

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

FOIA Number:
2011-0298-F

FOIA MARKER

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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: 30547
Folder ID Number: 30547-002

Folder Title:
August 1989 [4]

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

NATIONAL SECURITY COUNCIL
WASHINGTON, D.C. 20506

August 24, 1989

ACTION

MEMORANDUM FOR BRENT SCOWCROFT

THROUGH: ADRIAN A. BASORA (ACTING) *AA3*
FROM: PHILIP D. ZELIKOW *PZ*
SUBJECT: Schedule Proposal for U.K. Foreign Secretary John Major

John Major, the new British Foreign Secretary, will make his first official visit to Washington on September 11. His visit will allow the President to underscore U.S. positions on several key issues and would also be useful in demonstrating to the new British Foreign Secretary the value we continue to place on the US/UK "special relationship." Major has also requested meetings with other US Government officials, including the Vice President, Secretary Baker and Secretary Cheney.

RECOMMENDATION

That you sign the schedule proposal at Tab I

Attachments

Tab I Schedule Proposal
 Tab A List of Participants
Tab II Incoming Memorandum

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

SCHEDULE PROPOSAL

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

FROM: BRENT SCOWCROFT

REQUEST: Photo opportunity and meeting with John
Major, U.K. Foreign Secretary

PURPOSE: Would allow the President to underscore U.S.
position on several key issues, and would
also be useful in demonstrating to the new
British Foreign Secretary the value we
continue to place on the US/UK "special
relationship."

BACKGROUND: John Major is the new British Foreign
Secretary, and formerly No. 2 man in the
Treasury Department.

PREVIOUS
PARTICIPATION: None

DATE & TIME: September 11, 1989
DURATION: 30 minutes (prefers around 10:00 or
10:30 am)

LOCATION: Oval Office

PARTICIPANTS: The President, Secretary Baker, Governor
Sununu, Brent Scowcroft, Robert Blackwill,
Assistant Secretary Seitz

OUTLINE OF EVENTS: Photo opportunity and meeting

REMARKS REQUIRED: To be provided by NSC

MEDIA COVERAGE: Photo opportunity and 30 minute meeting

RECOMMENDED BY: NSC

OPPOSED BY: None

Attachment

Tab A List of Participants

PARTICIPANTS

U.S.

The President

James A. Baker, III, Secretary of State

John H. Sununu, Chief of Staff

Brent Scowcroft, Assistant to the President for National Security
Affairs

Robert D. Blackwill, Special Assistant to the President for
National Security Affairs

Raymond Seitz, Assistant Secretary of State

U.K.

John Major, British Foreign Minister

Other British participants to be provided



Washington, D.C. 20520

August 3, 1989

5955

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MEMORANDUM FOR BRENT SCOWCROFT
THE WHITE HOUSE

Subject: Visit of U.K. Foreign Secretary John Major: Request
for a Meeting with the President, September 11

John Major, the new British Foreign Secretary, will make his first official visit to Washington on September 11. The Department believes a 10-15 minute meeting and photo opportunity with the President during the morning would be appropriate and worthwhile. If the President's schedule is open, an 11:00 a.m. call would be best in terms of scheduling for Major.

A call on the President would allow him to underscore our position on several key issues, including Indochinese refugees and Argentina/Falklands. The meeting would also be useful in demonstrating to the British Government and our other allies the value we continue to place on the US-UK "special relationship."

Major has requested a meeting and working lunch with Secretary Baker from 11:30 a.m.-1:00 p.m., as well as calls on other senior government officials, including the Vice President and Secretary Cheney.


J. Stapleton Roy
Executive Secretary

Attachment:

Biographic information on John Major

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UNCLASSIFIED UPON
REMOVAL OF CLASSIFIED
ATTACHMENTS

mm 8/22/2023

Withdrawal/Redaction Sheet

(George Bush Library)

Document No. and Type	Subject/Title of Document	Date	Restriction	Class.
01b. Report	Government report (1 pp.)	7/24/89	(b)(1)	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 [4]

Date Closed: 6/23/2011	OA/ID Number: 30547
FOIA/SYS Case #: 2011-0298-F	Appeal Case #:
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P-2/P-5 Review Case #:	Disposition Date:
AR Case #:	MR Case #:
AR Disposition:	MR Disposition:
AR Disposition Date:	MR Disposition Date:

RESTRICTION CODES

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

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PRM. Removed as a personal record misfile.

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

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NATIONAL SECURITY COUNCIL
WASHINGTON, D.C. 20506

August 23, 1989

INFORMATION

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

MEMORANDUM FOR BRENT SCOWCROFT

THROUGH: ADRIAN BASORA (ACTING) *AAB*
FROM: BARRY F. LOWENKRON *BN*
SUBJECT: Visit of Canadian Prime Minister Mulroney to
Kennebunkport: The Catch of the Day

Fish and seafood are trying to swim and crawl onto the President's agenda when he hosts Canadian Prime Minister Mulroney and his family August 30-31 at Kennebunkport. At yesterday's meeting with Maine journalists, the President was asked about fishing disputes over the George's Bank as well as Canadian lobster catches. The President replied in general terms, reaffirming the friendship between both countries, and pointing out the need to handle the issues through the appropriate government channels. Nevertheless, the Canadian media has seized on the President's remarks as indication that he intends to resolve these disputes with Mulroney next week.

Fish. The Canadian maritime patrol has fired across the bow (and in one case seized) American boats fishing on the Canadian side of George's Bank. The Bank was divided equally by the World Court. The best fishing stocks, however, are on the Canadian side. Most U.S. fishermen abide by the boundary. The problem is caused by a handful of New Bedford fishermen who are willing to run the risks of seizure and heavy fines by Canadian officials, and who are not deterred by the more lenient fines imposed by our Coast Guard. We and the Canadians have established several working groups to deal with the issue. These groups are emphasizing the need for better maps delineating the border, upgraded navigational equipment, and the possibility of increasing US fines to fishermen who violate the border. In addition, Canadian officials have agreed to participate in a seminar hosted by the University of Maine to look at the entire range of fishing concerns in the North Atlantic.

Seafood. Lanny Griffith, Special Assistant to the President for Intergovernmental Affairs, has forwarded to us a faxed copy of a letter from Governor McKernan to the President (Tab I) requesting

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Declassify on: OADR

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~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

that he raise the issue of lobster catches when Canadian Prime Minister Mulroney visits Kennebunkport. The Governor wants the President to ask Mulroney to raise the minimum weight for Canadian lobsters to avoid the continued decline in lobster reproductive levels which would cause significant economic hardship to Maine.

On both issues, we recommend that you simply brief the President but that you not ask him to make demarches to Mulroney in view of the low level of importance of the issues and the fact that this is a private visit.

Attachment

Tab I McKernan Letter to the President

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~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

Withdrawal/Redaction Sheet

(George Bush Library)

Document No. and Type	Subject/Title of Document	Date	Restriction	Class.
02b. Letter	John R. McKernan, Jr. to President Bush RE: meeting with Prime Minister Mulroney (2 pp.)	8/23/89	(b)(1)	

Collection:

Record Group: Bush Presidential Records
Office: National Security Council
Series: Blackwill, Robert D., Files
Subseries: Chronological Files
WHORM Cat.:
File Location: August 1989 [4]

Date Closed:	6/23/2011	OA/ID Number:	30547
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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PRM. Removed as a personal record misfile.

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 (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.
03a. Action memo	Nancy Bearg Dyke to G. Philip Hughes RE: Soviet Emigration (1 pp.)	8/23/89	(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 [4]

Date Closed:	6/23/2011	OA/ID Number:	30547
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Withdrawal/Redaction Sheet

(George Bush Library)

Document No. and Type	Subject/Title of Document	Date	Restriction	Class.
03b. Memo	G. Philip Hughes to distro list RE: Soviet Emigration (1 pp.)	n.d.	(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 [4]

Date Closed: 6/23/2011	OA/ID Number: 30547
FOIA/SYS Case #: 2011-0298-F	Appeal Case #:
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Withdrawal/Redaction Sheet

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Document No. and Type	Subject/Title of Document	Date	Restriction	Class.
03c. Paper	Soviet Emigration (2 pp.)	n.d.	(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 [4]

Date Closed: 6/23/2011	OA/ID Number: 30547
FOIA/SYS Case #: 2011-0298-F	Appeal Case #:
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Withdrawal/Redaction Sheet

(George Bush Library)

Document No. and Type	Subject/Title of Document	Date	Restriction	Class.
03d. Memo	Memorandum for the Record RE: Soviet Emigration [page 5 through 9] (5 pp.)	6/29/89	(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 [4]

Date Closed:	6/23/2011	OA/ID Number:	30547
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~~SECRET~~

TAB B

10
~~SECRET~~

UNCLASSIFIED UPON
REMOVAL OF CLASSIFIED
ATTACHMENTS
1+ 6/23/11

Withdrawal/Redaction Sheet

(George Bush Library)

Document No. and Type	Subject/Title of Document	Date	Restriction	Class.
03e. Paper	Sources (1 pp.)	n.d.	(b)(1)	S

Collection:

Record Group: Bush Presidential Records
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Series: Blackwill, Robert D., Files
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NATIONAL SECURITY COUNCIL
WASHINGTON, D.C. 20508

August 23, 1989

ACTION

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

MEMORANDUM FOR BRENT SCOWCROFT

FROM: ADRIAN BASORA (ACTING) *AAB*
SUBJECT: Funding the President's Environmental Initiative
for Eastern Europe

There remains one important loose end in putting together the legislative and budgetary package needed to implement the President's initiatives in Poland and Hungary: who pays the \$20 million for environmental programs?

As things stand, since the Eastern European initiatives are to be paid for from already projected budgets through FY 91, State has been obliged to "swallow" \$125 million from the 150 account (foreign affairs) for the Enterprise Funds, and Labor is reallocating \$5 million from domestic programs for labor training and technical assistance in Poland and Hungary. The \$50 million in food aid will also come from existing budgets, partly from Agriculture's surplus commodities program and partly from the State/AID Food for Peace program.

From the beginning, however, EPA agreed to design programs for Poland and Hungary only on the understanding that the money would have to be additional to its already strained budget. Since, as we understand it, Dick Darman has the President's support for the "no new money" rule, the question is where else the money should come from. State believes that the \$125 million for the Enterprise Funds is all it can absorb in terms of reallocations from ESF or Development Assistance. EPA continues to state that its domestic program commitments and legislative mandates make it extremely difficult to reprogram any more than \$500,000 in FY 90 and the same in FY 91. (See memo at Tab I.) This still leaves a gap of \$19 million.

Dick Darman agrees with EPA, but Larry Eagleburger (with backing from Jim Baker) feels strongly that the 150 account must not be further depleted.

We have found half of the solution in that the Energy Department appears willing to reprogram \$10 million from its coal technology program. This will enable it to cover all of its portion of the environmental initiative for Poland (retrofitting a coal-burning

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Declassify on: OADR

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power plant in Krakow). This leaves \$5 million for Poland (an air quality monitoring system for Krakow, as well as a water quality assessment for the same area) and \$5 million for Hungary. All of the options for finding the \$9 million are difficult ones. They are, in essence:

1. Insist that State absorb the full \$9 million.
2. Push EPA to reprogram \$9 million.
3. Split the difference (i.e. State to absorb \$5 million, EPA to absorb an additional \$4 million).
4. Go back to Darman for an additional \$9 million for EPA from elsewhere in the budget, despite earlier understandings.

