could be expected to save more, but investments would flow to wherever it was most profitable regardless of local savings rates.

There is, however, a mystery. In the 1980s, the predicted equalization of capital costs did not occur despite the supposed existence of a world capital market. Local savings and local

investments remain highly correlated -- high local savings leads to high local investments.⁷ In 1988 and 1989 real interest rates (the prime lending rate minus the producers price index) were 5.6 percent in the United States and 4.0 percent in Japan.⁸ Based on price-earnings multiples on their respective stock exchanges the cost of equity capital ranged from less than 1 percent in Japan to over 9 percent in the United States. When taxes and depreciation are factored in the corporate cost of capital for a 20 year investment in plant and equipment in the United States was 60 percent above that in either Germany or Japan.⁹

The existence of these persistent differentials poses both an intellectual and a practical problem. Intellectually their continued existence is difficult to explain. One can argue that the world doesn't yet really have a world capital market. But if this is so, the questions to which there are really no good answers are 'Why not?' and 'What will it take to bring a real world capital market about?'. What exists certainly looks like a world capital market -- as much as a \$1,000 billion per day may flow through it. The actual existence of a world capital market is in fact that major explanation given as to why exchange rates have not reflected trade flows in the 1980s. Three trillion dollars in annual exports get drowned in a sea of daily trillion dollar capital flows.

If you believe that local real interest rates will continue to be a function of local savings, however, there are two practical conclusions. Anyone who is in a capital intensive business and doesn't have a huge technological advantage on the Japanese should get out! It is not possible to compete paying a much higher cost of

capital unless a firm has some unique advantage. Alternatively firms that wish to compete with the Japanese in capital intensive industries have to be willing to work to insure that their home countries save a comparable amount.

At the individual plant level, however, capital clearly drops out of the competitive equation. There will be competitors in poor countries who can match the capital intensity of those in rich countries.

TECHNOLOGY

In the 21st century comparative advantage will become much less a function of natural resource endowments and factor proportions (capital-labor ratios) and much more a function of technology and skills. Comparative advantage will be man-made; mother nature and history will play a much smaller role.

In an era of man-made comparative advantage, technological competition both changes and becomes more important. Importance rises because technical investments lead to man-made comparative advantage. But the focus also changes since sustainable advantages seem to come much more out of new process technologies than new product technologies.

If R&D spending by private firms is examined, American firms spend 70 percent of their money on new products and 30 percent on new processes. The Japanese do exactly the opposite -- 30 percent on new products and 70 percent on new processes. The Germans come right down the middle with the 50-50 split. All three proportions cannot be right.¹⁰

The source of these different spending patterns is found in history, but it is a history that is now irrelevant. In the early 1960s in America it was both the conventional wisdom and true that the rate of return on investment in new product R&D was always higher than that on new process R&D. A new product gave one a monopoly power to set higher prices and earn higher profits. In contrast a new process still left one in a competitive business making a competitive product. One's competitors would always lower their prices as long as they were covering marginal costs in their old facilities.

To make monopoly rents on process technologies, it was necessary to drive one's competitors out of business completely. To do this the new process technologies had to have average costs below the marginal costs of the old process technologies. Since marginal costs are typically far below average costs, an enormous (very unlikely) process breakthrough was necessary if one were to establish a monopoly position with better process technologies. Driving one's competitor out of business was also likely to get one into trouble with the anti-trust laws. As a result new process technologies were unlikely to lead to the higher profits possible with new product technologies.

In the 1950s and 1960s, however, the United States had such a technical lead that it was virtually impossible for either Japan or Germany to even imagine being leaders in the development of new products. They could only hope to compete in existing markets. As a result they invested less of their GNP in R&D and what they did invest, they invested more heavily in process R&D.

But what was an accurate American assessment 30 years ago is today an inaccurate assessment. Levels of technical sophistication in Germany, Japan and the United States are not very different and everyone is very good at reverse engineering. The nature of the change can be seen in the economic history of three of the leading new products introduced into the mass consumer markets in the past decade -- the video camera and recorder, the fax, and the CD player. Americans invented both the video camera and recorder and the fax; Europeans invented the CD player. Measured in terms of sales, employment, and profits, all three have become Japanese products. In today's world it does very little good to invent a new product if one is not the cheapest producer of that product. What necessity forced Germany and Japan to do 30 years ago happens to be the right long run strategy today.

The United States needs to alter its R&D spending patterns, but it also requires a much more difficult shift in human resource allocation. Over time the pay and promotion curve for engineers in production-process problems have fallen behind those in design and new product development. Noticing this America's brightest and best scientific and managerial talent have not gone into process development. Historically 34 percent of America's CEOs have come from marketing, 25 percent from finance, 24 percent from general management, and only 4 percent from production.¹¹ Reversing this allocation of talent is very difficult since what has come to be seen as a second class activity has to be made into a first class activity. Traditional salary scales and promotion practices have to be disrupted.

If process technologies lie at the heart of the competitive process, it is necessary to have CEOs who understand process technologies. Their central competitive weapon cannot remain a black box where they rely on the advice of the experts. Large investments in revolutionary technologies will only be quickly made if the man or woman at the top understands them. If you look at the backgrounds of American CEOs, they are much less likely to have technical backgrounds than those in either Japan or Europe. Seventy percent there do; 30 percent here do.¹² This difference in educational background is not unrelated to the fact that in industry after industry American firms have been slow to adopt revolutionary new technologies.

To a great extent today's problems of the American steel industry, for example, flow from their failure twenty years ago to make the massive investments in oxygen furnaces and continuous casting that their foreign competitors were making. Americans built their first furnaces and casters six to seven years after the first ones were built elsewhere in the world and the American steel industry has been playing an unsuccessful game of catch up ever since. Not understanding the technology revolution that was underway, not wanting to bet their companies on the say so of the experts, America's CEOs waited to see what would happen. But by the time it was clear that oxygen furnaces and continuous casters would work, America's foreign competitors had spent three years building their new facilities, three years operating their new facilities, and American steel companies were 6 years behind.

Within MIT we faced much the same problem. Neither our engineering or management students were going into the process area. One did not make MIT wages in production. To reverse this we have started our Leaders for Manufacturing Program with the help of 11 companies who allow us to use their production facilities as laboratories to write theses and conduct process research. Each of them is trying to upgrade the prestige of production as a route to the top -- a place where one gets equal, or maybe better than equal, treatment, than those in the finance or marketing areas that have been the most likely routes to the top. The recent promotion of someone who had been chief engineer to the top of General Motors after a long sequence of CEOs that had come from finance is perhaps a sign of the times.

The management of technology is usually seen as something of relevance to manufacturing but not the rest of the economy. But here again what was historically true has become untrue. With the new information technologies, most sectors of the economy will find the management of technology a key competitive weapon.

Financial firms are becoming manufacturing firms that process money and pieces of paper. They have computerized their accounting and installed robots (ATM machines) to deal with their customers. Those whose computer telecommunications systems allow them to move information around the world faster than that of their competitors win. Every day expert systems trade over half of the shares of stock traded on the New York Stock Exchange. Computer systems are not management information systems; they are financial production lines.

American firms such as The Limited are converting retailing into a high tech competition. They were the first to use high definition TV to speed up the buying process between Boston and Hong Kong. If their information, telecommunication, CAD-CAM manufacturing systems allow them to know what women want to buy and put precisely those clothes on the rack within 28 days while their competitors take 6 months, they win and their slower competitors lose.

In air transportation today's key competitive weapon is the computer reservation system. In the aftermath of airline deregulation, the effective use of such systems allowed America's major airlines to run their new competitors out of business despite the fact that these new airlines had lower operating costs per passenger seat mile.

In the 21st century both high tech and low tech products will be produced, distributed, and marketed with high tech processes. Gaining an edge in those processes is important in almost every industry and has become central to being rich as an individual, successful as a firm, or generating a high per capita GNP as a country.

Accelerating technological competition can be seen in national spending on R&D. In the past 15 years Japan and Germany have pushed their spending to American levels -- about 3 percent of GNP. In raw numbers the United States is the world's fifth largest spender on R&D as a fraction of the GNP. If military spending is left out of the analysis, however, the United States drops to 10th. Civilian R&D accounts for 1.9 percent of the GNP in the United

States, 2.5 percent in Germany and 2.8 percent in Japan.¹³ Japan has also announced plans for further spending increases in the 1990s and the Europeans are rapidly developing pan-European, partially government financed, R&D consortiums -- Eureka, Jessi, Esprit. If government spending is ignored completely, private American firms rank 20th among countries in the fraction of their sales devoted to R&D.

American R&D spending patterns are currently in flux. The end of the cold war and cutbacks in military spending will undoubtedly lead to cutbacks in military R&D. Private R&D spending also seems to be down because of the higher debt burdens incurred in the takeover wars although it is difficult to be sure because of the strong cyclical element in American R&D spending.

Traditionally outside of the health area the U.S. government has not directly financed civilian R&D. Other technologies were justified as defense related and supported in the defense department. But to compete in the 21st century's technological race, the United States will have to develop institutions for infusing public money into civilian R&D spending. Because it is impossible for any private firm to capture all of the benefits of such pre-competitive spending, private spending will always be too small.

At the world level there is also a 'free rider' problem. If it is rational for each firm and country to focus its R&D on process technologies, who will invest the necessary funds to develop the new products of the future? The answer may be an agreement for everyone to move toward a German 50-50 split in R&D spending

between process and product technologies rather than having everyone move toward the current Japanese 30-70 split.

In any case in the 21st century man-made comparative advantage will be the starting point for economic competition. Technological competition is going to intensify.

SKILLS

While man-made comparative advantage begins with technology, the skills of the labor force are going to be the key competitive weapon in the 21st century. Brain power will create new technologies and skilled labor will be the arms and legs that allows one to employ -- be the low cost masters -- of the new technologies that are generated by that brain power. In a world economy only higher skills justify higher wages.

To be an effective competitor firms will have to be able to use new computer based technologies such as CAD-CAM, employ techniques such as statistical quality control and just-in-time inventories, and operate flexible manufacturing systems. Information technologies will have to be used to integrate the entire production process from initial designs integrated with marketing through final sales and supporting services such as maintenance. To do this will require the office, the factory, the retail store, and the repair service to have average workers with levels of education and skill that they have never had to have in the past. Statistical quality control, for example, requires that every production worker be taught the technology. To learn what must be learned, every worker must have a level of basic mathematics that is far beyond

that achieved by most American high school graduates. Without statistical quality control today's semiconductor chips cannot be built. Other technologies such as just-in-time inventories make the same demands for a more highly skilled work force.

Put bluntly, those with the best work forces will win the competitive game of the 21st century. The quality of the work force is the key strategic competitive national weapon.

Those without such high quality work forces will have to face what economists know as 'factor price equalization'. The unskilled who live in a developed society will make little more than the unskilled who live in an underdeveloped society. If they won't work for such wages, unskilled jobs will simply be moved to those under developed countries.

This necessity can be seen in the wages of American workers over the last two decades. Between 1973 and 1989 America's real per capita GNP rose 29 percent yet the real hourly wages for non-supervisory workers (about two-thirds of the total work force) fell 11 percent.¹⁴ Living in a country with a rising per capita GNP and much higher average incomes did those without skills no good.

Competition based upon work force skills creates a problem for Anglo-Saxon firms since human resource management is not seen as central to the competitive survival of the firm in this tradition. In America or Great Britain, skill acquisition is an individual responsibility and firms exist to beat wages down. Adversarial labor-management relations are part of the system. Labor is simply another factor of production to be hired--at the lowest possible

cost--much as one buys raw materials or equipment. Workers are not members of the team.

In Japan or continental Europe there is a different approach. In Japan the head of human resource management is usually the second most important person after the CEO. In an American firm the CFO, the chief financial officer, is almost always second in the pecking order. The head of human resource management is usually much lower in the American firm's peaking order and is often a dead-end specialized job where the individual will not even be involved in making the firm's key strategic decisions.

