

Originally Processed With FOIA(s):
2011-0298-F

FOIA Number:
2011-0298-F

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: National Security Council
Series: Blackwill, Robert D., Files
Subseries: Chronological Files

OA/ID Number: 30546
Folder ID Number: 30546-007

Folder Title:
August 1989 [2]

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

~~BASORA~~
6422 Add-on RB

NATIONAL SECURITY COUNCIL
WASHINGTON, D.C. 20508

August 22, 1989



ACTION

MEMORANDUM FOR BRENT SCOWCROFT

Natl Sec Advisor
has seen

THROUGH: ADRIAN A. BASORA (ACTING) AAB
FROM: ROBERT L. HUTCHINGS RLH
SUBJECT: Request from Senator Dole

CODEL Dole, due to arrive in Warsaw at noon August 24, has cabled in from Rabat, asking whether you or Governor Sununu have "any interest in increasing the number and scope of messages" Senator and Secretary Dole are carrying with them in light of recent developments. They also request updated guidance from the White House or State.

I have asked State to draft a cable in reply, for handling via the Crosshatch system, saying that the letters of introduction (attached at Tab I) remain sufficient and will assure that CODEL Dole is given maximum access to the Polish Government and Solidarity. The cable will also provide updated guidance (to be supplemented by Ambassador Davis upon arrival of CODEL Dole) along the lines of the latest White House and State press guidance. The cable would note that we are being careful to distance ourselves from the ongoing process of forming a new Polish government.

I will call your attention to the crosshatch cable when it reaches us.

RECOMMENDATION

That you endorse the approach described above.

Approve _____ Disapprove _____

Attachment

Tab I Presidential Letters of Introduction

NATIONAL SECURITY COUNCIL
WASHINGTON, D.C. 20508

August 22, 1989

ACTION

MEMORANDUM FOR BRENT SCOWCROFT

THROUGH: ADRIAN A. BASORA (ACTING) *AAH3*
FROM: ROBERT L. HUTCHINGS *RLH*
SUBJECT: Request from Senator Dole

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I will call your attention to the crosshatch cable when it reaches us.

RECOMMENDATION

That you endorse the approach described above.

Approve _____ Disapprove _____

Attachment

Tab I Presidential Letters of Introduction

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

Dear President Jaruzelski:

It is with pleasure that I introduce to you Robert Dole, United States Senator from Kansas and Minority Leader in the Senate. Bob Dole has had an active interest in the affairs of East-Central Europe throughout his long and influential career in the Senate. During the last months, he has been an important member of the bipartisan coalition supporting my efforts to assist the process of economic and political reform in Poland.

I want to ask you to make every effort to expose Bob and his wife, Secretary of Labor Elizabeth Dole, to all that is going on in your country. I am sure that they will, as I did, relish the opportunity to see personally the remarkable developments taking place in Poland at this historic juncture. Bob Dole is close to me both personally and politically and I've asked him to report back his personal views of the situation. As we strive for a more productive U.S.-Polish relationship, his first-hand knowledge of the situation in Poland will be invaluable in guiding the efforts of the U.S. Congress and in providing advice and counsel to me.

Sincerely,

His Excellency
Wojciech Jaruzelski
President of the Polish People's Republic
Warsaw, Poland

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

Dear Mr. Walesa:

I am pleased to introduce to you Robert Dole, Minority Leader of the United States Senate. Bob Dole is one of the people on whom I rely most closely to forge bipartisan consensus on important foreign policy issues. He has been a stalwart in recent months as I have sought to develop initiatives in support of political and economic reform in Poland. I am delighted that he is taking this trip to Poland because his first-hand knowledge of the situation will be invaluable in giving direction to the efforts of the U.S. Congress and in providing counsel to me as we try to help you at this time of historic change.

Bob is accompanied by his wife, Elizabeth Dole, who is United States Secretary of Labor and thus has a special interest in the activities of Solidarity. Bob Dole is close to me personally and politically and I have asked him to report back his personal views of the situation. I would consider it a great favor if you make every effort to see that Bob and Elizabeth's trip to Poland is a successful and informative one.

Sincerely,

Mr. Lech Walesa
ul. Polanki 54
80-308 Gdansk

Withdrawal/Redaction Sheet

(George Bush Library)

Document No. and Type	Subject/Title of Document	Date	Restriction	Class.
02a. Memo	Brent Scowcroft to William H. Webster RE: U.S. Policy on Soviet Emigration (1 pp.)	8/21/89	(b)(1)	S

Collection:

Record Group: Bush Presidential Records
Office: National Security Council
Series: Blackwill, Robert D., Files
Subseries: Chronological Files
WHORM Cat.:
File Location: August 1989 [2]

Date Closed: 6/22/2011	OA/ID Number: 30546
FOIA/SYS Case #: 2011-0298-F	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]
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 (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.
02b. Action memo	Nancy Bearg Dyke & Condoleezza Rice to Brent Scowcroft RE: Letter from Judge Webster (2 pp.)	8/14/89	(b)(1)	S

Collection:

Record Group: Bush Presidential Records
Office: National Security Council
Series: Blackwill, Robert D., Files
Subseries: Chronological Files
WHORM Cat.:
File Location: August 1989 [2]

Date Closed: 6/22/2011	OA/ID Number: 30546
FOIA/SYS Case #: 2011-0298-F	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]
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The Director of Central Intelligence

Washington D C 20505

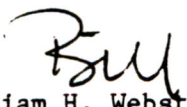
July 31, 1989

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

Dear General Scowcroft:

I want to keep you up-to-date on the state of play regarding the Soviet emigre issue. Enclosed is a copy of a letter I sent to Larry Eagleburger raising some of my concerns. State is trying to accommodate the Intelligence Community's concerns, but they have already concluded that the Rome processing center will be closed. I think that may be a bit premature.

Sincerely,


William H. Webster

Enclosure

Withdrawal/Redaction Sheet

(George Bush Library)

Document No. and Type	Subject/Title of Document	Date	Restriction	Class.
02d. Letter	William H. Webster to Lawrence S. Eagleburger RE: Soviet refugee policy (3 pp.)	7/27/89	(b)(1)	S

Collection:

Record Group: Bush Presidential Records
Office: National Security Council
Series: Blackwill, Robert D., Files
Subseries: Chronological Files
WHORM Cat.:
File Location: August 1989 [2]

Date Closed: 6/22/2011	OA/ID Number: 30546
FOIA/SYS Case #: 2011-0298-F	Appeal Case #:
Re-review Case #:	Appeal Disposition:
P-2/P-5 Review Case #:	Disposition Date:
AR Case #:	MR Case #:
AR Disposition:	MR Disposition:
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RESTRICTION CODES

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Withdrawal/Redaction Sheet

(George Bush Library)

Document No. and Type	Subject/Title of Document	Date	Restriction	Class.
02e. Memo	Memo for the Record RE: Émigré Reporting (2 pp.)	7/20/89	(b)(1)	S

Collection:

Record Group: Bush Presidential Records
Office: National Security Council
Series: Blackwill, Robert D., Files
Subseries: Chronological Files
WHORM Cat.:
File Location: August 1989 [2]

Date Closed: 6/22/2011 **OA/ID Number:** 30546

FOIA/SYS Case #: 2011-0298-F

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)]

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

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PRM. Removed as a personal record misfile.