Since State and EPA both have good cases, option four seems the best solution in foreign policy terms. You will have a better sense of whether this is at all feasible from the political point of view. If not, option three seems best.

Concurrences: Bob Hutchings and Tim Deal.

RECOMMENDATION

That you discuss the issue with Darman to determine the best solution for funding the \$9 million.

Approve _____ Disapprove _____

Attachment

Tab I EPA Memo

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

July 6, 1989

President's Eastern European Environmental Initiative

The Environmental Protection Agency has reviewed the funding issues related to the President's Eastern European initiative. We are willing to commit to reprogramming funds sufficient to finance FY 1990 start up costs up to \$500,000.

For FY 91, as a foreign policy initiative, support for the Polish and Hungarian elements should properly come from the Department of State. One option is to reduce the foundation "endowment" of \$125 million to a level that allows \$20 million funding for the Polish and Hungarian elements or, simply expand State's total dollar commitment to include this Initiative. EPA would participate in the President's program by contributing FY 90 startup money, as well as our scientific and technical expertise.

Should the above not be an option, we would next propose that OMB look government-wide for the \$20 million needed.

EPA does not have sufficient resources within our base to redirect twenty million dollars, in 1991 and beyond, without a significant disruption in the Administration's current domestic environmental programs. Reprogramming this level within the EPA base would only further erode the Agency's ability to meet regulatory and other mandates. Moreover, the demands are increasing: a new Clean Air Act likely in the foreseeable future, strengthened enforcement, a solid waste office making decisions driven more by court ordered deadlines than EPA priorities, 8 new laws last year which do not have funding in FY 1990, and so on. In other words, without shedding some responsibilities, most of which are not discretionary, it is hard to see from where \$20 million could be reprogrammed.

NATIONAL SECURITY COUNCIL
WASHINGTON, D.C. 20506

August 23, 1989

ACTION

MEMORANDUM FOR BRENT SCOWCROFT

THROUGH: ADRIAN A. BASORA (ACTING) *AAB*
FROM: BARRY F. LOWENKRON *BN*
SUBJECT: Presidential Statement on Arrival of Danish
Prime Minister and Mrs. Schlueter to Kennebunkport

Per your request, at Tab I is a statement we have prepared for the President's use at the arrival of Prime Minister and Mrs. Schlueter to Kennebunkport.

RECOMMENDATION

That you authorize the NSC Secretariat to forward the draft message to Kennebunkport.

Attachment
Tab I Presidential Statement

THE WHITE HOUSE

Office of the Press Secretary

For Immediate Release

STATEMENT BY THE PRESIDENT

Barbara and I are delighted that Prime Minister and Mrs. Schlueter have accepted our invitation to come to Kennebunkport for a private visit. I view our gathering here as more than a meeting among fellow allies. It's a chance for me to spend some time with a close and personal friend. Barbara and I also want to give a special welcome to Mrs. Schlueter. We hope that this will be only the first of many opportunities in the years ahead to get together.

I'm sure the Prime Minister will agree with me when I say that we have witnessed many, dramatic changes in Europe over the last ten years. Today there are historic developments underway in Poland that could not have been imagined when he became Prime Minister. I look forward to our time together, to our discussions, and to the opportunity to reaffirm the bonds between Denmark and the United States.

Withdrawal/Redaction Sheet

(George Bush Library)

Document No. and Type	Subject/Title of Document	Date	Restriction	Class.
05a. Action memo	Barry F. Lowenkron to Brent Scowcroft RE: Visit of Prime Minister Mulroney and Family to Kennebunkport (1 pp.)	8/22/89	(b)(1)	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 [4]

Date Closed:	6/23/2011	OA/ID Number:	30547
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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PRM. Removed as a personal record misfile.

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THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTONDECLASSIFIED
PER NSC WAIVER, 1500 2021-02
By SS NARA, Date 9/1/25

MEMORANDUM FOR THE PRESIDENT

FROM: BRENT SCOWCROFT

SUBJECT: The Visit of Canadian Prime Minister Mulroney and his Family to Kennebunkport

Although Prime Minister Mulroney views the visit to Kennebunkport as a social one, we anticipate that several issues may come up during his stay. We recommend that you raise two specific issues with Mulroney: the future of our embassy in Ottawa (Secretary Baker's memorandum to you on the subject is at tab A), and Canada's anemic defense contribution to NATO. Outlined below for your background use is a checklist of issues.

U.S. Embassy in Ottawa. As Secretary Baker points out in his memorandum to you, the Canadian government's strategy appears to be to stall on our request to renovate and expand our facilities on the existing site. Because of the political sensitivities surrounding our current embassy location (directly across from Parliament Hill), Canadian officials have kicked the issue upstairs to the Prime Minister's office.

Canadian Defense Policy. Mulroney's April budget cuts gutted his 1987 Defense White Paper and ensured that Canada's defense expenditures -- hovering at 1.9% of GNP -- will continue to leave it next-to-last among the NATO allies, despite having a per capita GNP in NATO second only to ours. In addition to stressing the need to maintain an effective defense posture, we suggest a second line of reasoning to take with Mulroney. Although Canadian officials have commented favorably on your strong endorsement of the European pillar, they fear that, in the last analysis, a united Europe would still look to the U.S. for leadership, but would not be interested in preserving a role for Canada. We recommend that you impress upon Mulroney the need for a strong North American partnership -- based on a strong North American contribution -- with a more confident, united Europe.

Domestic Politics. Last November Mulroney accomplished what had not been done by Trudeau in the 1960s-1970s -- nor for that matter by any Canadian politician since the 1950s: winning back-to-back Parliamentary majorities. His success has been fueled by an economic upturn, as well as by the weakness and

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Declassify on: OADR

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disarray of the opposition Liberal and New Democratic Parties. Both parties -- which opposed the Free Trade Agreement -- are slated to pick new leaders over the next twelve months. While Mulroney's popularity remains tepid at best, our assessment is that the Liberals will need a minimum of 12-18 months to regroup and attempt a serious challenge to the current government.

Acid Rain. The Mulroney government welcomed your proposed legislation on clean air, stating that it could reduce acid rain deposition in Canada to acceptable levels (two million tons per year). Canadian public criticism has been dampened as well, although Mulroney still wants a commitment from us to negotiate a bilateral accord that includes specific targets and timetables on reductions of transboundary flows, as well as a binding dispute settlement mechanism. Last month we began informal discussions with Canadian officials on the elements of a possible acid rain agreement, but we have opposed targets and timetables because of the inability to accurately gauge transboundary flows, and we have rejected binding third party arbitration. Should Mulroney raise these issues, we recommend that you tell him that both provisions go beyond your proposals to the Congress, and would complicate rather than alleviate the main issue of bringing about acid rain reductions.

Permanent Joint Board on Defense (PJBD). August 1990 marks the 50th anniversary of the Ogdensburg Declaration signed by President Roosevelt and Prime Minister MacKenzie King that established the PJBD to consult on bilateral defense issues. Mulroney may ask whether you would consider participating in next year's anniversary celebrations. We recommend a positive response. The anniversary could be used as a target date for reinvigorating the Board and for calling attention to the need for a stronger Canadian defense posture. (You could helicopter to Ogdensburg from Kennebunkport.)

East-West Issues. Mulroney is scheduled to pay an official visit to the Soviet Union in late November where, among other topics, he will raise Arctic environmental issues. Canadian scientists have found high levels of toxins in the maritime life in the Arctic, attributable to Soviet pollution. Mulroney may also press for unilateral Soviet military reductions on the Kola Peninsula, and will reject any Soviet call for an Arctic nuclear weapons-free zone.

Open Skies. Canada has been one of the staunchest supporters of your "Open Skies" initiative. Mulroney will be pleased that, in approving the details of our approach to implementing this initiative, you held to the course of maximum openness, with no restrictions on where observing aircraft can fly except for the safety guidelines applicable to all aircraft. We now want Canada to help us take the next step, and have asked if Canada would like to host an international conference to begin negotiating an Open Skies accord later this year. We think such Canadian

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~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

sponsorship will give credit where it is due and boost Mulroney's leadership image at home.

Regional Issues. On Nicaragua, the Mulroney government has no illusions about the nature of the Sandinista regime. As the conflict winds down, the public pressure on Mulroney to criticize U.S. policies is declining as well. On Cuba, External Affairs Minister Clark has questioned whether the real motive behind Castro's "narcotics purge" is to tighten his control over the island. The Canadian government has reduced its profile on South Africa for the moment, although Mulroney is expected to shift the focus from trade to financial sanctions at the October Commonwealth meeting. On the Middle East, the Canadians have launched their own dialogue with the PLO, and are waiting to see whether our efforts bear fruit.

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THE SECRETARY OF STATE
WASHINGTON

6394

August 12, 1989

MEMORANDUM FOR: THE PRESIDENT
FROM: James A. Baker, III *JAB*
SUBJECT: The U.S. Embassy Building in Ottawa

For about eight months, the Canadians have been avoiding a decision on our request to renovate and expand at our present Embassy site on Parliament Hill in Ottawa. We feel our relationship dictates a presence in the heart of the city rather than six miles out of town, an option which, admittedly, was very actively pursued until the Congress made clear it would oppose the move.

The Department of State, Ambassador Ney and I have made clear to the Canadians that considerations of funding, security and public opinion leave us with no alternative except to renovate and expand at our present location. Currently, U.S. Embassy operations are scattered around Ottawa at seven separate locations.

The U.S. proposal is not popular with the GOC, which wants the site for itself. Its strategy appears to be to stall indefinitely. On August 3, the Prime Minister's Chief of Staff told Ambassador Ney that the issue had been "turned over" to National Capital Commission, the organization which wants the Embassy property as part of a comprehensive architectural plan for the entire Parliamentary precinct.

There would be a very negative reaction on the Hill if Canada does not allow the necessary expansion of our Chancery, especially after Canada secured a comparable site on Pennsylvania Avenue opposite Capitol Hill. This administration has worked hard to further strengthen the U.S.- Canada relationship which does not need an unnecessary irritant to sour it.

The Prime Minister is the key to an acceptable resolution of this issue. I ask that you use the occasion of your meeting with Mulroney at Kennebunkport to impress upon him the importance we attach to renovating and expanding the U.S. Embassy at its present location.

Withdrawal/Redaction Sheet

(George Bush Library)

Document No. and Type	Subject/Title of Document	Date	Restriction	Class.
05d. Report	Government report (2 pp.)	4/25/89	(b)(1)	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 [4]

Date Closed: 6/23/2011	OA/ID Number: 30547
FOIA/SYS Case #: 2011-0298-F	Appeal Case #:
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Withdrawal/Redaction Sheet

(George Bush Library)

Document No. and Type	Subject/Title of Document	Date	Restriction	Class.
05e. Report	Government report (1 pp.)	2/2/89	(b)(1)	

Collection:

Record Group: Bush Presidential Records
Office: National Security Council
Series: Blackwill, Robert D., Files
Subseries: Chronological Files
WHORM Cat.:
File Location: August 1989 [4]

Date Closed: 6/23/2011	OA/ID Number: 30547
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Withdrawal/Redaction Sheet

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Document No. and Type	Subject/Title of Document	Date	Restriction	Class.
06a. Action memo	Adrian Basora to Brent Scowcroft RE: Enterprise Funds for Poland and Hungary (2 pp.)	8/22/89	(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 [4]

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NATIONAL SECURITY COUNCIL
WASHINGTON, D.C. 20506

MEMORANDUM FOR RONALD K. PETERSON

FROM: G. PHILIP HUGHES

SUBJECT: Enterprise Funds for Poland and Hungary

The NSC concurs in the draft bill and concept paper, with changes noted to the latter.