American firms invest less in the skills of their workers than either Japanese or German firms. What they do invest is highly focused on professional employees. Investments in average worker are also much more narrowly focused on the specific skills necessary to do the next job rather than the basic background skills that make it possible to absorb completely new technologies.¹⁵ This creates problems when breakthroughs occur. American workers, for example, take much longer to learn to operate new flexible manufacturing stations than those in Germany. This results in higher American costs to run identical pieces of equipment and a slower pace of technical change. More time is required before equipment is up and running at capacity and the need for extensive retraining needs create bottlenecks that limit the speed with which equipment can be employed.

In contrast in Germany there is an extensive training system for the non-college bound. Most of them enter a dual school-industry apprenticeship system at age 15 to 16. At the end of three years

after passing written and practical examinations they become journeymen with known skill levels. After another three years of work and additional courses in business management, law, and technology, a journeyman can become a master -- a credential necessary to open one's own business¹⁶.

HEAD TO HEAD COMPETITION

Looking back the historian of the future will see the 20th century as a century of niche competition and the 21st century as a century of head to head competition. In the aftermath of World War II the United States had a per capita GNP twice that of Germany, eight times that of Japan. When the Germans and Japanese exported products that were high wage products from their perspective those same products were seen as low wage products from the American perspective. As a result imports from Germany or Japan were not seen as threatening to the good jobs that America needed to provide a high standard of living for its citizens. Conversely America's exports were also not really competitive with local industries. The United States exported agricultural products that the rest of the world could not grow, raw materials that the rest of the world did not have, and high tech products such as civilian jet airliners that the rest of the world could not build. As a result our exports to them did not threaten their high wage jobs either.

The 1990s, however, start from a very different place. With roughly equal per capita GNPs, each country now wants exactly the same industries to insure that its citizens have the highest standards of living in the 21st century. This can be seen by going to

Japan, Germany, and the United States and asking each to name those industries that they think are necessary to give their citizens a world class standard of living in the first half of the 21st century. Their lists will be remarkably similar -- micro-electronics, biotechnology, the new materials sciences, telecommunications, civilian aviation, robotics, and computers plus software. Each of these seven industries is an example of man-made comparative advantage. Geographically each of these industries could be anywhere. Where they actually will be depends upon who organizes best to insure that their country captures them.

What was an era of niche competition has become an era of head to head competition. What used to be a win-win situation becomes a win-lose situation.

This shift from niche to head to head competition can be seen in the language of economic discourse. In the book "The Japan That Can Say NO", Mr. Ishihara states that the superpower military warfare of the 20th century will be replaced by economic warfare in the 21st century and that Japan will be the winner of those economic wars.¹⁷ As of 1990, 32 percent of all Japanese firms believe they are technologically more advanced than their American rivals, 63 percent claim parity, and only 5 percent admit inferiority.¹⁸

On German television in February 1990, Chancellor Helmut Kohl of West Germany issued his counter-declaration of economic war -- "The 1990s will be the decade of the Europeans and not that of the Japanese"¹⁹. Implicitly Chancellor Kohl sees a world where the

major battles will be between an enlarged Europe and the Japanese with the Americans not having a chance to win.

The point has been put most bluntly put by an Italian Foreign Minister, Mr. Michelis. "The model to which the Eastern Europeans aspire is not that of Japan or the United States, but that of Western Europe." "All this points to Europe recovering its role as the core of the world economy. The next ten years will make evident Japan's big short comings."²⁰

In the chemical industry the three biggest firms are all found in Germany. Each is at least one-third bigger than Dupont -- America's largest chemical company. In the fifteen largest firms in the world, one finds 10 European firms.²¹

In 1970, 64 of the world's 100 largest industrial corporations were found in the United States, 26 were found in Europe, and only 8 in Japan. By 1988 only 42 of the 100 largest were located in the United States, 33 were located in Europe, and 15 were located in Japan. Outside of manufacturing the same trends exist. In 1970, 19 of the world's 50 largest banks were North American, 16 were European, and 11 were Japanese. By 1988, only 5 were North American, 17 were European and 24 were Japanese.²²

On one level a prediction that economic warfare will replace military warfare is good news -- no one dies in economic battles. Vigorous competition may spur economic growth. There is nothing wrong with an aggressive invasion of well-made, superbly marketed, German or Japanese products. Being bought is not the same thing as being militarily occupied.

At the same time the military metaphor is fundamentally incorrect. The economic game that will be played in the 21st century has a cooperative as well as a competitive element. A cooperative macro-economic locomotive will have to be built for the world and global environmentalism creates a common problem that can only be solved in common. (For a further discussion of the cooperative elements in the game, see Chapter)

The military metaphors should be replaced with the language of sports. Despite the desire to win, all sports have a cooperative element as well as a competitive element. One has to agree in the rules of the game, the referees, the trophies to the winners. And one can remain friends both during and after the game.

The economic game of the 21st century will not be economic warfare. It will be some combination of world cup football and world-class chess. Football, what Americans know as soccer, is a fluid aggressive game where the desire to win is intense. Good athletes have to be combined with real teamwork. World-class chess requires strategic thinking. The player who is planning his game five moves ahead, loses to the player that is thinking six moves ahead.

Americans have never been world cup soccer champions and only once in all of history has an American been the world chess champion. Basically Americans are going to have to learn to play a new game. The rest of the world is not going to learn American football. In American football there are timeouts, huddles, and unlimited substitutions. In the economic game about to be played Americans will have to learn to live with no timeouts, no huddles

and very limited substitutions. Chess depends upon long range planning and strategic moves--the player that thinks the farthest ahead wins. Neither is a traditional American forte. In the economic game about to be played, Americans will have to acquire a lot of new skills.

EVALUATING THE TEAMS

The three contending teams have very different strengths and weaknesses but they start with roughly equivalent economic strength coming into the 21st century's world cup economic competition. Having been rich longer, the United States has more real assets that could be employed in the competition but it squandered much of this advantage by allowing itself to run a high consumption-low investment society and by incurring huge international debts (about \$1,000 at the end of 1990). No one has prepared less for the competition that lies ahead.

Japan's per capita GNP is larger than that of Europe, but Europe has some regions that are even wealthier per capita and it is much larger in terms of total population and GNP. Europe also has the potential to put together what would be by far the world's largest integrated market (850 million people) if everyone in Europe could be brought into the House of Europe. But it is a market divided by intense historic rivalries and very different tastes.

Japan's market is the smallest of the three but it has the advantage of a long unified history. Cohesion and homogeneity give it an ability to focus its economic might that few can rival.

JAPAN

While the three contenders have equal league records (roughly equal per capita GNPs) coming into the economic world cup, if one looks at the last 20 games (the last 20 years) Japan would have to be the favorite to win. Consider what has happened in just 20 years.

In terms of external purchasing power, Japan has gone from having a per capita GNP just 50 percent that of the United States to having a per capita GNP 15 percent above that of the United States. Where none of the 10 largest banks in the world in 1970 were Japanese, 13 out of the 15 largest banks in the world in 1990 are Japanese²³. Where it had 2 percent of the American auto market then, it now has 32 percent now²⁴; where it had 10 percent of consumer electronics then it now has 80 percent now²⁵. Over 20 years Japan has gone from having a trade deficit and being a net debtor nation to being the world's largest net creditor with a trade surplus that in the last half of the 1980s that was the world's largest.

In the 1980s its real growth rate was more than 50 percent greater than that of the United States and more than 100 percent greater than that of Europe²⁶.

Most importantly if one looks at either investment in plant and equipment or research and development, Japan is now spending more than any of its competitors. Plant and equipment investment per employee is three times as high as that in the United States and twice that of Europe; civilian R&D spending as a fraction of GNP is 50 percent above that of the United States, slightly above that of Germany, but far above that of Europe as a whole. Total fixed

investment, including housing, is twice that of the United States²⁷. Aggregate savings rates are 2 1/2 times as high as those in the U.S.

When it comes to investing in the future, no one is investing more.

Japan's strength (its powerful internal culture) is also its weakness. Japanese firms have demonstrated a first class ability to manage foreign workers (often they get more work (productivity) out of foreign workers than local managers can), but to the extent that the economic game of the 21st century requires firms to integrate managers and professionals from different cultures and nationalities into a homogeneous team, Japan has a problem. Japanese history, traditions, culture and language make it very difficult to integrate foreigner managers and professionals as equals. If winning requires absolutely first rate foreign managers, Japanese firms have a problem. To hire the very best foreign managers, they must have a chance to get to the top, but this opportunity may be impossible to provide given a 'closed' culture.

EUROPE

Europe holds a position in the competition that is very much like that of a book on chess end-games where the reader is told that black can win in five moves regardless of what white does. But the five moves are very hard to identify and make.

If Europe can truly integrate the EEC (337 million people with East Germany) and move to absorb a substantial portion of the rest of Europe (850 million people) it can put together something that no one else can match. Europe's 850 million people are the only 850 million people on the face of the globe that are well educated and

not poor. The economies of middle and eastern Europe are estimated to have per capita GNPs in the same range as the little tigers of the Pacific Rim -- \$3,500 to \$10,000 per year (see chapter).

Europe is the only region where one of the countries, Germany, is a world leader in production and world trade (the world's largest trade surplus in 1990; on a per capita basis twice that of Japan) and one of the countries, the Soviet Union, is a leader in high technology (more space shots by far than the United States). If the natural resources of the Soviet Union were matched with the technology of Western Europe, Europe is the only region that could be self-sufficient (food, energy, etc.). An integrated Europe would not need much from the rest of the world.

Neither Japan or the United States has the same potential. America's natural geographic trading partner, Latin America, is both poor and poorly educated. Its per capita GNP has been declining and its debt problems make rapid growth unlikely in the early parts of the 21st century. China is Japan's large natural trading partner but it has a per capita GNP of \$200, massive infrastructure problems, a poorly educated population, and is moving away from, not toward, the market. The little tigers (Hong Kong, Korea, Taiwan, and Singapore) are small, even in the aggregate, and economically much more closely integrated with the United States than they are with Japan. For all of these countries, the history of Japanese aggression in World War II seems more immediate than the history of German aggression in Europe. Being tied into a Japanese economic sphere of influence is not viewed in the same positive light as being tied into a German dominated European Economic Community.

While Japan has economic momentum on its side, Europe holds the winning position on the chess board. This does not mean that it will win, but it does mean that it can win if it can make the right moves no matter how well either the United States or the Japanese play the game.

The 'right' moves involve two major problems. The command economies of middle and eastern Europe have to become successful market economies. The economies of Western Europe has to really integrate and that integration has to be extended quickly to middle and eastern Europe. Neither is an easy task. Both will require European citizens willing to make sacrifices today to create an economic juggernaut tomorrow. Western Europe will have to be willing to give large amounts of economic aid to Eastern Europe and ancient border and ethnic rivalries in both eastern and western Europe will have to be put aside.

If one were evaluating the American team using the world cup football--world class chess metaphor, an analyst would point at two American football players who were not world class and at a key chess move that Americans may have forgotten how to make.

The American player called 'investment' is simply not world class. Plant and equipment investment per member of the labor force is half that of Germany, one-third that of Japan²⁸. Civilian R&D spending is 40 to 50 percent less than that of Germany and Japan. Physical infrastructure investments in real terms are half those being made in the late 1960s. Europe embarks on an ambitious high speed rail network to link its major cities while unspent funds pile up in highway and airport trust funds in the United States. A

telecommunications system that used to be in a class by itself no longer is. Modern telecommunications advances such as electronic funds transfers or debt cards are increasingly introduced first abroad.

If America wants to have a world-class consumption standard of living in the 21st century, it will have to shift from being a high consumption-low investment society in the 1980s to being a high investment society in the 1990s. From being present orientated, it will have to become future orientated.