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Withdrawal/Redaction Sheet

(George Bush Library)

Document No. and Type	Subject/Title of Document	Date	Restriction	Class.
02f. Memo	Memo for the Record RE: Émigré Reporting (5 pp.)	7/24/89	(b)(1)	S

Collection:

Record Group: Bush Presidential Records
Office: National Security Council
Series: Blackwill, Robert D., Files
Subseries: Chronological Files
WHORM Cat.:
File Location: August 1989 [2]

Date Closed: 6/22/2011	OA/ID Number: 30546
FOIA/SYS Case #: 2011-0298-F	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

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UNCLASSIFIED
NSC/S PROFILE

RECORD ID: 8906199
RECEIVED: 08 AUG 89 09

TO: DAM, MARCIA W

FROM: SCOWCROFT

DOC DATE: 21 AUG 89
SOURCE REF:

KEYWORDS: ARMS CONTROL

MP

PERSONS:

SUBJECT: LTR FM INSTITUTE FOR EAST WEST SECURITY STUDIES RE ARMS CONTROL

ACTION: SCOWCROFT SGD LTR

DUE DATE: 11 AUG 89

STATUS: C

STAFF OFFICER: GORDON

LOGREF:

FILES: WH

NSCIF:

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
BLACKWILL
KANTER
TOBEY

COMMENTS: _____

DISPATCHED BY _____ DATE _____ BY HAND W/ATTCH

OPENED BY: NSRCB

CLOSED BY: NSBTM

DOC 3 OF 3

UNCLASSIFIED

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

August 21, 1989

Marcia
Dear Mrs. Dam,

Thank you for forwarding to me a copy of Challenges of Verification: Smaller States and Arms Control. Dr. Gaertner proposes some creative solutions to some of the most difficult verification problems we face. I look forward to further thought-provoking publications from the Institute for East-West Security Studies.

*Arrive Gaertner
and Bob Blackwell
on my staff would be
pleased to receive your
publications.
Could you hear
from you.*

Sincerely,

Brent

Brent Scowcroft

Mrs. Marcia Dam
Coordinator of Public Affairs
Institute for East-West Security Studies
360 Lexington Avenue
New York, New York 10017

NATIONAL SECURITY COUNCIL
WASHINGTON, D.C. 20506

August 14, 1989

ACTION

MEMORANDUM FOR BRENT SCOWCROFT

THROUGH: ARNOLD ^{JK}KANTER

FROM: WILLIAM ^{WJ}TOBEY

SUBJECT: Letter from Marcia Wachs Dam

SIGNED

At Tab I is a response to Marcia Wachs Dam, who has written to you (Tab A) forwarding a booklet on the role smaller states can play in verification of arms control treaties, such as a Comprehensive Nuclear Test Ban (CTB), conventional arms reductions, and a ban on chemical weapons production or use. In some cases (e.g. CTB), it is not clear that the proposed treaty would be consistent with U.S. interests, even if verification problems could be solved. Nonetheless, the booklet is a creative discussion of difficult problems.

RECOMMENDATION

That you sign the response at Tab I.

Approve ✓

Disapprove

Attachments

Tab I Response to Mrs. Dam
Tab II Incoming



6199
staff
for BS
AUG 1989

Institute for East-West Security Studies

Dear Brent,

Dr. Heinz Gaertner, a Resident Fellow at the Institute for East-West Security Studies, a research fellow at the Austrian Institute for International Affairs, and a member of the Expert Group on Arms Control at the Austrian Foreign Ministry, is in a unique position to explore the role of the smaller European states in arms control negotiations and verification.

The IEWSS Occasional Paper, by Dr. Gaertner Challenges of Verification: Smaller States and Arms Control published this month, considers whether the involvement of neutral and nonaligned states helps to overcome the traditional East-West polarization. It explores the possibility that smaller nations, including smaller members of the Warsaw Pact and NATO, could make positive contributions (1) to the verification of reductions in conventional forces, (2) to a chemical weapons conference, and (3) to a comprehensive nuclear test ban. Dr. Gaertner carefully analyzes the political and technological conditions necessary if neutral and nonaligned states are to participate in arms control negotiations and multilateral verification.

I am sending you a complimentary copy of Challenges of Verification in the hope that you will send me your comments and suggest others who would be interested in this IEWSS Occasional Paper.

Are there any others
at the NSC. You'd
like me to send our
publications to? I hear
you're doing a great job quietly! M.

Sincerely yours,

Marcia Wachs Dam

Marcia Wachs Dam
Coordinator of Public Affairs



Institute for East-West Security Studies

Marcia Wachs Dam

Public Affairs Coordinator

360 Lexington Avenue • New York, New York 10017

(212) 557-2570

Fax: (212) 949-8043

Telex: 499-0809

Cable: EWSECUR

Challenges of Verification: Smaller States and Arms Control

Heinz Gaertner



Institute for East-West Security Studies
New York

1989

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

NATIONAL SECURITY COUNCIL
WASHINGTON, D.C. 20506

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~
W/UNCLASSIFIED ATTACHMENT

Basora

BB

6566

August 19, 1989

ACTION

MEMORANDUM FOR BRENT SCOWCROFT

THROUGH: ADRIAN A. BASORA (ACTING) *AAB*

FROM: ROBERT L. HUTCHINGS *RZH*

SUBJECT: Press Guidance on Poland

Natl Sec Advisor
has seen

Attached, per our conversation, is revised press guidance for use at Monday's 10:30 a.m. press briefing. By that time, the media will have reacted to today's dramatic announcement that Jaruzelski proposes Tadeusz Mazowiecki to be Prime Minister of a Solidarity-led government. Ambassador Davis, with whom I spoke by phone today, expects the Sejm to vote on the nomination on Wednesday, August 23. We have already forwarded a Statement by the Press Secretary for issuance once Mazowiecki has been confirmed as Prime Minister. Meanwhile, we will need to respond to press queries as this historic process unfolds.

RECOMMENDATION

That you approve the Tab I press guidance for use at the press briefing on Monday, August 21.

Approve *[Signature]*

Disapprove _____

Attachment

Tab I Press Guidance on Poland

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~ W/UNCLASSIFIED
ATTACHMENT

Declassify on: OADR

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

DECLASSIFIED
PER E.O. 13526

2012-0262-MR
7/21/2014 MM

PRESS GUIDANCE
ON POLAND

- We are encouraged by the way the Polish leadership is responding to the challenge of undertaking major and difficult reforms of the Polish political system. This process has proceeded peacefully, with all sides showing political wisdom and restraint in an ongoing political dialogue.
- If the Polish Parliament approves President Jaruzelski's nomination of Tadeusz Mazowiecki as Prime Minister, this would be a further dramatic step toward creation of a government that would enjoy broad popular support.
- We would not wish to comment further on the ongoing process of forming a new government in Poland. This is a matter for the Poles to decide.
- (IF RAISED) It is premature to speak of possible new forms of economic assistance until a new Polish government is in place.
 - o As you know, we have already announced a set a of economic assistance measures and are developing concerted Western action in support of economic and political reform in Poland.
 - o Economic recovery ultimately depends on steps -- difficult steps -- the Poles themselves must take toward economic reform, which is essential for Western aid to be effective.
 - o Once a new Polish government is confirmed, we look forward to early discussions on its economic plans.