Attachment

Tab A Draft Bill and Concept Paper



EXECUTIVE OFFICE OF THE PRESIDENT
OFFICE OF MANAGEMENT AND BUDGET
WASHINGTON, D.C. 20503

6520

SPECIAL

August 17, 1989

LEGISLATIVE REFERRAL MEMORANDUM

TO: Legislative Liaison Officer -

National Security Council (Hughes x3723)	249
Department of Justice (Perkins 633-2113)	217
Department of State (Bachrach 647-4463)	225
Department of the Treasury (Carro 566-8523)	228
United States Trade Representative (Bolten x3150)	223
Council of Economic Advisers (Tudor 395-5046)	242
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Agency for International Development (Lester 647-8371)	202
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Fax # 875-4009	
Environmental Protection Agency (Schilling 382-5414)	326
Overseas Private Investment Corp. (Hatton 457-7012)	221
Department of Commerce (Levitt 377-3151)	324

SUBJECT: State/AID drafted concept paper and draft bill on the Polish-American and Hungarian-American Enterprise Funds.

The Office of Management and Budget requests the views of your agency on the above subject before advising on its relationship to the program of the President, in accordance with OMB Circular A-19.

A response to this request for your views is needed no later than September 1, 1989.

Questions should be referred to ANNETTE ROONEY/SUE THAU (395-7300), the legislative analyst in this office.

Ronald K. Peterson

RONALD K. PETERSON FOR
Assistant Director for
Legislative Reference

Enclosure

cc: C.B. GRAY
T. THIELE
S. FARRAR

L. KAPLAN
E. REA

SPECIAL

CONCEPT PAPER
The Polish-American Enterprise Fund
The Hungarian-American Enterprise Fund

SUMMARY

Pursuant to the initiatives announced by the President for both Poland and Hungary, an Enterprise Fund for each country will be designated in order to promote the development of the private sector in each country. Both Funds will be private organizations capable of receiving financing from the USG and from other U.S. or host country entities, both public and private. Each organization will be directed by a private Board of Directors that will set policy and provide overall guidance on the objectives and procedures of the funds. Day-to-day management will be provided by a professional manager contracted by and responsible to each Board. The USG will be able to ensure that its objectives are met through the provisions of the grant agreements that it enters into with the Funds. It is anticipated each Fund will engage primarily in financial transactions to assist the private sector directly via the infusion of new capital resources but will also, when appropriate, provide policy and development assistance, such as management training or helping to revise the laws on banking and capital markets.

DESCRIPTION

For the purpose of promoting development of the Polish and Hungarian private sectors, including small business and joint ventures with U.S. and host country participants, and to promote policies and practices conducive to private sector development, through loans, grants, equity investments, feasibility studies, technical assistance, training and other measures, the President has announced his intention to support two funds, the Polish-American Enterprise Fund and the Hungarian-American Enterprise Fund. Although ~~fundamentally similar~~, the economic situations and constraints to private sector growth are sufficiently unique in each country that the two Funds will be independent and autonomous organizations, each with its own Board, legal structure, and authority to manage its operations in a manner appropriate to the specific country context in which it is dealing. Nevertheless, the Enterprise Fund for Poland and the Enterprise Fund for Hungary are expected to have the same basic structure for purposes of the USG provision of assistance. This unified approach achieves the benefit of one design effort and allows for common support mechanisms as appropriate.

(seek Congressional appropriation for)

There are similarities

-2-

It is anticipated that each Fund will be a private, non-profit organization with a charter and legal structure that will enable it to receive and manage appropriated USG funds, as well as contributions from others in the U.S. and the respective countries. While the Funds themselves will be nonprofit in nature, they will be free to join with private investors and lending institutions in the U.S. and in the respective country of operations in order to support various profit-making endeavors which are consistent with the basic purpose of promoting the private sector in each country. The Funds will be managed and operated in a business-like manner. Depending on the circumstances in the respective countries, the Funds may be able to engage in enough activities that can generate sufficient returns on the overall use of their assets so that the Funds can become self-sustaining. However, it is also possible that the best use of the Funds' resources will not generate returns adequate to achieve self-sufficiency. This is something that can not be determined in advance but will depend on the circumstances as judged by the Boards of Directors once operations are underway. USG grants will be structured in such a way that the Funds will be free to earn and retain income from the grant monies even prior to being disbursed by the Funds for their programs and projects.

It is expected that the Boards will be composed and operate as follows. Each Board of Directors will be comprised of distinguished individuals from the U.S. and the respective host countries. The majority will be private citizens of the U.S. who will be requested to serve by the President of the United States. The others will be independent representatives (i.e. branch of not members of the Executive (Government) of their host countries, who will be invited to participate by the U.S. Chairman after appropriate consultation with the respective governments. The Boards will, within the parameters established by the Fund charters and operating by-laws, set policy, provide overall guidance on the purpose, programs and operations of the Funds, set criteria for the use of the monies of the Funds, and generally provide high-level direction and management from a policy perspective. The Boards will meet periodically perhaps rotating meeting sites between the U.S. and respective countries.

USG policy guidance, advice and counsel will be provided to the Boards of each Fund based on the pertinent legislation and via the grant agreements used by the USG to make assistance available to the Funds. The Boards will be expected to ~~seek~~ ^{work within} broad foreign policy guidance ~~from the Secretary of State, and~~

(STEP)

provided by

-3-

~~will be given periodic opportunities to do so.~~ In addition, prior to agreeing to grant money to the Funds, the USG will review the statement of purpose, the system of operations, the system of accounting and financial controls, the by-laws, and other similar evidence that the Funds are indeed created and structured to achieve the intended objectives and that they are adequately prepared to administer and account for USG-granted monies.

It is expected that the operations of the Funds will be professionally managed by an organization with the breadth of experience and expertise to handle the full range of activities proposed for the Funds to undertake. Administrative arrangements that limit the requirements for overhead costs and that maximize the use of any existing facilities and staff of the contracted for management organizations will be encouraged. Moreover, each Fund will be required to report each year on the use of the grants received from the USG and to show that overhead costs are being minimized and program/project funding is maximized.

Each Fund will be encouraged to seek contributions from others than the US Government, including both public and private organizations from the US and the respective host country. To the extent that each Fund is able to broaden its base of financial support, it could engage in operations, programs and projects that go beyond the purview of the U.S. grants.

The Funds will be able to engage in various forms of transactions, including making direct loans to private entrepreneurs, lending to venture capital funds, taking equity in private companies as well as venture operations or mutual funds, issuing bonds, buying stocks and bonds, working with retail banks and generally acting as a normal development bank or other financial institution which has to secure its investment, realize a market-oriented return on its funds and generate enough income to sustain itself as an institution. The degree to which this objective is viable will depend in large part on the extent to which the respective governments have opened their economies to such typical private sector, market-oriented, profit motivated operations. It is important that the Funds interact closely with USG agencies and commercial financial organizations so as to structure these types of activities in such a way as to achieve multipliers in the amount of resources that can be channeled into both Poland and Hungary.

-4-

Given the state-owned nature of the economies in both countries, the Funds may wish to support privatization and decentralization efforts in order to help "free-up" the economies for private sector growth. Should they choose to do so in order to achieve the purposes for which they will be established, the grant agreements will authorize such activities.

Similarly, each Fund will also be able to grant funds to other activities to promote business indirectly -- by addressing the legal, regulatory, institutional, managerial constraints that impede the growth of the private sector -- rather than by directly financing private ventures.

a small proportion of their

if deemed essential in

This approach can help to change the policies that prevent the growth of the private sector. Thus, direct transactions can be carried out in an environment as conducive as possible to efficient and effective private sector operation. Again, close coordination with USG and international agencies will ensure that the Funds can access the full range of USG programs and the programs of such entities as the IBRD and IPC that might support the Funds' activities. Authorizing legislation will enable Federal departments or agencies to conduct their programs, services and activities in support of the objectives of the Enterprise Funds and will permit the transfer of resources available to such agencies in support of Fund objectives.

RATIONALE

The principal reasoning underlying this concept is as follows:

1. Unified Approach for Poland and Hungary.

The reasons for establishing the Funds and the basic principles underlying the design of the Funds are essentially identical. The proposed framework is broad enough to allow independent country specific Funds without need for different types of organizations. This approach saves time and energy in start-up, while permitting significant potential cost savings in operations, particularly if both Funds can be managed under one management contract.

2. Private Fund.

Private organizations have much greater latitude and flexibility in finding the most suitable ways to achieve the

-5-

basic purpose of promoting and financing profit-oriented private sector development. They can react to market forces and movements much more rapidly and skillfully than public institutions. The USG has limited financial resources and expertise to manage and operate such an organization.

3. Private Boards.

This approach cuts the ties to the governments of each of the countries and avoids the complications of treating the Funds as government entities subject to Government rules on the appointment of Government officers. It also reinforces the private orientation of each Enterprise Fund as well as the ability of the Funds to carry out operations with other private entities from any country.

4. USG Role.

In as much as the USG is providing the Funds with their major (initial) source of financing, the USG has a legitimate role in assuring that conditions are favorable to achieve the purpose for which the funds are made available and monitoring the manner in which the funds are used. Appropriate USG oversight will be built into the grant agreements.

5. Professional Management.

This approach limits the amount of financing needed for overhead costs, avoids relying on limited USG OE money and people resources, and relies on professionals from the private sector with experience in actually doing what the Funds are set up to do.

6. Operations.

The contemplated structure can be a catalyst to leveraging additional capital into a country. Making funds available for the creation and expansion of private businesses is the most direct way to promote private sector growth in a country. This operation can make foreign exchange or local currency available directly to productive capacity that needs to be unleashed in both economies. On the other hand, it is futile to try to add capital to an economy that is so constrained by the policy, regulatory, and bureaucratic environment that the capital can not be efficiently used for productive purposes. Each Fund will need to have the capacity to address the constraints side of the equation while also providing incentives directly to the private sector.

DRAFT 1-8/15
2372R

SEC. ____ ENTERPRISE FUNDS FOR POLAND AND HUNGARY

(a) Authorization of Funding. For the purpose of promoting development of the Polish and Hungarian private sectors, including small businesses and joint ventures with U.S. and host country participants, and to promote policies and practices conducive to private sector development, through loans, grants, equity investments, feasibility studies, technical assistance, training, and other measures, there are hereby authorized to be appropriated to the President the following amounts, which shall remain available until expended:

(1) \$100 million to support a Polish-American Enterprise Fund; and

(2) \$25 million to support a Hungarian-American Enterprise Fund.

Notwithstanding any other provision of law, such funds may be made available to the organizations designated by the President in accordance with subsection (b).

(b) Private Enterprise Funds. (1) The President is authorized to designate two private, non-profit organizations, which

- 2 -

for the purposes of this section shall be referred to as the Polish-American Enterprise Fund and the Hungarian-American Enterprise Fund (the "Enterprise Funds"), as eligible to receive funds and support pursuant to subsection (a) upon determining that such organizations have been established for the purposes stated in subsection (a). Each such Enterprise Fund may be governed by a Board of Directors including private citizens of the United States and the respective host country.