Technically the shift is not difficult. There are many ways to raise public and private savings and to cut public and private consumption. As suggested by Senator Moynihan, the federal government could take the very large Social Security surplus out of its budget calculations and balance what remains. With the end of the cold war in Europe most of what needs to be done might be done in defense without any reduction in domestic services. Together with the existing state and local surplus, such a strategy would double national savings.

Private individuals could be bribed or forced to save more. Consumer credit might be restricted, a value added tax (a tax on consumption but not saving) might be introduced, or tax free savings accounts where one had to prove that the savings came out of consumption might be introduced.

While it is true to say that the investment problem is technically easy to solve, that observation is equivalent to saying that it is technically easy to lose weight -- one simply doesn't eat. The difficult problem is locking the refrigerator door in such a way

that the person with the key won't unlock the door. Sending one's self to the fat farm is not in fact easy.

The second under-strength player on the American team, the skills and education of its work force, has some skills but lacks others. The college educated part of the American work force is world-class. College is where the American work force catches up with the rest of the world. Americans simply work harder and spend more to insure quality at this level than anyone else. If there is a fault with American higher education, it is a fault that flows back to problems in K-12 education. Relative to the rest of the world, too few engineers and scientists are produced. But the solution to this fault lies not in the colleges and universities but in much better high school science education. By age 18 most Americans have already shut the door on a scientific career.

That part of the American work force that does not go to college, however, is not world class and that part of the American work force that does not graduate from high school (29 percent) is positively 3rd world when it comes to educational skills. Here again improving American education is not technically difficult. A tough national examination that everyone had to pass to graduate from high school (something that every other industrial country has) would begin the process almost immediately. The problem is to summon the will to impose quality standards on a highly decentralized system where strong local incentives to produce a low quality product exist.

In chess the queen is the most powerful piece on the board. Economically it is the queen that Americans may have forgotten how

to move. In economic terminology the queen might be called 'catch up; get back in'. How does one catch up in a key industry where one is behind; how does one get back into an industry that one is no longer in? Americans may have forgotten how to catch up or get back in since they haven't had to do either for a century.

Both problems now exist. There are industries such as machine tools where Americans need to catch up. If the auto industry has to buy its machine tools from Germany, it will never have better tools than Mercedes, BMW, or Volkswagen. Local firms will sell their best when it is in short supply to local firms. Similarly if the semi-conductor industry has to buy its manufacturing equipment from Japan, it will never have better equipment than Hitachi or Toshiba.

There are also key industries such as consumer electronics where there are essentially no American producers. Without the employment that such industries offer, it is unlikely that 250 million Americans can have a world-class standard of living. Not having one of the large buyers of robots and machine tools also makes it unlikely that a world-class machine tool industry can survive.

The rest of the world has become very good at moving the 'catch up; get back in' chess piece. For a century they have had to cope with American dominance. Moving the catch up; get back in queen is what they have been doing for a very long time.

The Europeans, for example, developed a strategy for getting into aircraft manufacturing -- ultimately it was called Airbus Industries. Today it is a success with 20 percent of the aircraft

market. But that success came at a high price. An earlier effort, the Concorde, was a technical success and an economic failure. Airbus Industries itself required \$15 billion dollars, 15 years, and forcing captive national airlines to buy Airbuses to become a success. Similar efforts (Jesse, Eureka, Espirit, Vision 1250) are now underway to catch up with America and Japan in electronics²⁹.

The Japanese strategy in semi-conductor chips was also expensive and lengthy. The government financed 'very large integrated circuit chip' research project was just part of a much larger effort. In the end a combination of patience, large investments, and American mistakes (a reluctance to expand capacity during cyclical downturns) succeeded in breaking the American market dominance.

While it is interesting to examine exactly how the Europeans or the Japanese execute their long range strategic chess moves (planning), what they do cannot be copied in the United States. We will have to find an American way to play 'catch up; get back in'.

What the rest of the world does set, however, is the goal. We don't have to do it as they do it, but if they have learned how to make strategic moves, Americans must figure out an appropriate counter-strategy.

STRATEGIES

In the Anglo-Saxon world, individuals have personal strategies for maximizing their incomes and firms have company strategies for maximizing their profits. In Germany and Japan strategies exist at two additional levels -- the business group and the nation.

The Japanese business groups (Mitsui, etc.) are well-known to Americans; the German groups much less well-known. But if one looks at the largest 100 industrial corporations in Germany, the large universal banks own 10 to 25 percent of the shares in 23, 25 to 50 percent of the shares in 74, and over 50 percent of the shares in 3³⁰

In March 1990 the two biggest business groups in the world (the Mitsubishi group from Japan and the Daimler Benz-Deutsche Bank group from Germany) held a secret meeting in Singapore to talk about a global alliance³¹. Both are interested in expanding their market share in civilian aircraft production among other things.

MITI recently announced a national strategy for Japan to capture 10 percent of civilian aircraft manufacturing by the year 2000. In this industry a greater German-Japanese share can only mean a smaller American share -- probably at the expense of McDonnell-Douglas.

From an American perspective everything about that Singapore meeting was criminally illegal. It violated both anti-trust and banking laws. Yet in today's world we cannot force the rest of the world to play the economic game as Americans think it should be played. We have to play it as they play it.

Americans can respond to these alternative strategies in three ways. (1) True believers can argue that we Americans have got it right and that the Germans and the Japanese have got it wrong. In the end their business groups and their national strategies will hurt them more than they help. (2) The agnostics can argue for changing our laws to permit American firms to get together if they wish. Let

a thousand flowers bloom and see what happens. (3) The skeptics can argue for an aggressive American effort to create business groups and to counter foreign national strategies. Fight fire with fire!

CONCLUSIONS

What the world knows as football is not what Americans know as football. Similarly what the world knows as capitalism is not what Americans know as capitalism. In 1994 for the first time in history America will host the World Cup of Football. The Economic World Cup begins a year earlier in 1993. In both cases the games played by the rest of the world are not the traditional games Americans learned to play in their youth.

Americans must decide whether they wish to play; whether they wish to learn new games. If not, they will simply lose.

NATIONAL SECURITY COUNCIL

12-Mar-1992 10:16 EDT

UNCLASSIFIED

MEMORANDUM FOR:

Florence E. Gantt

(GANTT)

FROM:

M. Kay LaPlante
(LAPLANTE)

SUBJECT:

Mtg on Mar 26 re Libya ICJ

FYI: Nick suggested that Ted McNamara also attend the meeting. I have informed him of the date and time.

Thanks.

*Please
put on
calendar*

OK to
Schedule

NATIONAL SECURITY COUNCIL

06-Mar-1992 15:33 EDT

UNCLASSIFIED

MEMORANDUM FOR: SEE BELOW

FROM: Earl A. Wayne
(WAYNE)

SUBJECT: Visit of Portuguese PM's Diplomatic Advisor

Antonio Martens Da Cruz, diplomatic advisor to Portuguese Prime Minister Cavaco Silva, has asked to come here March 26 for preparatory discussions about the April 21 US-EC meeting. (He will be visiting Canada too, as Cavaco Silva and Delors will travel there after leaving Washington.) Martens Da Cruz would like to pay a fifteen minute call on the General as he did when he visited last fall. We would meet with him for a longer period to discuss the possible US-EC agenda for April. Could you please see if a meeting would be possible and inform me of a time slot? Thanks very much.

Distribution:

FOR: Florence E. Gantt	(GANTT)
FOR: Wilma G. Hall	(HALL)
FOR: Dona F. Proctor	(PROCTOR)
FOR: Kristen K. Cicio	(CICIO)
CC: David C. Gompert	(GOMPERT)
CC: Katherine M. Mathis	(MATHIS)
CC: Betty A. Marshall	(MARSHALL)

UNCLASSIFIED
NSC/S PROFILE

RECORD ID: 9200429
RECEIVED: 21 JAN 92 11

TO: HAMILTON, LEE H

FROM: SCOWCROFT

DOC DATE: 19 FEB 92
SOURCE REF:

KEYWORDS: ANSA

NCO

PERSONS: COULTER, NORA

SUBJECT: THANKS FOR LTR & AGREES TO INFORMAL MTGS

ACTION: SCOWCROFT SGD LTR / ACCEPT DUE DATE: 24 JAN 92 STATUS: C

STAFF OFFICER: ROSTOW

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

FOR CONCURRENCE

FOR INFO

GANTT

NSC CHRON

PROCTOR

RADEMAKER

COMMENTS: _____

DISPATCHED BY _____ DATE _____ BY HAND W/ATTCH

OPENED BY: NSMEM

CLOSED BY: NSNGB

DOC 3 OF 3

UNCLASSIFIED

UNCLASSIFIED
NSC/S PROFILE

RECORD ID: 9200429
RECEIVED: 21 JAN 92 11

TO: SCOWCROFT

FROM: HAMILTON, LEE H

DOC DATE: 15 JAN 92
SOURCE REF:

KEYWORDS: ANSA

NCO

PERSONS: COULTER, NORA

SUBJECT: REP HAMILTON REQUESTS POSSIBILITY OF MTG W/ SCOWCROFT ON OCCASIONAL
/ INFORMAL & PRIVATE BASIS TO DISCUSS US FORN POLICY AGENDA

ACTION: PREPARE MEMO FOR SCOWCROFT

DUE DATE: 24 JAN 92

STATUS: S

STAFF OFFICER: ROSTOW

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

~~ROSTOW~~

FOR CONCURRENCE

LAMPLEY

FOR INFO

GANTT

HOWE

PROCTOR

SCOWCROFT

COMMENTS: _____

DISPATCHED BY _____ DATE _____ BY HAND W/ATTCH

OPENED BY: NSMEM

CLOSED BY:

DOC 1 OF 1

UNCLASSIFIED

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

February 19, 1992

Thurs 3/22
2:00 P.M.
Rayburn
Bldg -
Room 2187
(Nero -
225-5315

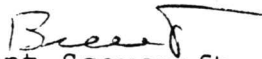
~~Lee~~
Dear Chairman Hamilton:

Thank you for your letter of January 15, 1992, proposing that we meet informally to discuss foreign policy issues.

I would, of course, be delighted to meet with you at your convenience, and am sure that our dialogue will be of mutual benefit. I invite you to contact Florence Gantt at 456-2255 to arrange a suitable time.

I have enjoyed working with you in the past and look forward to continued close cooperation.

Sincerely,


Brent Scowcroft

The Honorable Lee Hamilton
Chairman
Subcommittee on Europe
and the Middle East
Committee on Foreign Affairs
House of Representatives
Washington, D.C. 20515

NATIONAL SECURITY COUNCIL
WASHINGTON, D.C. 20506

February 12, 1992

SIGNED

ACTION

MEMORANDUM FOR BRENT SCOWCROFT

THROUGH: NICHOLAS ROSTOW *NR*
FROM: STEPHEN G. RADEMAKER *SR*
SUBJECT: Informal Meetings with Representative Lee Hamilton
to Discuss U.S. Foreign Policy Issues

Congressman Lee Hamilton has written you to suggest that you and he meet periodically over the coming year to discuss foreign policy issues "on an occasional, informal, off-the-record, and private basis" (Tab II). Your response (Tab I) accepts his proposal without committing you to more than one meeting.

Concurrences by: Virginia Hambley *VR*

RECOMMENDATION

That you sign the letter to Congressman Hamilton at Tab I.