LOWENKRON

BB

6428

NATIONAL SECURITY COUNCIL
WASHINGTON, D.C. 20506

August 19, 1989

MEMORANDUM FOR J. STAPLETON ROY
Executive Secretary
Department of State

SUBJECT: Request for Presidential Participation in
American Ex-Prisoners of War Convention

In response to your request, the President's schedule precludes him from accepting the invitation to travel to Niagara Falls September 21 to attend the American Ex-Prisoners of War Convention.


G. Philip Hughes
Executive Secretary

NATIONAL SECURITY COUNCIL
WASHINGTON, D.C. 20506

Natl Sec Advisor
has seen

August 17, 1989

ACTION

MEMORANDUM FOR BRENT SCOWCROFT

THROUGH: ADRIAN BASORA (ACTING) *AAB*
FROM: BARRY F. LOWENKRON *BL*
SUBJECT: Presidential Invitation to American Ex-Prisoners
of War Convention

At Tab I is a memorandum from Philip Hughes to J. Stapleton Roy informing him that the President will be unable to attend a "Hands Across the Border" ceremony, September 21 at Niagara Falls, organized by U.S. and Canadian POWs. (The State request is at Tab II. Canadian officials have not yet broached the subject with Prime Minister Mulroney, waiting to hear from us whether the President will attend.) In addition to a full plate of events on the 21st, the President is scheduled to meet with Hungarian Minister of State Imre Pozsgay.

RECOMMENDATION

That you authorize Philip Hughes to sign the memorandum at Tab I.

Approve *B*

Disapprove _____

Attachments

Tab I Hughes Memorandum to Roy
Tab II State Incoming



S/S 8916367

United States Department of State

Washington, D.C. 20520

6428

August 14, 1989

MEMORANDUM FOR BRENT SCOWCROFT
THE WHITE HOUSE

Subject: Invitation to the President to attend the American
Ex-Prisoners of War Convention

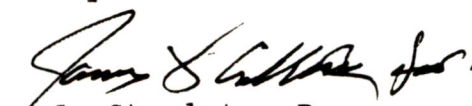
We have been approached by the Canadian Embassy regarding the President's possible attendance at the American Ex-Prisoners of War Convention at Niagara Falls, New York, on Thursday, September 21, 1989. The National Prisoners of War Association of Canada, which will concurrently hold its convention in Niagara Falls, Ontario, has invited Canadian Prime Minister Brian Mulroney to attend its function.

The two ex-POW associations will be holding a memorial service at 11:00 a.m. on September 21 at the International Rainbow Bridge border crossing, followed by a "Hands Across the Border" exchange of flags ceremony. The convention organizers have invited the President and the Canadian Prime Minister to participate in this ceremony.

The Department has consulted with the Department of Veterans Affairs, which reports that the American Ex-Prisoners of War Association is a respected organization, chartered by the Congress, and composed primarily of World War II era veterans. Representatives of this group, which numbers approximately 30,000, have visited the White House on several occasions.

The Department recommends that the President participate in the "Hands Across the Border" ceremony, especially if Prime Minister Mulroney is in attendance. Should both leaders attend, a large turnout by the membership of the U.S. and Canadian ex-POW associations is anticipated. The Department of Veterans Affairs supports our recommendation.

The Canadian Embassy is awaiting information of the President's intentions before making its recommendation to the Prime Minister. The Department would welcome any information we may convey to the Canadian Embassy.


J. Stapleton Roy
Executive Secretary

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~
NSC/S PROFILE

RECORD ID: 8906519
RECEIVED: 17 AUG 89 18

TO: SCOWCROFT

FROM: LOWENKRON

DOC DATE: 17 AUG 89
SOURCE REF:

KEYWORDS: FINLAND

ANSA

PERSONS. PAASIO, PERTTI

SUBJECT: APPT REQUEST FM FOMIN OF FINLAND TO MEET W/ SCOWCROFT 20 - 23 SEP

ACTION: SCOWCROFT APPROVED RECOM DUE DATE: 21 AUG 89 STATUS: C

STAFF OFFICER: LOWENKRON

LOGREF:

FILES: WH

NSCIF:

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

BASORA

BLACKWILL

GANTT

LOWENKRON

COMMENTS:

DISPATCHED BY _____ DATE _____ BY HAND W/ATTCH

OPENED BY: NSWJR

CLOSED BY: NSBTM

DOC 1 OF 1

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

DECLASSIFIED
White House Guidelines
E.O. 13526, SEC 3.4 (b), September 11, 2006
By 4 NARA, Date 6/22/11

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

6519

NATIONAL SECURITY COUNCIL
WASHINGTON, D.C. 20506

Natl Sec Advisor
has seen

August 18, 1989

ACTION

MEMORANDUM FOR BRENT SCOWCROFT

THROUGH: ADRIAN BASORA (ACTING) *AB*
FROM: BARRY F. LOWENKRON *BL*
SUBJECT: Appointment Request for Pertti Paasio, Foreign
Minister of Finland

Pertti Paasio, Finland's Foreign Minister, will be in Washington September 20-23 for consultations, and to commemorate the 70th anniversary of the establishment of diplomatic relations with the United States. He requested a meeting with you to discuss arms control, the state of U.S.-Soviet relations, and recent developments within Europe. We think such a meeting would be useful to convey our views on these issues. Should you agree to meet with Minister Paasio, we will forward to you a briefing memorandum along with the Minister's biographic information.

RECOMMENDATION

That you agree to meet with Foreign Minister Paasio for thirty minutes on Thursday, September 21, or the morning of Friday, September 22.

Approve *AD* Disapprove _____

Time: Thursday, September 21 3:30 pm

Friday Morning, September 22 _____

DECLASSIFIED
PER NSC WAIVER, 1500 2021-02
By SS NARA, Date 9/14/25

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

Declassify on: OADR

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

BASORA

BB

6392

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

August 18, 1989



Dear Howard,

Thank you for sending the memorandum prepared by Harald Malmgren. With your recommendation in mind, two of Bob Blackwill's colleagues in the European and Soviet Directorate met with him on August 16. They had a long and interesting conversation about economic reforms in Estonia and developments in the Soviet Union more generally.

I appreciate your sharing Malmgren's impressions with me. They are useful in tracking the sweeping changes now unfolding in the Soviet Union.

Sincerely,

Brent Scowcroft

The Honorable Howard H. Baker, Jr.
Baker, Worthington, Crossley,
Stansberry, and Woolf
1001 Pennsylvania Avenue, N.W.
Washington, D.C. 20004

NATIONAL SECURITY COUNCIL
WASHINGTON, D.C. 20508

August 17, 1989

ACTION

MEMORANDUM FOR BRENT SCOWCROFT

THROUGH: ADRIAN A. BASORA (ACTING) *AAB*
FROM: ROBERT L. HUTCHINGS *R.L.H.*
SUBJECT: Letter from Howard Baker

At Tab I is a proposed reply from you to Howard Baker, who had written you August 10, enclosing a four-page memo from former USTR Harald Malmgren concerning the latter's recent visit to Estonia. The memo outlines plans toward Estonian economic self-management, which Gorbachev himself has supported as a model for broader implementation in the USSR.