(2) Nothing in this section shall be construed to make the Enterprise Funds agencies or establishments of the United States Government, or to make the officers, employees or members of the Board of Directors of an Enterprise Fund officers or employees of the United States for the purposes of Title 5 of the United States Code.

(c) Grants and Support for the Activities of the Enterprise Funds. (1) Funds appropriated to the President pursuant to subsection (a) hereof shall be granted to the Enterprise Funds by such executive agency as the President shall designate (the "Agency") (i) to enable the Enterprise Funds to carry out the purposes specified in subsection (a), taking into account such considerations as internationally recognized worker rights, human

rights, environmental factors, U.S. economic and employment effects and the likelihood of commercial viability of the activity receiving assistance from the Enterprise Funds, and (ii) for the administrative expenses of each Enterprise Fund.

(2) Notwithstanding any other provision of law, the Enterprise Funds may hold grant funds appropriated pursuant to subsection (a) in interest-bearing accounts, prior to the disbursement of such funds for purposes specified in subsection (a) hereof, and to retain for such program purposes any interest earned on such deposits without returning such interest to the Treasury of the United States and without further appropriation by the Congress.

(3) Executive Branch departments or agencies shall have authority to conduct programs and activities, and to provide services, in support of the activities of the Enterprise Funds, notwithstanding any other provision of law.

(d) Eligibility of the Funds for Grants. (1) Grants may be made to the Enterprise Funds under this section only if the Enterprise Funds agree to comply with the requirements specified in this section.

- 4 -

(2) The Enterprise Funds may provide assistance pursuant to this section only for programs and projects which are consistent with the purposes set forth in subsection (a).

(3) No part of the funds of either Enterprise Fund shall inure to the benefit of any Board Member, officer or employee of such Enterprise Fund, except as salary or reasonable compensation for services.

(4) The accounts of each Enterprise Fund shall be audited annually in accordance with generally accepted auditing standards by independent certified public accountants or independent licensed public accountants certified or licensed by a regulatory authority of a State or other political subdivision of the United States. The report of each such independent audit shall be included in the annual report required by subsection (d) (7).

(5) The financial transactions undertaken pursuant to this section by each Enterprise Fund for each fiscal year may be audited by the General Accounting Office in accordance with such principles and procedures and under such rules and regulations as may be prescribed by the Comptroller General of the United States, so long as the Enterprise Fund is engaged in activities pursuant to this section.

-5-

(6) The Enterprise Funds shall ensure (i) that each recipient of assistance provided through the Enterprise Funds under this section keeps separate accounts with respect to such assistance and such records as may be reasonably necessary to disclose fully the amount and the disposition by such recipient of the proceeds of such assistance, the total cost of the project or undertaking in connection with which such assistance is given or used, and the amount and nature of that portion of the cost of the project or undertaking supplied by other sources, and such other records as will facilitate an effective audit; and (ii) that the Enterprise Funds, or any of their duly authorized representatives, shall have access for the purpose of audit and examination to any books, documents, papers, and records of the recipient that are pertinent to assistance provided through the Enterprise Fund under this section. The Comptroller General of the United States or any of his duly authorized representatives shall also have access thereto for such purpose.

(7) Not later than March 31 of each year, each Enterprise Fund shall prepare an annual report for the preceding fiscal year. The report shall include a comprehensive and detailed report of the concerned Enterprise Fund's operations, activities, financial condition, and accomplishments under this section.

Withdrawal/Redaction Sheet

(George Bush Library)

Document No. and Type	Subject/Title of Document	Date	Restriction	Class.
06b. Action memo	Adrian Basora to Brent Scowcroft RE: Enterprise Funds for Poland and Hungary [handwritten notations] (2 pp.)	8/10/89	(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 [4]

Date Closed: 6/23/2011	OA/ID Number: 30547
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~~

Chron
5996

NATIONAL SECURITY COUNCIL
WASHINGTON, D.C. 20508

August 22, 1989

ACTION

MEMORANDUM FOR BRENT SCOWCROFT

THROUGH: ADRIAN A. BASORA (ACTING) *AAB*
FROM: ROBERT L. HUTCHINGS *RLH*
SUBJECT: Request for Meeting with the President

The State Department has forwarded a recommendation (Tab A) that the President not meet with Cardinal Laszlo Paskai, the Primate of Hungary. We concur with that recommendation for the reasons State cites, namely that Paskai does not symbolize the movement towards political pluralism in Hungary. Eagleburger had promised the American Catholic Bishops' Conference that he would forward the request, but neither he nor anyone else seems to be pushing for a meeting.

RECOMMENDATION

That you authorize Philip Hughes to inform State that a meeting between Cardinal Paskai and the President will not be possible.

Approve _____ Disapprove _____

Attachment
Tab A State Recommendation

DECLASSIFIED
PER E.O. 13526

2012-1607-MR

MLH 6/14/2016

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

Declassify on: OADR

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~



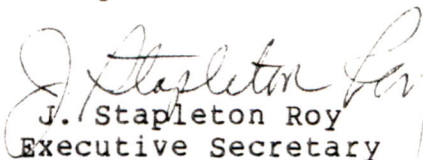
July 31, 1989

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~MEMORANDUM FOR BRENT SCOWCROFT
THE WHITE HOUSE

Subject: Presidential Appointment Request

Cardinal Laszlo Paskai of Hungary will be visiting the U.S. in October for the Catholic Bishop's Conference. Robert T. Hennemeyer, Director, Department of Social Development and World Peace, U.S. Catholic Conference, suggested in a letter to Deputy Secretary Eagleburger that a meeting with the President would emphasize U.S. concern for religious freedom and the revitalization of independent social institutions in Hungary. The Deputy Secretary has told Mr. Hennemeyer that he would advise the White House of this request.

The Department recommends that the President not meet the Cardinal. Cardinal Paskai is not a symbol of freedom in Hungary. The Catholic hierarchy in Hungary has not participated in the movement toward political pluralism and the Cardinal's being received by the President would be poorly received by politically aware Hungarians.


J. Stapleton Roy
Executive Secretary

Attachment:

Letter from Mr. Hennemeyer

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

DECLASSIFIED

(DECL:OADR)

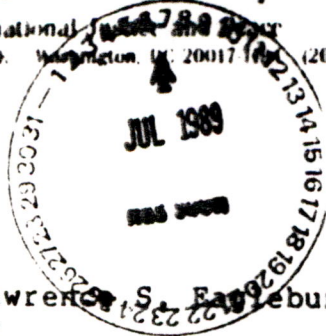
PER DOS WAIVER, November 6, 2015

By SS NARA, Date 9/14/25



Department of Social Development and World Peace

Office of International Justice and Peace
1211 14th Street N.E. Washington, DC 20007 (202)541-3198 FAX (202)541-3322 TRILEX 7400424



July 6, 1989

not to reply

The Honorable Lawrence S. Eagleburger
Deputy Secretary
U.S. State Department
2201 C Street, N.W.
Washington, D.C. 20520

Dear Larry:

President Bush's visit to Hungary and Poland will focus attention on the unprecedented economic and political reforms taking place in these two countries. I would hope that in the concern for these urgent and necessary reforms, the issue of religious liberty is also given full consideration.

Fortunately, recent developments in church-state relations in Poland and Hungary are most encouraging. The landmark agreement which gives the Catholic Church in Poland legal status codifies existing freedoms and expands the scope of legal church activities. Recent concessions by the Hungarian government and the proposed revisions in the laws affecting religion give hope that the churches in Hungary will soon enjoy similar legal protections.

I believe these important developments are of particular relevance for United States policy toward Eastern Europe for several reasons. First, they should be applauded and encouraged as in accord with the principles set forth in the Concluding Document of the Vienna CSCE meeting and other international instruments and as examples of the kinds of reforms that are necessary throughout Eastern Europe. They should not, however, be taken for granted, for they are not irreversible. Especially in the case of Hungary, strong support by the Bush Administration for a fundamental restructuring of church-state relations could help ensure that the current liberalization in religious policies culminates in full religious freedom guaranteed by law.

Second, in their November 1988 statement on religious liberty in Eastern Europe, which I have enclosed, the U.S. bishops endorse the use of "affirmative measures" to influence human rights policies and practices, including developing closer relations, extending credits, and encouraging cultural and educational exchanges and tourism. Such measures -- many variations of which are being considered by the Administration and Congress -- could be particularly useful in encouraging and

Letter to Lawrence S. Eagleburger
July 6, 1989
Page Two

supporting Polish and Hungarian efforts to succeed in implementing the full range of political, economic and social reforms that are necessary.

Third, in structuring these affirmative measures, special attention should be paid to strengthening nongovernmental institutions, including the churches. While the pivotal role the Catholic Church in Poland has played in encouraging the recent political reforms is not likely to be repeated in Hungary or other parts of Eastern Europe, the churches can play a unique role in the development of a civil society in all of these countries. Clearly, it is the responsibility of the churches themselves to assume their proper role as independent institutions helping to shape a new society; but U.S. policy can be an important source of support for their efforts to do so.

One such opportunity will arise in October with the visit of Cardinal Laszlo Paskai of Hungary, his first since becoming Primate. It would be important that while in Washington he receive a level of attention, such as a call on the President, which would serve to emphasize our concern for religious freedom and the revitalization of independent social institutions.

In general, as the United States government reassesses its approach to Poland and Hungary and other countries in Eastern Europe, I would hope that it is made clear that continued improvement in relations with the United States depends, in part, on continued improvement with regard to religious liberty and other human rights.

Should you believe it useful for us one day to discuss this issue, my colleagues and I would be happy to oblige.

With all good wishes,

Sincerely yours,



Robert T. Hennemeyer
Director

encl:

↑
retired US Amb. to Gambia

NATIONAL SECURITY COUNCIL
WASHINGTON, D.C. 20508

August 22, 1989

ACTION

MEMORANDUM FOR G. PHILIP HUGHES

FROM: ROBERT L. HUTCHINGS *RLH*
SUBJECT: Letter from Hungarian-Americans

At Tab I is a memo from you to Sally Kelley forwarding a draft reply, for signature by a White House Staff member, to a letter to the President from a group of Hungarian-Americans. State's draft, with our edits, seems to strike the right note.

Concurrence by: Adrian Basora (Acting) *AMB*

RECOMMENDATION

That you sign the Tab I memo to Kelley.

Attachments

Tab I Memorandum for Kelley
Tab A Draft Letter
Tab B Incoming

NATIONAL SECURITY COUNCIL
WASHINGTON, D.C. 20506

MEMORANDUM FOR SALLY KELLEY

FROM: G. PHILIP HUGHES
SUBJECT: Letter to Hungarian-Americans

At Tab I is a draft reply to a group of Hungarian-Americans, who wrote the President about various aspects of U.S. policy toward Eastern Europe. We recommend that the attached draft, which the State Department prepared and the NSC staff edited, be sent over the signature of a White House Staff member.

Attachments

Tab A Draft Letter
Tab B Incoming

Department of State
Suggested Letter

Dear Sirs:

I have been asked to reply to your constructive letter of June 19 to the President regarding his recent trip to Hungary.

Hungary faces a tremendous opportunity for an orderly transition to democracy. We all want to see the political and economic reforms implemented and planned in Hungary become irreversible. In this spirit, it is clear from the President's remarks during the visit that U.S. policy toward Hungary will seek to help encourage reforms, rather than support the status quo.