Attachments

Tab I Letter to Congressman Hamilton
Tab II Incoming Correspondence

DANTE B. FASCELL, FLORIDA
CHAIRMAN

LEE H. HAMILTON, INDIANA
GUS YATRON, PENNSYLVANIA
STEPHEN J. SOLARZ, NEW YORK
HOWARD WOLPE, MICHIGAN
SAM GEJDENSON, CONNECTICUT
MERVYN M. DYMALLY, CALIFORNIA
TOM LANTOS, CALIFORNIA
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HOWARD L. BERMAN, CALIFORNIA
MEL LEVINE, CALIFORNIA
EDWARD F. FEIGHAN, OHIO
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JAIME B. FUSTER, PUERTO RICO
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ENI F.H. FALEOMAVAEGA, AMERICAN SAMOA
GERRY E. STUDDS, MASSACHUSETTS
AUSTIN J. MURPHY, PENNSYLVANIA
PETER H. KOSTMAYER, PENNSYLVANIA
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DOUG BEREUTER, NEBRASKA
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DAN BURTON, INDIANA
JAN MEYERS, KANSAS
JOHN MILLER, WASHINGTON
BEN BLAZ, GUAM
ELTON GALLEGLEY, CALIFORNIA
AMO HOUGHTON, NEW YORK
PORTER J. GOSS, FLORIDA
ILEANA ROS-LEHTINEN, FLORIDA

JOHN R. SINCLAIR
MINORITY CHIEF OF STAFF

One Hundred Second Congress
Congress of the United States
Committee on Foreign Affairs
House of Representatives
Washington, DC 20515

January 15, 1992

Brent Scowcroft
Assistant to the President for
National Security Affairs
National Security Council
Old Executive Building
Washington, D.C. 20506

Dear Mr. Scowcroft:

I would like to have an opportunity to meet with you to discuss the U.S. foreign policy agenda on an occasional, informal, off-the-record, and private basis. The purpose of such meetings would be to obtain a better understanding of policies and initiatives which we will both be addressing in the months ahead.

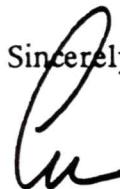
Since you are an important participant in the policy process, I know I would benefit from periodic policy discussions with you on the key issues that are in your area of responsibility. I would hope that such discussions could also be useful to you.

The format of such meetings, and the participation of staff, both from your office and my own, would be up to you. You certainly would not be quoted. I would be glad to invite other members of my subcommittee to join us if you would prefer that, but I would also welcome an opportunity to meet with you one-on-one in my office. I know you are busy, and I would think meetings of this kind could be scheduled on days when you are coming to Capitol Hill for another meeting or a hearing.

I appreciate your consideration of this request and look forward to the chance to talk with you. Nora Coulter, my personal secretary, can be reached at 225-5315 to schedule a meeting. Please contact me if you would like to discuss this matter further.

With best wishes for 1992,

Sincerely,



Lee H. Hamilton
Chairman
Subcommittee on Europe
and the Middle East

NATIONAL SECURITY COUNCIL

24-Mar-1992 18:29 EDT

CONFIDENTIAL

MEMORANDUM FOR:

Florence E. Gantt
Mary C. Emery
Dona F. Proctor

(GANTT)
(EMERY)
(PROCTOR)

FROM: James R. Keith
(KEITH)

SUBJECT: Memo for Solarz Meeting with the General

Florence:

The last talking point in the subject memo for the General's Wednesday, 6:00 p.m. meeting should be If Raised Only. We did not mean to suggest that the General should raise this point, but wanted him armed with something to say in case Mr. Solarz asks him about it. Mea culpa. Thanks, Jim.

DECLASSIFIED
PER NSC WAIVER, August 6, 2010
By CAP NARA, Date 9/27/10

UNCLASSIFIED
NSC/S PROFILE

RECORD ID: 9202007
RECEIVED: 16 MAR 92 16

TO: SCOWCROFT

FROM: GIEMER, WILLIAM

DOC DATE: 12 MAR 92
SOURCE REF:

KEYWORDS: RUSSIA
INTELLIGENCE

ANSA

PERSONS: PONOMAREV, LEV

YAKUNIN, GLEB

SUBJECT: APPT REQUEST SCOWCROFT W/ MEMBERS OF RUSSIAN SPECIAL PARLIAMENTARY
COMMIS PONOMAREV & YANKUNIN

ACTION: PREPARE MEMO FOR SCOWCROFT DUE DATE: 16 MAR 92 STATUS: S

STAFF OFFICER: BURNS

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

BURNS

FOR CONCURRENCE

HEWETT
PAVITT
WORKING

FOR INFO

EMERY
GANTT
GOMPERT
PROCTOR

COMMENTS: ***DUE TODAY ASAP***

DISPATCHED BY _____ DATE _____ BY HAND W/ATTCH

OPENED BY: NSJDA

CLOSED BY:

DOC 1 OF 1

UNCLASSIFIED

General.

3-16

Ed Hewitt checked
on these two people and
recommends you
see them.

OK to Schedule ✓

Document Originally
Attached to
Following Page

Wed 3/25
5:00 pm 2007

THE JAMESTOWN FOUNDATION

D. Abbott

March 12, 1992

The Honorable Brent Scowcroft
National Security Advisor
The White House
Washington, DC 20500

William W. Geimer
President
Barbara D. Abbott
Executive Vice President
Lawrence A. Uzzell
Vice President
Myron J. Mintz
General Counsel

Dear Brent:

I'm writing in the hope that you'll agree to meet with two members of the Russian Parliament who are coming to Washington soon.

BOARD OF DIRECTORS

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Hon. Alexander M. Haig, Jr.
Ralph W. Hauenstein
John B. Hurford
Wayne Shelton
Clinton I. Smullyan, Jr.
Jay Van Andel

Lev Ponomarev and Gleb Yakunin are members of the special parliamentary commission investigating the August 1991 coup attempt. The commission has just completed its final report, based in part on detailed study of previously secret KGB and Central Committee documents. Ponomarev and Yakunin will bring with them extensive files, providing the greatest detail available to date on what their investigative team has learned about KGB agents and informants at all levels of Russian society.

Ponomarev, a well-known particle physicist, became involved in politics in 1987 as a founder of the "Memorial" society, dedicated to honoring the victims of Soviet political terror. He is now co-chairman of the "Democratic Russia" movement and chairman of the parliamentary commission investigating the coup.

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Arkady N. Shevchenko
John R. Silber
Hon. Malcolm Wallop
Lt. Gen. James A. Williams (Ret.)
Hon. R. James Woolsey
Hon. Clayton Yeutter

Yakunin, a Russian Orthodox priest, has been a prominent human-rights activist since 1965. Arrested in 1979, he spent five years in prison and another two and a half years in internal exile. He is now deputy chairman of the Russian Parliament's Standing Committee on Freedom of Conscience, Religion, Philanthropy and Charity and a member of the investigative commission chaired by Ponomarev.

The two will be here all week from March 23rd to March 28th. I think a meeting with them would be well worth your time. If you'd like to do this please have your office call Larry Uzzell (483-8888) to arrange a date and time.

Karen

Sincerely,


William W. Geimer

WWG/kmg

THE JAMESTOWN FOUNDATION

T E L E F A X C O V E R L E T T E R

Please deliver the following pages to:

Name: THE HON. BRENT SCOWCROFT

Location: THE WHITE HOUSE

Fax No.: 456-2883

From: William W. Geimer

Location: The Jamestown Foundation

Total number of pages including cover letter is: 2

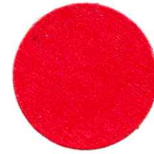
Date: 3/12/92

Time: 5:30

If you do not receive all of the pages, please contact us
as soon as possible - (202) 483-8888 Phone
(202) 483-8337 FAX

Transmitted by: Karen G.

March 16, 1992



3/25 Wed
12:00
lunch

General:

Per Ed Hewett, you agreed to have a more in depth meeting with Ambassador Lukin. Ed has come back with the suggestion that you have the Ambassador over for lunch and that it take place before April 1. Apparently Ambassador Lukin will be returning to Moscow on April 1 to attend a conference and Ed feels that it would be helpful to have a meeting prior to this conference.

Schedule meeting/Lunch ☒ Wait until Amb returns ☐
Other ☐

Mary

Withdrawal/Redaction Sheet

(George Bush Library)

Document No. and Type	Subject/Title of Document	Date	Restriction	Class.
06a. Coversheet	Re: [Biography] (1 pp.)	3/24/92	(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 1992 [4]

Date Closed:	9/27/2010	OA/ID Number:	85036-002
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

Withdrawal/Redaction Sheet

(George Bush Library)

Document No. and Type	Subject/Title of Document	Date	Restriction	Class.
06b. Memo	Re: [Biography] (1 pp.)	3/24/92	(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 1992 [4]

Date Closed: 9/27/2010	OA/ID Number: 85036-002
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]
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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]
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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

FROM: SIR DAVID WILLS, CBE., MBE., TD., DL.

TELEPHONE
GREAT TEW (060 883) 238

SANDFORD PARK,
SANDFORD ST. MARTIN,
MIDDLE BARTON,
OXFORD, OX5 4AJ.

4th March, 1992.

Dear Brent.

This is just a line to confirm that further to my telephone conversation with your secretary yesterday, I will be with you in your office at the White House at 4.30 p.m. on Monday, 23 March - I shall much look forward to seeing you and it is very kind of you to fit me into your busy programme.

With all good wishes
and I hope that you
flourish and are well.

Yours how

David.

Lt. Gen. Brent Scowcroft



THE OVERLORD EMBROIDERY

The story of the Normandy Landings D-Day 6th June 1944

On public display at the D-Day Museum, Portsmouth.

© Overlord Embroidery Trust.



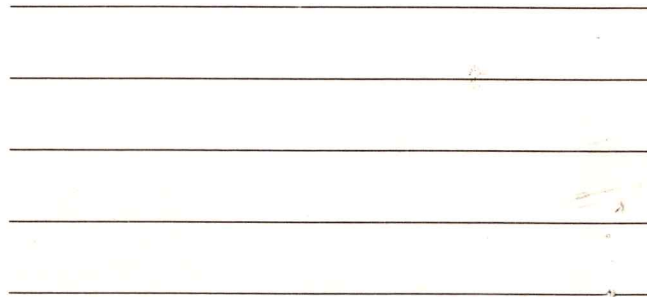
Printed in Great Britain by J. ARTHUR DIXON LTD.

Panel 9 of 34

1944

The Overlord Commanders meet. Shown, left to right: General Bradley, Admiral Ramsay, Air Chief Marshal Tedder, General Eisenhower, General Montgomery, Air Chief Marshal Leigh-Mallory, General Bedell Smith.

L8/SP.10684



UP
Sir David Wells
Bkfst 23/24th
lunch
dinner 3:30
✓ 4985
London
071-584
7341

Document Originally
Following Page

Monday
March 23
Tea
Coffee 4:30
DOB 6/19/17
~~19/06/17~~
Madison Hotel

From: Sir David Wills, CBE., MBE., TD., DL.

TELEPHONE
GREAT TEW 238

SANDFORD PARK,
SANDFORD ST. MARTIN,
MIDDLE BARTON,
OXFORD, OX5 4AJ.

29th January, 1992.

Dear Brent

I thought I should just let you know that the Trustees of my small Charitable Trust have now completed the purchase of the 34 Overlord Cartoons. and, as I told you after I saw you in September last year, they would be very happy to give the Cartoons to some charitable organisation in the United States on the basis that they would be hung in Washington at the Pentagon as you and Mac Mathias suggested - and I thought you would like to know this.

I shall be back in Washington at the end of March - I arrive on Sunday, the 22nd March, and I will be staying at the Madison Hotel for that night and for the night of Monday, 23rd March - I will have to leave for New York on the shuttle at about 5 p.m. on Tuesday, 24th March.

If you had time to have a meal with me at the Madison Hotel while I am there, either breakfast, lunch, tea or dinner on Monday, 23rd March or breakfast or lunch on Tuesday, 24th March, that would give me great pleasure. If however a meal at the Madison is not possible for you, could I please come and see you again in your office at the White House for a few minutes on either that Monday or Tuesday - I can manage pretty well any time that you suggest and I am sure I would not need to keep you for more than twenty minutes or half-an-hour at the most. Could you very kindly let me know as soon as you can what would be most convenient for you?

meantime I hope you flourish and are
well - with all good wishes and I shall
hopefully look forward to seeing you.