Baker also suggests that you or Bob Blackwill might want to meet with Malmgren. In Bob's absence, Adrian Basora and I met with him yesterday. His views were interesting, though they reflected the somewhat unrealistic expectations in Estonia of what the West might do to help.

RECOMMENDATION

That you sign the Tab I letter to Howard Baker.

Attachments

Tab I Letter to Baker
Tab II Incoming from Baker

(392)

filed in 65-2-E

BAKER, WORTHINGTON, CROSSLEY, STANSBERRY & WOOLF

ATTORNEYS AT LAW

1001 PENNSYLVANIA AVENUE, N.W.
WASHINGTON, D.C. 20004

KNOXVILLE, TENNESSEE 37902
BANK OF EAST TENNESSEE BUILDING
TELEPHONE 615 549-7000
TELECOPIER 615 525-8569

TELEPHONE 202 347-4360
TELECOPIER 202 347-4540

JOHNSON CITY, TENNESSEE 37601
207 MOCKINGBIRD LANE
TELEPHONE 615 928-0181
TELECOPIER 615 928-5694

NASHVILLE, TENNESSEE 37219
1700 NASHVILLE CITY CENTER
TELEPHONE 615 726-5600
TELECOPIER 615 726-0464

HUNTSVILLE, TENNESSEE 37756
COURTHOUSE SQUARE
TELEPHONE 615 663-2321
TELECOPIER 615 663-2111

HENDERSONVILLE, TENNESSEE 37075
MAPLE GLEN OFFICE BUILDING
TELEPHONE 615 822-8822
TELECOPIER 615 824-4684

August 10, 1989

AUG 11 1989

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

Dear Brent:

Attached is a memorandum prepared for me by Harald Malmgren on his recent visit to Estonia and his several conversations with Estonian President Ruutel.

Malmgren, whom you may know and whose counsel I have profited from for a number of years, is an astute political observer. I think you will find his observations both interesting and useful. If you think it warranted, he is willing to sit down with either you or Bob Blackwill and expand further on the information provided in the memo.

Best wishes,

Sincerely,



Howard H. Baker, Jr.

3 August, 1989

Memorandum for Senator Howard Baker

From Harald Malmgren

Subject: Estonia and Moscow

Arnold Ruutel, President of the Estonian Republic, asked me to convey very discretely to someone close to President Bush the following observations on the interplay between Gorbachev and the Estonian leadership. These reflections were made to me over the course of three private (off calendar) meetings in his gardens lasting several hours, and he admonished that wide disclosure of these views would harm Gorbachev as well as the Estonian leaders.

Summary

1. Gorbachev has personally been working with Ruutel and the Estonian Communist Party First Secretary Vaino Valjas to develop the Estonian plans for economic self management (known as the Independently Managed Economy, or IME, plan). Further, Gorbachev has helped to guide the strategy and tactics of the Estonian leaders in maneuvering their ideas through the Supreme Soviet, and his staff have been crucial in formulating compromises at each step of the political process of the last year or so.
2. Gorbachev has promised Ruutel that the Estonian IME plan will be successfully maneuvered through the Supreme Soviet, although this may take more than one vote in coming months.
3. Gorbachev feels that the Communist Party is already in process of a drastic transition from top-down control to a new framework of political motivations based upon constituency politics (local party leaders suddenly feel the need to satisfy local interests in order to retain power). His next task must be to crack the traditional hold of the Russian bureaucrats in Moscow, and for this he feels it is not sufficient to press for change from the top. Therefore, he wants to stimulate a "bottom-up" source of competition from the Republics to challenge the "top-down" managers of the national ministries and state enterprises.
4. Gorbachev has therefore explained to Ruutel and Valjas that he strongly supports the concept of economic self-management in the Republics, but prefers to begin with a limited experiment in Estonia. He is said to feel that Lithuania and Latvia are not yet ready, and that the other republics have given little thought to how to implement such an approach.

5. Gorbachev has implied that he wants true self-management for Estonia, so that privatization of farming and business can be implemented without the necessity of a Moscow political decision. Moreover, Gorbachev has encourage the Estonian leaders to seek to internationalize their economy independently of the Moscow system, by pursuing independent foreign ventures with the aim of retaining all foreign currency earnings for Estonian use, rather than transferring such hard currency to Moscow control. In this respect, he seems to have hinted that he would like to see the Estonian Republic become a "gateway" to the rest of the USSR, with business managed from one republic to another, bypassing the Moscow control system and creating new competition.

6. Gorbachev is also quietly helping the Estonian leaders in their handling of the Soviet parliamentary debate on the implications of the Molotov-Ribbentrop pact. It would appear that he does want the Baltics to be able to establish a certain degree of legal autonomy -- at least for economic or commercial purposes.

7. Ruutel says that he has already discussed with Gorbachev the closing of military facilities in Estonia in the context of US-USSR arms control talks in the next two or three years (especially the Tartu air base for "backfire" bombers). Ruutel implied that Estonia would become part of a "buffer area." He was hoping that Tartu air base would become an international air freight hub.

8. Ruutel emphatically said that he does not want the US government to change its position on non-recognition, and that no hints or subtle adjustments should be made at this moment in order to avoid misunderstandings and counterproductive maneuvers by the hardline element in Moscow. In this respect, he mentioned the recent visit of the American Consul General from Leningrad, Richard Miles, which Ruutel felt had taken on too much of an appearance of an official visit, when the Estonian leaders would prefer a more informal process of contact (tourism and social dinners were more appropriate modes of contact with the US diplomatic system). On the Estonian side, there is desire to send various high officials to the US to make informal contacts, but that this process should take place under the umbrella of private events. (For example, Professor Tiitma, the Minister of Ideology, and right hand man of Valjas, will soon attend the American Sociological Association annual meeting in San Francisco, and he has asked me to arrange some friendly meals with suitable people in Washington in mid-August. Dr. Otsason, the Deputy Prime Minister for economic planning, has also asked me to find a suitable framework for a visit at an early date, to enable him to explain the objectives of IME.)

9. Ruutel hoped that gradually the US might consider some form of "differentiated policy" towards the Estonian IME experiment, encouraging the privatization and internationalization process

while taking care not to generate contentions with Moscow.
10. Ruutel, Valjas, and a handful of other Estonian leaders feel that Gorbachev is their best hope for the future, and that his objectives and theirs are convergent. Therefore, the Estonian Communist Party and the President were the real core of the economic reform movement, including the pursuit of IME. Ruutel said that the Popular Front included many extreme views, but that the key players supported the back-room maneuvers between Gorbachev and the Ruutel-Valjas team.

Comment

This was my third visit to Estonia in the last fourteen months, and I am returning in September. In this most recent visit, I was guest of the Deputy Prime Minister, and traveled to various cities as guest of the regional officials, to examine the Estonian economy and give my advice on the prospects for a world reorientation under IME.

Younger Communist Party leaders, especially Laak (Tartu), Raidla (Parnu), and Tahmlett (Saaremaa) seem to be working intimately closely with Ruutel in pursuing the IME initiative. Thus, the Prime Minister (Toome) seems to be a supporting player, with Ruutel and Valjas working directly with the regional bosses.

