

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

FOIA Number:  
2011-0298-F

# FOIA MARKER

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

---

**Record Group/Collection:** George H.W. Bush Presidential Records  
**Collection/Office of Origin:** National Security Council  
**Series:** Blackwill, Robert D., Files  
**Subseries:** Chronological Files

---

**OA/ID Number:** 30547  
**Folder ID Number:** 30547-003

---

**Folder Title:**  
August 1989 [5]

---

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

---

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

*chron*

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

6502

NATIONAL SECURITY COUNCIL  
WASHINGTON, D.C. 20506

August 17, 1989

ACTION

MEMORANDUM FOR BRENT SCOWCROFT

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

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

RECOMMENDATION

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

Approve \_\_\_\_\_ Disapprove \_\_\_\_\_

DECLASSIFIED  
PER NSC WAIVER, 1500 2021-02  
By SS NARA, Date 9/4/85

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

Declassify on: OADR

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

NATIONAL SECURITY COUNCIL  
WASHINGTON, D.C. 20508

August 17, 1989

ACTION

MEMORANDUM FOR BRENT SCOWCROFT

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

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

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

RECOMMENDATION

That you sign the Tab I letter to Howard Baker.

## Attachments

Tab I Letter to Baker  
Tab II Incoming from Baker

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

Dear Howard,

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

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

Sincerely,

Brent Scowcroft

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

6392

Atty for BS oak

BAKER, WORTHINGTON, CROSSLEY, STANSBERRY & WOOLF

ATTORNEYS AT LAW

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

TELEPHONE 202 347-4360  
TELECOPIER 202 347-4540

HUNTSVILLE, TENNESSEE 37756

COURTHOUSE SQUARE  
TELEPHONE 615 663-2321  
TELECOPIER 615 663-2111

JOHNSON CITY, TENNESSEE 37601

207 MOCKINGBIRD LANE  
TELEPHONE 615 928-0181  
TELECOPIER 615 928-5694

HENDERSONVILLE, TENNESSEE 37075

MAPLE GLEN OFFICE BUILDING  
TELEPHONE 615 822-8822  
TELECOPIER 615 824-4684

KNOXVILLE, TENNESSEE 37902

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

NASHVILLE, TENNESSEE 37219

1700 NASHVILLE CITY CENTER  
TELEPHONE 615 726-5600  
TELECOPIER 615 726-0464

August 10, 1989

AUG 11 1989

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


Dear Brent:

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

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

Best wishes,

Sincerely,



Howard H. Baker, Jr.

3 August, 1989

Memorandum for Senator Howard Baker

From Harald Malmgren

Subject: Estonia and Moscow

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

Summary

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

#### Comment

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

NATIONAL SECURITY COUNCIL  
WASHINGTON, D.C. 20506

August 17, 1989

ACTION

MEMORANDUM FOR G. PHILIP HUGHES

FROM: ADRIAN BASORA (ACTING) *AB*

SUBJECT: Invitation to the President by Detroit District  
Director of US Customs Service

The attached invitation to attend a local ceremony to mark the 200th anniversary of the USCS is clearly non-Presidential. The attempted linkage to the US-Canada border and to the Free Trade Agreement is far from sufficient to make the case plausible.

Tim Deal *TD* concurs.

RECOMMENDATION

That you sign the attached memorandum to Tony Benedi (Tab I) suggesting that he reply informally in the negative.

Attachment

Tab I Memo to Tony Benedi  
Tab II Incoming

NATIONAL SECURITY COUNCIL  
WASHINGTON, D.C. 20508

6472

MEMORANDUM FOR TONY BENEDI

FROM: PHILIP HUGHES

SUBJECT: Invitation to the President

The attached invitation on which you requested comments seems clearly non-Presidential. The President receives numerous invitations to attend ceremonial events along the US-Canada border, and this one is less compelling than many that he has had to turn down. I would suggest an informal response to Mr. Morandini to this effect.

TO: *Philips Hughes*

FROM: **TONY BENEDI**  
Deputy Director for Scheduling  
Office of Presidential Appoint

- For Your Information
- For Your Action
- For Your Files
- As Requested
- For Your Comments and S
- Let's Discuss
- Please Return

COMMENTS:

*Thank*

662919



DEPARTMENT OF THE TREASURY  
U.S. CUSTOMS SERVICE

6472

DETROIT, MICHIGAN

AUG 07 1989

PIN-4-IC: CLH

*Scheduling  
9-22-89*

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

Dear Mr. President:

On August 1, 1989, the United States Customs Service will mark its 200th anniversary of Government service--200 years proudly protecting American interests, securing the revenue and defending the border.

To commemorate this historic occasion, the Detroit district of United States Customs will dedicate a Time Capsule at the Detroit and Canada International Tunnel on Friday, September 22, 1989, at 10:00 a.m., with a reception following.

We cordially invite you to attend this Bicentennial Celebration. Because the Detroit-Canada border is a vital link in the successful implementation of the Free Trade Act, your presence will add special significance to this international celebration.

Representatives of Federal, state and local governments of both the United States and Canada are expected to attend, as well as members of the importing community, and Customs employees. Your presence will make this celebration one to remember. We hope that you will have the opportunity to join us.

Respectfully,

William L. Morandini  
District Director

THE WHITE HOUSE  
CORRESPONDENCE TRACKING WORKSHEET

INCOMING

DATE RECEIVED: AUGUST 12, 1989

NAME OF CORRESPONDENT: MR. WILLIAM L MORANDINI

SUBJECT: INVITATION TO ATTEND BICENTENNIAL CELEBRATION  
OF U.S.CUSTOMS SERVICE AND DEDICATION OF A  
TIME CAPSULE SEP 22 89

RECEIVED  
AUG 14 1989  
SCHEDULING  
OFFICE

ROUTE TO: OFFICE/AGENCY	(STAFF NAME)	ACTION		DISPOSITION	
		ACT CODE	DATE YY/MM/DD	TYPE RESP	C D
JOSEPH HAGIN		ORG	89/08/14		
	REFERRAL NOTE: _____				
	REFERRAL NOTE: _____				
	REFERRAL NOTE: _____				
	REFERRAL NOTE: _____				
	REFERRAL NOTE: _____				

COMMENTS: IV 890922 ??

ADDITIONAL CORRESPONDENTS: MEDIA:L INDIVIDUAL CODES: \_\_\_\_\_  
MI 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,OE0B) EXT-2590  
KEEP THIS WORKSHEET ATTACHED TO THE ORIGINAL INCOMING  
LETTER AT ALL TIMES AND SEND COMPLETED RECORD TO RECORDS  
MANAGEMENT.

Chow

NATIONAL SECURITY COUNCIL  
WASHINGTON, D.C. 20506

August 17, 1989

Dear Gale,

Please excuse my very late reply to your letter of May 3, which arrived when I was in Europe and then got buried.

I have spoken with Maya Latynski to tell her I will be glad to participate in the Oct 6 JCEE session. I will be in Berlin Oct 1-3 for a Aspen/IISS Conference on Germany but expect to be back by the 6th.

I look forward to seeing you then, if not before.

Yours sincerely,



Robert L. Hutchings  
Director for European  
Political Affairs

Professor Gale Stokes  
Department of History  
Rice University  
P.O. Box 1892  
Houston, TX 77251



Department of History

May 3, 1989

Robert Hutchings  
3435 Blair Road  
Falls Church, VA 22041

Dear Bob (or do you prefer Robert, I can't recall):

On behalf of the Joint Committee on Eastern Europe of the American Council of Learned Societies and the Social Science Research Council I would like to invite you to join us for a portion of our annual fall meeting, which will be held on October 6 at the Woodrow Wilson Center. We would like to begin our work for that day with a lunch in the Founder's Room at 12:00 noon, during which the East European Program scholars in residence at that time will give very brief presentations of their work, and we will hold a general discussion of the situation in Eastern Europe.

Following lunch, we will conduct an afternoon business meeting, during which we would like to ask you to speak briefly about how you see Eastern Europe fitting into the security concerns of the United States. We hope that Larry Orton and Blair Ruble will be attending also, and we anticipate that they will also speak to us in the same vein. Since the Joint Committee is involved in promoting the study of Eastern Europe in the United States, we would very much like to get a better understanding of the needs and interests of the government on East European problems, and at the same time we would like to have the opportunity to let you know the sorts of things we are doing.

The East European Program of the Wilson Center will be our host for this meeting, so perhaps the best thing would be to let John Lampe know if you will be able to attend. I hope very much to see you in October - I think it could be a useful meeting for all of us.

Sincerely,

Gale Stokes  
Chairman JCEE

*Chuan*

NATIONAL SECURITY COUNCIL  
WASHINGTON, D.C. 20506

August 16, 1989

Dear Bob and Corrado,

Thanks for your letter of August 11. This letter is to confirm that I will be there on September 13th as I mentioned on the phone -- barring, of course, unforeseen emergencies.

I look forward to it very much.

Sincerely,



Adrian A. Basora  
Acting Senior Director  
for European and  
Soviet Affairs

Mr. Robert E. Hunter  
Vice President  
Regional Programs  
CSIS  
1800 K St, NW, Suite 400  
Washington, DC 20006

Mr. Corrado Pirzio-Biroli  
Deputy Head  
Delegation of the  
European Communities  
1800 K St, NW, Suite 400  
Washington, DC 20006



Center for Strategic & International Studies  
Washington, DC

August 11, 1989

Mr. Adrian A. Basora  
Acting Senior Director for  
European and Soviet Affairs  
National Security Council  
Washington, D.C. 20506

Dear Adrian:

We are writing to invite you to join us in a special project being undertaken by CSIS: to bring together a small group of people concerned about U.S.-European relations to discuss -- and to integrate -- the full panoply of those relations: political, economic, military, and strategic.

We do this because of our conviction that the future of transatlantic relations will depend both upon an improved means of communication and debate -- formal and informal -- and upon the ability to relate "apples and oranges" to one another: from NATO to the European Community, from economic relations to the Gorbachev revolution.

This "Senior European Discussion Group" will be limited to about 15 people, invited on an individual basis, from three basic groups: senior U.S. government officials engaged in European issues; senior officers of European embassies in Washington; and knowledgeable people in the private sector, primarily from local think tanks. (The group might later decide to include people from Capitol Hill.) We are enclosing the list of individuals whom we are inviting.

As conveners of the Senior Study Group, we propose that it meet once a month, over dinner -- which will be held sometimes at CSIS and sometimes in the homes of group members. The discussions will be informal, unofficial, and off-the record -- as befits such a means for discussing the full range of transatlantic issues in a free-wheeling but integrated manner. We propose also that each session begin with a set topic (to be decided upon by the membership), introduced either by a member of the group or, say, by some particularly interesting European who is visiting Washington.

Our plan is to hold the first meeting of the Senior Study Group in early September -- specifically, on Wednesday, September 13th at the International Club, 1800 K Street, second floor (7:00 for drinks, 7:30 to about 9:30 for dinner and discussion). It may be premature at this point to suggest a topic, but it could usefully be a joint one: the results of the NATO and Economic Summits and the key items they have produced for the transatlantic agenda. This discussion could help the group begin to define its own agenda.

Mr. Adrian A. Basora  
August 11, 1989  
Page 2

The group will be organized by CSIS, through the European Studies Program. Its costs are being underwritten by grants from the German Marshall Fund and the CSIS New Initiatives Fund.

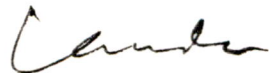
We very much hope that you will be able to take part in this Senior Study Group; in our judgment, it has promise of stimulating new means of relating complex issues to one another in discussions by governments and institutions across the Atlantic. Please RSVP to Robert Hunter at 775-3270.

With best regards,

Sincerely,



Robert E. Hunter  
Vice President  
Regional Programs  
CSIS



Corrado Pirzio-Biroli  
Deputy Head  
Delegation of the  
European Communities

Attachment

*We have invited the following individuals:*

Adrian Basora (NSC)  
Stanton Burnett (CSIS)  
Ronald Cass (ITC)  
Robert Cassidy (Wilmer, Cutler & Pickering)  
Guy de Bassompierre (Belgian Embassy)  
Peter Dyvig (Danish Embassy)  
Brian Fall (British Embassy)  
Robert Hormats (Goldman Sachs)  
Catherine Kelleher (University of Maryland)  
Dennis Kloske (Commerce)  
Hagen Graf Lambsdorff (West German Embassy)  
C. William Maynes (*Foreign Policy*)  
Henry Nau (George Washington University)  
Dennis Ross (State)  
Raymond Seitz (State)  
Simon Serfaty (SAIS)  
Jean-Daniel Tordjman (French Embassy)  
Paul Wolfowitz (Defense)  
Robert Zoellick (State)

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

6457

*Chen*

NATIONAL SECURITY COUNCIL  
WASHINGTON, D.C. 20506

August 15, 1989



INFORMATION

MEMORANDUM FOR G. PHILIP HUGHES

FROM: ROBERT L. HUTCHINGS *RLH*

SUBJECT: State Visits

You requested our thoughts and recommendations for special gestures the President might consider for upcoming state and official working visits.

Cossiga. His visit will be dominated by Italian-American events associated with Columbus Day. An additional gesture the President might consider would be related to Cossiga's background as a Naval officer. A visit to Norfolk or, closer to home, Annapolis (my alma mater) would be an event Cossiga would welcome.

Kohl. We have already had hints from Teltschik that the Chancellor would like to be invited to Camp David -- balancing, presumably, Mitterrand's Kennebunkport visit. This gesture would come at time when we will need to revivify the "spirit of Mainz." Another kind of gesture would involve German-American exchanges, particularly among youth. We could use Kohl's visit to announce the creation of the Chancellor's Scholarship Fund and/or to arrange a meeting with German and American exchange students.

Gonzalez. A special gesture for Gonzalez would be very much in order in view of the cordial personal relationship which has begun to develop between him and the President. We have no specific gesture to recommend yet but can develop one as the date draws closer -- perhaps one taking note of Spain's role in support of democracy in Latin America. (Given Cossiga's visit, we should be careful about events related to Columbus's voyages of discovery.)

*AAB*

Concurrence by: Adrian Basora (Acting)

DECLASSIFIED  
PER E.O. 13526

2012-1608-MR

MM 6/13/2016

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

Declassify on: OADR

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

NATIONAL SECURITY COUNCIL  
WASHINGTON, D.C. 20508

August 15, 1989

ACTION

MEMORANDUM FOR BRENT SCOWCROFT

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

FROM: ROBERT L. HUTCHINGS *RZH*

SUBJECT: Schedule Proposal for Yugoslav Prime Minister Ante Markovic

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

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

RECOMMENDATION

That you sign the Tab I Schedule Proposal.