Each of the initiatives announced by the President is designed to help Hungary help itself along the road to democracy and a market-oriented economy. The programs announced by the President are conditioned on continued reforms in that direction. At the same time, they encourage expanded private contacts by individuals in the U.S. and the West with private businesses, churches, labor unions, schools and independent political parties in Hungary.

Dr. Janos Nadas,
Mr. Laszlo Pastor,
Dr. Sandor Balogh,
National Federation of American Hungarians,
721 2nd Street,
Washington, D.C.

The President's proposals for conventional arms reductions in Europe were endorsed recently by the NATO Summit. The details of this elaboration of NATO's earlier proposal were presented to Eastern negotiators in Vienna on July 13. We continue to work on these issues and are hopeful that an East-West agreement can be reached in 1990.

~~Some of the declarations and assurances you seek from Hungary and the Soviet Union are within the purview of those two countries to decide. It would not be in the U.S. interest to condition its help on the terms you suggest. As the President noted during his trip, his purpose was not "to poke a stick in the eye of Mr. Gorbachev. Just the opposite, to encourage the very kind of reforms that he is championing."~~
Hungary is in the forefront of reforms in Eastern Europe. A major purpose of the President's visit was to recognize this and to promote further reform, such as a new constitution.

The observance of the rule of law has been recognized as essential to any hope of regaining the confidence and support of Hungarian citizens. The new constitution, which is being discussed and will be presented to Parliament for consideration later this year, is intended to institutionalize the government's commitment to the rule of law. In addition, the

new laws on parties, elections, press freedoms, nationalities and the churches serve the same purpose. Over the last year the Hungarian Government has consulted with the Department of State and other U.S. authorities, as well as with other Western governments for advice on the rule of law and how best to ensure the observance of basic human rights in Hungary.

In addition, we will continue to speak out against human rights violations wherever they occur, including in Romania and Czechoslovakia. We do this on a bilateral basis, as well as in the Helsinki and UN fora.

I appreciate your interest in U.S. policy toward Hungary and thank you for your thoughtful letter.

Sincerely,

Signature

6247
UNCLASSIFIED

(Classification)

DEPARTMENT OF STATE
EXECUTIVE SECRETARIAT
TRANSMITTAL FORM

S/S 8917366

Date August 3, 1989

For: Mr. Philip Hughes
Executive Secretary
National Security Council
The White House

Reference:

To: President Bush From: Dr. Janos Nadas

Date: June 19, 1989 Subject: President's trip to
Central Europe

Referral Dated: July 26, 1989 ID# 52290
(if any)

_____ The attached item was sent directly to the
Department of State

Action Taken:

- _____ XXX A draft reply is attached.
- _____ A draft reply will be forwarded.
- _____ A translation is attached.
- _____ An information copy of a direct reply is attached.
- _____ We believe no response is necessary for the reason
cited below.
- _____ The Department of State has no objection to the
proposed travel.
- _____ Other (see remarks).

Remarks:

UNCLASSIFIED

M. Zart
for Director
Secretariat Staff

(Classification)

8917366

89 JUL-27 3:10 AM

T H E W H I T E H O U S E O F F I C E

REFERRAL

JULY 26, 1989

TO: DEPARTMENT OF STATE

ACTION REQUESTED:

DRAFT REPLY FOR SIGNATURE OF:
WHITE HOUSE STAFF MEMBER

DESCRIPTION OF INCOMING:

ID: 052290

MEDIA: LETTER, DATED JUNE 19, 1989

TO: PRESIDENT BUSH

FROM: DR. JANOS NADAS
NATIONAL PRESIDENT
NATIONAL FEDERATION OF AMERICAN
HUNGARIANS
1450 GRACE AVENUE
CLEVELAND OH 44107

SUBJECT: WRITES REGARDING THE TRIP TO CENTRAL EUROPE
TO INFORM OF SOME OF THE CONCERNS AND OFFER
ASSISTANCE IN PREPARING TO DEAL WITH THE
ISSUES, THE GOVERNMENT, AND THE PEOPLE
OF HUNGARY

PROMPT ACTION IS ESSENTIAL -- IF REQUIRED ACTION HAS NOT BEEN
TAKEN WITHIN 9 WORKING DAYS OF RECEIPT, PLEASE TELEPHONE THE
UNDERSIGNED AT 456-7486.

RETURN CORRESPONDENCE, WORKSHEET AND COPY OF RESPONSE
(OR DRAFT) TO:
AGENCY LIAISON, ROOM 91, THE WHITE HOUSE, 20500

SALLY KELLEY
DIRECTOR OF AGENCY LIAISON
PRESIDENTIAL CORRESPONDENCE

THE WHITE HOUSE
CORRESPONDENCE TRACKING WORKSHEET

INCOMING

T.RW 4

DATE RECEIVED: JULY 11, 1989

NAME OF CORRESPONDENT: DR. JANOS NADAS

8917366

89-07-27 3:11 AM

SUBJECT: WRITES REGARDING THE TRIP TO CENTRAL EUROPE
TO INFORM OF SOME OF THE CONCERNS AND OFFER
ASSISTANCE IN PREPARING TO DEAL WITH THE
ISSUES, THE GOVERNMENT, AND THE PEOPLE *

ROUTE TO:		ACTION	DISPOSITION
OFFICE/AGENCY	(STAFF NAME)	ACT CODE YY/MM/DD	TYPE C COMPLETED RESP D YY/MM/DD
CHARLES BACARISSE		ORG 89/07/11	C 89/07/12
<i>Phil Hughes, NBC</i>	REFERRAL NOTE:	<i>D 89/07/26</i>	<i>C 89/07/24</i> TR
<i>Doj</i>	REFERRAL NOTE:	<i>D 89/07/26</i> TR	
	REFERRAL NOTE:		
	REFERRAL NOTE:		
	REFERRAL NOTE:		

COMMENTS: * OF HUNGARY

ADDITIONAL CORRESPONDENTS: MEDIA: L INDIVIDUAL CODES: _____

PL MAIL USER CODES: (A) _____ (B) _____ (C) _____

*ACTION CODES:	*DISPOSITION	*OUTGOING	*
*	*	*CORRESPONDENCE:	*
*A-APPROPRIATE ACTION	*A-ANSWERED	*TYPE RESP=INITIALS	*
*C-COMMENT/RECOM	*B-NON-SPEC-REFERRAL	*OF SIGNER	*
*D-DRAFT RESPONSE	*C-COMPLETED	*CODE = A	*
*F-FURNISH FACT SHEET	*S-SUSPENDED	*COMPLETED = DATE OF	*
I-INFO COPY/NO ACT NEC		*OUTGOING	*
*R-DIRECT REPLY W/COPY *			*
*S-FOR-SIGNATURE			*
*X-INTERIM REPLY			*

REFER QUESTIONS AND ROUTING UPDATES TO CENTRAL REFERENCE
(ROOM 75, OEOB) EXT-2590
KEEP THIS WORKSHEET ATTACHED TO THE ORIGINAL INCOMING
LETTER AT ALL TIMES AND SEND COMPLETED RECORD TO RECORDS
MANAGEMENT.

18450 52290

11

Bacuisse

NATIONAL FEDERATION OF AMERICAN HUNGARIANS
AMERIKAI MAGYAROK ORSZÁGOS SZÖVETSÉGE

June 19, 1989

The Honorable George Bush
President, United States
The White House
Washington, DC

Dear Mr. President:

We wish to congratulate you on your very successful trip to Europe. Your firm position on disarmament is an important step toward guaranteeing world peace for the immediate future.

Yet it cannot be considered the final solution. Any amount of foreign arms, conventional or nuclear in Central Europe (Hungary, Poland, and Czechoslovakia) will always constitute a threat to world peace.

Central Europe does not, and never has constituted a threat to any of its neighboring countries. Historically, the threat had always consisted of others using Central Europe as a marching ground, a military outpost in their imperialistic designs, threatening the safety and security of other nations.

In this context, Hungary has served repeatedly as the defender of the West against the Tartars, the Turks, and more recently against the imperialistic designs of the Russians. Therefore Hungary deserves the protection and support of the West now that it has fallen under foreign domination once again. Such support would benefit not only Hungary, but by making it, along with Poland and Czechoslovakia stronger, would serve both the defense needs of the West without threatening the Soviet Union, and be a more efficient trading partner of both the East and the West, including the United States.

Therefore, please permit us on the eve of your trip to Central Europe, including Hungary and Poland to inform you of some of our concerns, and offer our assistance in preparing to deal with the issues, the government, and the people of Hungary.

If your proposal to drastically reduce foreign arms in Central Europe succeeds, the next logical step should be to strive for a political solution as a more permanent security measure.

In a separate statement we provide somewhat detailed recommendations relating to Hungary. It is hoped that you will consider them.

But Hungary is only part of Central Europe, and I am sure you will treat this important geopolitical region as such on your trip, especially since it also includes visiting Poland. Therefore we would like to emphasize that it is a strong and centuries old desire of the peoples of Central Europe to be able to freely join together in some politically neutral federated system. It would help the cause of world peace if you would announce your support of such an idea.

Peace in Central Europe is also threatened by the deplorable human rights policies of some nations, and especially policies against nationality groups that became minorities in their own homeland with the stroke of a pen. Hungarian minorities are suffering in both Czechoslovakia and in Rumania where Ceausescu defies reason and world opinion with his insane plans of systematization. During your trip therefore you should address the centuries-old ethnic and the related territorial disputes.

Another related issue that we would like to bring to your attention is the matter of armaments by some governments in the Central European region. This is especially disturbing to Hungarians, since there are rumors circulating here that Ceausescu has a major part of his army positioned ready to invade the much smaller and basically defenseless Hungary, to satisfy the nationalistic Rumanian dream of extending Rumania's territory to the Tisza river in the middle of Hungary.

Therefore you should recommend that the restrictions imposed by the peace treaties be strictly enforced and impose a limit on the troops of each nation in Central Europe based on the minimum necessary for self defense.

It is intolerable, for instance, that according to January 1988 NATO figures

the standing armies of those nations all exceed several fold the figures authorized in their respective peace treaties. These are the authorized/actual 1988 figures (plus the unauthorized reservists in parenthesis) for some of the Warsaw Pact nations: Bulgaria: 65,000/330,000 (216,500); Hungary: 70,000/175,000 (127,000), Rumania: 138/469 (556,000).

Thus, Bulgaria has about 6.75%, Hungary about 2.85%, and Rumania about 4.45% of its population actually or potentially in arms. These figures are much greater than a peaceful Central Europe needs. The Hungarian people, for example, would like to reduce the defense burden on their economy, but it would be highly inadvisable for them to do so as long as there is the potential threat from a much larger Rumanian army.

According to the NATO figures, including reservists, the 302,000 Hungarian army would face a Rumanian army of well over one million. This fact, we believe, requires your immediate attention, and should be publicly denounced.

As you suggested some six years ago in your Vienna statement as Vice President, the Yalta Agreement could serve as the basis of such a political solution to these problems. At Yalta, the parties agreed to provide national self determination to the peoples of Central Europe, but they failed to provide adequate sanctions if the Agreement was violated.

The Helsinki Accords further detailed the concept of self determination and human rights, but without effective sanctions again until earlier this year some mild remedy was accepted at Vienna, but Rumania has so far refused to cooperate with it. You have also announced in your Vienna speech the concept of differentiation, giving preferential treatment to communist governments in proportion to their independence from Moscow.