I did not see Valjas, but it was said that he has been somewhat ill lately.

I did have lengthy discussions with Tiitma, which were consistent with what Ruutel told me. Ruutel, for his part, indicated that Tiitma was now close to Gorbachev also.

In previous visits, I felt the Estonian leaders were pursuing a dream in their espousal of economic self-management. Moreover, I thought that the extremists would spoil the endeavor by challenging Moscow too directly about sovereignty and independence. Now, I feel that the Estonians have their own extremists under control, and that their strategy for gradual evolution of IME is realistic, at least in political terms.

Economically, I feel there is a foundation for internationalization of the Estonian economy, and that some quiet momentum is already evident. For example, Finnair and SAS are planning to open direct flights into Tallinn soon, and Swedish ferries will be initiated for travel to Saaremaa and Hiiumaa islands next spring (these islands have been closed to westerners since the 1940's, but once were major summer places for Swedes). Swedish and Finnish businessmen are crawling all over Estonia. Some Paris and London financial houses have asked to open informal contacts to explore the implications of IME.

It is clear to me that the Estonians strongly prefer to develop

new joint ventures with American and Japanese enterprises, since their historical experience has been that the Swedes and Finns try to control the Estonians and exploit their intermediary position, keeping other westerners at arms length.

The regional party leaders in Estonia would really like to have some technical help from the overseas programs of the US Department of Agriculture, especially help in establishing model farms for education, in assisting their research and development of veterinary medicine, and in teaching Estonians how to employ high technology in agriculture. In my opinion, the agricultural potential of Estonia is substantial.

In industry and services, there is potential for hard-currency based development in selected areas, especially in biotechnology, medical services, tourism, light industry (based upon labor-saving technologies), and services to other republics such as in tourism and banking.

I noted in my discussions that industrial processes which are labor-saving almost always involve dual-use technologies (e.g. computer-controlled manufacturing). I raised the idea that Estonia might offer to become an "open zone," so that its employment of dual-use technologies could be monitored by Western governments or businesses. This could constitute another kind of "confidence-building" measure. Several Estonians said they felt this was possible, and that Gorbachev might well support such an idea, since it would be a means of keeping the fingers of the military off civilian technology, allowing its undiluted use in education and the improvement of economic productivity.

In conclusion, I think the rapid development of the economic self-management idea in recent months is remarkable; and its fit with the political and power-structure maneuvers of Gorbachev is even more remarkable.

Gosplan, including Minister Maslyukov, will try to slow the momentum, but I now think the IME process will evolve over time into a framework of self-management which could open the possibility of a new gateway into the USSR.

Withdrawal/Redaction Sheet

(George Bush Library)

Document No. and Type	Subject/Title of Document	Date	Restriction	Class.
05a. Memo	Barry F. Lowenkron to Brent Scowcroft RE: Your Appointment with Nuzhet Kandemir (2 pp.)	8/18/89	(b)(1)	S

Collection:

Record Group: Bush Presidential Records
Office: National Security Council
Series: Blackwill, Robert D., Files
Subseries: Chronological Files
WHORM Cat.:
File Location: August 1989 [2]

Date Closed:	6/22/2011	OA/ID Number:	30546
FOIA/SYS Case #:	2011-0298-F	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.
05b. Report	Government report (1 pp.)	8/3/89	(b)(1)	S

Collection:

Record Group: Bush Presidential Records
Office: National Security Council
Series: Blackwill, Robert D., Files
Subseries: Chronological Files
WHORM Cat.:
File Location: August 1989 [2]

Date Closed: 6/22/2011	OA/ID Number: 30546
FOIA/SYS Case #: 2011-0298-F	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

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

6064

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON



BASORA

August 17, 1989

SCHEDULE PROPOSAL

TO: JOSEPH W. HAGIN, II, Director,
Presidential Appointments and Scheduling

FROM: BRENT SCOWCROFT 

REQUEST: Meeting with Yugoslav Prime Minister Ante Markovic

PURPOSE: To demonstrate U.S. support for Markovic's reform agenda at a time of heightened instability in Yugoslavia

BACKGROUND: Prime Minister Markovic plans to come to the U.S. in early October for meetings with representatives of the U.S. business community and has requested a meeting with you. He would adjust the dates of his Washington visit to meet your schedule.

PREVIOUS PARTICIPATION: None

DATE & TIME: October 4-16
DURATION: 20-30 minutes

LOCATION: Oval Office

PARTICIPANTS: The President, Secretary Baker, Governor Sununu, Brent Scowcroft, Robert Gates, Robert Blackwill, Prime Minister Markovic, and Charge d'Affaires Matic

OUTLINE OF EVENTS: Photo opportunity and brief discussion

REMARKS REQUIRED: To be provided by NSC

MEDIA COVERAGE: Open photo/writing pool

RECOMMENDED BY: NSC

OPPOSED BY: None

Attachment
Tab A List of Participants

DECLASSIFIED
PER NSC WAIVER, 1500 2021-02
By SS NARA, Date 9/4/25

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

Declassify on: OADR

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

PARTICIPANTS

U.S.

The President
The Vice President
James A. Baker, Secretary of State
John H. Sununu, Chief of Staff
Brent Scowcroft,
 Assistant to the President for National Security Affairs
Robert M. Gates,
 Assistant to the President and Deputy for National
 Security Affairs
Robert D. Blackwill, Special Assistant to the President for
 European and Soviet Affairs

Yugoslavia

Ante Markovic, Prime Minister
Vladimir Matic, Charge d'Affaires

Withdrawal/Redaction Sheet

(George Bush Library)

Document No. and Type	Subject/Title of Document	Date	Restriction	Class.
06b. Report	Re: Ante Markovic [FOIA RESTRICTIONS REDACTED] (2 pp.)	4/28/89	(b)(1), (b)(3)	C

Collection:

Record Group: Bush Presidential Records
Office: National Security Council
Series: Blackwill, Robert D., Files
Subseries: Chronological Files
WHORM Cat.:
File Location: August 1989 [2]

Document Partially Declassified
(Copy of Document Follows)
 By MM on 5/23/2016

Date Closed: 6/22/2011	OA/ID Number: 30546
FOIA/SYS Case #: 2011-0298-F	Appeal Case #:
Re-review Case #:	Appeal Disposition:
P-2/P-5 Review Case #:	Disposition Date:
AR Case #:	MR Case #: 2011-0436-MR(500)
AR Disposition:	MR Disposition: Released in Part
AR Disposition Date:	MR Disposition Date: 4/22/2014

RESTRICTION CODES

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

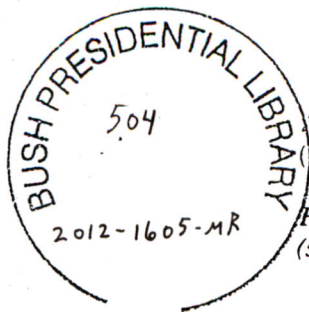
Freedom of Information Act - [5 U.S.C. 552(b)]

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.