Yours ever

David.

General Scowcroft

London 071-584-7341



General Scowcroft,
National Security Adviser to the President,
The White House,
Washington D.C.

UNITED STATES OF AMERICA

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

Major General Mike Tomlinson
CB.

Tel. 071. 629. 9121

Fax 071- 495- 6201

David Lile

Sir David
Wills

The Overlord Panels.

The panels are all the same size - there are 34 of them and they measure $8' \times 2\frac{1}{2}'$ approximately each.

They are held in a Bank in Oxford Street - London.

Of the 34 panels, the following have an American connection: -

8, 9^x, 13[?], 15, 19, 22
23, 26, 28^x, 29 and 31.

Asking price - £170,000. or thereabouts.

September 24th 1991. John

From: Sir David Wills, CBE., MBE., TD., DL.

GREAT TEW 238 (HOUSE)
" " 648 (OFFICE)

SANDFORD PARK,
SANDFORD ST. MARTIN,
OXFORD,
OX5 4AJ

28th October, 1991.

Dear Brent

I promised I would send you a copy of panel No. 9 of the 34 cartoons; this is a particularly important one for obvious reasons and I hope it reaches you safely - *so here it is!*

I saw, just briefly, early in London last week our ambassador, Robin Renwick, who was over for a day or two and I have given him a copy of the Overlord book and also a copy of the photographs of the panels - I also had the chance of a word with him on the telephone and so he is now in the picture concerning my discussions with you, when I came to see you in Washington on Wednesday, 25th September just over a month ago.

I hope you flourish and are not working too hard! With all good wishes -

Yours ever
David

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

March 19, 1992

2:45
3/23

General:

Gordon Zacks will be in town on Monday, March 23, 1992 and would like to see you if you have time. I have told him that it is your first day back and that things may be hectic and therefore it may be impossible.

Schedule ✓

Politely decline _____

Other _____

Mary

POC: 614/861-0145

3-11-33

OK
Fri 3/13
9:30

NATIONAL SECURITY COUNCIL

10-Mar-1992 14:14 EDT

CONFIDENTIAL

MEMORANDUM FOR: SEE BELOW

FROM: Edmund J. Hull
(HULL)

SUBJECT: Appt Request by Jordanian PM Bin Shaker

Flo:

Jordan's Prime Minister Zaid Bin Shaker, who is accompanying King Hussein on his private visit this week, would like to see the General for a separate meeting. Bin Shaker is available on Thursday after 1500 or on Friday morning. Richard and I think such a meeting would be useful to follow up the President's meeting with the King and to cover any ground that the President neglects. Can you let us know if the General is willing and when? Thanks.

Edmund

Distribution:

FOR: Florence E. Gantt	(GANTT)
FOR: Wilma G. Hall	(HALL)
FOR: Dona F. Proctor	(PROCTOR)
FOR: Kristen K. Cicio	(CICIO)
CC: Kathy Leahy	(LEAHY)
CC: Donna P. Mmoh	(MMOH)
CC: Bruce O. Riedel	(RIEDEL)

DECLASSIFIED
White House Guidelines
E.O. 13526, SEC 3.4 (b), September 11, 2006
By GAP NARA, Date 9/27/10

NATIONAL SECURITY COUNCIL

12-Mar-1992 10:54 EDT

UNCLASSIFIED

MEMORANDUM FOR:

Florence E. Gantt

(GANTT)

FROM:

Nicholas Rostow
(ROSTOW)

SUBJECT:

FOR BS/BARR MEETING

Florence: Please add to the package (1445 Add-On) for Brent's meeting with Barr and Yeutter. Thank you.

Note for Brent Scowcroft from Nick Rostow

Two additional thoughts on the antitrust issue:

1. Justice's handling of the policy change decision (e.g., the announcement and talking points arrived for clearance the afternoon before Jim Rill was scheduled to testify) may indicate how DOJ can be expected to behave in enforcing the policy change.

2. One way to guarantee that overseas enforcement would not run afoul of foreign policy would be for the President to require your prior approval of any extraterritorial enforcement. The analogy would be the policy with respect to overseas arrests.

CC: Timothy E. Deal

(DEAL)

NATIONAL SECURITY COUNCIL

12-Mar-1992 11:12 EDT

UNCLASSIFIED

MEMORANDUM FOR: SEE BELOW

FROM: Timothy E. Deal
(DEAL)

SUBJECT: Antitrust

Please pass to the General before his meeting with the Attorney General and Yeutter re antitrust guidelines.

Zoellick's office informed us that Baker feels very strongly about Justice's proposed change in the antitrust guidelines. He was asked in testimony before Congress for his views on the matter. Baker said that an announcement on new guidelines was likely soon, but that there still needed to be some work done within the Administration on interagency coordination. At Baker's insistence Zoellick's office informed Roger Porter that if the new PCG could not enforce interagency decisions (in this case to have a cleared statement, talking points, and a MOU on interagency coordination), then he would work such matters directly with the President.

Nick has already highlighted for you in his memo of March 11 (1445 add-on) how important State and Bill Kristol consider the MOU on interagency coordination. Baker's special concern is that there be agreement on these procedures before any DOJ announcement, not afterwards. State wanted you to be aware of these views before your meeting today.

Distribution:

FOR: Florence E. Gantt	(GANTT)
FOR: Wilma G. Hall	(HALL)
FOR: Dona F. Proctor	(PROCTOR)
FOR: Kristen K. Cicio	(CICIO)
CC: Nicholas Rostow	(ROSTOW)
CC: David C. Gompert	(GOMPERT)

Thanks very much.

Distribution:

FOR: Daniel B. Poneman	(PONEMAN)
FOR: Richard C. Barth	(BARTH)
FOR: Susan J. Koch	(KOCH)
FOR: Virginia A. Lampley	(LAMPLEY)
FOR: Michael D. Fry	(FRY)
FOR: Edward A. Hewett	(HEWETT)
FOR: Nancy B. Dyke	(DYKE)
FOR: Barry F. Lowenkron	(LOWENKRON)
FOR: Jeffrey B. Jones	(JONES)
CC: John A. Gordon	(GORDON)
CC: Thomas E. McNamara	(MCNAMARA)
CC: Timothy E. Deal	(DEAL)
CC: Sandra L. Kelly	(KELLYS)
CC: Angelyn D. Moody	(MOODY)
CC: Marion H. Blieberger	(BLIEBERGER)
CC: Mary E. Quinn	(QUINN)
CC: Nancy H. Maxfield	(MAXFIELD)
CC: David C. Gompert	(GOMPERT)
CC: Betty A. Marshall	(MARSHALL)
CC: Katherine M. Mathis	(MATHIS)
CC: Tracey R. Collins	(COLLINS)
CC: Norma D. Schillaci	(SCHILLACI)
CC: Janice C. Broderick	(BRODERICK)
CC: Mary Cooper	(COOPER)
CC: Pat A. Battenfield	(BATTENFIELD)
CC: Christina L. Funches	(FUNCHES)
CC: William F. Sittmann	(SITTMANN)
CC: Kenneth J. Hill	(HILL)
CC: Wendy E. Gray	(GRAY)
CC: Brenda I. Hilliard	(HILLIARD)
CC: Cathy Millison	(MILLISON)
CC: Mary C. Emery	(EMERY)
CC: Cynthia M. Hindle	(HINDLE)
CC: Florence E. Gantt	(GANTT)
CC: Wilma G. Hall	(HALL)
CC: Dona F. Proctor	(PROCTOR)
CC: Kristen K. Cicio	(CICIO)

Wed 3/11
3:30 P.M.

March 9, 1992

General --

Mac Cramer, CEO of Vitro Corporation (the company my husband works for) recently came back from Moscow. He had a very interesting and informative meeting and Bob thought you, the Admiral and our Soviet people might be interested in hearing about his trip.

Mac used to work for Perkin Elmer (not sure of spelling) that made the special glass/lenses for overhead capability and was shown some interesting things in that department which he thought would interest you. They also told him how they track our tridents.

If you are interested in seeing him, he would keep the meeting very short.

Please advise.

Okay to schedule 10-15 minutes

Ask Jon Howe to meet with him

Sorry can't do but appreciate the offer

Other

Florence

DOB
3-24-32
24-2403
Driver
Larry Vesperman
10-2-47

5:00
Fri
Mar 6

NATIONAL SECURITY COUNCIL

26-Feb-1992 17:37 EDT

UNCLASSIFIED

MEMORANDUM FOR:

Florence E. Gantt
Wilma G. Hall
Dona F. Proctor
Kristen K. Cicio

(GANTT)
(HALL)
(PROCTOR)
(CICIO)

FROM: Eric D. K. Melby
(MELBY)

SUBJECT: Maurice Strong

Florence: I took a call from Ben Read, who I gather had been trying to reach the General about Maurice Strong, the Secretary General of UNCED. Strong will be giving a dinner talk on Friday, March 6; Read would like the General to see him briefly in late afternoon or Saturday morning, March 7.

We would recommend a brief meeting; Strong could give a flavor of how other countries view the U.S. as we head into the March Prepcom.

I told Read I would get back to him once I heard from you.

Issue 3/3
2:00 P.M.

NATIONAL SECURITY COUNCIL

18-Feb-1992 16:04 EDT

UNCLASSIFIED

MEMORANDUM FOR: SEE BELOW

FROM: Angelyn D. Moody
(MOODY)

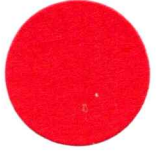
SUBJECT: Request for Appointment

General Jack Galvin, SACEUR, requests appointment to meet with General Scowcroft for 40 minutes on the afternoon of March 3rd, 4th or 5th to discuss NATO Future and European Strategy.

Distribution:

FOR: Florence E. Gantt	(GANTT)
FOR: Mary C. Emery	(EMERY)
FOR: Kristen K. Cicio	(CICIO)
FOR: Dona F. Proctor	(PROCTOR)
CC: Craig B. Chellis	(CHELLIS)
CC: Jeffrey B. Jones	(JONES)
CC: Barry F. Lowenkron	(LOWENKRON)

*Thurs. 3/5
4:00 P.M.*
General - Please advise



NATIONAL SECURITY COUNCIL

02-Mar-1992 16:24 EDT

UNCLASSIFIED

MEMORANDUM FOR: SEE BELOW

FROM: Douglas H. Paal
(PAAL)

SUBJECT: Appointment Request -- Amb. Matsunaga

For Gen Scowcroft/Adm. Howe:

The Japanese Embassy has asked for an appointment for special emissary Ambassador Matsunaga to see the General, preferably late Thursday. Matsunaga is coming on short notice in response to President Nixon's switch in plans and decision not to participate in the upcoming 20th anniversary celebrations marking the reversion of Okinawa. Nixon has recommended Kissinger in his stead.

3/5 I don't know whether Matsunaga is coming to try to change Nixon's mind or to make other arrangements, but he has asked to talk to you as well. He probably will also have the latest unforthcoming Japanese position on rice.

Given the close personal relationship you have developed with Matsunaga, I wanted you to have a chance to consider this request.

Distribution:

FOR: Florence E. Gantt	(GANTT)
FOR: Mary C. Emery	(EMERY)
FOR: Dona F. Proctor	(PROCTOR)
FOR: Kristen K. Cicio	(CICIO)
CC: Cheryl C. Davis	(DAVISC)
CC: Torkel Patterson	(PATTERSON)

Wed
3/4
3:30

DECLASSIFIED
PER NSC WAIVER, 1500 2021-02
By SS NARA, Date 3/7/24

NATIONAL SECURITY COUNCIL

03-Mar-1992 18:05 EDT

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

MEMORANDUM FOR:

Florence E. Gantt	(GANTT)
Wilma G. Hall	(HALL)
Dona F. Proctor	(PROCTOR)
Kristen K. Cicio	(CICIO)

FROM: Edward A. Hewett
(HEWETT)

SUBJECT: Notes for Meeting with Amb. Vorontsov (4/4)

Amb Vorontsov is coming by today for a farewell courtesy call. Here are several points you might keep in mind.