But even this approach does not envision (as in 1983 it would not have been realistic) the possibility of replacing a communist regime peacefully, in a free election with a non-communist regime.

What we need now is an approach that goes one step further: demand national sovereignty and complete popular self determination, including transfer of governmental power and authority to non-communist parties if the election results warrant it, and attach rewards for respecting and guaranteeing these rights, and

sanctions for violating them.

It can be assumed that the Hungarian regime will counter some of these requests by claiming an obligation under the Warsaw Pact. You should point out, however, that according to a Library of Congress study

(I)t is significant that the pact was signed on May 14, 1955, one day before the Austrian State Treaty entered into force. This Pact's military provisions made it possible for Hungary to agree with the government of the Soviet Union to keep Soviet forces in the country, but there is no published proof of such an agreement. Whether such an agreement between the two governments was, indeed, made before October 23, 1956, cannot be corroborated from official Hungarian sources. Such an agreement was never ratified and promulgated, as it can be ascertained from official publications available to the public (William Solyom-Fekete, The Legal Effects of a Revolution. Hungary's Legal History, 1956-66, Washington, DC: Library of Congress, Law Library, 1982, p. 7).

(a) Thus, since the treaty provided that after ending the occupation of Austria the Soviets must pull out also from Hungary, the Warsaw Pact was adopted as a last minute hurried plan to allow keeping the Soviet Troops in Hungary after the Soviet withdrawal from Austria;

(b) the Warsaw Pact itself was signed by a colonizing power and its colonial/client government. Hungary in 1955 did not have a government responsible to the Hungarian people or parliament. According to basic legal principles a contract between a principal and its agent is not binding on a third party, i.e. on the sovereign Hungarian nation and a truly independent government. If the current regime considers the Warsaw Pact binding, it means that the regime is still responsive to the dictates of Moscow, and not the interest and desire of the Hungarian people;

(c) according to the Library of Congress study, the actual agreement to allow Soviet Troops stationed in Hungary was never agreed to, or at least not promulgated and ratified as Article 17 C of the Hungarian Constitution requires.

Therefore, neither the Warsaw Pact nor any valid subsequent agreement requires

that Soviet troops be stationed in Hungary.

But even if there were valid agreements, there must be legal provisions for terminating such a treaty or agreement if one of the parties is determined to do so. Therefore in this matter again you should urge the Hungarian government to act according to the desires and interest of the Hungarian people.

We pray and request that you make these points forcefully when visiting Hungary.

Also, we request that you use your influence with the Hungarian government to continue in good faith not only the political reforms but begin to restructure the economy along the free enterprise model as the only possible way for the Hungarians to solve their economic crisis.

Finally, we ask that you oppose any further irresponsible loans to the Hungarian government. Every foreign loan must be given to finance specific projects by private entrepreneurs, and not to the government to be used to strengthen the political hold of the regime over the people.

For your use and information we also include an abbreviated list of our recommendations concerning your trip, a copy of the demands of the Hungarian people, and of the related MEMORANDUM of the National Federation of American Hungarians.

We hope that the above comments and the enclosed material will be useful for you in your visit and dealings with the Hungarian government.

Sincerely yours,

Dr. Janos Nadas

Dr. Janos Nadas
National President
1450 Grace Ave
Cleveland, OH 44107
(216) 226-4089

Laszlo Pasztor

Laszlo Pasztor
Pres., Exec. Committee
721 2nd Street N.E.
Washington, DC 20002
(202) 546-3003

Dr. Sander Balogh

Dr. Sander Balogh
Secretary General
7 Greenbush Avenue
E. Greenbush, NY 12061
(518) 477-5476

enc.

Churn

NATIONAL SECURITY COUNCIL
WASHINGTON, D.C. 20506

August 22, 1989

ACTION

MEMORANDUM FOR BRENT SCOWCROFT

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

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

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON
August 15, 1989

ACTION

MEMORANDUM FOR BRENT SCOWCROFT

THROUGH: ADRIAN BASORA (Acting) *AAB*
FROM: CONDOLEEZZA RICE *CR*
SUBJECT: Letters of Introduction for Senator Dole

Senator Dole has requested letters of introduction to President Jaruzelski, Lech Walesa, and His Holiness Catholicos Vazgen I for his visit to Poland and Armenia. Your memorandum to the President transmitting subject draft letters is at Tab I and the draft letters are at Tabs A, B, and C.

Ginny ~~Dampley~~ concurs.

RECOMMENDATION

That you sign the memorandum to the President.

Attachments

Tab I	Memo to the President
Tab A	Letter to Jaruzelski
Tab B	Letter to Walesa
Tab C	Letter to Vazgen I

NATIONAL SECURITY COUNCIL
WASHINGTON, D.C. 20506

MEMORANDUM FOR THE PRESIDENT

FROM: BRENT SCOWCROFT

SUBJECT: Letters of Introduction for Bob Dole's Trip to
Poland and Armenia

Purpose

The letters are to introduce Bob Dole to President Jaruzelski, Lech Walesa and His Holiness Catholicos Vazgen I of Armenia.

Background

Bob Dole has requested letters of introduction. The suggested letters are at Tabs A, B, and C.

RECOMMENDATION

That you sign the letters to Jaruzelski (Tab A), Walesa (Tab B) and Vazgen (Tab C).

Attachments

Tab A Letter to Jaruzelski
Tab B Letter to Walesa
Tab C Letter to Vazgen

cc: Vice President
Chief of Staff

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

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

Your Holiness:

It is with pleasure that I introduce to you Senator Robert Dole, Minority Leader of the United States Senate. I rely closely on Senator Dole in developing and implementing U.S. foreign policy.

You undoubtedly already know of the work that Senator Dole has done in support of human rights around the world. He has taken a special interest in the historical and current problems of the Armenian people. His leadership was crucial in mobilizing American support for Armenian earthquake relief.

I am delighted that Senator Dole is taking this trip. His first-hand knowledge of the problems that you face will help to guide the U.S. Congress and to provide counsel to me. I hope that you will acquaint Senator Dole and his wife, U.S. Secretary of Labor Elizabeth Dole, fully with the problems that you face and the aspirations of your people at this time of change and opportunity. Bob is close to me personally and politically and I have asked him to report back his personal views of the situation.

Sincerely,

His Holiness Catholicos Vazgen I
Supreme Patriarch of all Armenia
Echmiadzin, Armenia

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

6594

NATIONAL SECURITY COUNCIL
WASHINGTON, D.C. 20508

August 21, 1989

INFORMATION

MEMORANDUM FOR BRENT SCOWCROFT

THROUGH: ADRIAN A. BASORA (ACTING) *AAB*
FROM: ROBERT L. HUTCHINGS *RLH*
SUBJECT: Poland Aid

We just received a copy of the attached memorandum to you from Deane Hoffmann, which had not passed through this office for comment or concurrence.

We do not support the idea of a bipartisan U.S.-only commission to look into economic assistance for Poland. This would only muddy the waters in our efforts to engage the Poles on economic reform, and it would take control of the process out of the hands of the President, who could be presented with a set of proposals that he would then have to react to.

Better, we believe, to work multilaterally through the "concerted action" group (now being called the "G-24") meeting under the auspices of the EC. That group could, at our initiative, dispatch an international task force of expert representatives of the EC, the U.S., the FRG, Austria, France, and the UK (or perhaps Italy), for the purpose of assisting the Poles in developing a viable economic strategy and serving as liaison between the G-24 and the Polish government. (That group might also invite Prime Minister Mazowiecki, once he has formed a government, to come to Brussels to discuss his economic plans with the G-24.)

We have discussed this with the International Economic Affairs Directorate, so that we can coordinate our recommendations in the future.

Attachment
Tab I Memorandum from Hoffmann

cc: Gates
Hoffmann

DECLASSIFIED
PER E.O. 13526

2012-16 07-MR

114 6/14/2016

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

Declassify on: OADR

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

NATIONAL SECURITY COUNCIL

18-Aug-1989 10:15 EDT

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

MEMORANDUM FOR: SEE BELOW

FROM: Deane Hoffmann
(HOFFMANN)

SUBJECT: Poland Aid

The President needs to send a high level commission to Poland to find out what sort of help is necessary for the economy. We cannot construct a package from inside the beltway.

It is important that the commission be bipartisan and chaired by a strong, respected individual. There might be an inclination to go with either Whitehead or Rockefeller, neither of whom meet the bipartisan test. I suggest we ask Bob Strauss to lead a group with Allan Wallis as his chief economic advisor. This is a strong team both substantively and politically. It would help us on the hill. With this group, if we ever did come up with a multi-billion dollar package, we could be sure the money would be well spent. Also, Alan would make sure the US private sector is properly involved.

Personally, I think this is a great idea, of course.

Distribution:

FOR: Brent Scowcroft	(SCOWCROFT)
FOR: Robert M. Gates	(GATES)
CC: Pat A. Battenfield	(BATTENFIELD)
CC: Timothy E. Deal	(DEAL)
CC: Condoleezza Rice	(RICE)
CC: Eric Melby	(MELBY)
CC: Florence E. Gantt	(GANTT)
CC: Wilma G. Hall	(HALL)

DECLASSIFIED
PER E.O. 13526

2012-1607-MR

MM 6/14/2016

Withdrawal/Redaction Sheet

(George Bush Library)

Document No. and Type	Subject/Title of Document	Date	Restriction	Class.
09a. Memo	From Barry F. Lowenkron to Brent Scowcroft, Re: Visit of Prime Minister and Mrs. Schlueter [FOIA restrictions redacted] (1 pp.)	8/18/89	(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 [4]

Document Partially Declassified
(Copy of Document Follows)
 By MM on 6/29/2023

Date Closed: 6/23/2011	OA/ID Number: 30547
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 #: 2012-1607-MR(506)
AR Disposition:	MR Disposition: Released in Part
AR Disposition Date:	MR Disposition Date: 6/14/2016

RESTRICTION CODES

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

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

Deed of Gift Restrictions

C(1) Closed by Executive Order 13526, governing access to national security information
 C(2) Closed by statute or by the agency which originated the information
 C(3) Closed in accordance with restrictions contained in donor's deed of gift [formerly listed as only C]
 PRM. Removed as a personal record misfile

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

P-2 Relating to the appointment to Federal office [(a)(2) 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]

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

6555

NATIONAL SECURITY COUNCIL
WASHINGTON, D.C. 20506

August 18, 1989



ACTION

MEMORANDUM FOR BRENT SCROWCROFT

THROUGH: ADRIAN BASORA (ACTING) *AAB*

FROM: BARRY F. LOWENKRON *BL*

SUBJECT: Visit of Danish Prime Minister and Mrs. Schlueter
to Kennebunkport, August 24-25, 1989

In preparation for the visit of Prime Minister and Mrs. Schlueter to Kennebunkport, we have drafted a brief memorandum as background for the President's use.

Arnie Kantor *AK* concurs.

RECOMMENDATION

That you sign the memorandum at Tab I.