Attachments

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

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

THE WHITE HOUSE  
WASHINGTON

SCHEDULE PROPOSAL

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

FROM: BRENT SCOWCROFT

REQUEST: Meeting with Yugoslav Prime Minister Ante Markovic

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

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

PREVIOUS PARTICIPATION: None

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

LOCATION: Oval Office

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

OUTLINE OF EVENTS: Photo opportunity and brief discussion

REMARKS REQUIRED: To be provided by NSC

MEDIA COVERAGE: Open photo/writing pool

RECOMMENDED BY: NSC

OPPOSED BY: None

Attachment  
Tab A List of Participants

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

# Withdrawal/Redaction Sheet

## (George Bush Library)

Document No. and Type	Subject/Title of Document	Date	Restriction	Class.
03c. Report	Government report (2 pp.)	4/28/89	(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 [5]

<b>Date Closed:</b> 6/24/2011	<b>OA/ID Number:</b> 30547
<b>FOIA/SYS Case #:</b> 2011-0298-F	<b>Appeal Case #:</b>
<b>Re-review Case #:</b>	<b>Appeal Disposition:</b>
<b>P-2/P-5 Review Case #:</b>	<b>Disposition Date:</b>
<b>AR Case #:</b>	<b>MR Case #:</b>
<b>AR Disposition:</b>	<b>MR Disposition:</b>
<b>AR Disposition Date:</b>	<b>MR Disposition Date:</b>

### 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

## PARTICIPANTS

### U.S.

The President

The Vice President

James A. Baker, Secretary of State

John H. Sununu, Chief of Staff

Brent Scowcroft,

Assistant to the President for National Security Affairs

Robert M. Gates,

Assistant to the President and Deputy for National  
Security Affairs

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

### Yugoslavia

Ante Markovic, Prime Minister

Vladimir Matic, Charge d'Affaires



~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

Washington, D.C. 20520

August 2, 1989

MEMORANDUM FOR BRENT SCOWCROFT  
THE WHITE HOUSE

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

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

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

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

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

*J. Stapleton Roy*  
J. Stapleton Roy  
Executive Secretary

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

DECLASSIFIED

PER DOS WAIVER, November 6, 2015

By SS NARA, Date 9/4/25

DECL:OADR

# Withdrawal/Redaction Sheet

## (George Bush Library)

Document No. and Type	Subject/Title of Document	Date	Restriction	Class.
04. Memo	Robert L. Hutchings to Brent Scowcroft, Re: Poland [FOIA EXEMPTIONS REDACTED] (2 pp.)	8/15/89	(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 [5]

**Document Partially Declassified**  
**(Copy of Document Follows)**  
 By MM on 6/29/2015

<b>Date Closed:</b> 6/24/2011	<b>OA/ID Number:</b> 30547
<b>FOIA/SYS Case #:</b> 2011-0298-F	<b>Appeal Case #:</b>
<b>Re-review Case #:</b>	<b>Appeal Disposition:</b>
<b>P-2/P-5 Review Case #:</b>	<b>Disposition Date:</b>
<b>AR Case #:</b>	<b>MR Case #:</b> 2011-1643-MR(523)
<b>AR Disposition:</b>	<b>MR Disposition:</b> Released in Part
<b>AR Disposition Date:</b>	<b>MR Disposition Date:</b> 2/5/2014

### RESTRICTION CODES

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

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

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

(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

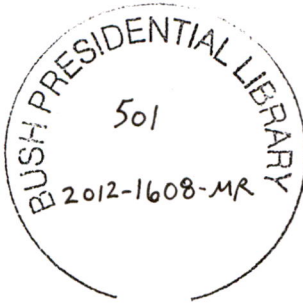
C. Closed in accordance with restrictions contained in donor's deed of gift.

PRM. Removed as a personal record misfile.

~~SECRET~~

~~SECRET~~

6441



NATIONAL SECURITY COUNCIL  
WASHINGTON, D.C. 20506

August 15, 1989

*Rice*  
Natl Sec Advisor  
has seen



*Thanks.*  
*B*

INFORMATION

MEMORANDUM FOR BRENT SCOWCROFT

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

FROM: ROBERT L. HUTCHINGS *RH*

SUBJECT: Poland and U.S. Policy

It was clear from the time of the Roundtable that Walesa would have to walk a tightrope to satisfy Solidarity's restive rank and file without transgressing the presumed limits of Soviet tolerance. This week's developments -- Solidarity's call for an inquiry into the 1981-82 martial law period, its refusal to accept Kiszczak as Prime Minister, the latter's resignation in favor of Malinowski (of the Peasant Party), and warnings of growing Soviet concern -- have raised the stakes of this balancing act.

One can question Walesa's judgment and wonder why Solidarity will not permit the new political situation to stabilize for a few months at least. Walesa is indeed <sup>1.4(d); 3.3(b)(6)</sup> [redacted] <sub>1.4(d); 3.3(b)(6)</sub> but he and his key advisors have over the years shown considerable political sophistication and restraint. They may have a keener sense than we of what arrangement will make for stability in Poland. Besides, the Poles have had lots of practice in the last few years in getting to the brink of crisis, only to find a way out at the eleventh hour.

We can expect continued stalemate for several days or weeks leading either to Solidarity's acceptance of Malinowski or some other regime-sponsored figure, or to Solidarity's renewed insistence on forming a government itself. Should positions on both sides harden, it is worth remembering that President Jaruzelski has at his disposal sweeping authority to declare martial law or a state of emergency, either nationwide or locally. So far there are no indications of preparations for such contingencies.

DECLASSIFIED IN PART  
PER E.O. 13526

1998-0194-F  
2/5/2014 MM

~~SECRET~~

Declassify on: OADR

~~SECRET~~

~~SECRET~~

~~SECRET~~

2

Moscow's position remains unclear, though there have been ominous warnings in Pravda and through official channels. Soviet officials have said on several occasions that East European leaders should not look to Moscow to bail them out, but a direct challenge to the Party's position in Poland would present the Soviet leadership with a stark choice. With Gorbachev out of Moscow and rumblings in conservative circles, the current situation carries special risks of rash action or miscalculation.

In any event, the situation in Poland will remain delicate for some time to come. The longer the disarray at the top, the greater the danger of instability below through labor unrest or regime provocation. Beyond this is the fundamental dilemma: Solidarity and the Polish population mean to have a real share of political power. The time will come -- if not now, then in the coming months -- when the Polish Communist party and the Soviet leadership will have to decide whether they will accept the logical evolution of the democratization process they have so far countenanced.

U.S. policy will need to continue on a steady course. We can expect conflicting demands from the Polish regime for us to restrain Solidarity and, as the economy deteriorates, from Solidarity for greater economic assistance. If a crisis appears imminent, our allies may break ranks. The Germans in particular would be more inclined than we to favor temporary stability over longer-term viability in Poland.

The President was careful during his visit to Poland to avoid overpromising or identifying ourselves too closely with Solidarity's specific agenda. His commitment was to support the efforts Poles themselves were making toward economic and political liberalization. The approaches we have taken since Hamtramck were designed to be sustainable over the long haul in Poland; they made allowance for the inevitable ups and downs of the Polish internal scene. We should stay the course, avoid overreaction, and, should the regime revert to coercion, be quick to lay responsibility where it belongs.

Concurrence by: <sup>CR</sup> Condoleezza Rice

~~SECRET~~

~~SECRET~~

~~SECRET~~

NATIONAL SECURITY COUNCIL  
WASHINGTON, D.C. 20508

6232

August 9, 1989

INFORMATION

MEMORANDUM FOR BRENT SCOWCROFT

THROUGH: ADRIAN BASORA (Acting) *ABBS*

FROM: CONDOLEEZA RICE *CR*

SUBJECT: The Impact of Soviet Internal Difficulties on  
U.S.-Soviet Relations

The Soviet Union has experienced intensive and wide-ranging upheavals this summer. Though Gorbachev called several of them grave threats to perestroika, the tensions are a direct outgrowth of his chosen strategy for political and economic reform -- one that is almost "personist" in character. He has deliberately increased pressure from below, stirring up the masses and encouraging them to confront local and republic governmental and party officials. At the same time, he has concentrated enormous power in his own hands and that of a few trusted advisers. At every turn, in Georgia, Uzbekistan and more recently in the face of labor unrest, Gorbachev has made local officials the "goats," blaming them for past failures and for the slow pace of reform. In doing so, he has sought to place himself firmly in the camp of "the people," exploiting their growing frustrations and, in turn, increasing even more the pressures for reform. Under Gorbachev Moscow has become the source of solutions as Ryzhkov and Shevardnadze have been dispatched repeatedly to handle disturbances and to chastise local officials for their incompetence.

This strategy has worked reasonably well so far but there are numbers of inherent dangers in what is a very high risk approach. With each intervention by Moscow, the local apparatus is weakened and loses legitimacy. Gorbachev has called for earlier local elections to replace discredited leaders but it is not clear that there are qualified and trustworthy candidates to run. Eventually, local officials may be so weak that they will be reluctant or unable to impose order; a job that Moscow must certainly do not want to have to do from the center. Already, local Interior Ministry forces (MVD) which are ethnically homogeneous and serve in their localities are considered so unreliable that troops are usually deployed from other regions. This is stretching MVD manpower very thin.

~~SECRET~~  
Declassify on: OADR

~~SECRET~~

DECLASSIFIED  
PER E.O. 13526

2011-1403-MR  
ES 9/17/12

In the long-term, the frustration that has been so successfully channeled against local officials will be redirected toward Moscow. This has already happened in Armenia, where the central leadership intervened last summer but has been unable to address adequately the concerns of the Armenian minority. And in order to forestall serious disturbances, for instance in averting a railway strike, the central leadership has made economic concessions that will be difficult to deliver.

This unrest takes place, of course, against the backdrop of a worsening economic situation. Rumors are rampant in Moscow that up to twenty basic commodities will be rationed in the winter. Butter, sugar and some meats are already being rationed. All of this suggests that unrest in the Soviet Union is likely to continue and worsen -- a point made effectively in Bob Gates memorandum to the President on that subject. The tensions may abate this winter -- they usually do in the Soviet Union -- but are likely to be even more intense next summer.

There are numerous signs that Gorbachev's colleagues -- some of them proteges are increasingly concerned about his tactics in promoting reform. But whether Gorbachev survives personally or not, the system has already been weakened enough that, short of an all-out crackdown, unrest will continue whoever occupies the Kremlin.

As Bob suggested in his memo, the sheer unevenness of the process of reform and the likely cycles of upheaval and regression pose challenges for the Administration in keeping U.S.-Soviet relations on track. Too many people on the Hill and in the press expect reform to proceed in a straight line.

There are at least two other potential problems for U.S.-Soviet relations that result from mounting Soviet internal difficulties. First, the Soviet leadership is bound to become increasingly preoccupied with internal problems. This is already evident in Soviet discussions with foreign leaders (including during the recent Baker-Shevardnadze meetings). There are only so many hours in the day and the leadership is spending them largely on internal matters. In fact, Gorbachev was criticized by Ryshkov for not attending to the reconstruction and management of the Party itself -- adding yet another demand on his time and energies.

This internal preoccupation is not surprising during this critical phase for perestroika but the "time of maximum danger," as the Soviets say, is likely to be protracted. It has become a truism that Gorbachev seeks foreign policy successes as a surrogate for domestic gains. But as these problems mount, the reflected glory of a successful foreign policy may carry less weight at home.

~~SECRET~~

Obviously, the leaders will continue to press their foreign policy agenda. But we might expect them to try and link foreign policy goals and domestic benefits more tightly, pressing harder on those issues that serve perestroika directly. To date, Soviet proposals for economic cooperation have been rather vague, as was the Gorbachev letter to the Summit Seven. But as they become more pointed, a range of issues including COCCOM restrictions, insurance for joint ventures and perhaps new credits will surface again.

This is a no-win agenda for the United States and the Alliance. But it will be difficult to simply hold the line on the economic agenda. We might instead be prepared with some ideas for concrete and sensible cooperation in order to divert attention from proposals that do not serve our interests. Energy, agricultural and environmental cooperation (perhaps using space as a laboratory) are promising areas. Most importantly, we must keep economic issues in the context of the larger relationship. Our core concerns with the Soviets -- military issues, human rights and regional problems -- have not changed and should not be diluted.

Secondly, the preoccupation with internal affairs may make the Soviet leadership less facile in responding to the U.S. but more impatient in pushing its own agenda. We do not need a dialogue of the deaf with agendas that do not link up. Soviet response time to American proposals has slowed noticeably. Gorbachev responds slowly to letters and arms control initiatives have gone unanswered throughout this round at START (in contrast to the quick response to INF initiatives a few years ago).

Soviet security decision-making under Gorbachev has been characterized by high level attention which forces the bureaucracy -- including the General Staff -- to think creatively. The number of officials in Gorbachev's circle of close advisers is believed to be no more than a handful and many, like Yakovlev and Shevardnadze, do double duty in the solution of internal matters. The lack of high level attention to issues that matter to the United States may account for the slower pace of response. "New thinking" in foreign policy -- to the extent that it exists -- does not have deep roots in the Soviet bureaucracy.

There is little that we can do about the leadership's internal preoccupation but we need to be clearer and more focused in pushing a few core issues. The U.S.-Soviet agenda has become so big that it is unwieldy and lacks focus on key priorities. As the Soviet Union has opened up, we have responded by expanding the relationship to encompass virtually all new possibilities. This diffusion of the U.S.-Soviet agenda does have costs, especially in dealing with a leadership that has limited time and energy. We need to decide what we really can and must achieve during this window of opportunity -- a window whose duration is increasingly uncertain.

~~SECRET~~

~~SECRET~~

NATIONAL SECURITY COUNCIL  
WASHINGTON, D.C. 20508

7120 5659

August 11, 1989

ACTION

MEMORANDUM FOR G. PHILIP HUGHES

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

FROM: CONDOLEEZA RICE *CR*

SUBJECT: Letter from Black Ribbon Day Committee  
Regarding Molotov-Ribbentrop Pact

Michael Tarm, Public Relations for the Black Ribbon Day Committee of Washington, DC, has written to President Bush asking that he send a message on the anniversary of Molotov-Ribbentrop Pact condemning the Pact as he had done before when he was Vice President. At Tab I is a memorandum from you to Sichan Siv stating that the NSC staff concurs with the noted changes that have been made on the previous message from then Vice President Bush, which is at Tab A.

RECOMMENDATION

That you sign the memorandum attached at Tab I

Attachments

Tab I Memo to Sichan Siv  
Tab A Message with changes  
Tab II Incoming letter

NATIONAL SECURITY COUNCIL  
WASHINGTON, D.C. 20506

ACTION

MEMORANDUM FOR SICHAN SIV

FROM: G. PHILIP HUGHES

SUBJECT: Letter from Black Ribbon Day Committee  
Regarding Molotov-Ribbentrop Pack

NSC requests that the following changes be made in the past Black Ribbon Day message (Tab A) for issuance by the President.

Attachments

Tab A Message with changes  
Tab II Incoming letter



GEORGE BUSH

August 23, 1988

Dear Friends:

I am proud to join in solidarity with the millions of people, both in the West and behind the Iron Curtain, who are calling attention to the secret protocols of the August 23, 1939 Molotov-Ribbentrop Pact.