1.) We heard through Richard Gardner that Vorontsov is upset by the Gorbachev visit, and supposedly would like us to try to convince Gorbachev to postpone. His reasoning is that Gorbachev will use his visit to give speeches which will embarrass the Yeltsin govt. I told him we saw no evidence that Gorbachev was out to embarrass Yeltsin, and that if he was foolish enough to do that, he would be the only one that is hurt by it. (Yeltsin told Strauss during their Monday night dinner how much he appreciated Gorbachev's support).

2.) Gardner also said that Vorontsov would express dissatisfaction with our small and late effort to support Yeltsin's reforms. I told him that we were doing all we could, and more than he seemed to be aware of. I frankly doubt that Vorontsov will raise this.

3.) My guess is that Vorontsov is looking for ways to make himself useful to Yeltsin, at the same time going around Kozyrev. (Recall during the preparations for Camp David that Vorontsov and Kozyrev seemed to be competing for influence in the arrangements for the meeting. Recall also other indications we have had that there is no lost love between Vorontsov and Kozyrev). It would be most useful if you could get some idea from Vorontsov just what his new duties will be, and how he will relate to the existing foreign policy apparatus:

- Is he, for example, seeing himself as Yeltsin's national security advisor?
- How does he envisage his role vis-a-vis Kozyrev?
- Does he know yet who will succeed him?
- What does he want to do in this new position?

NATIONAL SECURITY COUNCIL

04-Mar-1992 13:35 EDT

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

MEMORANDUM FOR:

Florence E. Gantt	(GANTT)
Wilma G. Hall	(HALL)
Dona F. Proctor	(PROCTOR)
Kristen K. Cicio	(CICIO)

FROM: Edward A. Hewett
(HEWETT)

SUBJECT: FOR 3:30 BS Meeting with Vorontsov

MORE BACKGROUND FOR THE VORONTSOV MEETING:

1.) In a meeting today with Nick Burns on other matters, Andrei Kolosovssky indicated considerable concern about the upcoming Gorbachev visit. This is the first time he has indicated they have any problem with it. His worry is that it will become a big affair and get a lot of attention here.

Nick assured him that we were sensitive to the general point, and would not do anything to give high visibility to the visit. On the other hand he made it clear to Andrei that we saw no reason not to receive Gorbachev, and that we have no control over the media's coverage of the event.

Andrei understood, but said he was not sure all in the Russian government shared that understanding. I wanted you to know since we heard Vorontsov may raise the same issue.

2.) Vorontsov has chosen to call on you and Larry today without anyone from the embassy accompanying him, which is another indicator that he is pursuing his own agenda.

DECLASSIFIED
PER NSC WAIVER, 1500 2021-02
By SS NARA, Date 3/7/24

330 and 3/4

NATIONAL SECURITY COUNCIL

27-Feb-1992 19:12 EI

UNCLASSIFIED

MEMORANDUM FOR:

Florence E. Gantt
Edward A. Hewett

(GANTT)
(HEWETT)

FROM: Dona F. Proctor
(PROCTOR)

SUBJECT: Vorontsov Farewell CC

Have tentatively schedule Russian Amb to UN, Yuli Vorontsov to pay farewell courtesy call on the General on March 4 at 3:30pm, pending General's and Ed Hewett's OK. If this is ok, will call and confirm. Thanks

CC: Mary C. Emery

(EMERY)

NATIONAL SECURITY COUNCIL

28-Feb-1992 09:45 EDT

UNCLASSIFIED

MEMORANDUM FOR:

Dona F. Proctor

(PROCTOR)

FROM:

Edward A. Hewett
(HEWETT)

SUBJECT:

RE: Vorontsov Farewell CC

OK by me.

CC: Mary C. Emery

(EMERY)

CC: Florence E. Gantt

(GANTT)

1/2 - 45 3/2

Buadg
Scow

Baku
Mades
Melfora
Jim
Shinner

General -

Shall I
go ahead
+ ask for
this time?

OK D

Document Originally
Attached to
Following Page

Brady's office is asking for 1/2 hr to 45 min on Monday 3/2

NATIONAL SECURITY COUNCIL

24-Feb-1992 08:24 EDT

UNCLASSIFIED

MEMORANDUM FOR:

Florence E. Gantt
Wilma G. Hall
Dona F. Proctor
Kristen K. Cicio

FROM: Timothy E. Deal
(DEAL)

SUBJECT: Treasury Meeting Request

(GANTT)
(HALL)
(PROCTOR)
(CICIO)

2/24
Bill Sittmann
to get time
on P's
calendar
& will
advise

Florence: Treasury Asst. Secretary Wethington called me this weekend to plead for our help in scheduling a meeting with the President before he departs for campaign work, i.e. today, to review the legislative situation concerning the Enterprise for the Americas Initiative and the IMF quota increase. The General and Brady had talked about this possibility on February 13. The proposed participants at the meeting would be Brady, Baker, Darman, the General, Skinner, and the President.

Looking at the General's schedule, it would not appear that the President has much, if any, free time today. And he does have a meeting with Brady. Should I tell Treasury that the President is booked solid, but that Brady can if he wishes use his own time to raise the issue? (Treasury staff believes that Brady wants to concentrate on domestic economic issues in that meeting). The other difficulty with that alternative is that Baker should take part in any such meeting because he will have to negotiate the funding questions with Congress.

Please advise.

President
Brady
Scowcroft
Baker
Madigan
Mulford
Skinner
Tim Deal

NATIONAL SECURITY COUNCIL

20-Feb-1992 13:49 EDT

UNCLASSIFIED

MEMORANDUM FOR: SEE BELOW

FROM: Timothy M. Carney
(CARNEY)

SUBJECT: POSSIBLE MEETING WITH UNSYG REP FOR CAMBODIA

STATE TELLS US THAT UN SECRETARY GENERAL SPECIAL REPRESENTATIVE FOR CAMBODIA, YASUSHI AKASHI, WILL BE IN WASHINGTON FOR APPOINTMENTS WITH THE EXECUTIVE BRANCH ON MARCH 3 AND CAN MEET WITH NSC THAT AFTERNOON.

THE CAMBODIA EFFORT CALLED FORTH A MAJOR US DIPLOMATIC EFFORT, ONE IN WHICH NSC LONG PARTICIPATED AS MEMBER OF THE NEGOTIATING TEAM. THE COMPREHENSIVE SETTLEMENT AGREEMENTS SIGNED IN PARIS 23OCT CALL FOR THE LARGEST UN ROLE IN PEACEKEEPING, SUPERVISION AND CONTROL TO EFFECT FREE ELECTIONS EVER. COSTS TO THE U.S., WHICH PAYS 30.4%, WILL BE HUNDREDS OF MILLIONS OF DOLLARS. (A STATE DELEGATION IS HEADED TO NEW YORK TOMORROW TO TRY TO PRUNE BACK THE DRAFT REPORT OF THE SYG ON HOW THE UN PLANS TO EFFECT ITS MISSION.) MEANWHILE, THE BUDGET HAS \$350 MILLION REQUESTED IN THE CURRENT AND NEXT FY FOR PEACEKEEPING. MUCH OF THAT COULD GO TO CAMBODIA. FINALLY, SOME IN CONGRESS HAVE TAKEN POSITIONS AGAINST THE SETTLEMENT AGREEMENTS, ARGUING THEY ACTUALLY FOSTER KHMER ROUGE RETURN TO POWER. SUCH POSITIONS SUGGEST SOME LIKELY CONGRESSIONAL OPPOSITION TO SPENDING LARGE SUMS FOR CAMBODIA.

THIS ALL MILITATES FOR RECEIVING AKASHI AT NSC AT A LEVEL HIGHER THAN DOUG PAAL, NANCY DYKE AND TIM CARNEY. BELIEVE THAT THE GENERAL, OR THE ADMIRAL SHOULD SEE AKASHI EITHER FOR A HALF HOUR MEETING ON SUBSTANCE WITH ALL OF THE ABOVE IN ATTENDANCE, OR FOR DOUG, NANCY, TIM TO MEET WITH AKASHI FIRST AND THEN TO HAVE 15 OR SO MINUTES WITH THE GENERAL OR ADMIRAL TO STRESS MAIN POINTS.

PLEASE ADVISE.

Distribution:

FOR: Mary C. Emery	(EMERY)
FOR: Florence E. Gantt	(GANTT)
FOR: Dona F. Proctor	(PROCTOR)
FOR: Kristen K. Cicio	(CICIO)
CC: Cheryl C. Davis	(DAVIS)
CC: Patty A. Daniel	(DANIEL)
CC: Nancy B. Dyke	(DYKE)

Handwritten notes:
Jue 3/3 - 1:30
OK - JTH
Either (BS) or will notify on Mon

General did
not see him
Ed Hewett saw
him -

Florence
Fri 2/21
3:00 P.M.

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

2/11

Ed,

As you can see, the General has agreed to see Mr. James Gardner. Florence will schedule an appointment, and then cancel it and ask that he see you.

I am forwarding the material he sent to the General so you can prepare to see him.

Thanks.

Dona

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

February 11, 1992

Dear Mr. Gardner:

I would be pleased to see you when you are in Washington on February 20 and 21. Please call my assistant Florence Gantt (202/456-2255) to schedule an appointment.

Sincerely,


Brent Scowcroft

Mr. James N. Gardner
Gardner, Cosgrove & Gardner
One World Trade Center
121 S.W. Salmon Street, Suite 1400
Portland, Oregon 97204-2924

cc: Arnold Christensen
President, Utah State Senate



UTAH STATE SENATE

ARNOLD CHRISTENSEN

PRESIDENT

319 STATE CAPITOL
SALT LAKE CITY, UTAH 84114

RESIDENCE
891 EAST 8600 SOUTH
SANDY, UTAH 84070

February 6, 1992

Brent Scowcroft
Assistant to the President
for National Security Affairs
National Security Council
Old Executive office Building
Washington, D.C. 20506

Dear Brent:

I would like to take this opportunity to introduce you to James N. Gardner. Mr. Gardner serves as private-sector co-chair for Oregon of the American Legislative Exchange Council ("ALEC"). He is a former Oregon State Senator and the author of a new book entitled Effective Lobbying In the European Community. Mr. Gardner is also an experienced lobbyist and represents a number of major corporate clients including the Pharmaceutical Manufacturers Association and Philip Morris.

Mr. Gardner will be in Washington, D.C., on February 20 and 21 to participate in ALEC's Presidential, Cabinet, and Congressional Briefing at the White House. As indicated in the attached letter from Mr. Gardner to you, he would like 30 minutes of your time to discuss two projects he is currently working on. The first is a new book entitled Rescuing Russia: The Case for Free Trade. The second is a proposed conference of the regions of the Triad.

I'd consider it a personal favor if you would make some time available to meet with Mr. Gardner. I personally feel that his proposals may have merit and may even offer good political opportunities for the President.

I look forward to hearing from you.

Very truly yours,

Arnold Christensen, President
Utah State Senate

GARDNER, COSGROVE & GARDNER
LAWYERS
ONE WORLD TRADE CENTER
121 S.W. SALMON STREET, SUITE 1400
PORTLAND, OREGON 97204-2924

TELEPHONE: (503) 224-3024 • FAX: (503) 224-3407

February 4, 1992

VIA OVERNIGHT AIR COURIER

Brent Snowcroft
Assistant to the President for
National Security Affairs
Old Executive Office Building
Washington, D. C. 20506

Dear Mr. Snowcroft:

I am private-sector co-chair for Oregon of the American Legislative Exchange Council. I plan to be in Washington on February 21st to attend ALEC's Presidential, Cabinet and Congressional Briefing at the White House.