Attachment

Tab I Scowcroft Memorandum to the President

3.3(b)(1); (b)(3)

DECLASSIFIED IN PART
PER E.O. 13526

2012-1607-MR
MM 6/14/2016

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

Declassify on: OADR

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

Withdrawal/Redaction Sheet

(George Bush Library)

Document No. and Type	Subject/Title of Document	Date	Restriction	Class.
09b. Memo	Brent Scowcroft to President Bush RE: Visit of Prime Minister and Mrs. Schlueter (2 pp.)	n.d.	(b)(1)	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 [4]

Date Closed: 6/23/2011 **OA/ID Number:** 30547

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)]

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]
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 (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.
09c. Report	Government report [missing page 2] (1 pp.)	n.d.	(b)(1)	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 [4]

Date Closed: 6/23/2011	OA/ID Number: 30547
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]
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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]
(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.
09d. Report	Government report (1 pp.)	n.d.	(b)(1)	

Collection:

Record Group: Bush Presidential Records
Office: National Security Council
Series: Blackwill, Robert D., Files
Subseries: Chronological Files
WHORM Cat.:
File Location: August 1989 [4]

Date Closed: 6/23/2011	OA/ID Number: 30547
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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C. Closed in accordance with restrictions contained in donor's deed of gift.

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(b)(1) National security classified information [(b)(1) of the FOIA]
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(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

NATIONAL SECURITY COUNCIL
WASHINGTON, D.C. 20506

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 _____

Disapprove _____

Attachments

Tab I Hughes Memorandum to Roy
Tab II State Incoming

NATIONAL SECURITY COUNCIL
WASHINGTON, D.C. 20508

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



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

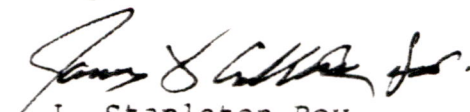
We have been approached by the Canadian Embassy regarding the President's possible attendance at the American Ex-Prisoners of War Convention at Niagara Falls, New York, on Thursday, September 21, 1989. The National Prisoners of War Association of Canada, which will concurrently hold its convention in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

NATIONAL SECURITY COUNCIL
WASHINGTON, D.C. 20506

August 18, 1989

ACTION

MEMORANDUM FOR BRENT SCOWCROFT

THROUGH: ADRIAN A. BASORA (ACTING) *AMB*
FROM: ROBERT L. HUTCHINGS *RZH*
SUBJECT: Request for Meeting with the President

Governor Sununu asked your advice concerning requests from Congressman Wolf and Senator Armstrong that the President agree to meet with a group of Romanian-American religious leaders. We believe this group should be received at a much lower level and have drafted a reply to that effect.

Concurrence by: Virginia *L* Lampley

RECOMMENDATION

That you sign the memorandum for Governor Sununu at Tab I.

Attachments

Tab I Memorandum for Sununu
Tab A Incoming from Sununu

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

MEMORANDUM FOR JOHN H. SUNUNU

FROM: BRENT SCOWCROFT

SUBJECT: Request for Meeting with the President

I believe these Romanian-Americans should be received at a lower level. I would recommend that the NSC European Directorate or the State Department European Bureau contact them on the President's behalf and suggest a meeting. If you agree, I will ask my staff to follow through.

Attachment

Tab A Your Memo with Attachments

6300
THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

DATE: August 8, 1989

TO: Brent Scowcroft/Bob Gates
FROM: GOVERNOR JOHN H. SUNUNU

Your advice, please.

Thanks.

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

DATE: August 7, 1989

TO: David Demarest

FROM: GOVERNOR JOHN H. SUNUNU

Is this the kind of thing we should, or
shouldn't, do.

not *WZ* *in* *the* *NSC* *on* *this* *issue* *unless* *absolutely* *compelling* *(for a Presidential* *only)* *DD*



HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
WASHINGTON, D. C. 20515

FRANK R. WOLF
TENTH DISTRICT, VIRGINIA

August 2, 1989

Dear John:

As promised, enclosed are copies of mine and Senator Armstrong's letters to President Bush requesting a meeting with members of the Romanian community.

I believe such a meeting is important in order to address the worsening situation in Romania. As you know, even some of Romania's Eastern Bloc allies have criticized Romania together with Western countries involved in the CSCE process.

I appreciate your
ward from

look

Sincerely,

Frank R. Wolf
Member of Congress

The Honorable John H. Sununu
Chief of Staff
The White House
Washington, D.C. 20500

Thank You

FRANK R. WOLF
10TH DISTRICT, VIRGINIA

WASHINGTON OFFICE:
104 CANNON BUILDING
WASHINGTON, DC 20515
(202) 225-5136

CONSTITUENT SERVICES OFFICES:

1651 OLD MEADOW ROAD
SUITE 115
MCLEAN, VA 22102
(703) 734-1500

19 EAST MARKET STREET
ROOM 4B
LEESBURG, VA 22075
(703) 777-4422

Congress of the United States
House of Representatives
Washington, DC 20515

July 18, 1989

COMMITTEE ON APPROPRIATIONS

SUBCOMMITTEES:
TRANSPORTATION

TREASURY—POSTAL SERVICE—GENERAL
GOVERNMENT

SELECT COMMITTEE
ON CHILDREN, YOUTH,
AND FAMILIES

COMMISSION ON SECURITY AND
COOPERATION IN EUROPE

The Honorable George Bush
President of the United States
The White House
1600 Pennsylvania Ave.
Washington, D.C. 20500

Dear Mr. President:

I am writing to convey a request from members of the Romanian community to meet with you. A representative group of Romanians wishes to present to you personally the letters resulting from a letter-writing campaign to urge firm U.S. action to protest the human rights abuses and economic destruction being carried out by the Ceausescu regime.

Thousands of Romanians have written letters addressed to you and received by the U.S. office of the World Union of Free Romanians, whose President, Ion Ratiu, met with me recently to request I contact you. Sen. Bill Armstrong also wrote you recently to request a meeting along these lines.

Participating in this meeting with you would be a very broad and diverse group of Romanians, many of whom have long worked for a better life for the Romanian people from both inside and outside of Romania. Among those who might speak on behalf of the group's concerns: Right Rev. Bishop Nathaniel Popp of the Romanian Orthodox Church in America, Most Rev. Bishop Louis Puscas of the Romanian Catholic Church of America, Rev. Valentin Popovici of the Romanian Baptist Association of America, and Right Rev. Tibor Domotor, bishop of the Reformed Hungarian Church of America.

These respected clergyman, representing the hopes and aspirations of many Romanians living abroad, would be joined by other leaders, including Father Gheorghe Calciu and others who have recently suffered persecution in Romania for their religious or political beliefs.

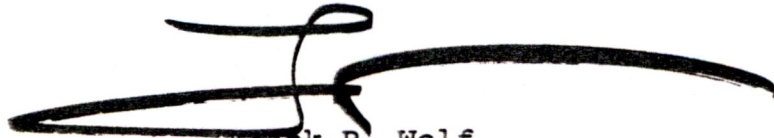
Your recent meeting with members of the Polish-American community surely contributed to the shaping of important changes in U.S. policy toward reform-minded Poland. I believe a similar meeting with Romanian-Americans would be equally informative in shaping U.S. approaches to the declining situation in Romania.

Recently over 170 of my House and Senate colleagues wrote you to express our support for "a stronger diplomatic response and possibly economic sanctions" in response to the intransigence and escalating abuses of the Romanian government.

The Honorable George Bush
Page 2
July 18, 1989

I believe a meeting with members of the Romanian community would present a unique opportunity to consider their concerns. I encourage you to give every consideration to such a meeting and urge you to contact me if I can be of any assistance.

Sincerely,

A large, stylized handwritten signature in black ink, appearing to be 'Frank R. Wolf'.

Frank R. Wolf
Member of Congress

THANK YOU

United States Senate

WASHINGTON, DC 20510

June 21, 1989

The Honorable George H.W. Bush
President of the United States
The White House
1600 Pennsylvania Avenue
Washington, D.C. 20500

Dear Mr. President:

My colleagues joined with me in sending you a requested firm U.S. action to put Romania on notice to stand by silently as the current Communist leader, Ceausescu, destroys 7,000 Romanian villages.

Ceausescu is a threat to all Americans, not only to U.S. citizens but to the Romanian-American community follows. I have personally kept interest. Recently, we were contacted by the American Ambassador David Underburk, writing on behalf of the members of the Romanian-American ethnic community in the United States, who have requested an urgent meeting with you about Ceausescu's brutality.

The Romanian community has waged a letter-writing campaign over the last few months, urging Romanian-Americans to write and ask for your support to halt Ceausescu's destruction of his own people. Key leaders of major religious groups representing Romanian Orthodox, Catholic, Baptist, Pentecostal churches and major Romanian cultural groups will like to present the letters to you this summer (probably in July).

Enclosed is a list of those Romanian-American leaders who plan to attend a White House meeting. Also attached is a letter from Mr. Constantin Brucianu, the U.S. Head, World Union of Free Romanians and articles from leading Romanian newspapers urging Ceausescu's Romanians to write the White House.

I give them your consideration.

Best regards.

Sincerely,

William L. Armstrong

Withdrawal/Redaction Sheet

(George Bush Library)

Document No. and Type	Subject/Title of Document	Date	Restriction	Class.
10a. 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 [4]

Date Closed: 6/23/2011	OA/ID Number: 30547
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)]

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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]
(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.
10b. 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 [4]

Date Closed: 6/23/2011	OA/ID Number: 30547
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.

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Withdrawal/Redaction Sheet

(George Bush Library)

Document No. and Type	Subject/Title of Document	Date	Restriction	Class.
11a. Action memo	Philip Zelikow to Brent Scowcroft RE: Open Skies Initiative (3 pp.)	8/18/89	(b)(1)	TS

Collection:

Record Group: Bush Presidential Records
Office: National Security Council
Series: Blackwill, Robert D., Files
Subseries: Chronological Files
WHORM Cat.:
File Location: August 1989 [4]

Date Closed:	6/23/2011	OA/ID Number:	30547
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)]

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 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]
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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]
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 (b)(8) Release would disclose information concerning the regulation of financial institutions [(b)(8) of the FOIA]
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Withdrawal/Redaction Sheet

(George Bush Library)

Document No. and Type	Subject/Title of Document	Date	Restriction	Class.
11b. Action memo	Brent Scowcroft to President Bush RE: Open Skies Initiative (5 pp.)	n.d.	(b)(1)	TS

Collection:

Record Group: Bush Presidential Records
Office: National Security Council
Series: Blackwill, Robert D., Files
Subseries: Chronological Files
WHORM Cat.:
File Location: August 1989 [4]

Date Closed:	6/23/2011	OA/ID Number:	30547
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]
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Freedom of Information Act - [5 U.S.C. 552(b)]

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NATIONAL SECURITY COUNCIL
WASHINGTON, D.C. 20508

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~
W/UNCLASSIFIED ATTACHMENT

6566

August 19, 1989

ACTION

MEMORANDUM FOR BRENT SCOWCROFT

THROUGH: ADRIAN A. BASORA (ACTING) *AMB*
FROM: ROBERT L. HUTCHINGS *RZH*
SUBJECT: Press Guidance on Poland

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 _____ Disapprove _____

Attachment
Tab I Press Guidance on Poland

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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.

NATIONAL SECURITY COUNCIL
WASHINGTON, D.C. 20506

August 16, 1989

ACTION

MEMORANDUM FOR BRENT SCOWCROFT

THROUGH: ADRIAN A. BASORA (ACTING) *AAB*
FROM: ROBERT L. HUTCHINGS *RZH*
SUBJECT: Letter to Spasowski

Romuald Spasowski, former Polish Ambassador to the U.S. and the highest ranking post-martial law defector, wrote the President June 24 to offer some thoughts on President's trip to Poland. Admiral Watkins also wrote to commend the letter to the President's attention.