These ~~secret~~ protocols of non-aggression between the Nazi and Soviet regimes led to the ~~secret~~ Soviet annexation of the Baltic States as well as the Nazi invasion of Poland and the eventual subjugation of millions throughout Eastern Europe, the Baltic States and Ukraine. [secret]

While the Nazi regime has long been extinguished, these ~~illegal~~ protocols are still adhered to by the Soviet authorities and remain the major barrier that currently prevents the restoration of sovereignty to Lithuania, Latvia and Estonia.

As we mark this tragic anniversary, known as Black-Ribbon Day, we remain firmly in support of all those striving for human and national rights in Eastern Europe and particularly the peoples of the three Soviet-occupied Baltic States.

Sincerely,

*George Bush*  
George Bush

illegal

freedom

5657

THE WHITE HOUSE  
WASHINGTON

Date: July 18, 1989

TO: PHIL HUGHES

FROM: **SICHAN SIV**  
Deputy Assistant to the President for  
Public Liaison  
Room 128, OEOB, Ext. 7140

The attached is for:

- |                                                                 |                                                      |
|-----------------------------------------------------------------|------------------------------------------------------|
| <input type="checkbox"/> Information                            | <input checked="" type="checkbox"/> Review & Comment |
| <input type="checkbox"/> Direct Response                        | <input type="checkbox"/> Appropriate Action          |
| <input type="checkbox"/> Draft Reply                            | <input type="checkbox"/> Signature                   |
| <input type="checkbox"/> File                                   | <input type="checkbox"/> Other                       |
| <input type="checkbox"/> Please Return By <u>AUGUST 9, 1989</u> |                                                      |

Comments:

**International Black Ribbon Day Committee**

July 10, 1989

Michael Tarm  
Black Ribbon Day Committee  
of Washington, D.C.  
13013 Ingleside Dr.  
Beltsville, MD 20705

President George Bush  
The White House  
Washington D.C. 20500

Dear President Bush,

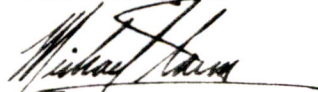
This August 23 is an infamous date. It marks fifty years to the day that Hitler and Stalin secretly agreed to carve up Europe between themselves. Last year, as Vice-President, you extended a gripping message as we commemorated this surreptitious agreement, known as the Molotov-Ribbentrop Pact. On behalf of the Black Ribbon Day Committee of Washington D.C., I would kindly request a similar message from you this year.

Mr. President, in Germany last month you made a moving plea to make Europe "whole and free". It was the Pact between Nazi Germany and the Soviet Union that effectively brought Europe to its current state: divided and un-free. We feel, therefore, that your attention to this Pact on the fiftieth anniversary of its signing is appropriate.

Your condemnation of this shameful Pact would help discredit the basis for the Soviet occupation of Eastern Europe and the Baltic nations; in a real way, your words could help towards making Europe wholly free once again.

We thank you for your efforts on behalf of the East European and Baltic peoples, and we look forward to a favorable response to our request.

Sincerely,



Michael Tarm  
Public Relations  
Black Ribbon Day Committee of  
Washington D.C.

**International Black Ribbon Day Committee**

July 13, 1989

Michael Tarn  
Black Ribbon Day Committee  
13013 Ingleside Dr.  
Beltsville, MD 20705

Mr. Charles Backerisse  
Associate Director  
Office of Public Liaison  
The White House  
Washington, D.C. 20500

Dear Charles,

Enclosed is a letter to the President concerning commemorations of the Molotov-Ribbentrop Pact which was signed fifty years ago this August 23. For the East European community in this country, this day will be one of the most momentous occasions in years. It is an emotional anniversary of an insidious agreement that had tragic and far reaching consequences for Americans of East European descent. It will be marked by events all around the country.

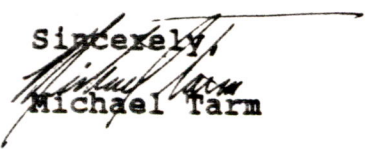
I have requested a message from the President regarding the fiftieth anniversary of this Pact. He sent one out last year -- a copy of which is also enclosed -- and with all the initiatives regarding Eastern Europe, we thought another message this year would be highly appropriate. I was hoping you could help get this request okayed.

I work with Radi Slavoff as his assistant at the Republican Heritage Council and have talked to you quite a few times over the phone. The request for a message, however, has nothing to do with NRHGC business. I am part of a Washington committee set-up to organize commemorations for the Molotov-Ribbentrop Pact. It is in this capacity that I make the request. The committee is comprised of prominent East European activists, including Radi Salvoff, Istvan Gereben and among others, Ginta Palubinskas, the Executive Director of the Joint Baltic American National Committee.

I would be happy to assist in drafting a message, though last year's message from then Vice-President Bush would serve as an outstanding guideline. I can also forward historical materials regarding the Molotov-Ribbentrop Pact -- otherwise known as the Nazi-Soviet Pact or the Hitler-Stalin Pact. I also have copies of the Pact itself.

In any case, please let me know as to the viability of this request and what further steps, if any, need to be taken on my part. At your convenience, you might want to give me a call at the Heritage Council office at 662-1345.

I appreciate your assistance in this matter and look forward to hearing from you.

Sincerely,  
  
Michael Tarn

NATIONAL SECURITY COUNCIL  
WASHINGTON, D.C. 20506

August 9, 1989

ACTION

MEMORANDUM FOR G. PHILIP HUGHES

FROM: CONDOLEEZZA RICE *CR*

SUBJECT: Letter from CRS Report for Congress re Moscow Summit 1988 Last Gorbachev Reagan Negotiating Encounter

At Tab I is a letter from you to Joseph Whelan, senior specialist in international affairs at the Congressional Research Service, Library of Congress, on Brent's behalf, thanking him for the copy of his study, "The Moscow Summit 1988: The Last Gorbachev-Reagan Negotiating Encounter." Some months ago, Mr. Whelan sent Brent a copy of a previous study on Soviet diplomacy which he had prepared for the Foreign Affairs Committee.

RECOMMENDATION

That you sign the letter at Tab I.

Attachments

Tab I Letter to Mr. Whelan  
Tab II Incoming

NATIONAL SECURITY COUNCIL  
WASHINGTON, D.C. 20506

Dear Mr. Whelan:

On behalf of General Scowcroft, I want to thank you for the copy of your recent study, "The Moscow Summit 1988: The Last Gorbachev-Reagan Negotiating Encounter." CRS reports are very useful to the NSC staff.

Sincerely

G. Philip Hughes  
Executive Secretary

Mr. Joseph G. Whelan  
Senior Specialist in  
International Affairs  
Office of Research Coordination  
The Library of Congress  
James Madison Building  
101 Independence Avenue, S.E.  
Washington, D.C. 20540



Congressional Research Service  
The Library of Congress

Washington, D.C. 20540

*Staff for BS by*  
JUL 18 1989

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

Dear Mr. Scowcroft:

You may recall that some months ago I sent you a copy of an extensive study on Soviet diplomacy and negotiating behavior that I had prepared for the House Foreign Affairs Committee along with briefer studies on the same subject. I have since completed another study, "The Moscow Summit 1988: The Last Gorbachev-Reagan Negotiating Encounter," rounding off the Reagan years. I thought you might find this useful and hence am sending along a copy to you. Should you want more copies, please let me know.

Very truly yours,

*Joseph G. Whelan*  
Joseph G. Whelan  
Senior Specialist in  
International Affairs  
(Emeritus)

# Withdrawal/Redaction Sheet

## (George Bush Library)

Document No. and Type	Subject/Title of Document	Date	Restriction	Class.
06a. Action memo	Nancy Bearg Dyke and Condoleezza Rice to Brent Scowcroft RE: U.S. Policy on Soviet Emigration (2 pp.)	8/14/89	(b)(1)	S

**Collection:**

**Record Group:** Bush Presidential Records  
**Office:** National Security Council  
**Series:** Blackwill, Robert D., Files  
**Subseries:** Chronological Files  
**WHORM Cat.:**  
**File Location:** August 1989 [5]

<b>Date Closed:</b> 6/24/2011	<b>OA/ID Number:</b> 30547
<b>FOIA/SYS Case #:</b> 2011-0298-F	<b>Appeal Case #:</b>
<b>Re-review Case #:</b>	<b>Appeal Disposition:</b>
<b>P-2/P-5 Review Case #:</b>	<b>Disposition Date:</b>
<b>AR Case #:</b>	<b>MR Case #:</b>
<b>AR Disposition:</b>	<b>MR Disposition:</b>
<b>AR Disposition Date:</b>	<b>MR Disposition Date:</b>

### RESTRICTION CODES

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

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

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

PRM. Removed as a personal record misfile.

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

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

# Withdrawal/Redaction Sheet

## (George Bush Library)

Document No. and Type	Subject/Title of Document	Date	Restriction	Class.
06b. Memo	Brent Scowcroft to William H. Webster RE: U.S. Policy on 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 [5]

<b>Date Closed:</b> 6/24/2011	<b>OA/ID Number:</b> 30547
<b>FOIA/SYS Case #:</b> 2011-0298-F	<b>Appeal Case #:</b>
<b>Re-review Case #:</b>	<b>Appeal Disposition:</b>
<b>P-2/P-5 Review Case #:</b>	<b>Disposition Date:</b>
<b>AR Case #:</b>	<b>MR Case #:</b>
<b>AR Disposition:</b>	<b>MR Disposition:</b>
<b>AR Disposition Date:</b>	<b>MR Disposition Date:</b>

### RESTRICTION CODES

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

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

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

PRM. Removed as a personal record misfile.

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

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

# Withdrawal/Redaction Sheet

## (George Bush Library)

Document No. and Type	Subject/Title of Document	Date	Restriction	Class.
06c. Letter	William H. Webster to Brent Scowcroft RE: Soviet Émigré Issue (1 pp.)	7/31/89	(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 [5]

**Date Closed:** 6/24/2011      **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

# Withdrawal/Redaction Sheet

## (George Bush Library)

Document No. and Type	Subject/Title of Document	Date	Restriction	Class.
06d. Letter	William H. Webster to Lawrence S. Eagleburger RE: Soviet refugee policy (3 pp.)	7/27/89	(b)(1)	S

**Collection:**

**Record Group:** Bush Presidential Records  
**Office:** National Security Council  
**Series:** Blackwill, Robert D., Files  
**Subseries:** Chronological Files  
**WHORM Cat.:**  
**File Location:** August 1989 [5]

<b>Date Closed:</b> 6/24/2011	<b>OA/ID Number:</b> 30547
<b>FOIA/SYS Case #:</b> 2011-0298-F	<b>Appeal Case #:</b>
<b>Re-review Case #:</b>	<b>Appeal Disposition:</b>
<b>P-2/P-5 Review Case #:</b>	<b>Disposition Date:</b>
<b>AR Case #:</b>	<b>MR Case #:</b>
<b>AR Disposition:</b>	<b>MR Disposition:</b>
<b>AR Disposition Date:</b>	<b>MR Disposition Date:</b>

### RESTRICTION CODES

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

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

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

PRM. Removed as a personal record misfile.

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

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

# Withdrawal/Redaction Sheet

## (George Bush Library)

Document No. and Type	Subject/Title of Document	Date	Restriction	Class.
06e. Memo	Memo For the Record RE: Émigré Reporting (2 pp.)	7/20/89	(b)(1)	S

**Collection:**

**Record Group:** Bush Presidential Records  
**Office:** National Security Council  
**Series:** Blackwill, Robert D., Files  
**Subseries:** Chronological Files  
**WHORM Cat.:**  
**File Location:** August 1989 [5]

<b>Date Closed:</b> 6/24/2011	<b>OA/ID Number:</b> 30547
<b>FOIA/SYS Case #:</b> 2011-0298-F	<b>Appeal Case #:</b>
<b>Re-review Case #:</b>	<b>Appeal Disposition:</b>
<b>P-2/P-5 Review Case #:</b>	<b>Disposition Date:</b>
<b>AR Case #:</b>	<b>MR Case #:</b>
<b>AR Disposition:</b>	<b>MR Disposition:</b>
<b>AR Disposition Date:</b>	<b>MR Disposition Date:</b>

### RESTRICTION CODES

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

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

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

PRM. Removed as a personal record misfile.

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

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

# Withdrawal/Redaction Sheet

## (George Bush Library)

Document No. and Type	Subject/Title of Document	Date	Restriction	Class.
06f. Memo	Memo For the Record RE: Émigré Reporting (5 pp.)	7/24/89	(b)(1)	S

**Collection:**

**Record Group:** Bush Presidential Records  
**Office:** National Security Council  
**Series:** Blackwill, Robert D., Files  
**Subseries:** Chronological Files  
**WHORM Cat.:**  
**File Location:** August 1989 [5]

<b>Date Closed:</b> 6/24/2011	<b>OA/ID Number:</b> 30547
<b>FOIA/SYS Case #:</b> 2011-0298-F	<b>Appeal Case #:</b>
<b>Re-review Case #:</b>	<b>Appeal Disposition:</b>
<b>P-2/P-5 Review Case #:</b>	<b>Disposition Date:</b>
<b>AR Case #:</b>	<b>MR Case #:</b>
<b>AR Disposition:</b>	<b>MR Disposition:</b>
<b>AR Disposition Date:</b>	<b>MR Disposition Date:</b>

### 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

POINTS TO BE MADE AT PHOTO OPPORTUNITY

AMBASSADOR LORET RUPPE

REPUBLIC OF NORWAY

WHITE HOUSE: BRENT SCOWCROFT

NSC: BARRY F. LOWENKRON

- THIS IS AN EXCITING TIME TO BE GOING TO NOWAY, WITH ELECTIONS SET FOR SEPTEMBER 11. I UNDERSTAND THAT PRIME MINISTER BRUNTLAND IS IN A TIGHT RACE. HER GOVERNMENT IS PLAGUED BY SOME TROUBLING ECONOMIC FACTORS, AND THERE'S ALSO AN ANTI-IMMIGRATION MOVEMENT IN THE COUNTRY.
- STILL, BRUNTLAND IS A SMART, TOUGH POLITICIAN, AND I WOULDN'T UNDERESTIMATE HER CHANCES. I SAW HER AT THE NATO SUMMIT, AND IN WASHINGTON IN EARLY MAY. SHE HAS AN AGENDA -- THE ENVIRONMENT, FOR EXAMPLE -- AND SHE STICKS TO IT.

CARD 2 OF 2

- SCANDINAVIANS OFTEN REFER TO THEIR PART OF THE WORLD AS AN AREA OF LOWERED TENSIONS. I IMAGINE NORWAY WAS NOT HAPPY WITH THREE SOVIET NUCLEAR SUBMARINE MISHAPS THAT HAVE OCCURRED SINCE APRIL.
- I'M COUNTING ON YOU TO TELL US WHERE AND HOW WE CAN GET OUR MESSAGE ACROSS TO THE NORWEGIANS -- WHETHER ON THE ENVIRONMENT OR OUR VISION OF EUROPE.