I'd like to schedule a 30-minute appointment with you to discuss two projects I'm working on. The first is a book which is tentatively entitled Rescuing Russia: The Case for Free Trade. The second is a proposed conference of the regions of the Triad (comprising North America, Japan, the "Four Tigers" of Asia, the EC and EFTA). Enclosed are outlines of both projects as well as my resume and a review of my first book--Effective Lobbying in the European Community (Kluwer 1991)--which appeared in The European newspaper.

I'd like to explore the possibility of presenting the thesis of Rescuing Russia to senior officials in the Bush Administration. I'd also like to obtain the Administration's help in persuading the OECD, the G-7 and the Asia-Pacific Economic Cooperation Forum to co-sponsor my proposed conference of the regions of the Triad.

As you will see from the enclosed conference proposal, the U. S. Mission of the Commission of the European Communities has already agreed in principle to serve as a co-sponsor. In addition, State Senator Jeannette Hamby (R-Oregon), the incoming national chairperson of the Council of State Governments, is very supportive of the proposal.

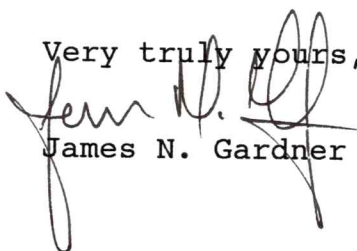
GARDNER, COSGROVE & GARDNER

Brent Snowcroft
February 4, 1992
Page 2

Persons you might know who are familiar with my background and work include Sue and Cap Ferry, Sen. Mark Hatfield, Gerry Frank (his AA), Punch Green, former Oregon Attorney General Dave Frohnmayer, Oregon Republican Party Chairman Craig Berkman, Deputy Assistant Secretary of State Richard Kauzlarich, Fred Montgomery (private-sector coordinator of USTR), Guy Smith (formerly Vice-President of Philip Morris and now with Hill & Knowlton in New York) and Steve Cooney (Director of International Economic Affairs for the National Association of Manufacturers).

I look forward to hearing from you.

Very truly yours,



James N. Gardner

Enclosures

SYNOPSIS OF
RESCUING RUSSIA: THE CASE FOR FREE TRADE

By James N. Gardner

Rescuing Russia: The Case for Free Trade will be approximately the same length as Aleksandr Solzhenitsyn's 106-page Rebuilding Russia (Farrar, Straus and Giroux). The book will hopefully contain forewords by both Solzhenitsyn and Anatoly Sobchak, the mayor of St. Petersburg and possible heir to Yeltsin.

The book will be, in essence, a brief for the proposition that the United States should immediately commence free trade negotiations with the new Commonwealth of Independent States. The negotiations would be aimed at crafting a free trade agreement along the lines of the U. S.-Canada and U. S.-Israel free trade compacts.

Here's a brief summary of the book:

1. Ronald Reagan won the Cold War by outspending the Soviet Union on military procurement and forcing Gorbachev to cry "uncle." However, Reagan failed to give any thought to the opportunities and demands that victory would bring.

2. As a result of their Cold War victory, the United States, Western Europe and Japan stand poised at a critical juncture in history precisely analogous to that which confronted the victorious allied powers after World War II.

3. The most important "aid" the U. S. lent to devastated Europe and Japan after World War II was not the financial assistance of the Marshall Plan and similar programs but the opening of its vast domestic market to foreign imports. The American policy of free trade and open markets, far more than direct monetary aid, propelled the post-war recovery and fueled the economic miracles in Japan and Europe.

4. The policy of free trade and open markets created enormous reciprocal benefits for America as our increasingly prosperous trading partners spent large portions of their export earnings on imports of American-made products. (They still do. We enjoy a growing trade surplus with the European Community. Japan is, as most recognize, a special case requiring hand-crafted policies in order to redress persistent structural impediments to free trade.)

5. This virtuous cycle can be replicated with regard to the Commonwealth of Independent States. The ensuing benefits will be reciprocal, not one-sided.

6. What will the new Commonwealth bring to the trading

table? Vast natural resources (including oil reserves which exceed those of Saudi Arabia) and superb human assets (including a 99% literacy rate, 96% enrollment in secondary education and a large and highly educated scientific elite). This is a potent combination that harbors the potential for explosive economic growth. (It is interesting to recall that in an earlier pre-Communist era Russian growth outpaced that of its European neighbors: during the 20 years preceding the October Revolution, Russia enjoyed the fastest economic growth rate in Europe.)

7. The presentation by America of a proposal for a free trade agreement would create an intangible benefit as well--a sense on the part of Russians (for whom such matters are of singular importance) that America is extending a helping hand to a former rival and current friend attempting to navigate a treacherous new path.

8. The proposal would also create a political climate in the United States more conducive to the modest "seed funding" proposed by Jeffrey Sachs and others. In effect, the aid package would become ancillary to and submerged within a more politically palatable free trade proposal. Careful economic analysis is likely to show that the combination of modest seed funding and unfettered free trade would actually yield a net increase in U.S. tax revenues over a relatively short period. The long-term tax revenue gains to America should be enormous. (Remember that over 80% of American GNP growth in recent years has been attributable to exports and that American industry is highly competitive in precisely those capital goods sectors whose products will be required to rebuild Russia.)

9. The book will conclude with a haunting image drawn from a Nabokov novel. In his book Nabokov describes a distant future in which geological forces have driven America and Russia into physical contiguity across their northern frontiers. In the newly merged continent Russian and American people, products and ideas all flow freely across the formerly barren terrain of the northern polar regions. A new society and a new culture have emerged--a delightful and incongruous blend of Yankee materialism and Slavic mysticism.

10. History has yielded up, quite unexpectedly, a similar possibility. This unanticipated development results from a tectonic shift in the geopolitical order. America should step forward boldly and deploy its most potent resource--access to its vast internal market--in order to fully embrace the new Russian experiment in democratic self-rule and free-market economics and to help Russia find its way, with a minimum of anguish, into the 21st Century. The reward will be mutual economic benefit and, more important, a vibrant and lasting peace.

I believe I can persuade both Sobchak and Solzhenitsyn to write forewords to the book. Solzhenitsyn is the author of an article in the prior issue of New Perspectives Quarterly to which

my NPO article ("Global Regionalism") is a response.

There should be excellent opportunities for excerpting in Fortune, Best of Business Quarterly and other magazines. (Best of Business Quarterly, The Wall Street Journal and a number of other business publications published excerpts from my first book, Effective Lobbying in the European Community.)

There should be good opportunities for newspaper syndication. Nathan Gardels, the editor of NPO, is also editor of the Global Viewpoint Service of The Los Angeles Times Syndicate and may be in a position to facilitate syndication.

There may also be broadcast tie-in opportunities with CNN and PBS. (The tie-in between Quality or Else (Houghton Mifflin) and the IBM-funded series with the same title furnishes a good model.)

**SUMMARY OF PROPOSAL FOR AN
INTERNATIONAL CONFERENCE OF THE REGIONS OF THE TRIAD**

"Have I said clearly enough that the [European] Community we have created is not an end in itself? It is a process of change, continuing that same process which in an earlier period produced our national forms of life. Like our provinces in the past, our nations today must learn to live together under common rules and institutions freely arrived at. The sovereign nations of the past can no longer solve the problems of the present: they cannot ensure their own progress or control their own future. And the Community itself is only a stage on the way to the organized world of tomorrow."

Jean Monnet, Memoirs

I. The Proposed Conference

The proposed conference would bring together representatives of the regions of the so-called Triad (comprising Western Europe, North America, Japan and the "Four Tigers" of East Asia) for a 3-day meeting.

The tentative site for the proposed conference is Seattle, Washington in the Pacific Northwest region of the United States. The tentative date is fall, 1993.

II. The Purpose of the Conference

The proposed conference would focus on ways in which sub-national regions throughout the Triad might be able to work together to promote transnational cooperation on issues such as economic development, the promotion of free trade and consumers' rights. The conference might conceivably explore the long-term feasibility of a Triad Community modeled after the European Community.

Why should regional leaders rather than professional diplomats for national governments concern themselves with such matters? Because, as argued in the attached New Perspectives Quarterly article, sub-national regions may be in the best position politically to promote transnational cooperation in these and other major policy areas.

III. Sponsorship

A select number of organizations will be asked to co-sponsor the proposed conference. The groups to be approached include the U. S. Council of State Governments, the European Community's Committee of the Regions, the Assembly of European Regions and appropriate Asian regional associations. In addition, several major supranational institutions such as the G-7, the OECD and the Asia-Pacific Economic Cooperation Forum will be invited to serve as co-sponsors. So too will a limited group of major news organizations and multinational companies.

The U. S. Mission of the Commission of the European Communities has already agreed in principle to co-sponsor the proposed conference.

IV. Further Information

For further information, please contact:

James N. Gardner
Gardner, Cosgrove & Gardner
One World Trade Center
121 S. W. Salmon Street, Suite 1400
Portland, OR 97204-2924
USA

Phone: (503) 224-3024
FAX: (503) 224-3407

Global Regionalism

James N. Gardner *Author of the forthcoming book, The North American Superstate, James N. Gardner has also written extensively on European economic integration.*

PORTLAND—These are times when, in Gorbachev's resonant phrase, life itself seems to seize the pen of history from the hands of startled mortals.

Yet because the powerful lens of the past distorts the vision of even the most perceptive observer, those fated to live through such climactic periods almost invariably fail to comprehend the significance of unfolding events.

Consider the current hand-wringing about disintegrative political tendencies in the Soviet Union, Europe and even North America. Virtually every subnational ethnic group on the face of the earth, it seems, clamors for independence and self-determination. From the throats of Serbs and Croats, Moldavians and Basques, Uzbecks and—most recently—Hong Kong residents, the cries for freedom and autonomy soar in an ever-swelling chorus.

Diplomats fret over the sacred cow of contemporary geopolitics: the traditional nation-state. With such powerful centrifugal forces at work, they wonder, can national centers possibly be expected to hold? And, if not, who will suppress the inevitable border disputes and ethnic clashes?

These pessimists are prisoners of the past. What they fail to see is that the drive for regional autonomy now gaining momentum worldwide may turn out to be the catalyst that provokes a serious debate on the merits of limited supranational governance of the developed world. Globalism, not anarchy, may turn out to be the enduring legacy of the new spirit of regionalism.

The premise of this new regionalism is that each and every tribe united by custom, language or history ought to enjoy its unique place in the sun; it is a movement that recognizes implicitly that the true miracle of civilization lies in its infinite diversity.

But regionalism is only one of the tectonic forces reshaping the political landscape. The other is the emergence of a genuinely globalized economy dominated by mighty transnational firms based in Japan, the United States and the European Community. These behemoths of the Triad increasingly control international trade and foreign direct investment. As Robert Reich noted in the Fall *NPQ*, they are becoming truly stateless, viewing national capitals not as political "home bases" to which they owe even vestigial patriotic allegiance but as mere arenas of lobbying combat.

The proliferation of transnational firms capable of eluding the regulatory grasp of national bureaucracies—the BCCI scandal is the most conspicuous example—presents a challenge of *global* proportions, as does the fact that industrial pollution does not respect national boundaries and that “social dumping”—the relentless search for low-wage, low-benefit manufacturing havens in poorer parts of the world—will almost invariably create frictions between free-trade partners with widely disparate standards of living.

Together these two forces—regionalism and the emergence of an interlinked global economy—pose a single question of great consequence: at what level of inclusiveness should the social contract of the 21st century be drafted?

The logical answer is furnished by the EC’s principle of subsidiarity: governmental power should be apportioned according to an ascending hierarchy, with regulatory authority vested in the lowest level at which it can be competently exercised. This principle reserves to supranational authorities like the European Commission those problems with a transnational dimension and relegates all others to entities lower in the hierarchy.