(b)(1) National security classified information [(b)(1) 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



Ante MARKOVIĆ
(Phonetic: MARKohveech)

YUGOSLAVIA

President, Federal Executive Council (FEC)
(since March 1989)



Ante Marković succeeds Branko Mikulić as Yugoslav Premier during a period of economic crisis and heightened ethnic tension. A former Croatian premier (1982-86) and a member of the Croatian Presidency since 1986, Marković is an experienced administrator with a reputation for effective management. He is a strong supporter of economic reform and is determined to move Yugoslavia toward a market economy.

1.4(c); 1.4(d); (b)(3)

Marković set several conditions for taking the job of premier: the support of the regions in naming a competent Cabinet, the freedom to pursue vigorous economic reform, and a mandate of sufficient length to do so. He gained only part of what he asked; he must still dicker with the regions over policy (as he did over his Cabinet) and is unlikely to have a totally free hand to pursue major policy changes. The Federal Assembly (which formally elects the FEC) named Marković to fill only the remainder of Mikulić's term, which expires in May 1990; he is eligible, however, to be reelected to a four-year term.

Although Marković had to negotiate the allocation of posts in the FEC, he adhered less strictly to traditional proportional regional representation than did his predecessor; he nominated a reformist Cabinet in which the liberal northern republics are heavily represented. He was forced to make some political concessions, such as appointing a retired Serbian general for the important Internal Security portfolio, but overall he displayed a pragmatic mix of firmness and compromise in selecting people.

to deal with Yugoslavia's severe problems within the current political context.

Economic Responsibilities

As head of the FEC, Marković is one of the leading formulators of economic policy and devotes most of his attention to the current economic crisis. In speeches and conversations he has advocated a growth-oriented strategy, deregulation of the economy, formation of a unified Yugoslav market, and development of small businesses. He wants to increase exports to generate the hard currency earnings required for imports and to reduce the country's burdensome debt-service ratio. He also hopes to attract greater foreign investment and joint ventures to gain the capital, technologies, and skills needed for development.

Marković has claimed that he intends to pursue a restrictive monetary policy, but he opposes wage controls and has stated that structural reform is a necessary prerequisite to suppressing inflation. We believe that the current rate of inflation, which now approaches 1000 percent on an annual basis, will force him to address that problem sooner rather than

1.4(c); 1.4(d); (b)(3)

(cont.)
LDA M 89-12130

**DECLASSIFIED IN PART
PER E.O. 13526**

2011-0436-MR
4/22/2014 MM

later. However, because of the nature of Yugoslavia's political and economic system, Marković will have trouble implementing the necessary economic legislation and probably does not have the fiscal and monetary tools to make significant progress in combating inflation. 1.4(c); 1.4(d); (b)(3)

Career

A Croat, Marković was born on 25 November 1924 in Bosnia-Herzegovina. He has a technical degree. He joined the Partisans during World War II at 17 and the Communist Party in 1943. After the war he became active in politics and business, serving at various times as a member of the Central Committee of the League of Communists of Croatia, the Economic Chamber of the Sabor (Croatian Assembly), and the Economic Chamber of the Federal Assembly. He has been associated with plans to increase the influence of business in the Sabor. Marković established his reputation for capable management while serving during 1961-83 as director of Rade Koncar, one of Yugoslavia's largest manufacturers of electrical equipment. 1.4(c); 1.4(d); (b)(3)

During the last several years, Marković has been an important political figure in Croatia. As premier, he was a vocal defender of Croatia's economic interests, a tradition he continued as President. In May 1986 he became a member of the Central Committee of the League of Communists of Yugoslavia. 1.4(c); 1.4(d); (b)(3)

Personal Data

A skilled orator, Marković is known for his animated speeches. He has traveled widely and visited Florida in 1984 to meet with state officials and businessmen. He speaks Russian, German, and Italian but not English. Married, he has a grown son and daughter. 1.4(c); 1.4(d); (b)(3)

28 April 1989

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

6064

NATIONAL SECURITY COUNCIL
WASHINGTON, D.C. 20506

August 15, 1989

ACTION

MEMORANDUM FOR BRENT SCOWCROFT

THROUGH: ADRIAN A. BASORA (ACTING) *AHB*
FROM: ROBERT L. HUTCHINGS *RZH*
SUBJECT: Schedule Proposal for Yugoslav Prime Minister Ante Markovic

Markovic, who became Prime Minister in April 1988 with a strong commitment to economic and political reform, will be in Washington in early October to meet with members of the American business community. As Yugoslav Foreign Minister Loncar told you during your June 15 meeting, Markovic hopes to meet with the President.

State recommends that the President agree to meet with Markovic. We concur. This is a very delicate period for Yugoslavia, as the country grapples with rampant inflation, sharpening ethnic conflict, a fragmenting political system, and an East-West environment that has eroded much of the international sympathy for the Yugoslav predicament. Markovic is not the answer to all of Yugoslavia's problems, but his agenda is the right one. We believe a meeting with the President would be an important signal of U.S. support for the Markovic government and the reform course on which it has embarked.

RECOMMENDATION

That you sign the Tab I Schedule Proposal.

Attachments

Tab I Schedule Proposal w/Bio
Tab A List of Participants
Tab II State Incoming

DECLASSIFIED
PER NSC WAIVER, 1500 2021-02
By SS NARA, Date 9/4/25

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

Declassify on: OADR

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~



~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

Washington, D.C. 20520

August 2, 1989

MEMORANDUM FOR BRENT SCOWCROFT
THE WHITE HOUSE

Subject: Proposed Meeting between President Bush and
Yugoslav Prime Minister Ante Markovic

Yugoslav Prime Minister Ante Markovic will be in Washington the first two weeks of October to meet with members of the U.S. business community. He would like to schedule a private working meeting with President Bush during that time. The Yugoslavs have not supplied a tentative date as of yet but Markovic will accommodate the President's schedule. During your June 15 meeting with Yugoslav Foreign Minister Loncar, you voiced support for a meeting between the President and Markovic.

We are concerned about the sharp deterioration in the Yugoslav economy. Markovic has outlined details of a bold reform program and is currently negotiating with the IMF to move forward speedily with systemic restructuring. Markovic and his cabinet are dedicated to serious reforms, but domestic political pressure is mounting against him. The Serbian Party leadership has openly attacked Markovic, claiming that his program will benefit the more economically advanced northern republics of Slovenia and Croatia at the expense of the poorer southern republics and Serbia.

We are concerned about growing Serbian nationalism and its effect on Yugoslav stability as well as on the Albanian minority in Kosovo. We have avoided taking sides publicly but have expressed strong concerns privately. The House and Senate have passed amendments to the Foreign Assistance Act and Department of State Authorization bill, respectively, criticizing Yugoslavia's human rights situation.

Markovic's visit will give us an important and timely opportunity to support Markovic and other embattled forces in Yugoslavia working for political and economic reform. His meeting with the President would demonstrate our concern over the situation developing in Yugoslavia. We strongly recommend that the President meet with Markovic in early October.