POINTS TO BE MADE AT PHOTO OPPORTUNITY

AMBASSADOR MICHAEL SOTIRHOS

REPUBLIC OF GREECE

FAMILY: WIFE - ESTELLE

SON - MICHAEL (20)

DAUGHTER - STACEY (17)

WHITE HOUSE: BRENT SCOWCROFT

NSC: BARRY F. LOWENKRON

- YOU'RE GOING TO GREECE DURING A PARTICULAR CRUCIAL POINT IN OUR RELATIONSHIP. WE'RE HOPING THAT ELECTIONS THIS FALL WILL BREAK THE POLITICAL DEADLOCK IN GREECE, AND PRODUCE A GOVERNMENT THAT CAN GOVERN EFFECTIVELY.
- HOPEFULLY, WE CAN THEN MOVE TO SUCCESSFULLY CONCLUDE OUR BASE NEGOTIATIONS.
- BUT, AS YOU KNOW, WE LOOK AT OUR RELATIONS WITH GREECE AS MORE THAN A MILITARY ONE. IT'S AN IMPORTANT COUNTRY, SITUATED IN A VITAL PART OF THE WORLD. WE WANT TO MOVE AWAY FROM THE TESTY PERIOD THAT CHARACTERIZED OUR RELATIONS DURING THE 1980S.

POINTS TO BE MADE FOR PRESENTATION OF CREDENTIALS

8/4/89 CARO

AMBASSADOR H.E. NUZHET KANDEMIR  
REPUBLIC OF TURKEY  
FAMILY: WIFE - SADIYE KANDEMIR  
WHITE HOUSE: BRENT SCOWCROFT  
NSC: BARRY F. LOWENKRON

-- WE HAVE A RICH BILATERAL AGENDA, AND I KNOW THAT YOU WILL BE MEETING FREQUENTLY WITH THE MEMBERS OF MY ADMINISTRATION, AS I'M SURE OUR AMBASSADOR, MORT ABRAMOWITZ, WILL DO IN ANKARA.

-- I VALUE THE RELATIONS WE HAVE WITH PRESIDENT EVREN AND PRIME MINISTER OZAL. I SPOKE TO THEM RECENTLY ON THE BULGARIAN TURKISH CRISIS. I TOLD BOTH OF THEM I WILL CONTINUE TO SPEAK OUT AGAINST THIS SENSELESS POLICY.

2

-- I'M CONFIDENT YOU'LL WORK CLOSELY WITH US TO MAINTAIN A SOLID DEFENSE RELATIONSHIP THAT WILL BENEFIT BOTH OF OUR COUNTRIES AS WELL AS THE NATO ALLIANCE.

-- TURKEY IS OFTEN CALLED A "FLANK" COUNTRY. BUT I WANT YOU TO KNOW THAT FOR US TURKEY REMAINS AT THE CORE OF OUR ALLIANCE RELATIONS.

-- LET ME ADD A FINAL WORD ON CYPRUS. I THINK WE HAVE A REAL OPPORTUNITY TO BRING ABOUT A SETTLEMENT. BUT, WE NEED THE ACTIVE SUPPORT OF YOUR GOVERNMENT TO KEEP THE TALKS GOING.

Chen

NATIONAL SECURITY COUNCIL  
WASHINGTON, D.C. 20506

August 14, 1989

Mr. Robert E. Hunter  
Vice President, Regional Programs  
Center for Strategic & International Studies  
1800 K Street, NW  
Washington, DC 20006

Dear Mr. Hunter:

As per instructions from Adrian Basora, enclosed is a copy of "Beyond Containment" which contains excerpts from the President's speeches on Europe and East-West relations during the timeframe April 17-May 31, 1989. Hope it will be of assistance to you.

Sincerely,



Mary K. Blair  
Secretary to Adrian Basora

Enclosure

NATIONAL SECURITY COUNCIL  
WASHINGTON, D.C. 20506

August 11, 1989

ACTION

MEMORANDUM FOR BRENT SCOWCROFT

THROUGH: JANIS K. WHITLEY *JW*  
FROM: ADRIAN BASORA (Acting) *AAB*  
SUBJECT: Travel Orders

Stanley Hoffmann, Director of the Center for European Studies at Harvard, has asked that I participate in a conference on "Strengthening the US-EC Dialogue", to be held near Geneva September 7-9. In view of the high calibre of both European and US participants and the timeliness of the topic, Bob Blackwill and I both believe my attendance would be very useful. Since the routing to the conference would be through Brussels, there would also be an opportunity for brief consultations there. This could prove valuable in preparation for our next "Concerted Action" meeting on Poland and Hungary, now scheduled for September 26.

I understand that the conference co-organizer, Harvard University, may be able to pay international travel plus lodging expenses at the conference, although I will recheck this with Stanley Hoffmann upon his return next week. The NSC would cover per diem for the one-day layover in Brussels, and other incidentals. This is not a projected trip.

*AAB for NR*  
Nick Rostow concurs (Harvard is a 501(c)(3) but the co-organizer is not. Our concurrence is contingent on all expenses being paid by either Harvard or the NSC.).

RECOMMENDATION

That you approve the travel outlined above.

Approve \_\_\_\_\_ Disapprove \_\_\_\_\_

That you authorize Philip Hughes to sign memo at Tab II.

Approve \_\_\_\_\_ Disapprove \_\_\_\_\_

Attachment

Tab I Travel Authorization Form  
Tab II Memo to State

DATE 8/9/89

**NSC STAFF TRAVEL AUTHORIZATION**

1. TRAVELER'S NAME: Adrian A. Basora
2. PURPOSE/EVENT (Include Dates): Consultations w/Amb Niles in Brussels followed by attendance (as speaker) at conference on "Strengthening the US-EC Dialogue" in Talloires, France.
3. ITINERARY (Please Attach Copy of Proposed Itinerary): See attached.
4. DEPARTURE DATE 5 Sep 89 RETURN DATE 10 Sep 89  
DEPARTURE TIME 1755 RETURN TIME 1600
5. MODE OF TRANSPORTATION:  
GOVT. AIR \_\_\_\_\_ COMMERCIAL AIR X POV \_\_\_\_\_ RAIL \_\_\_\_\_  
OTHER \_\_\_\_\_
6. ESTIMATED EXPENSES:  
TRANSPORTATION \$900.95 PER DIEM \$437.00 OTHER \$60.00  
TOTAL \$1,397.95
7. WHO PAYS EXPENSES: NSC X OTHER \_\_\_\_\_  
IF NOT NSC, DESCRIBE SOURCE AND ARRANGEMENTS: \_\_\_\_\_
8. WILL FAMILY MEMBER ACCOMPANY YOU: YES \_\_\_\_\_ NO X  
IF SO, WHO PAYS FOR FAMILY MEMBER (If Travel Not Paid By Traveler, Describe Source & Arrangements): \_\_\_\_\_
9. TRAVEL ADVANCE REQUESTED: \$ 270.00
10. REMARKS (Use This Space to Indicate Any Additional Items You Would Like to Appear on Your Travel Orders): \_\_\_\_\_
11. TRAVELER'S SIGNATURE: Adrian A. Basora  
and Acting Senior Director
12. APPROVALS: Senior Director \_\_\_\_\_  
Director of Administration \_\_\_\_\_  
National Security Adviser \_\_\_\_\_

NATIONAL SECURITY COUNCIL

ADRIAN A. BASORA  
Travel to Brussels and Geneva  
5-10 Sep 89

Tue - 5 Sep  
dep: Wash (Dulles) Pan Am #106 1755  
Wed - 6 Sep  
arr: Brussels 1035  
  
Thu - 7 Sep  
dep: Brussels Swiss Air #893 0925  
arr: Geneva 1040  
  
Sun - 10 Sep  
dep: Geneva TWA #895 1125  
via Paris  
arr: Wash (Dulles) 1600

Ticket Available: 31 August  
Cost: \$900.95

NATIONAL SECURITY COUNCIL  
WASHINGTON, D.C. 20506

MEMORANDUM FOR J. STAPLETON ROY  
Executive Secretary  
Department of State

SUBJECT: NSC Staff Foreign Travel to Brussels, Belgium and  
Talloires, France

NSC Staff            Adrian A. Basora  
Member:             Director for European Economic Affairs

Purpose of Travel:

To participate in a conference on "Strengthening the US-EC Dialogue", to be held near Geneva September 7-9, and for prior consultations in Brussels at the US Mission to the EC and the EC Commission.

ITINERARY

<u>Date</u>	<u>City</u>	<u>Country</u>	<u>Major Event/Meeting</u>
Sep 6	Brussels	Belgium	Meeting w/Ambassador Niles
Sep 7-9	Talloires	France	Speaker at Conference on "Strengthening the US-EC Dialogue"

G. Philip Hughes

# Withdrawal/Redaction Sheet

## (George Bush Library)

Document No. and Type	Subject/Title of Document	Date	Restriction	Class.
07. Action memo	Adrian Basora to Brent Scowcroft RE: Poland and Hungary (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 [5]

**Date Closed:** 6/24/2011      **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

8/11/89

Chron

POINTS TO BE MADE AT PHOTO OPPORTUNITY

AMBASSADOR RICHARD MOORE

REPUBLIC OF IRELAND

FAMILY: WIFE - ESTHER

WHITE HOUSE: BRENT SCOWCROFT

NSC: BARRY F. LOWENKRON

- OUR RELATIONS WITH IRELAND ARE EXCELLENT. THE VALUES WE SHARE MAKE THE BONDS BETWEEN OUR TWO COUNTRIES SPECIAL.
- I WANT YOU TO TELL OUR IRISH FRIENDS HOW MUCH WE VALUE THEIR CONTRIBUTION TO U.N. PEACE-KEEPING THROUGHOUT THE GLOBE. NEGOTIATING PEACE IS ONLY PART OF THE STORY. UNDERWRITING IT IS NO LESS ESSENTIAL.
- I'M PLEASED TO HEAR THAT THE INTERNATIONAL FUND FOR IRELAND AND THE ANGLO-IRISH AGREEMENT ARE SUCCEEDING IN HELPING IRELAND AND GREAT BRITAIN ADDRESS THE PROBLEMS IN NORTHERN IRELAND. WE ALL STAND TO GAIN FROM THE COOPERATION BETWEEN BOTH COUNTRIES.

Chron

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

6343

NATIONAL SECURITY COUNCIL  
WASHINGTON, D.C. 20506

August 11, 1989

ACTION

MEMORANDUM FOR BRENT SCOWCROFT

THROUGH: ADRIAN BASORA (ACTING) *AB*  
FROM: BARRY F. LOWENKRON *BL*  
SUBJECT: Appointment Request for Otto Von Lamsdorff

Count Von Lamsdorff, Chairman of the FRG Free Democratic Party, will be in Washington August 24-25 and requested a meeting with you to review arms control issues and our bilateral agenda with Bonn. Von Lamsdorff is considered a potential successor to Genscher at the Foreign Ministry in the event that the latter's health continues to deteriorate.

RECOMMENDATION

That you agree to meet with Count Von Lamsdorff for 15-20 minutes on August 24 at 3:00 p.m.

Approve \_\_\_\_\_ Disapprove \_\_\_\_\_

DECLASSIFIED  
PER NSC WAIVER, 1500 2021-02  
By SS NARA, Date 9/5/25

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~  
Declassify on: OADR

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

6108 Add-on *Chen*

NATIONAL SECURITY COUNCIL  
WASHINGTON, D.C. 20506

August 10, 1989

INFORMATION

MEMORANDUM FOR BRENT SCOWCROFT

THROUGH: ADRIAN BASORA (ACTING) *AB*  
FROM: BARRY F. LOWENKRON *BL*  
SUBJECT: Your Meeting With Loret Ruppe, Ambassador to  
Norway, Friday, August 11, 11:00-11:20 a.m.

Ambassador Ruppe requested the meeting as a courtesy call prior to her departure for Oslo. Norway is in the midst of a national political campaign leading up to elections September 11. Current polls indicate that the race is too close to call. Prime Minister Bruntland's Labor Government is buffeted by the opposition centrist parties as well as Carl Hagen's Progress Party, which has taken a strong stance against Norway's liberal immigration policies. Economic issues, and the scandals within the governing Labor party, have dominated the electoral campaign. Foreign policy issues have played no part.

We understand that Ruppe may solicit your help on one bilateral issue: whaling. Because Norway had caught and killed 17 whales for a research project not sanctioned by the International Whaling Commission, the Commerce Department is set to certify Norway as violating IWC procedures, opening the way for the President to consider imposing trade sanctions. Ambassador Ruppe and the State Department do not oppose certification, although they want Commerce to delay the process until after the September 11 election. Ruppe is scheduled to meet with Secretary Mossbacher, and Commerce and State officials will try to resolve their disagreement next week. We will alert you in the event they fail and require NSC input.

We have attached a copy of Ambassador Ruppe's biographic data.

Attachment  
Tab I Ruppe Biographic Data

DECLASSIFIED  
PER NSC WAIVER, 1500 2021-02  
By SS NARA, Date 9/5/25

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

Declassify on: OADR

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

LORET MILLER RUPPE  
AMBASSADOR-DESIGNATE TO NORWAY

Mrs. Ruppe was appointed Director of the Peace Corps by President Reagan in 1981. She served for eight years in the position, making her the longest tenured Director in the agency's 28-year history. She was credited by many with overseeing a revitalization of the agency and a strengthening of its contributions to world peace through development. She was responsible for developing the agency's "Leadership for Peace Program", which established innovative outreach programs, focusing on environmental and women's issues, to colleges and universities; union and trade officials; environmental groups and the private sector throughout the United States. In 1987, the agency and its Volunteers, past and present, received the prestigious "Beyond War Award."

During her tenure as Director, Mrs. Ruppe visited host country heads of state, foreign ministers, village chiefs, villagers, staff and the agency's stars, the Volunteers, in 70 countries throughout Asia, Africa, Latin America, the Caribbean, and the Pacific. Twenty-five thousand Volunteers served while she was the agency's head, and over 140,000 Volunteers and staff have served around the world in the agency's history. Mrs. Ruppe administered a budget of \$150 million.

Mrs. Ruppe was born in Milwaukee, Wisconsin and attended Marymount College in Tarrytown, New York and Marquette University in Milwaukee. She is the wife of former 6-term Michigan U.S. Congressman Philip E. Ruppe. The Ruppe's have five daughters, one who served as a Peace Corps Volunteer in Nepal. She has a long career as a volunteer organizer and civic leader in her hometown of Houghton, Michigan. After successfully aiding in her husband's campaigns for Congress in the Upper Peninsula of Michigan, she became George Bush's campaign manager in the 1980 Michigan presidential primary. He won the Michigan primary by a margin of 2 to 1. She then served as the co-chairperson of Michigan's Reagan/Bush State Committee in the 1980 elections, again delivering a GOP victory. Immediately prior to becoming Peace Corps Director, she served as chairman of the 1981 Vice Presidential Inaugural Reception.