At Tab I is a memorandum from you to the President attaching a Tab A letter for his signature. Spasowski is in many ways an admirable figure, but one who did, after all, serve the Polish regime loyally through a long career. These contradictions are captured in his recent memoirs -- part self-critical, part self-serving -- entitled The Liberation of One. The reply we have drafted is polite but not effusive.

RECOMMENDATION

That you sign the Tab I memorandum for the President.

Attachments

Tab I Memorandum for the President
Tab A Letter to Spasowski
Tab B Incoming

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

ACTION

MEMORANDUM FOR THE PRESIDENT

FROM: BRENT SCOWCROFT

SUBJECT: Letter to Romuald Spasowski

Purpose

To reply to a letter from Romuald Spasowski, former Polish Ambassador to the U.S.

Background

Romuald Spasowski, who defected to the U.S. after the imposition of martial law in Poland and published his memoirs (entitled The Liberation of One), wrote you just before your trip to Poland to welcome the visit and offer some thoughts on its historic significance. Jim Watkins also wrote to commend the letter to your attention.

At Tab A is a brief reply thanking Spasowski for sharing his thoughts with you.

RECOMMENDATION

That you sign the letter to Spasowski at Tab A.

Attachments

Tab A Letter to Spasowski

Tab B Incoming from Spasowski and Watkins

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

Dear Mr. Ambassador,

Thank you for sharing your thoughts on my trip to Poland. I returned full of hope for a democratic transition in Poland but am also mindful of the dangers you mentioned in your letter.

As you know, the United States has been working to develop concerted Western action in support of economic and political reform in Poland and Hungary. We are extending up to \$50 million in food aid to Poland and are gratified that other industrialized democracies, which met recently in Brussels under the auspices of the European Commission, are also rendering significant assistance. I hope, as you do, that these measures will facilitate the transition toward economic recovery and democracy in Poland.

I appreciate your kind words of support.

Sincerely,

Ambassador Romuald Spasowski
P.O. Box 12201
Arlington, VA 22209

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

July 5, 1989

NOTE FOR PATTY PRESOCK:

Please send the letter back
when opened; I'll staff it
to NSC for a response.

Thanks.

J. W. Cicconi
James W. Cicconi

7/5 Jim
Thank *5473* Condi
P. L. *PRICE*
~~3473~~



The Secretary of Energy
Washington, DC 20585

June 30, 1989

The President
The White House
Washington, D.C. 20500

Dear Mr. President:

Romuald Spasowski, a wonderful "new American", friend, and former Polish Ambassador to the United States, asked me to forward to you this sealed letter from him in anticipation of your upcoming trip to Eastern Europe. You recall, he defected to the United States a few years ago while Ambassador here. He attended my son's ordination ceremony last weekend and asked me to read the enclosed letter before sealing it and, then, if I thought it proper, send it on to you. I do, and hence this letter.

Ambassador Spasowski believes in and admires you a great deal. He feels you have an historic opportunity to give new hope to that troubled region. I believe his words are, as usual, inspirational and will give you a unique perspective on the East European struggle for freedom and dignity.

Sincerely,


James D. Watkins
Admiral. U.S. Navy (Retired)

Enclosure

*We do not have
the original of
this correspondence.*

Romuald Spasowski

P.O. Box 12201

Arlington, Va. 22209

(202) 783-1442

Washington, June 24, 1989

My dear Mr. President:

Next month you will be in Poland and again, as in 1987, you will find the Poles hoping for freedom and loving America. But this time, after Solidarity won the elections so overwhelmingly, the stakes are much higher and your visit has historical significance for Poland, Europe and the United States. Communism is crumbling everywhere, but specifically in Central Europe opened great opportunities for nations to gain freedom. This is how I see it:

One: The success of democratic process in Poland and in Hungary must inevitably lead to freedom in both countries, with all its geopolitical consequences. To support and protect such peaceful evolution is,

in my view, of utmost importance for the Free World.

Two: My own life experience tells me that Warsaw's hardliners will try, in collusion with Soviet hardliners, to challenge this process by provoking an explosion of desperate Poles. As you know, misery and hardships reached in Poland extreme proportions and the hardliners may try to create even more hardships.

Three: It is most essential to counter such tragic scenario, by all means available and supply foodstuffs and medications to Poles and Hungarians in sufficient quantities and in the smoothest possible way.

Mr. President - your visits in both these countries are setting the stage of historic proportions. Exactly half a century ago Poland was invaded by Hitler's Wehrmacht and Stalin's Red Army. Now, three generations of Poles, so tragically affected by these brute forces, will welcome

you and listen to you: those who fought in World War II and lost everything except honor, their sons, who tried to build Poland from the ashes in spite of all adversities, and their grandsons, who embraced Solidarity. They belong to different generations and act differently, but all are united in their love for the country, in their longing for freedom and in their indomitable Christian faith. They expect, that as a leader of the Free World you will bring them good news.

While you, Mr. President, and Mrs Bush will be among them, Wanda's and my hearts will be with you praying for the lasting success of your visit.

God bless you, Mr President!
God bless America!

The President
The White House
Washington, D.C.

Ronald Spaword

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Chron

NATIONAL SECURITY COUNCIL
WASHINGTON, D.C. 20506

August 18, 1989

ACTION

MEMORANDUM FOR BRENT SCOWCROFT

THROUGH: ADRIAN BASORA (ACTING) *AAB*
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 _____ Disapprove _____

Time: Thursday, September 21 _____

Friday Morning, September 22 _____

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

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Declassify on: OADR

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Chron
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NATIONAL SECURITY COUNCIL
WASHINGTON, D.C. 20506

August 17, 1989

ACTION

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

MEMORANDUM FOR BRENT SCOWCROFT

THROUGH: ADRIAN A. BASORA (ACTING) *AAB*
FROM: ROBERT L. HUTCHINGS *RH*
SUBJECT: Press Guidance on Poland

We are at a turning point in Poland that is likely to be resolved soon. Our approach up to now of saying as little as possible, and of avoiding the vocabulary of crisis, is the right one. But we will need to be prepared to speak out quickly once something breaks in Poland.

The arrangement envisioned at the Roundtable of a Communist-led government is no longer viable. Solidarity's sweeping electoral victory, along with the decision to decontrol food prices -- made by then-Prime Minister Rakowski -- has altered the situation fundamentally. Yesterday's vote by the parliamentarians of the three non-Communist parties strongly suggests that a Communist Party candidate for Prime Minister could not be elected under any circumstances. It now appears that Solidarity will form a coalition government, with the Communist Party retaining key portfolios, including defense and internal security.

According to wire service reports, Jaruzelski will announce tomorrow that he has approved Walesa's offer to form a coalition government led by non-Communists. Jaruzelski may also nominate a new Prime Minister. (Whether Walesa himself would head such a government, or whether he would defer to Geremek or someone else, is an open question. Embassy Warsaw's latest cable concludes that "almost any decision remains possible.")

At Tab I is proposed press guidance for use at tomorrow's 10:30 a.m. press briefing in Kennebunkport. It notes that we support the ongoing process of democratic reform but avoids specific comment on a situation still in flux. The text has been coordinated with State.

In the event that Jaruzelski names Walesa or some other Solidarity figure as Prime Minister, we believe the President should withhold issuing a formal statement until the new Prime Minister is elected. In coordination with State, we have

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prepared a contingency Presidential Statement (Tab A) congratulating the new Prime Minister, praising Solidarity and Jaruzelski, and pledging continued U.S. support for the democratization process.

RECOMMENDATION

That you authorize me to forward the Tab I contingency press guidance to the White House Press Office in Kennebunkport, for use at tomorrow's press briefing.

Approve _____ Disapprove _____

That you authorize Philip Hughes to sign the Tab II memorandum to Cicconi attaching the Tab A contingency Presidential Statement.

Approve _____ Disapprove _____

Attachments

Tab I Press Guidance
Tab II Hughes' Memorandum for Cicconi
Tab A Contingency Press Statement

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PRESS GUIDANCE ON
PRESIDENT JARUZELSKI'S APPROVAL OF WALESA'S
OFFER TO FORM A COALITION GOVERNMENT LED BY NON-COMMUNISTS

- We welcome this development as a sign of continued progress toward democracy and representative government in Poland.
- Since the Roundtable Agreement between the Polish government and Solidarity in April, Poland has pursued a process of democratic reform, which the United States has applauded and supported.
- What we now see in Poland is a continuation and deepening of that process, which involves major and difficult transformations in the Polish political system.
- We are encouraged that the process is proceeding peacefully and that all sides are engaged in an ongoing dialogue. And we are encouraged by the political wisdom and restraint exercised by President Jaruzelski, Lech Walesa, and others as they seek to form a government that will reflect the will of the Polish people.
- (IF WALESA OR ANOTHER SOLIDARITY FIGURE IS NOMINATED TO BE PRIME MINISTER) If the Polish Parliament consents to a new government under the leadership of (), this would be a further dramatic step toward democratic change and renewal in Poland.
- (IF RAISED) It is premature to speak of possible new forms of economic assistance, but we look forward to early discussions with the new Polish government on their economic plans.
- (IF RAISED) We do not consider it a "crisis" when elected representatives in the Polish parliament openly debate the composition of the next Polish government.
- (IF RAISED) We do not presume to tell the Polish people how their government should be arranged or how fast or slowly to proceed. These are matters for the Poles to decide.

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PER E.O. 13526

2012-1607-MR

mm 6/14/2016

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NATIONAL SECURITY COUNCIL
WASHINGTON, D.C. 20508

6513

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 Lech Walesa 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 Presidential Statement, which should be amended as necessary and released only upon the election of a Solidarity Prime Minister.

Attachment

Tab A Proposed Press Release

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PER E.O. 13526

2012-0262-MR
7/21/2014 M/A

THE WHITE HOUSE

Office of the Press Secretary

For Immediate Release

STATEMENT BY THE PRESIDENT

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

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 now the election of () 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, I pledged U.S. support for Poland's economic and political reforms. I reiterated that support during my visits to Warsaw and Gdansk last month and announced measures we are taking to assist. On this occasion, I want the Polish people and their new government to know that they can rely on our continued support as they meet the serious economic and political challenges before them.

NATIONAL SECURITY COUNCIL

Chen

Aug 17, 89

Comm Asst:

Please fax the following to Pat
Garland, State Dep at:

Fax #647-9959

Thanks,

MB

Mary Blair

NATIONAL SECURITY COUNCIL
WASHINGTON, D.C. 20506

August 17, 1989

ACTION

MEMORANDUM FOR PAT GARLAND

FROM: Mary Blair *MB*
SUBJECT: Adrian Basora's Travel to Brussels and Paris

Please cable the following information to the USEC, Brussels, Ambassador Niles with an info copy to the US Embassy, Paris:

"Adrian Basora, NSC Director for European Economic Affairs will be travelling to Brussels for consultations at USEC and at EC Commission, as discussed with Ambassador Miles. He arrives via Pan Am Flight #106, on 6 Sep 89 at 10:35 a.m. Please reserve a single room w/bath at a convenient hotel for one night.

Mr. Basora will be departing Brussels on 7 Sep via Swiss Air #893 at 9:25 a.m. He will arrive in Geneva at 10:40 a.m. and go on to Talloires, France to speak at a conference on EC '92. He will require no assistance from Embassy Paris or US Mission Geneva."

Please crosshatch cable for Adrian Basora's approval before dispatching.