J. Stapleton Roy
Executive Secretary

DECLASSIFIED

PER DOS WAIVER, November 6, 2015

By SS NARA, Date 9/4/25

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

DECL:OADR

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

6064

BASORA

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

August 17, 1989

SCHEDULE PROPOSAL

TO: JOSEPH W. HAGIN, II, Director,
Presidential Appointments and Scheduling

FROM: BRENT SCOWCROFT 

REQUEST: Meeting with Yugoslav Prime Minister Ante Markovic

PURPOSE: To demonstrate U.S. support for Markovic's reform agenda at a time of heightened instability in Yugoslavia

BACKGROUND: Prime Minister Markovic plans to come to the U.S. in early October for meetings with representatives of the U.S. business community and has requested a meeting with you. He would adjust the dates of his Washington visit to meet your schedule.

PREVIOUS PARTICIPATION: None

DATE & TIME: October 4-16
DURATION: 20-30 minutes

LOCATION: Oval Office

PARTICIPANTS: The President, Secretary Baker, Governor Sununu, Brent Scowcroft, Robert Gates, Robert Blackwill, Prime Minister Markovic, and Charge d'Affaires Matic

OUTLINE OF EVENTS: Photo opportunity and brief discussion

REMARKS REQUIRED: To be provided by NSC

MEDIA COVERAGE: Open photo/writing pool

RECOMMENDED BY: NSC

OPPOSED BY: None

Attachment
Tab A List of Participants

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PER NSC WAIVER, 1500 2021-02
By SS NARA, Date 9/4/25

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~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

PARTICIPANTS

U.S.

The President

The Vice President

James A. Baker, Secretary of State

John H. Sununu, Chief of Staff

Brent Scowcroft,

Assistant to the President for National Security Affairs

Robert M. Gates,

Assistant to the President and Deputy for National
Security Affairs

Robert D. Blackwill, Special Assistant to the President for
European and Soviet Affairs

Yugoslavia

Ante Markovic, Prime Minister

Vladimir Matic, Charge d'Affaires

Withdrawal/Redaction Sheet

(George Bush Library)

Document No. and Type	Subject/Title of Document	Date	Restriction	Class.
07b. Report	Re: Ante Markovic [FOIA RESTRICTIONS REDACTED] (2 pp.)	4/28/89	(b)(1), (b)(3)	C

Collection:

Record Group: Bush Presidential Records
Office: National Security Council
Series: Blackwill, Robert D., Files
Subseries: Chronological Files
WHORM Cat.:
File Location: August 1989 [2]

Document Partially Declassified
(Copy of Document Follows)
By MM on 5/23/2016

Date Closed: 6/22/2011	OA/ID Number: 30546
FOIA/SYS Case #: 2011-0298-F	Appeal Case #:
Re-review Case #:	Appeal Disposition:
P-2/P-5 Review Case #:	Disposition Date:
AR Case #:	MR Case #: 2011-0436-MR(500)
AR Disposition:	MR Disposition: Released in Part
AR Disposition Date:	MR Disposition Date: 4/22/2014

RESTRICTION CODES

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

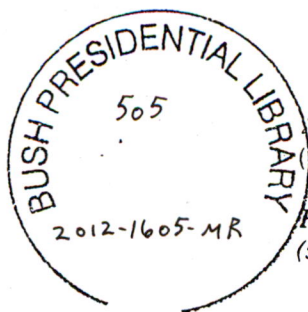
Freedom of Information Act - [5 U.S.C. 552(b)]

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.

(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



Ante MARKOVIĆ
(Phonetic: MARKohveech)

YUGOSLAVIA

*President, Federal Executive Council (FEC)
(since March 1989)*

Ante Marković succeeds Branko Mikulić as Yugoslav Premier during a period of economic crisis and heightened ethnic tension. A former Croatian premier (1982-86) and a member of the Croatian Presidency since 1986, Marković is an experienced administrator with a reputation for effective management. He is a strong supporter of economic reform and is determined to move Yugoslavia toward a market economy.



1.4(c); 1.4(d); (b)(3)

Marković set several conditions for taking the job of premier: the support of the regions in naming a competent Cabinet, the freedom to pursue vigorous economic reform, and a mandate of sufficient length to do so. He gained only part of what he asked; he must still dicker with the regions over policy (as he did over his Cabinet) and is unlikely to have a totally free hand to pursue major policy changes. The Federal Assembly (which formally elects the FEC) named Marković to fill only the remainder of Mikulić's term, which expires in May 1990; he is eligible, however, to be reelected to a four-year term.

Although Marković had to negotiate the allocation of posts in the FEC, he adhered less strictly to traditional proportional regional representation than did his predecessor; he nominated a reformist Cabinet in which the liberal northern republics are heavily represented. He was forced to make some political concessions, such as appointing a retired Serbian general for the important Internal Security portfolio, but overall he displayed a pragmatic mix of firmness and compromise in selecting people.

1.4(c); 1.4(d); (b)(3)

to deal with Yugoslavia's severe problems within the current political context.

Economic Responsibilities

As head of the FEC, Marković is one of the leading formulators of economic policy and devotes most of his attention to the current economic crisis. In speeches and conversations he has advocated a growth-oriented strategy, deregulation of the economy, formation of a unified Yugoslav market, and development of small businesses. He wants to increase exports to generate the hard currency earnings required for imports and to reduce the country's burdensome debt-service ratio. He also hopes to attract greater foreign investment and joint ventures to gain the capital, technologies, and skills needed for development.

1.4(c); 1.4(d); (b)(3)

Marković has claimed that he intends to pursue a restrictive monetary policy, but he opposes wage controls and has stated that structural reform is a necessary prerequisite to suppressing inflation. We believe that the current rate of inflation, which now approaches 1000 percent on an annual basis, will force him to address that problem sooner rather than

1.4(c); 1.4(d); (b)(3)

(cont.)

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2011-0436-MR

4/22/2014 MM

later. However, because of the nature of Yugoslavia's political and economic system, Marković will have trouble implementing the necessary economic legislation and probably does not have the fiscal and monetary tools to make significant progress in combating inflation. 1.4(c); 1.4(d); (b)(3)

Career

A Croat, Marković was born on 25 November 1924 in Bosnia-Herzegovina. He has a technical degree. He joined the Partisans during World War II at 17 and the Communist Party in 1943. After the war he became active in politics and business, serving at various times as a member of the Central Committee of the League of Communists of Croatia, the Economic Chamber of the Sabor (Croatian Assembly), and the Economic Chamber of the Federal Assembly. He has been associated with plans to increase the influence of business in the Sabor. Marković established his reputation for capable management while serving during 1961-83 as director of Rade Koncar, one of Yugoslavia's largest manufacturers of electrical equipment. 1.4(c); 1.4(d); (b)(3)

During the last several years, Marković has been an important political figure in Croatia. As premier, he was a vocal defender of Croatia's economic interests, a tradition he continued as President. In May 1986 he became a member of the Central Committee of the League of Communists of Yugoslavia. 1.4(c); 1.4(d); (b)(3)

Personal Data

A skilled orator, Marković is known for his animated speeches. He has traveled widely and visited Florida in 1984 to meet with state officials and businessmen. He speaks Russian, German, and Italian but not English. Married, he has a grown son and daughter. 1.4(c); 1.4(d); (b)(3)

28 April 1989

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6064

NATIONAL SECURITY COUNCIL
WASHINGTON, D.C. 20508

August 15, 1989

ACTION

MEMORANDUM FOR BRENT SCOWCROFT

THROUGH: ADRIAN A. BASORA (ACTING) *AHB*
FROM: ROBERT L. HUTCHINGS *RZH*
SUBJECT: Schedule Proposal for Yugoslav Prime Minister Ante Markovic

Markovic, who became Prime Minister in April 1988 with a strong commitment to economic and political reform, will be in Washington in early October to meet with members of the American business community. As Yugoslav Foreign Minister Loncar told you during your June 15 meeting, Markovic hopes to meet with the President.