*Ch...*

NATIONAL SECURITY COUNCIL  
WASHINGTON, D.C. 20508

August 9, 1989

ACTION

MEMORANDUM FOR BRENT SCOWCROFT

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

FROM: ROBERT L. HUTCHINGS *RH*

SUBJECT: Statement on Berlin Wall Anniversary

At Tab I is a memorandum from Philip Hughes to Jim Cicconi forwarding a proposed Presidential statement (Tab A) on the anniversary of the Berlin Wall. The statement, which we have edited from State's draft, echoes the President's Mainz speech, looking ahead to Berlin's future as well as recalling its past.

*cd*  
Condi Rice concurs.

RECOMMENDATION

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

Approve \_\_\_\_\_ Disapprove \_\_\_\_\_

Attachments

- Tab I Memorandum from Hughes to Cicconi
- Tab A Proposed Presidential Statement
- Tab II State Incoming

NATIONAL SECURITY COUNCIL  
WASHINGTON, D.C. 20508

MEMORANDUM FOR JAMES W. CICCONI

FROM: G. PHILIP HUGHES

SUBJECT: Presidential Statement on the Anniversary of the  
Berlin Wall

Attached at Tab A is a proposed Presidential Statement marking the twenty-eighth anniversary of the Berlin Wall on August 13. It echoes the tone of the President's remarks in Mainz and reiterates U.S. support for the Western initiative on Berlin. We recommend that the statement be released on Friday, August 11.

Attachment

Tab A Proposed Presidential Statement

cc: Marlin Fitzwater  
Roman Popadiuk

THE WHITE HOUSE

Office of the Press Secretary

---

For Immediate Release

STATEMENT BY THE PRESIDENT

Twenty-eight years ago, in the dark of an August 13 night, a cold barrier of steel and stone was erected in the heart of Berlin. It stands there still -- now more than ever a relic of a bygone era and a failed philosophy.

The barbed wire that severed a great city also proclaimed in stark, inhuman terms the unnatural division of Europe. Beyond its tragic human cost over the years, rending families and friends, the Berlin Wall has affronted the free world with an alien vision of closed societies where basic freedoms are denied.

History has a way of righting itself. The powerful idea of liberty -- the right of people to choose their future freely and without fear -- now has begun to erode the Wall's foundation. Some wish to pretend that the Wall is necessary. In truth, it is built upon a mistaken view of the human spirit and must come down.

The courageous people of Berlin tend the precious fire of freedom as an example for us all. The city prospers and benefits from their innovative spirit and from expanding international ties. The cultural diversity, economic vigor and political pluralism of the Western Sectors are the fruits of boundless imagination at work in a democratic community. The United States is proud to have contributed to Berlin's freedom and vitality. We remain firm in our commitment to assure the city's security and well-being. In a year which marks the 40th anniversary of the Airlift, such historic bonds between Americans and Berliners carry special meaning.

The United States is also committed to improving the lives of Berliners and to bringing closer the day when the city is again united. Together with our British and French allies, we have put forward an initiative to make such progress a reality. We want Berlin to enjoy greater access to the world through expanded air links, to be a center of international meetings and sports events and to foster more human contacts which lead to better understanding. As I said in Mainz on May 31, we want Berlin to be a place of cooperation, not a point of confrontation. We have asked the Soviet Union, as part of its four-power responsibilities for Berlin, to join us in achieving these goals. We still await what we hope will be a positive response.

We observe this sad anniversary with renewed determination to overcome the division of Berlin and of Europe. On behalf of the people of the United States, I reaffirm this nation's commitment to Berlin's freedom and prosperity. The tide of history has turned, and we look to a future Europe whole and free. As we now somberly mark the day the Wall was built, so shall we celebrate a day when it no longer divides Berlin, the German people, and the nations of Europe.



August 2, 1989

CONFIDENTIAL

MEMORANDUM FOR BRENT SCOWCROFT  
THE WHITE HOUSE

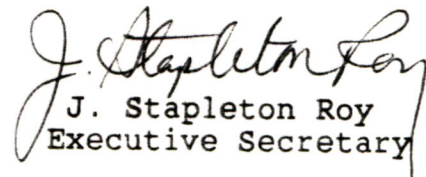
Subject: Presidential Statement on the Anniversary of the  
Berlin Wall

The Department recommends that the White House issue a statement on the August 13 anniversary of the construction of the Berlin Wall. A suggested text is attached.

In his May 31 speech in Mainz, the President stated emphatically that the Wall "must come down." "Nowhere," he said, "is the division between East and West seen more clearly than in Berlin."

Moreover, one of the four proposals the President made to help Europe become whole and free centered on Berlin. In the Mainz speech the President gave a ringing endorsement of the Allied Berlin Initiative, a four-part agenda designed to make the divided city "a place of cooperation, not a point of confrontation."

The twenty-eighth anniversary of the Wall offers a timely opportunity for a public reaffirmation of the President's views on Berlin in support of U.S. policy toward the city.

  
J. Stapleton Roy  
Executive Secretary

Attachment:

1. Draft Presidential Statement
2. Draft Cable

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~  
DECL:OADR

DECLASSIFIED  
PER E.O. 12958,  
AS AMENDED  
2008-0726-MR  
ES 5/26/09

THE DEPARTMENT OF STATE

Suggested Statement

ANNIVERSARY OF THE BERLIN WALL

FOR IMMEDIATE RELEASE

Twenty-eight years ago, in the dark of an August 13 night, a cold barrier of steel and stone was erected in the heart of Berlin. Those who raised the Berlin Wall hid under the shroud of darkness, ashamed of their cruel work. As we honor those who have been killed in the Wall's shadow attempting to reach free soil, we remember vividly why it is rightly called the wall of shame.

The barbed wire that severed a great city also proclaimed in stark, inhuman terms the unnatural division of Europe. Beyond its tragic human cost over the years, rending families and friends, the Berlin Wall has affronted the free world with an alien vision of closed societies where basic freedoms are denied.

History has a way of righting itself. As water wears away stone, powerful ideas of liberty -- the right of people to choose their future freely and without fear -- now have begun to erode the impoverished philosophy which built the Wall. This anachronism, communism's dishonor, truly rests on sand.

Some wish to pretend that the Wall is necessary. In truth, it is built upon a mistaken view of the human spirit and must come down.

The courageous people of Berlin tend the precious fire of freedom as an example for us all. The city prospers and benefits from their innovative spirit and from ever-expanding international ties. The cultural diversity, economic vigor and political pluralism of the Western Sectors are the fruits of boundless imagination at work in a democratic community. The United States is proud to have contributed to Berlin's freedom and vitality. We remain firm in our commitment to assure the city's security and well-being. In a year which marks the 40th anniversary of the Airlift, such historic bonds between Americans and Berliners carry special meaning.

Our words must be translated into deeds -- practical steps which improve the lives of Berliners and bring closer the day when the city is again united. The United States, with its British and French allies, has put forward an initiative to make such progress a reality. We want Berlin to enjoy greater access to the world through expanded air links, to be a center of international meetings and sports events and to foster more human contacts which lead to better understanding. We have

asked the Soviet Union, as part of its four-power responsibilities for Berlin, to join us in achieving these worthy goals. We still await what we hope will be a positive response.

We observe this sad anniversary with renewed determination to overcome the division of Berlin and of Europe. On behalf of the people of the United States, I reaffirm this nation's commitment to Berlin's freedom and prosperity. The tide of history has turned, and we look to a future Europe whole and free. As we now somberly mark the day the Wall was built, so shall we celebrate a day when it no longer divides Berlin, the German people, and the nations of Europe.

UNCLASSIFIED

EUR/CE:F FOULGER:CBS  
07/27/89 647-2005  
EUR:R R JOHNSON

EUR/CE:P SHOSTAL, EUR/CE:C B SKINNER, P:A WOLFF, PA:R BOUCHER,  
S/P:R GEORGE, NSCS: , S/S:

EUR/CE

IMMEDIATE BONN, USBERLIN IMMEDIATE

PRIORITY EMBERLIN, MOSCOW PRIORITY, LONDON, PARIS, USNATO,  
FRANKFURT, HAMBURG, MUNICH, STUTTGART

E.O. 12356: N/A

TAGS: PREL, BZ, GE, UR, GC, BQG

SUBJECT: STATEMENT BY THE PRESIDENT ON THE ANNIVERSARY OF  
THE BERLIN WALL

THE WHITE HOUSE ON FRIDAY, AUGUST 11 RELEASED THE  
FOLLOWING PRESIDENTIAL STATEMENT ON THE ANNIVERSARY OF THE  
BERLIN WALL. MISSION BERLIN MAY PROVIDE ADVANCE COPY OF  
THE TEXT TO THE BERLIN SENAT AND THE U.S. REPRESENTATIVE  
MAY DISTRIBUTE COPIES TO THE BONN GROUP. AT POSTS'  
DISCRETION, TEXT ALSO MAY BE PROVIDED TO THE MEDIA AFTER  
NOON WASHINGTON TIME.

BEGIN TEXT:

STATEMENT BY THE PRESIDENT

FOR IMMEDIATE RELEASE

ANNIVERSARY OF THE BERLIN WALL

TWENTY-EIGHT YEARS AGO, IN THE DARK OF AN AUGUST 13 NIGHT,

RRJ  
FF  
PS  
CBS  
AW  
RB  
RG

UNCLASSIFIED

A COLD BARRIER OF STEEL AND STONE WAS ERECTED IN THE HEART OF BERLIN. THOSE WHO RAISED THE BERLIN WALL HID UNDER THE SHROUD OF DARKNESS, ASHAMED OF THEIR CRUEL WORK. AS WE HONOR THOSE WHO HAVE BEEN KILLED IN THE WALL'S SHADOW ATTEMPTING TO REACH FREE SOIL, WE REMEMBER VIVIDLY WHY IT IS RIGHTLY CALLED THE WALL OF SHAME.

THE BARBED WIRE THAT SEVERED A GREAT CITY ALSO PROCLAIMED IN STARK, INHUMAN TERMS THE UNNATURAL DIVISION OF EUROPE. BEYOND ITS TRAGIC HUMAN COST OVER THE YEARS, RENDING FAMILIES AND FRIENDS, THE BERLIN WALL HAS AFFRONTED THE FREE WORLD WITH AN ALIEN VISION OF CLOSED SOCIETIES WHERE BASIC FREEDOMS ARE DENIED.

HISTORY HAS A WAY OF RIGHTING ITSELF. AS WATER WEARS AWAY STONE, POWERFUL IDEAS OF LIBERTY -- THE RIGHT OF PEOPLE TO CHOOSE THEIR FUTURE FREELY AND WITHOUT FEAR -- NOW HAVE BEGUN TO ERODE THE IMPOVERISHED PHILOSOPHY WHICH BUILT THE WALL. THIS ANACHRONISM, COMMUNISM'S DISHONOR, TRULY RESTS ON SAND. SOME WISH TO PRETEND THAT THE WALL IS NECESSARY. IN TRUTH, IT IS BUILT UPON A MISTAKEN VIEW OF THE HUMAN SPIRIT AND MUST COME DOWN.

THE COURAGEOUS PEOPLE OF BERLIN TEND THE PRECIOUS FIRE OF FREEDOM AS AN EXAMPLE FOR US ALL. THE CITY PROSPERS AND BENEFITS FROM THEIR INNOVATIVE SPIRIT AND FROM EVER-EXPANDING INTERNATIONAL TIES. THE CULTURAL DIVERSITY, ECONOMIC VIGOR AND POLITICAL PLURALISM OF THE WESTERN SECTORS ARE THE FRUITS OF BOUNDLESS IMAGINATION AT WORK IN A DEMOCRATIC COMMUNITY. THE UNITED STATES IS PROUD TO HAVE CONTRIBUTED TO BERLIN'S FREEDOM AND VITALITY. WE REMAIN FIRM IN OUR COMMITMENT TO ASSURE THE CITY'S SECURITY AND WELL-BEING. IN A YEAR WHICH MARKS THE 40TH ANNIVERSARY OF THE AIRLIFT, SUCH HISTORIC BONDS BETWEEN AMERICANS AND BERLINERS CARRY SPECIAL MEANING.

OUR WORDS MUST BE TRANSLATED INTO DEEDS -- PRACTICAL STEPS WHICH IMPROVE THE LIVES OF BERLINERS AND BRING CLOSER THE DAY WHEN THE CITY IS AGAIN UNITED. THE UNITED STATES, WITH ITS BRITISH AND FRENCH ALLIES, HAS PUT FORWARD AN INITIATIVE TO MAKE SUCH PROGRESS A REALITY. WE WANT BERLIN TO ENJOY GREATER ACCESS TO THE WORLD THROUGH EXPANDED AIR LINKS, TO BE A CENTER OF INTERNATIONAL MEETINGS AND SPORTS EVENTS AND TO FOSTER MORE HUMAN CONTACTS WHICH LEAD TO BETTER UNDERSTANDING. WE HAVE ASKED THE SOVIET UNION, AS PART OF ITS FOUR-POWER RESPONSIBILITIES FOR BERLIN, TO JOIN US IN ACHIEVING THESE WORTHY GOALS. WE STILL AWAIT WHAT WE HOPE WILL BE A POSITIVE RESPONSE.

# Withdrawal/Redaction Sheet

## (George Bush Library)

Document No. and Type	Subject/Title of Document	Date	Restriction	Class.
11a. Action memo	Philip Zelikow/Judy Mandel to Brent Scowcroft RE: Chemical Weapons Initiative (6 pp.)	8/8/89	(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 [5]

<b>Date Closed:</b> 6/24/2011	<b>OA/ID Number:</b> 30547
<b>FOIA/SYS Case #:</b> 2011-0298-F	<b>Appeal Case #:</b>
<b>Re-review Case #:</b>	<b>Appeal Disposition:</b>
<b>P-2/P-5 Review Case #:</b>	<b>Disposition Date:</b>
<b>AR Case #:</b>	<b>MR Case #:</b>
<b>AR Disposition:</b>	<b>MR Disposition:</b>
<b>AR Disposition Date:</b>	<b>MR Disposition Date:</b>

### 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

~~SECRET~~

THE WHITE HOUSE  
WASHINGTON

DECLASSIFIED  
PER E.O. 13526

2012-1668-MR  
MM 8/24/2016

~~SECRET~~

6175 add-on

INFORMATION

MEMORANDUM FOR THE PRESIDENT

FROM: BRENT SCOWCROFT

SUBJECT: Your Meeting to Discuss a Chemical Weapons Arms  
Control Initiative, August 11

Goal of the Meeting

Our current CW arms control policy is at an impasse, because the maximum verification regime we can accept will not meet the standard we set for verification in other arms control negotiations and will not preclude the acquisition of militarily significant CW capability by cheaters. We can go for a global ban but admit we cannot verify it, accepting the resulting criticism and asserting a net benefit for the United States. Or, on the other hand, we can retreat from the goal of a global CW ban, as personally endorsed by you, and weaken our efforts to obtain global controls on CW proliferation, instead protecting our CW deterrent until a global ban can be effectively verified. Our objective should be to turn this dilemma into an opportunity, by staking out a position of US leadership in pointing toward a new, and attainable, CW arms control agenda for the world.