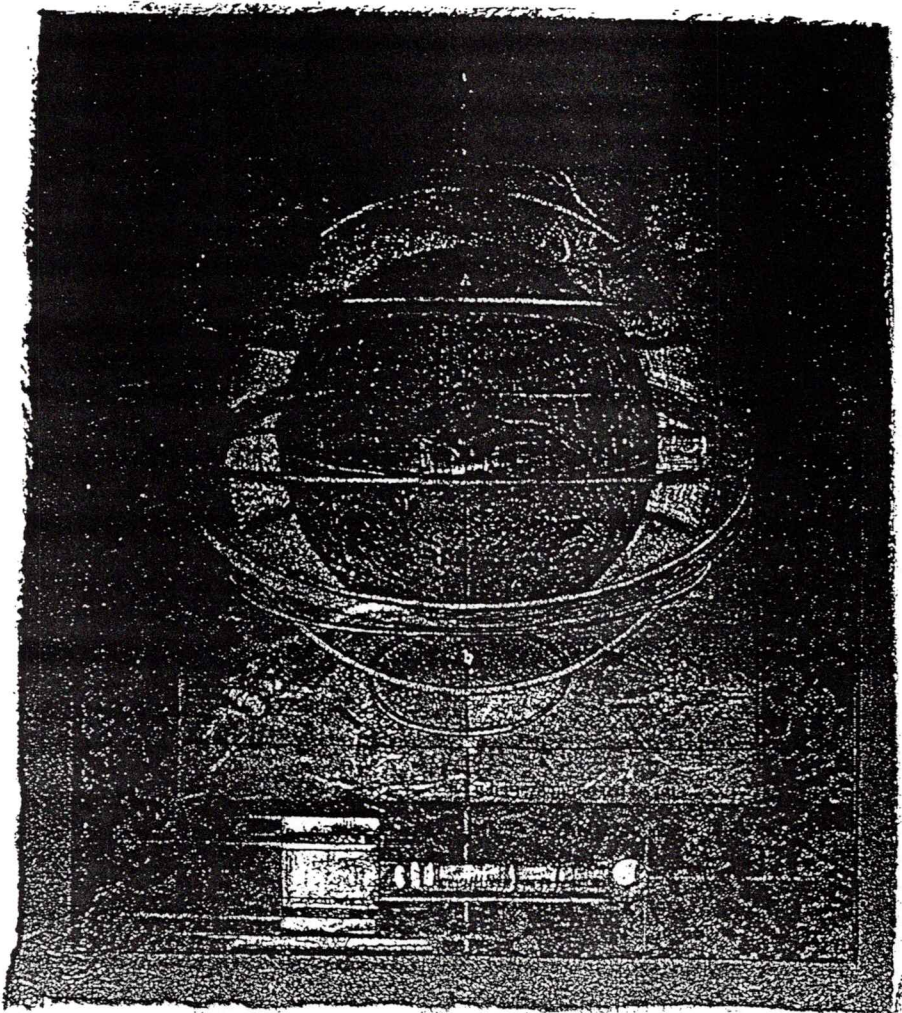
Subsidiarity is a spacious concept with room to accommodate both subnational regionalism and transnational globalism. Certainly, critics will chide that subsidiarity is nothing more than a sterile bit of bureaucratic jargon. But it just may be possible that the new spirit of regional autonomy abroad throughout the civilized world will find comfort in a doctrine that eschews chauvinism and official pretensions of grandeur while emphasizing a practical approach to common problems.

It is even conceivable that the newly reinvigorated regions of Europe and Asia, yearning to breathe free and prosper economically, would prefer the encompassing web of a genuine supranational order, subject to the rule of democratically adopted law, over the impoverishing cycle of endless ethnic strife or the iron grasp of central national authority.

Europe’s recent experience is instructive. The most fervid proponents of regional autonomy—Basques, for example—tend to support strongly the

drive for European unity. They believe that European regions will enjoy greater freedom of action in the context of a sturdy transnational structure that gradually supplants the traditional attributes of national sovereignty.

Regionalism raises dramatically the issue of the appropriate level of government regulation in an interlinked global economy that continues to be characterized by a high degree of ethnic diversity. The movement lends immense political force to the underlying thesis of subsidiarity—that the state exists to serve the individual and not vice versa, and that the very structure of government, in order to achieve legitimacy, must conform to this principle.



GARDNER, COSGROVE & GARDNER
RESUME OF

JAMES N. GARDNER

EMPLOYMENT:

Partner in Gardner, Cosgrove & Gardner in
Portland, Oregon.

SPECIALTIES:

State and federal lobbying, ballot measure campaign
law, unitary tax litigation, European Community
government relations.

EDUCATIONAL BACKGROUND:

- B.A. from Yale College (1968).
- J.D. from Yale Law School (1974).

PRIOR EMPLOYMENT:

- Law Clerk to Justice Potter Stewart,
U.S. Supreme Court (1975-76).
- Law Clerk to Judge Alfred T. Goodwin, U.S. Court
of Appeals For The Ninth Circuit (1974-75).

PUBLICATIONS EXPERIENCE:

- Article Editor of the Yale Law Journal (1973-74).
- Staff reporter for The Wall Street Journal in New
York (1967).
- Author of Effective Lobbying in the European
Community (Kluwer Law and Taxation Publishers
1991).
- Author of articles about European economic
integration and transnational lobbying for The
Wall Street Journal, Best of Business Quarterly,
International Business, The Journal of European
Business, Europe, Association Management,
Leadership, New Perspectives Quarterly, Europe
1992 Law & Strategy, The National Law Journal,
Look Japan and 1992--The External Impact of
European Unification.

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- Co-author (with Lynda Gardner), "Europe Beckons: 1992, the Pacific Northwest and British Columbia," The New Pacific (Summer 1990) and "Targeting the New Europe," Washington CEO (November 1991).
- Member, World Trade Editorial Advisory Board, Oregon Business magazine.

PUBLIC SERVICE:

- Oregon Co-Chair, American Legislative Exchange Council.
- Oregon State Senator from 1979-84.
- Chairman of the Joint Legislative Committee on Trade and Economic Development (1983 Session).
- Chairman of the Education Subcommittee of the Joint Committee on Ways and Means (1981 Session).
- Named the outstanding member of the Oregon State Senate in poll conducted in 1981 by the Oregonian newspaper.

FOREIGN LANGUAGES:

- German (translator for U.S. Army Intelligence, 1969-71).
- French (fluent).

REPRESENTATIVE CLIENTS:

Abbott Laboratories
Associated Oregon Industries
General Mills, Inc.
International Franchise Association
J. R. Simplot Company
Kellogg Company
King Broadcasting Company
Non-Prescription Drug Manufacturers Association
Oregon Association of Broadcasters
Oregon Health Care Association
Peter Kiewit Sons', Inc.
Pharmaceutical Manufacturers Association
Philip Morris
Rentrak Corporation
Time Oil Company

Good lobbyist's guide to Europe

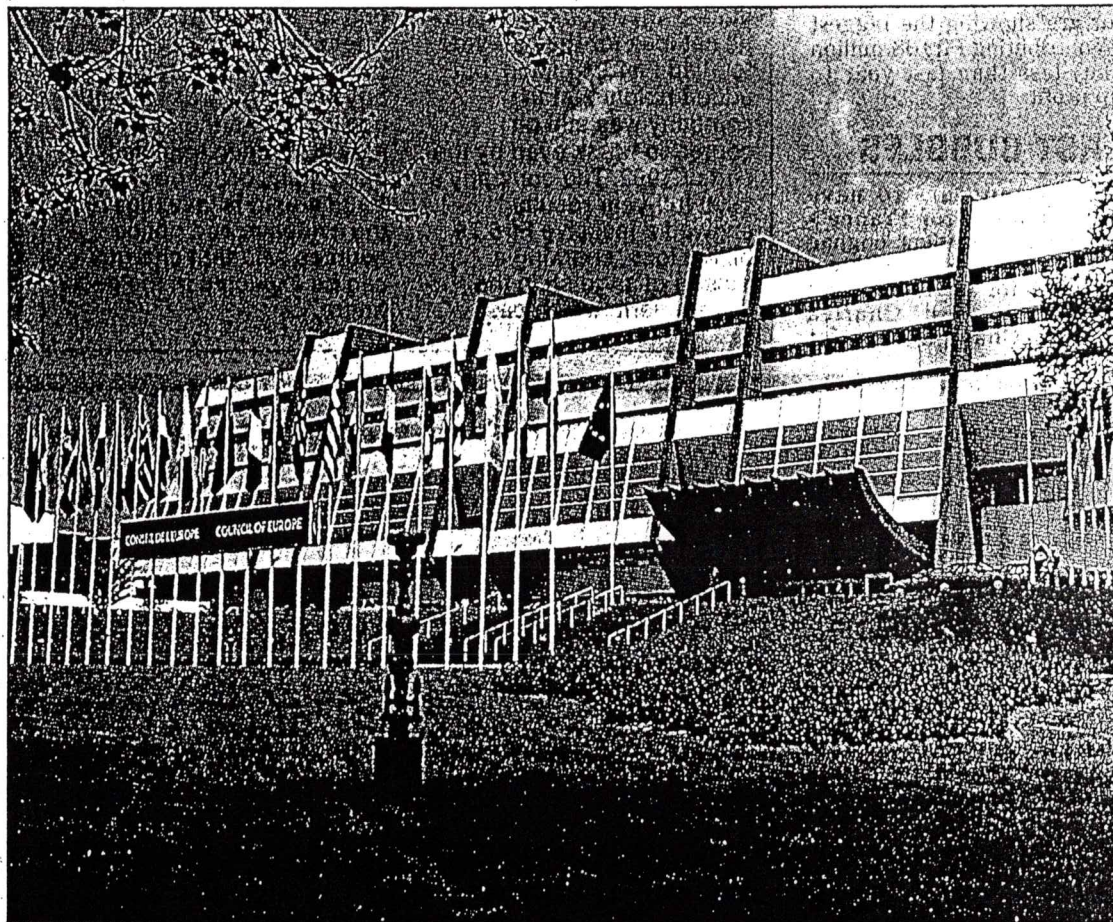
PAUL MASSEY

Nicholas Comfort • POLITICAL EDITOR

THERE could be no greater testimony to the increasing clout of the European Community than the upsurge in lobbying activity in Brussels and Strasbourg as the single market approaches. Commissioners, officials and MEPs are under virtual siege from companies, interest groups, lobbying firms and law practices anxious to influence Community legislation – and the pressure is growing all the time. Some lobbyists set out merely to protect their own interests and ensure a level playing field. Others make little secret of their desire to tilt the playing field and put competitors at a disadvantage. But on one thing they agree – lobbying in the EC is just as essential as in any national capital. But any business or organisation anxious to make its voice heard above the din has had to find its own way in the dark. But now James Gardner, an American lawyer who has worked in Brussels, has come up not only with a remarkably clear and straightforward handbook on the lobbying process, but probably the best simple guide yet to the workings of the

Community. The book is a must for anyone lobbying decision-makers in Brussels, or contemplating such a step. There are plenty of horror stories of brash or misdirected lobbying, and Mr Gardner tells quite a few. His tone is helpful and positive, keeping a careful balance between advising on how to get a point across effectively, and stressing the need to act both ethically and with respect for the people being approached. This guide, however, deserves a far wider audience than would-be EC insiders. Anybody who wants to know precisely how the Community works and has been defeated by weightier tomes, or has come to believe that the subject defies explanation, will find in these 162 pages a description which, while technically correct, makes it all look breathtakingly simple. It isn't, of course, but that is what is so striking about Mr Gardner's treatment of this most difficult subject.

• *Effective lobbying in the European Community* by James N. Gardner, Kluwer Law and Taxation Publishers, PO Box 23, 7400 GA Deventer, The Netherlands. Price: £28.



Seat of power and influence: the European Parliament building at Strasbourg