State recommends that the President agree to meet with Markovic. We concur. This is a very delicate period for Yugoslavia, as the country grapples with rampant inflation, sharpening ethnic conflict, a fragmenting political system, and an East-West environment that has eroded much of the international sympathy for the Yugoslav predicament. Markovic is not the answer to all of Yugoslavia's problems, but his agenda is the right one. We believe a meeting with the President would be an important signal of U.S. support for the Markovic government and the reform course on which it has embarked.

RECOMMENDATION

That you sign the Tab I Schedule Proposal.

Attachments

Tab I Schedule Proposal w/Bio
Tab A List of Participants
Tab II State Incoming

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PER NSC WAIVER, 1500 2021-02
By SS NARA, Date 1/14/85

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Washington, D.C. 20520

August 2, 1989

MEMORANDUM FOR BRENT SCOWCROFT
THE WHITE HOUSE

Subject: Proposed Meeting between President Bush and
Yugoslav Prime Minister Ante Markovic

Yugoslav Prime Minister Ante Markovic will be in Washington the first two weeks of October to meet with members of the U.S. business community. He would like to schedule a private working meeting with President Bush during that time. The Yugoslavs have not supplied a tentative date as of yet but Markovic will accommodate the President's schedule. During your June 15 meeting with Yugoslav Foreign Minister Loncar, you voiced support for a meeting between the President and Markovic.

We are concerned about the sharp deterioration in the Yugoslav economy. Markovic has outlined details of a bold reform program and is currently negotiating with the IMF to move forward speedily with systemic restructuring. Markovic and his cabinet are dedicated to serious reforms, but domestic political pressure is mounting against him. The Serbian Party leadership has openly attacked Markovic, claiming that his program will benefit the more economically advanced northern republics of Slovenia and Croatia at the expense of the poorer southern republics and Serbia.

We are concerned about growing Serbian nationalism and its effect on Yugoslav stability as well as on the Albanian minority in Kosovo. We have avoided taking sides publicly but have expressed strong concerns privately. The House and Senate have passed amendments to the Foreign Assistance Act and Department of State Authorization bill, respectively, criticizing Yugoslavia's human rights situation.

Markovic's visit will give us an important and timely opportunity to support Markovic and other embattled forces in Yugoslavia working for political and economic reform. His meeting with the President would demonstrate our concern over the situation developing in Yugoslavia. We strongly recommend that the President meet with Markovic in early October.

J. Stapleton Roy
J. Stapleton Roy
Executive Secretary

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PER DOS WAIVER, November 6, 2015

By SS NARA, Date 9/4/85

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6513 Add-on

Chron

NATIONAL SECURITY COUNCIL
WASHINGTON, D.C. 20506

August 18, 1989

ACTION

MEMORANDUM FOR G. PHILIP HUGHES

FROM: ROBERT L. HUTCHINGS *RLH*
SUBJECT: Contingency Press Release on Poland

Attached is the contingency press release on Poland, amended per General Scowcroft's instructions, with covering memo to Cicconi. These replace Tab A and Tab II of the original package # 6513.

General Scowcroft has approved the new text for transmittal to Kennebunkport, for release only upon the nomination of a new Prime Minister and his approval by the Polish Parliament.

Concurrence by: Adrian A. Basora (Acting) *AAB*

RECOMMENDATION

That you sign the Tab I memorandum for Cicconi and transmit it, with the contingency press release, to Kennebunkport, with copies to Bob Gates and Bob Hall.

Approve _____ Disapprove _____

Attachments

Tab I Memorandum for Cicconi
Tab A Contingency Press Release

DECLASSIFIED
White House Guidelines
E.O. 13526, SEC 3.4 (b), September 11, 2006
By *ES* NARA, Date *5/13/14*

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~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

6513 Add-on

NATIONAL SECURITY COUNCIL
WASHINGTON, D.C. 20506

MEMORANDUM FOR JAMES W. CICCONI

FROM: G. PHILIP HUGHES

SUBJECT: Contingency Press Release on Poland

Press reports indicate that President Jaruzelski may name a new Polish Prime Minister tomorrow. In the event that he names Tadeusz Mazowiecki or some other Solidarity figure and the Polish Parliament moves quickly to endorse the nomination, we believe the President should be prepared to issue a prompt statement of congratulations. Attached is a contingency Press Release. General Scowcroft has approved the text, which should be released only after the Polish Parliament approves the nomination of a Solidarity Prime Minister.

Attachment

Tab A Proposed Press Release

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2012-0262-MR
7/21/2014 MR

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

THE WHITE HOUSE

Office of the Press Secretary

For Immediate Release

STATEMENT BY THE PRESS SECRETARY

The President congratulates (Mr. Mazowiecki) on his election as Prime Minister of Poland and assures him of our strong support as he seeks to lead his country toward economic recovery and democratic change. The President salutes President Jaruzelski, for his political wisdom in endorsing a government reflecting the genuine will of the Polish people, and Solidarity, under the leadership of Lech Walesa, for its constructive role in helping bring about a new beginning in Poland.

Since the Roundtable Agreement of last April, Poland has pursued a path of democratic change. The elections in June, the convening of Poland's new parliament and its election of General Jaruzelski as President, and now the election of (Mr. Mazowiecki) as Prime Minister are further dramatic signs of this historic process. These developments hold promise not only for a peaceful democratic transition in Poland but also for a broader process of European reconciliation, toward a Europe whole and free.

At Hamtramck, Michigan, just after the signing of the Roundtable Agreement between the Polish Government and Solidarity, the President pledged U.S. support for Poland's economic and political reforms. He reiterated that support during his visits to Warsaw and Gdansk last month and announced measures we are taking to assist. On this occasion, the President wants the Polish people and their new government to know that they will have our continued support as they meet the serious economic and political challenges before them.

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6502

NATIONAL SECURITY COUNCIL
WASHINGTON, D.C. 20506

Natl Sec Advisor
has seen

August 17, 1989

ACTION

MEMORANDUM FOR BRENT SCOWCROFT

THROUGH: ADRIAN BASORA (ACTING) *AAB*
FROM: BARRY F. LOWENKRON *BN*
SUBJECT: Appointment Request for Nuzhet Kandemir,
Ambassador from Turkey

Ambassador Kandemir, who presented his credentials to the President August 14, has requested an appointment with you to review the state of our bilateral relations. Kandemir will be accompanied by his DCM, Baryal Batibay. Should you agree to meet with Kandemir, we will provide you with a briefing memorandum and biographic data on the Ambassador.

RECOMMENDATION

That you agree to meet with Ambassador Kandemir on Monday, August 21, 2:00-2:30 p.m.

Approve *BD*

Disapprove _____

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By SS NARA, Date 9/14/25

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