The goal of this meeting should thus be to set a 'line of march' for interagency development of a chemical weapons arms control initiative, through selection among the various options presented for decision in the options paper attached at Tab A, so that the interagency process (tightly restricted) can begin fleshing out your approach on an urgent basis. If the option chosen is likely to be perceived as advancing global CW arms control, we think the initiative should be deployed in your UNGA speech in late September. If the option is likely to be perceived as retrenchment in reaction to our reassessment of the limits of verification, we suggest that the shift be made in other diplomatic channels.

Features of the Particular Options

Options one and two accelerate movement toward a global ban, recognizing however that the standard we have set for verification in other arms control negotiations cannot be met in

~~SECRET~~

Declassify on: OADR

cc: Vice President  
Chief of Staff

~~SECRET~~

the CW area. To do this, the verification regime is relaxed from 'anytime, anywhere' (which we now believe would pose too great a threat to our own chemical industry and would still be inadequate) to a suspect site approach closer to the concept we now use in START. Sanctions against CW use and closer US-Soviet cooperation are features of both options.

Options one and two prohibit continued production of CW after the agreement enters into force. Such a prohibition will obviously affect the future of the binary program. The proponents of options one and two say they will seek Congressional support for a modified and reduced binary deterrent stockpile that could be in place when the agreement enters into force, perhaps 2-4 years from now. It is unclear what binary weapons could be produced in this timeframe. This argument should not be allowed to obscure the fact that choosing option one or two does involve a basic decision about the future viability and need for our CW deterrent.

Both options one and two require the adherence of most other CW-capable states. Only option two requires all CW-capable states to be parties to the agreement before the US and Soviets complete the destruction of their stockpiles (in the eighth year of the ten-year destruction schedule). If all CW-capable states were not parties, the US and the USSR would retain minimal stocks (1000-2000 tons). Once all CW-capable states became parties, destruction of remaining stocks would be an automatic obligation. The paper's definition of what constitutes a CW-capable state under this option needs more work.

State has advanced options one and two.

OSD prefers option three. They suggest an agreement on a global ban, similar to option two, but reducing (in the eighth year of the ten-year destruction schedule) to substantial 10,000 ton stocks. The option would postpone, until that eighth year, a final decision on whether to complete the destruction process. Option 3 allows continued CW modernization within permitted levels. Along with option two's requirement of adherence by all CW-capable states, the final decision to proceed with a global ban would not be taken unless there were improvements in verification that could allow the ban to be effectively verified. Within this option would be a US-Soviet bilateral arrangement for mutual reduction of CW stocks within the framework of the multilateral treaty.

~~SECRET~~

~~SECRET~~

3

elements and focuses on a US-Soviet bilateral agreement for mutual CW reductions. The US would retain the rhetorical goal of a global ban but explain that improvements in verification must precede conclusion of such a global agreement.

#### Key Factors

As you consider the policy options described in the options paper, I think two variables will be decisive:

- **The value you attach to maintaining a limited US offensive CW capability, based in the United States, as a deterrent to CW use by the Soviet Union or others.**
- **The importance you place upon the goal of limiting CW proliferation and constraining CW use by Third World states in conflicts with states other than the US.**

**The US CW Deterrent.** Under any of the four options listed in the interagency paper, from global bans to residual stockpiles, the problems of verification mean we must assume that our adversaries can retain militarily significant CW stocks, clandestinely if necessary. If one believes that US offensive CW capability is indispensable to deterring use of this CW against us, either by the Soviets or others, then we should retain this capability by selecting options three (residual stockpile deferring final decision on global ban) or four (residual US-Soviet stockpiles).

If, on the other hand, one believes that US offensive CW capability will not be an effective or indispensable deterrent to CW use by adversaries in the 1990s and beyond, then we have little to lose and potential net advantages if we push hard for a global ban that may eliminate, or at least constrain, the CW capabilities of potential enemies.

**Third World CW Proliferation.** There is general agreement that efforts to achieve serious constraints on Third World CW proliferation will fail unless linked to a global ban, including the elimination of superpower stocks. Option three, through its insistence that a global ban be effectively verifiable despite our current inability to do this, may be perceived as weakening our commitment to a global ban, thus affecting our diplomatic efforts to thwart CW proliferation. Option four, by openly deferring movement to a global ban, will plainly undermine our efforts to block Third World CW proliferation. One basic difference between options one and two, on the one hand, and

~~SECRET~~

~~SECRET~~

~~SECRET~~

~~SECRET~~

4

options three and four, on the other, may be in the relative importance attached to maintaining a US CW deterrent as opposed to constraining Third World proliferation.

In sum, we hope to be able to focus interagency efforts on development of a new US approach. The government will need to work rapidly to be in place, if you so decide, for you to describe this new CW position in your speech to the UNGA on September 25.

~~SECRET~~

~~SECRET~~

# Withdrawal/Redaction Sheet

## (George Bush Library)

Document No. and Type	Subject/Title of Document	Date	Restriction	Class.
11c. Paper	Chemical Weapons (11 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 [5]

<b>Date Closed:</b> 6/24/2011	<b>OA/ID Number:</b> 30547
<b>FOIA/SYS Case #:</b> 2011-0298-F	<b>Appeal Case #:</b>
<b>Re-review Case #:</b>	<b>Appeal Disposition:</b>
<b>P-2/P-5 Review Case #:</b>	<b>Disposition Date:</b>
<b>AR Case #:</b>	<b>MR Case #:</b>
<b>AR Disposition:</b>	<b>MR Disposition:</b>
<b>AR Disposition Date:</b>	<b>MR Disposition Date:</b>

### RESTRICTION CODES

<p>Presidential Records Act - [44 U.S.C. 2204(a)]</p> <p>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]</p> <p>C. Closed in accordance with restrictions contained in donor's deed of gift.</p> <p>PRM. Removed as a personal record misfile.</p>	<p>Freedom of Information Act - [5 U.S.C. 552(b)]</p> <p>(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</p>
---------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------	---------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------

# Withdrawal/Redaction Sheet

## (George Bush Library)

Document No. and Type	Subject/Title of Document	Date	Restriction	Class.
11d. Paper	CW Options (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 [5]

<b>Date Closed:</b> 6/24/2011	<b>OA/ID Number:</b> 30547
<b>FOIA/SYS Case #:</b> 2011-0298-F	<b>Appeal Case #:</b>
<b>Re-review Case #:</b>	<b>Appeal Disposition:</b>
<b>P-2/P-5 Review Case #:</b>	<b>Disposition Date:</b>
<b>AR Case #:</b>	<b>MR Case #:</b>
<b>AR Disposition:</b>	<b>MR Disposition:</b>
<b>AR Disposition Date:</b>	<b>MR Disposition Date:</b>

### RESTRICTION CODES

<p>Presidential Records Act - [44 U.S.C. 2204(a)]</p> <p>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]</p> <p>C. Closed in accordance with restrictions contained in donor's deed of gift.</p> <p>PRM. Removed as a personal record misfile.</p>	<p>Freedom of Information Act - [5 U.S.C. 552(b)]</p> <p>(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</p>
---------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------	---------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------

NATIONAL SECURITY COUNCIL  
WASHINGTON, D.C. 20508

August 8, 1989

ACTION

MEMORANDUM FOR G. PHILIP HUGHES

FROM: BARRY LOWENKRON *BL*

SUBJECT: Response to Letter from Dr. Karoly Nagy

At Tab I is a memorandum from you to Shirley Green requesting that her office prepare a Presidential letter to Dr. Karoly Nagy. Dr. Nagy's letter to the President is at Tab A. Our suggested draft response is at Tab B.

Bob Blackwill concurs.

RECOMMENDATION

That you sign the memorandum at Tab I.

Attachments:

Tab I        Hughes Memo to Green  
          Tab A        Nagy Incoming  
          Tab B        Suggested Draft Reply

NATIONAL SECURITY COUNCIL  
WASHINGTON, D.C. 20506

ACTION

MEMORANDUM FOR SHIRLEY GREEN

FROM: G. PHILIP HUGHES

SUBJECT: Presidential Letter to Dr. Karoly Nagy

The NSC would appreciate your office preparing a Presidential letter to Dr. Karoly Nagy. Dr. Nagy's letter is at Tab A. At Tab B is a suggested Presidential response which we have prepared.

Attachments

Tab A Nagy Letter to the President  
Tab B Suggested Draft Response

Scheduling  
re: 7/11-7/13

June 16, 1989

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

RECEIVED  
JUN 23 1989  
SCHEDULING  
OFFICE

Dear President Bush:

As Americans of Hungarian background we were glad to hear the announcement of your July 11-13 visit to Hungary.

We urge you

to visit the graves of those who were executed after the crush of the 1956 Hungarian Revolution,


to conduct discussions with members of the Opposition Round Table's organizations about their political, economic and social reform programs,

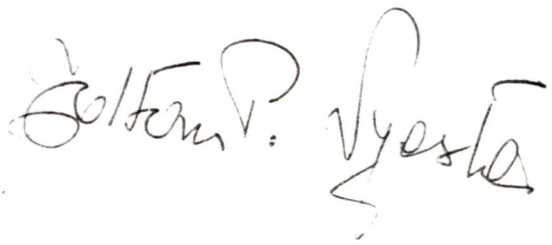
to meet with some leading members of Rumania's Hungarian minority population, tens of thousands of whom fled to Hungary to escape oppression.

We firmly believe that these three acts may have significant effects in Hungary and in the world because they will represent the United State's attention to Hungary's greatest concerns as its population struggles to rejoin the community of free nations.

We wish you a successful visit.

Sincerely,





Dr. Karoly Nagy  
25 Redbud Rd.  
Piscataway, NJ 08854

201, 699-1483

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

Dear Dr. Nagy

I am writing to thank you and your fellow Hungarian-Americans for your kind words in support of my trip to Hungary. In Budapest I was able to meet with a wide cross-section of Hungarian citizens, and to hear first hand their aspirations for a better future for their country. I can assure you that the United States will remain committed to the ideals expressed by these individuals, and looks forward to a day when Europe becomes whole and free.

Sincerely,

Dr. Karoly Nagy  
25 Redbud Road  
Piscataway, N.J. 08854

NATIONAL SECURITY COUNCIL  
WASHINGTON, D.C. 20506

August 9, 1989

ACTION

MEMORANDUM FOR G. PHILIP HUGHES

FROM: *R* NICHOLAS ROSTOW *DL*

SUBJECT: Republican National Committee Mailing

At Tab I is a memorandum expressing NSC staff objections to the proposed presidential solicitation on behalf of the Republican National Committee (Tab A). We informed Jim Cicconi's office yesterday that our comments would be provided this morning.

Concurrences by: *DL* Robert Blackwill, Condi Rice, Ginny Lampley

RECOMMENDATION

That you sign the memorandum at Tab I.

Attachments

Tab I Memorandum to James Wray  
Tab A Marked up letter  
Tab II Incoming

TAB

I

NATIONAL SECURITY COUNCIL  
WASHINGTON, D.C. 20508

MEMORANDUM FOR JAMES R. WRAY

FROM: G. PHILIP HUGHES

SUBJECT: President's Signature for RNC Mailing

The NSC staff feels strongly that the proposed solicitation letter should not be sent in its present form. The staff believes that the letter could backfire and damage the President's foreign policy. The President's historic trip to Eastern Europe and the Economic Summit is one of the Administration's sterling achievements thus far. We must be very careful in using this foreign policy success in political literature because it can detract from the President's role as architect of a bipartisan strategy and leader of the Western Alliance in this period of historic change. Our policy toward Eastern Europe currently enjoys broad bipartisan support which must be maintained in order to implement the policy over the next year. No good can come of an attempt to paint this policy as a partisan success.

More specifically, the use of Lech Walesa's name and picture in a fundraising campaign could imply his endorsement of the Republican Party. Solidarity has close ties with a number of Democratic congressional leaders and with the AFL-CIO. It would be embarrassing to the President if Walesa or Solidarity felt it necessary to distance themselves from American partisan politics.

In sum, we suggest that the letter delete specific references to Lech Walesa, the Prime Minister of Hungary and the themes that now form the core of our policy toward Eastern Europe and the Soviet Union. (See marked up copy at Tab A for suggested deletions.)

Finally, the reference to "multi-party" elections in Poland, Hungary and the USSR is inaccurate, and we defer to the Counsel to the President on any legal/ethical issues.

Attachment  
Tab A Revised Letter

cc: James Cicconi



GEORGE BUSH

September 6, 1989

Mr. and Mrs. Timothy Smith  
11409 Duryea Drive  
Potomac, Maryland 20854

Dear Mr. and Mrs. Smith:

~~[ I want to share with you the enclosed photograph, taken of me in Poland with Solidarity leader Lech Walesa during my visit to Europe in July.]~~

~~(The courage and fortitude of Lech Walesa has inspired me and millions of people around the world. By leading the fight for liberty and freedom in his homeland, a revolution of peaceful change has been launched behind the Iron Curtain that seemed unimaginable just a few short years ago.)~~

~~And when the Prime Minister of Hungary gave me a section of the barbed wire which has stood as a barrier between his country and Austria since 1945 -- I accepted it with the hope that it was a further sign of real change for the Hungarian people and of change that will come to people of other lands.~~

~~These meetings, culminating with the Economic Summit, highlighted one of the key foreign policy goals of our Administration -- to help bring about a whole and free Europe, to encourage the Eastern bloc countries to tear down the fences and permit free travel, free trade and free elections.~~

~~Yet, the photograph I have enclosed has a special meaning for me in another way, Mr. and Mrs. Smith.~~

~~For as I saw our American flag being waved by thousands of people in Hungary, Poland, Holland and France, I was reminded once again how your personal commitment and relentless dedication as a supporter of the Republican Party has enabled our nation to stand as a bright and shining symbol of liberty for oppressed peoples throughout the world.~~

America is the beacon of freedom.

Page two

It is up to us to continue to offer leadership, not only on the democratic form of government, but on specific worldwide problems such as the environment, economic development and human rights.

Pollution knows no borders; there is no iron curtain that will keep acid rain out. It's time for all nations to join together in a common effort to protect our environment.

Economic development goes hand-in-hand with democratic development. And I believe the steps taken during the Economic Summit in July will improve the climate for growth and the flourishing of democracy throughout the world.

~~As I've noted many times, change is coming -- citizens from China to Poland to the Soviet Union are demanding the opportunity to live freer lives.~~

~~In fact, only a few months ago the citizens of Poland, Hungary and the USSR enjoyed their first multi-party elections -- and decisively gained ground over the oppressive political forces which have controlled their lives since the end of World War II.~~

~~They chose new leadership -- and a new destiny.~~

And today, as I write you, we in America are just months away from our 1990 election season -- and the opportunity to choose a new Congress and a new destiny, too.

As Republicans, you and I must share in this special goal. We must keep our country on a path that will lead to continued growth and prosperity for all our citizens.

It is with that thought in mind that I am asking you to help our cause once again by making a special effort today to support the Republican National Committee.

For 1990 will be a watershed election year that will set the stage for the next decade and the first part of the 21st century.

It may be our best chance in the coming decade to elect new leaders who will respond wisely to solve pressing issues here at home -- such as the budget deficit, health care, education, illegal drugs, crime, jobs, defense spending, and the fate of our flag.

Page three

And I see the 1990 elections as one of the greatest chances you and I have to replace the near-monopoly of one-Party rule the Democrats have held in our Congress since the end of World War II.

But our struggle to replace the deeply-entrenched incumbents of the Democrat Party and their policies is seriously threatened right now.

Without your additional help for the RNC today, scores of candidates who depend on our Party's financial and organizational support cannot possibly match the millions being raised for the Democrats by liberal lobbyists, PACs and pressure groups.

Your special gift for the RNC can bring about the flood-tide of change we need here in Washington. Your help is urgently needed.

In my Inaugural address and again during my European visit, I spoke of a new breeze blowing . . . symbolizing the hopes of a new President and a new Administration.

With your support of the RNC today, we can send a breath of fresh air through the halls of Congress in the form of newly elected Republican members.

Thank you and God bless you.

(George Bush)

P.S. As you accept the enclosed photograph, I hope you will once again accept the challenge of working with me to move America toward a new destiny.

TIME STAMP **URGENT** NATIONAL SECURITY COUNCIL EXECUTIVE SECRETARIAT STAFFING DOCUMENT

89 AUG 7 P 6: 45

SYSTEM LOG NUMBER: 6191

ACTION OFFICER: LEVIN DL DUE: 3:30pm 8 AUG

- Prepare Memo For Scowcroft/Gates
- Prepare Memo For Cicconi
- Prepare Memo HUGHES to Jim Wray
- Appropriate Action
- Prepare Memo for Hughes

CONCURRENCES/COMMENTS\*

PHONE\* to action officer at ext. 3854

- |                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                           |                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                    |                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                               |
|-----------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|--------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|---------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| <p>FYI</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li><input type="checkbox"/> Basora</li> <li><input type="checkbox"/> Beers</li> <li><input checked="" type="checkbox"/> Blackwill <u>CB</u></li> <li><input type="checkbox"/> Briggs</li> <li><input type="checkbox"/> Brooks</li> <li><input type="checkbox"/> Charles</li> <li><input type="checkbox"/> Coulson</li> <li><input type="checkbox"/> Deal</li> <li><input type="checkbox"/> Donley</li> <li><input type="checkbox"/> Dyke</li> <li><input type="checkbox"/> Ebner</li> <li><input type="checkbox"/> Grant</li> <li><input type="checkbox"/> Haass</li> <li><input checked="" type="checkbox"/> Hoffmann</li> <li><input type="checkbox"/> Hutchings</li> <li><input type="checkbox"/> Jackson</li> <li><input type="checkbox"/> LaMagna</li> <li><input type="checkbox"/> Kanter</li> </ul> | <p>FYI</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li><input type="checkbox"/> Lampley</li> <li><input type="checkbox"/> Leach</li> <li><input type="checkbox"/> Levin</li> <li><input type="checkbox"/> Lewis</li> <li><input type="checkbox"/> Mahley</li> <li><input type="checkbox"/> Mandel</li> <li><input type="checkbox"/> McCue</li> <li><input type="checkbox"/> Melby</li> <li><input type="checkbox"/> Menan</li> <li><input type="checkbox"/> Miller</li> <li><input type="checkbox"/> Miskel</li> <li><input type="checkbox"/> Needels</li> <li><input type="checkbox"/> Paal</li> <li><input type="checkbox"/> Pacelli</li> <li><input type="checkbox"/> Passage</li> <li><input type="checkbox"/> Popadiuk</li> <li><input type="checkbox"/> Porter</li> <li><input type="checkbox"/> Pryce</li> </ul> | <p>FYI</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li><input type="checkbox"/> Rademaker</li> <li><input type="checkbox"/> Reiss</li> <li><input checked="" type="checkbox"/> Rice <u>CR</u></li> <li><input type="checkbox"/> Rodman</li> <li><input type="checkbox"/> Rostow</li> <li><input type="checkbox"/> Salvetti</li> <li><input type="checkbox"/> Snider</li> <li><input type="checkbox"/> Tilley</li> <li><input type="checkbox"/> Tobey</li> <li><input type="checkbox"/> Welch</li> <li><input checked="" type="checkbox"/> Whitley <u>WH</u></li> <li><input type="checkbox"/> Working</li> <li><input type="checkbox"/> Zelikow</li> <li><input type="checkbox"/> _____</li> <li><input type="checkbox"/> _____</li> <li><input type="checkbox"/> _____</li> <li><input type="checkbox"/> _____</li> <li><input type="checkbox"/> _____</li> </ul> |
|-----------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|--------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|---------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|

- INFORMATION  Hughes  Scowcroft (advance)  Gates (advance)  Secretariat  Exec. Sec. Desk  \_\_\_\_\_

COMMENTS

Logged By CDM

Return to Secretariat

6191

# WHITE HOUSE STAFFING MEMORANDUM

DATE: 8/7/89 ACTION/CONCURRENCE/COMMENT DUE BY: 8/8/89 c.o.b.

SUBJECT: RNC MAILING

	ACTION FYI			ACTION FYI	
VICE PRESIDENT	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	MCCLURE	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
SUNUNU	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	NEWMAN	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
SCOWCROFT	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	PORTER	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
DARMAN	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	STUDDERT	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
BATES	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	UNTERMAYER	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
BREEDEN	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	ROGERS	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
CARD	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	WRAY	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>
CICCONI	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	BOSKIN	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
DEMAREST	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	_____	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
FITZWATER	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	_____	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
GRAY	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	_____	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
HAGIN	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	_____	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>

**REMARKS:**

Please forward any comments directly to Jim Wray, Rm. 170, x6623, no later than c.o.b., Tuesday, August 8, with a copy to my office. Thank you.

**RESPONSE:**

James W. Cicconi  
Assistant to the President  
and Deputy to the Chief of Staff  
Ext. 2702

THE WHITE HOUSE  
WASHINGTON

August 7, 1989

MEMORANDUM FOR JAMES W. CICCONI  
ASSISTANT TO THE PRESIDENT AND  
DEPUTY TO THE CHIEF OF STAFF

THROUGH: ANDREW H. CARD, JR. *Andy*  
ASSISTANT TO THE PRESIDENT AND  
DEPUTY TO THE CHIEF OF STAFF

FROM: JAMES R. WRAY *JRW*  
DEPUTY ASSISTANT TO THE PRESIDENT AND  
DIRECTOR, OFFICE OF POLITICAL AFFAIRS

SUBJ: PRESIDENT'S SIGNATURE FOR RNC MAILING

The Republican National Committee has requested that the President sign the attached solicitation letter which will be sent to its house file. This is approximately 500,000 pieces of mail.

The RNC hopes to generate between \$750,000 to \$1,000,000 in profits from the mailing.

Please staff this to the appropriate offices for comment. If you have any questions, please contact Leslie Gromis at x7730.



GEORGE BUSH

September 6, 1989

Mr. and Mrs. Timothy Smith  
11409 Duryea Drive  
Potomac, Maryland 20854

Dear Mr. and Mrs. Smith:

~~[ I want to share with you the enclosed photograph, taken of me in Poland with Solidarity leader Lech Walesa during my visit to Europe in July.]~~

~~(The courage and fortitude of Lech Walesa has inspired me and millions of people around the world. By leading the fight for liberty and freedom in his homeland, a revolution of peaceful change has been launched behind the Iron Curtain that seemed unimaginable just a few short years ago.)~~

~~And when the Prime Minister of Hungary gave me a section of the barbed wire which has stood as a barrier between his country and Austria since 1945 -- I accepted it with the hope that it was a further sign of real change for the Hungarian people and of change that will come to people of other lands.~~

~~These meetings, culminating with the Economic Summit, highlighted one of the key foreign policy goals of our Administration -- to help bring about a whole and free Europe, to encourage the Eastern bloc countries to tear down the fences and permit free travel, free trade and free elections.~~

~~Yet, the photograph I have enclosed has a special meaning for me in another way, Mr. and Mrs. Smith.~~

~~For~~ <sup>A</sup> As I saw our American flag being waved by thousands of people in Hungary, Poland, Holland and France, I was reminded once again how your personal commitment and relentless dedication as a supporter of the Republican Party has enabled our nation to stand as a bright and shining symbol of liberty for oppressed peoples throughout the world.

America is the beacon of freedom.

Page two

It is up to us to continue to offer leadership, not only on the democratic form of government, but on specific worldwide problems such as the environment, economic development and human rights.

Pollution knows no borders; there is no iron curtain that will keep acid rain out. It's time for all nations to join together in a common effort to protect our environment.

Economic development goes hand-in-hand with democratic development. And I believe the steps taken during the Economic Summit in July will improve the climate for growth and the flourishing of democracy throughout the world.

~~As I've noted many times, change is coming -- citizens from China to Poland to the Soviet Union are demanding the opportunity to live freer lives.~~

~~In fact, only a few months ago the citizens of Poland, Hungary and the USSR enjoyed their first multi-party elections -- and decisively gained ground over the oppressive political forces which have controlled their lives since the end of World War II.~~

~~They chose new leadership -- and a new destiny.~~

And today, as I write you, we in America are just months away from our 1990 election season -- and the opportunity to choose a new Congress and a new destiny, too.

As Republicans, you and I must share in this special goal. We must keep our country on a path that will lead to continued growth and prosperity for all our citizens.

It is with that thought in mind that I am asking you to help our cause once again by making a special effort today to support the Republican National Committee.

For 1990 will be a watershed election year that will set the stage for the next decade and the first part of the 21st century.

It may be our best chance in the coming decade to elect new leaders who will respond wisely to solve pressing issues here at home -- such as the budget deficit, health care, education, illegal drugs, crime, jobs, defense spending, and the fate of our flag.

Page three

And I see the 1990 elections as one of the greatest chances you and I have to replace the near-monopoly of one-Party rule the Democrats have held in our Congress since the end of World War II.

But our struggle to replace the deeply-entrenched incumbents of the Democrat Party and their policies is seriously threatened right now.

Without your additional help for the RNC today, scores of candidates who depend on our Party's financial and organizational support cannot possibly match the millions being raised for the Democrats by liberal lobbyists, PACs and pressure groups.

Your special gift for the RNC can bring about the flood-tide of change we need here in Washington. Your help is urgently needed.

In my Inaugural address and again during my European visit, I spoke of a new breeze blowing . . . symbolizing the hopes of a new President and a new Administration.

With your support of the RNC today, we can send a breath of fresh air through the halls of Congress in the form of newly elected Republican members.

Thank you and God bless you.

(George Bush)

P.S. As you accept the enclosed photograph, I hope you will once again accept the challenge of working with me to move America toward a new destiny.

SPECIAL REPLY TO PRESIDENT GEORGE BUSH

( ) Yes, I want to ensure that the Republican Party is triumphant in 1990 by electing new leaders to the United States Congress who will provide better government for all Americans.

I want to help the Republican National Committee to raise the funds critically needed to overcome the entrenched power of the liberal Democrats.

To assist the RNC at this time, I am enclosing my gift of:

( ) \$UPG      ( ) \$HPC      ( ) \$      other

I have made my check payable to the Republican National Committee.

Mr. and Mrs. Timothy Smith  
11409 Duryea Drive  
Potomac, Maryland 20854

Republican National Committee  
310 First Street, Southeast  
Washington, D.C. 20003

FEC information  
Contributions or gifts to the Republican National Committee are not deductible as charitable contributions for Federal income tax purposes.

Chen

NATIONAL SECURITY COUNCIL  
WASHINGTON, D.C. 20508

August 9, 1989

ACTION

MEMORANDUM FOR BRENT SCOWCROFT

THROUGH: JANIS K. WHITLEY  
FROM: ADRIAN BASORA (Acting) *AAB*  
SUBJECT: Travel Orders

Stanley Hoffmann, Director of the Center for European Studies at Harvard, has asked that I participate in a conference on "Strengthening the US-EC Dialogue", to be held near Geneva September 7-9. In view of the high calibre of both European and US participants and the timeliness of the topic, Bob Blackwill and I both believe my attendance would be very useful. Since the routing to the conference would be through Brussels, there would also be an opportunity for brief consultations there. This could prove valuable in preparation for our next "Concerted Action" meeting on Poland and Hungary, now scheduled for September 26.

I understand that the conference co-organizer, Harvard University, may be able to pay international travel plus lodging expenses at the conference, although I will recheck this with Stanley Hoffmann upon his return next week. The NSC would cover per diem for the one-day layover in Brussels, and other incidentals. This is not a projected trip.

Nick Rostow concurs.

RECOMMENDATION:

That you approve the travel outlined above.

Approve \_\_\_\_\_ Disapprove \_\_\_\_\_

Attachment  
Tab I Travel Authorization Form

NATIONAL SECURITY COUNCIL

ADRIAN A. BASORA  
Travel to Brussels and Geneva  
5-10 Sep 89

Tue - 5 Sep  
dep: Wash (Dulles) Pan Am #106 1755  
Wed - 6 Sep  
arr: Brussels 1035  
  
Thu - 7 Sep  
dep: Brussels Swiss Air #893 0925  
arr: Geneva 1040  
  
Sun - 10 Sep  
dep: Geneva TWA #895 1125  
via Paris  
arr: Wash (Dulles) 1600

Ticket Available: 31 August  
Cost: \$900.95

**NSC STAFF TRAVEL AUTHORIZATION**

1. TRAVELER'S NAME: Adrian A. Basora
2. PURPOSE/EVENT (Include Dates): Consultations w/Amb Niles in Brussels followed by attendance (as speaker) at conference on "Strengthening the US-EC Dialogue" in Talloires, France.
3. ITINERARY (Please Attach Copy of Proposed Itinerary): See attached.
4. DEPARTURE DATE 5 Sep 89 RETURN DATE 10 Sep 89  
DEPARTURE TIME 1755 RETURN TIME 1600
5. MODE OF TRANSPORTATION:  
GOVT. AIR \_\_\_\_\_ COMMERCIAL AIR X POV \_\_\_\_\_ RAIL \_\_\_\_\_  
OTHER \_\_\_\_\_
6. ESTIMATED EXPENSES:  
TRANSPORTATION \$900.95 PER DIEM \$437.00 OTHER \$60.00  
TOTAL \$1,397.95
7. WHO PAYS EXPENSES: NSC X OTHER \_\_\_\_\_  
IF NOT NSC, DESCRIBE SOURCE AND ARRANGEMENTS: \_\_\_\_\_
8. WILL FAMILY MEMBER ACCOMPANY YOU: YES \_\_\_\_\_ NO X  
IF SO, WHO PAYS FOR FAMILY MEMBER (If Travel Not Paid By Traveler, Describe Source & Arrangements): \_\_\_\_\_
9. TRAVEL ADVANCE REQUESTED: \$ 270.00
10. REMARKS (Use This Space to Indicate Any Additional Items You Would Like to Appear on Your Travel Orders): \_\_\_\_\_
11. TRAVELER'S SIGNATURE: Adrian A. Basora  
and Acting Senior Director \_\_\_\_\_
12. APPROVALS: Senior Director \_\_\_\_\_  
Director of Administration \_\_\_\_\_  
National Security Adviser \_\_\_\_\_

8/8/89  
Chron

POINTS TO BE MADE AT PHOTO OPPORTUNITY

Ambassador Thomas Melady

The Holy See

Family:   Wife -                   Margaret  
              Daughter -         Monica (21)  
              Mother -          Rose Melady

White House:                 Brent Scowcroft

NSC:                           Barry F. Lowenkron

-- Your mission to the Holy See is an exciting one. The Church's agenda is truly global. I place great value on maintaining a strong dialogue with the Pope, whom I last met in May, and with whom I discussed the Higgins tragedy last week.

-- I understand that President Gorbachev will be visiting the Vatican in November. We've benefited greatly from our discussions with the Pope on Eastern Europe and the Soviet Union.

-2-

-- If there is more we can do to work with the Holy See, by all means let us know. We gain immeasurably by maintaining and deepening our dialogue with the Pope and with Church officials.

Chow

UNCLASSIFIED  
(W/CONFIDENTIAL ATCH)

5965

NATIONAL SECURITY COUNCIL  
WASHINGTON, D.C. 20506

August 3, 1989

ACTION

MEMORANDUM FOR G. PHILIP HUGHES

FROM: ROBERT HUTCHINGS *RH*

SUBJECT: Agreement: New Greek Ambassador

State has recommended (Tab II) that the President agree to the appointment of Christos Zacharakis as Greece's Ambassador to the United States. We have no reason to object to his appointment.

Robert *Blackwill* concurs.

RECOMMENDATION

That you sign the Tab I memorandum to State, forwarding the President's approval.

Approve \_\_\_\_\_ Disapprove \_\_\_\_\_

Attachments

- Tab I Memorandum for J. Stapleton Roy
- Tab A Biography
- Tab B Diplomatic Note dated July 26, 1989
- Tab II State Incoming

UNCLASSIFIED UPON  
REMOVAL OF CLASSIFIED  
ATTACHMENTS  
*SS 9/5/25*

UNCLASSIFIED  
(W/CONFIDENTIAL ATCH)

NATIONAL SECURITY COUNCIL  
WASHINGTON, D.C. 20508

MEMORANDUM FOR J. STAPLETON ROY  
Executive Secretary  
Department of State

SUBJECT: Agreement: New Ambassador of Greece

The President has reviewed and concurs in the recommendation of the Department of State that the appointment of Christos Zacharakis as Ambassador Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary of Greece to the United States would be agreeable to the Government of the United States. You are requested to inform the Government of Greece.

G. Philip Hughes  
Executive Secretary

Attachments

Tab A Biography  
Tab B Diplomatic Note dated July 26, 1989

UNCLASSIFIED UPON  
REMOVAL OF CLASSIFIED  
ATTACHMENTS  
SS 9/5/85

# Withdrawal/Redaction Sheet

## (George Bush Library)

Document No. and Type	Subject/Title of Document	Date	Restriction	Class.
12c. Report	Government report (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 [5]

<b>Date Closed:</b> 6/24/2011	<b>OA/ID Number:</b> 30547
<b>FOIA/SYS Case #:</b> 2011-0298-F	<b>Appeal Case #:</b>
<b>Re-review Case #:</b>	<b>Appeal Disposition:</b>
<b>P-2/P-5 Review Case #:</b>	<b>Disposition Date:</b>
<b>AR Case #:</b>	<b>MR Case #:</b>
<b>AR Disposition:</b>	<b>MR Disposition:</b>
<b>AR Disposition Date:</b>	<b>MR Disposition Date:</b>

### RESTRICTION CODES

<p><b>Presidential Records Act - [44 U.S.C. 2204(a)]</b></p> <p>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]</p> <p>C. Closed in accordance with restrictions contained in donor's deed of gift.</p> <p>PRM. Removed as a personal record misfile.</p>	<p><b>Freedom of Information Act - [5 U.S.C. 552(b)]</b></p> <p>(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</p>
----------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------	----------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------

EMBASSY OF GREECE

WASHINGTON, D. C.

The Charge d'Affaires a.i. of the Embassy of Greece presents his compliments to the Secretary of State and has the honor to inform him that the Greek Government has designated Ambassador Christos Zaharakis as the new Ambassador Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary of Greece to the United States of America.

The Charge d'Affaires a.i. of the Embassy of Greece would appreciate it if the agreement of the Government of the United States of America for this appointment were kindly accorded.

A curriculum vitae of Ambassador Zaharakis is attached hereto.

The Charge d'Affaires a.i. of the Embassy of Greece avails himself of this opportunity to renew to the Secretary of State the assurances of his highest consideration.

The Honorable  
Secretary of State  
Department of State  
Washington, D.C.



# Withdrawal/Redaction Sheet

## (George Bush Library)

Document No. and Type	Subject/Title of Document	Date	Restriction	Class.
12d. Memo	J. Stapleton Roy to Brent Scowcroft RE: Appointment of Christos Zaharakis of Greece (1 pp.)	7/28/89	(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 [5]

<b>Date Closed:</b> 6/24/2011	<b>OA/ID Number:</b> 30547
<b>FOIA/SYS Case #:</b> 2011-0298-F	<b>Appeal Case #:</b>
<b>Re-review Case #:</b>	<b>Appeal Disposition:</b>
<b>P-2/P-5 Review Case #:</b>	<b>Disposition Date:</b>
<b>AR Case #:</b>	<b>MR Case #:</b>
<b>AR Disposition:</b>	<b>MR Disposition:</b>
<b>AR Disposition Date:</b>	<b>MR Disposition Date:</b>

### RESTRICTION CODES

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

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

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

PRM. Removed as a personal record misfile.

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

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

NATIONAL SECURITY COUNCIL  
WASHINGTON, D.C. 20506

August 1, 1989

ACTION

MEMORANDUM FOR G. PHILIP HUGHES

FROM: CONDOLEEZZA RICE *CR*

SUBJECT: Letter from Brown University re East West  
Relations and Copies of Beyond 2000

At Tab I is a reply from you to Professor Matthews thanking him for his book, Beyond 2000, that he sent to Brent Scowcroft.

RECOMMENDATION

That you sign the letter at Tab I.

Attachments

Tab I Outgoing letter  
Tab II Incoming letter

NATIONAL SECURITY COUNCIL  
WASHINGTON, D.C. 20506

Dear Professor Matthews:

General Scowcroft asked that I convey his appreciation for your kind words of support as well as the book that you sent him. He has taken the liberty of sharing the book with the members of his staff and wishes you the best of success in your future endeavors.

Sincerely,

G. Philip Hughes

Professor R. K. Matthews  
Department of Geological Sciences  
Brown University  
Box 1846  
Providence, Rhode Island 02912



5878  
Providence, Rhode Island • 02912

DEPARTMENT OF GEOLOGICAL SCIENCES

Box 1846

401 863-2757, 3338, 3339

July 17, 1989

July 17, 1989

General Brent Scowcroft  
National Security Advisor  
The White House  
1600 Pennsylvania Avenue  
Washington, D. C. 20500

Re: East/ West Relations: Copies of BEYOND 2000 enclosed

Dear Gen. Scowcroft:

I have enjoyed the events of the last week regarding Eastern Europe and the G7 meeting. President Bush handled himself quite well in Poland and Hungary with regards the global audience. I especially enjoyed your remarks on Sunday, July 16, "Face the Nation" in response to the Leslie Stahl SOS baited questions regarding, "stopping Communism." Your responses made it quite clear to the audience that her mind is on the wrong track, yet you were not so abrasive as to cause the audience to choose sides.

I enclose copies of my recent book, BEYOND 2000 . Here I attempt to set up some general alternative world future scenarios from the perspective of the resource base (energy, agriculture, metals/minerals). With regards East/West relations and the general subject of national security, I particularly call your attention to three points as follows:

- 1) closer cooperation between USA and USSR is a step toward a more stable configuration of resources and needs (see especially Chapter 12);
- 2) neither political/economic system can claim to have demonstrated long-term stability; we are both groping for something new and as yet unattained (see Chapter 7, especially pages 112-127);
- 3) USA strategic interests in South and Central America are grossly exaggerated; the resources are small, the countries are natural competitors to our exports, and there are a lot of Latin American people out there beyond 2000.

President Bush is clearly getting some good advice. Your remarks on "Face the Nation" made it clear that at least some of it is coming from you. Keep up the good work. If I can provide any further information or discussion, just let me hear from you.

With best wishes,

R. K. Matthews  
Professor

RKM/ken  
Enclosures

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

*Chum*

6229

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

NATIONAL SECURITY COUNCIL  
WASHINGTON, D.C. 20508

August 8, 1989

INFORMATION

MEMORANDUM FOR BRENT SCOWCROFT

THROUGH: ADRIAN A. BASORA (ACTING) *AAB*  
FROM: BARRY F. LOWENKRON *BFL*  
SUBJECT: Your Meeting with Danish Ambassador Peter Dyvig,  
Wednesday, August 9, 3:00 p.m.

Ambassador Dyvig, who presented his credentials to the President on August 3, requested the meeting with you as a courtesy call. The visit of Prime Minister and Mrs. Schluter to Kennebunkport is set for August 24-25. Dyvig may float the idea of travelling to Kennebunkport as well, something you may want to discourage in light of the social nature of the Schluter visit.

We have attached Dyvig's biographic data at Tab A.

Attachment  
Tab A      Biography

DECLASSIFIED  
PER NSC WAIVER, 1500 2021-02  
By SS NARA, Date 9/5/25

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

Declassify on: OADR

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

# Withdrawal/Redaction Sheet

## (George Bush Library)

Document No. and Type	Subject/Title of Document	Date	Restriction	Class.
13b. Report	Peter Dyvig [FOIA RESTRICTIONS REDACTED] (1 pp.)	7/6/89	(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 [5]

**Document Partially Declassified**  
**(Copy of Document Follows)**  
 By MM on 9/10/2015

<b>Date Closed:</b> 6/24/2011	<b>OA/ID Number:</b> 30547
<b>FOIA/SYS Case #:</b> 2011-0298-F	<b>Appeal Case #:</b>
<b>Re-review Case #:</b>	<b>Appeal Disposition:</b>
<b>P-2/P-5 Review Case #:</b>	<b>Disposition Date:</b>
<b>AR Case #:</b>	<b>MR Case #:</b> 2012-1606-MR(501)
<b>AR Disposition:</b>	<b>MR Disposition:</b> Released in Part
<b>AR Disposition Date:</b>	<b>MR Disposition Date:</b> 7/31/2014

### RESTRICTION CODES

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

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

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

(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

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

PRM. Removed as a personal record misfile.

1.4(c); (b)(3)

**Peter DYVIG**  
(Phonetic: DOOvig)

DENMARK

*Appointed Ambassador to the  
United States (since June 1989)*



Career diplomat Peter Dyvig came to the United States from the United Kingdom, where he had served as Ambassador since 1986. A dedicated Atlanticist, Dyvig has worked diligently to keep Danish security policy in line with that of other Alliance members—frequently in the face of an ambivalent public and a sometimes hostile parliament

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

Before his assignment to London, Dyvig wielded considerable influence within the Foreign Ministry as permanent under secretary during 1983-86. In 1984 he headed a committee of experts that prepared a comprehensive analysis of Danish security policy for the 1980s. The Dyvig Report was well received and argued, among other things, that there was no alternative to full NATO membership.

Dyvig was born on 23 February 1934. He joined the Foreign Ministry in 1959, after receiving a master's degree in law and completing two years of military service. During 1963-64 he attended the School of Advanced International Studies at Johns Hopkins University and then worked briefly as an attache at the Embassy in Washington. After an assignment in the Foreign Ministry's political division, Dyvig served with the Danish Permanent Mission to NATO during 1965-69. He then returned to the political division to handle West European and North American affairs until 1974, when he began a two-year assignment as Deputy Chief of Mission in Washington. In 1976 Dyvig again returned to the political division as a deputy office chief; he was promoted to chief in 1980. He served as deputy permanent under secretary for political affairs during 1981-82.

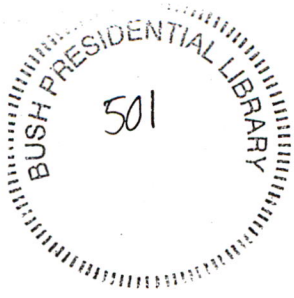
1.4(c); 1.4(d) He speaks fluent English. Married to the former Karen Moeller, he has two adult children.

LDA M 89-13509  
6 July 1989

DECLASSIFIED IN PART  
PER E.O. 13526

2012-1606-MR  
SCS 7/31/2014

1.4(c); (b)(3)



*chron*

*George Fred - 647-4136*

NATIONAL SECURITY COUNCIL  
WASHINGTON, D.C. 20506

5230 Add-On

CONFIDENTIAL

*DARLEN  
647-4136*

*SHIRLEY TEMPLE BLACK*  
*APR 23, 28*      *568-07-3472*  
August 4, 1989

*MICHAEL HORN BLOW*  
*12-17-37*      *022-32-2064*

INFORMATION

MEMORANDUM FOR BRENT SCOWCROFT

THROUGH:            ROBERT D. BLACKWILL *RB*  
FROM:                ROBERT L. HUTCHINGS *RH*  
SUBJECT:             Your Meeting with Ambassador Shirley Temple  
                              Black, August 7, 1989, 2:30 p.m.

Ambassador Black was confirmed August 2 and will be sworn in at 4:00 p.m., August 7, as Ambassador to Czechoslovakia. She will arrive in Prague August 11.

She has no specific agenda, though she may raise the question of our reopening a consulate in Bratislava -- or using the existing building to open a USIA facility. We believe, and State concurs, that reopening the consulate (leaving aside budgetary considerations) is premature, given the state of our bilateral relations and Czechoslovakia's poor human rights record. However, the idea of reestablishing some presence in Slovakia is worth considering as the regime begins to respond to pressures for reform.

We have forwarded separately (via package #6033) some thoughts on U.S. policy toward Czechoslovakia and the other unreformed East European countries. You may wish to discuss some of these thoughts with Ambassador Black.

**DECLASSIFIED**  
PER NSC WAIVER, 1500 2021-02  
By SS NARA, Date 9/5/25

CONFIDENTIAL

Declassify on: OADR