

Originally Processed With FOIA(s):
2001-1853-F

FOIA Number:
2000-1853-F

FOIA MARKER

**This is not a textual record. This is used as an
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Library Staff.**

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

OA/ID Number: CF01952
Folder ID Number: CF01952-005

Folder Title:
Non-Summit - December 2-3, 1989 [3]

Stack:	Row:	Section:	Shelf:	Position:
V	12	3	7	1

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

Scowcroft
9536

NATIONAL SECURITY COUNCIL
WASHINGTON, D.C. 20506

November 27, 1989

ACTION

MEMORANDUM FOR BRENT SCOWCROFT

THROUGH: ROBERT D. BLACKWILL *RB*
FROM: CONDOLEEZZA RICE *CR*
SUBJECT: President's Meeting with Secretaries of Economic
Agencies

At Tab I is a memorandum from you to the President for his meeting on Tuesday, November 28, with cabinet secretaries with responsibility for economic affairs and international trade.

RECOMMENDATION

That you sign the memo at Tab I.

Attachments

Tab I Memo to the President
Tab A Participants List

DECLASSIFIED

White House Guidelines

E.O. 12958, SEC 3.4 (B) September 11, 2006

By *Ruc* NARA, Date *11/07/07*

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

Declassify on: OADR

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

9536

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

November 27, 1989

MEETING WITH SECRETARIES OF ECONOMIC AGENCIES

DATE: November 28, 1989

LOCATION: Oval Office

TIME: 10:30 a.m. - 11:00 a.m.

FROM: BRENT SCOWCROFT

I. PURPOSE

You will meet with the cabinet secretaries with responsibility for economic affairs and international trade in order to hear their views on U.S.-Soviet economic relations.

II. BACKGROUND

Secretary of the Treasury Nick Brady, Secretary of Agriculture Clayton Yeutter, U.S. Trade Representative Carla Hills, Council of Economic Advisers Chairman Mike Boskin and OMB Director Dick Darman will meet with you to discuss your upcoming meeting with Gorbachev and U.S.-Soviet economic relations.

III. PARTICIPANTS

The participants list is at Tab I.

IV. PRESS PLAN

White House photographer

V. SEQUENCE

Meeting

DECLASSIFIED
PER NSC WAIVER, 1500 2021-02
By SS NARA, Date 9/2/85

Attachment

Tab A Participants list

cc: Vice President
Chief of Staff

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

Declassify on: OADR

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

PARTICIPANTS

The President

James A. Baker, Secretary of State

Nicholas Brady, Secretary of the Treasury

Clayton Yeutter, Secretary of Agriculture

Richard Darman, Director of the Office of Management and Budget

Carla Hills, United States Trade Representative

John H. Sununu, Chief of Staff

Brent Scowcroft, Assistant to the President for National Security
Affairs

Michael Boskin, Chairman of the Council of Economic Advisors

Robert Gates, Assistant to the President and Deputy for National
Security Affairs

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

Condoleezza Rice, Director for Soviet and East European Affairs
NSC Staff (Notetaker)

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

USIA - Gell - NSC Malta

Philip -

Brent says "no" to Gell
attending NSC on Malta -
only core group.

8.

Nini -
Sessumet

More on
Ananta

Document Originally
Attached to
Following Page



United States Department of State

Washington, D.C. 20520

#9239

November 15, 1989
APNSA Has Seen

~~SECRET~~
(UNCLASSIFIED without Attachment)

UNCLASSIFIED UPON
 REMOVAL OF CLASSIFIED
 ATTACHMENTS

Puc 11/07/07

MEMORANDUM FOR BRENT SCOWCROFT
 THE WHITE HOUSE

SUBJECT: Historical Study of U.S.-Soviet Summits, 1943-1988

I am forwarding a classified study of U.S.-Soviet Summits, 1943-1988, prepared by the Office of the Historian.

I am forwarding separately two previous studies that cover in more detail U.S.-Soviet Summits during the Eisenhower, Kennedy, Nixon, Ford, and Carter Administrations, 1955-1979, under the overall classification of TOP SECRET/NODIS.

J. Stapleton Roy
 J. Stapleton Roy
 Executive Secretary

11/16/89
1710



Brent -- I

Commissioned this.

*Thought you might
 wish to give to
 the President.*

Attachment:
 U.S.-Soviet Summits, 1943-1988

~~SECRET~~
(UNCLASSIFIED Without Attachment)

BS Bledell

Withdrawal/Redaction Sheet

(George Bush Library)

Document No. and Type	Subject/Title of Document	Date	Restriction	Class.
02. Report	United States Department of State, Office of the Historian report, "U.S.-Soviet Summits, 1943-1988." (30 pp.)	Nov. 1989	(b)(1)	S

Collection:

Record Group: Bush Presidential Records

Office: National Security Council

Series: Blackwill, Robert D.

Subseries:

WHORM Cat.:

File Location: Non-Summit - December 2-3, 1989 [3]

Date Closed:	11/7/2007	OA/ID Number:	CF01952-005
FOIA/SYS Case #:	2001-1853-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.
03. Cable	To Distribution List, re: Security Assessment for the 1-4 December 1989 Visit of the President to Malta. (3 pp.)	11/15/89	(b)(1)	S

Collection:

Record Group: Bush Presidential Records

Office: National Security Council

Series: Blackwill, Robert D.

Subseries:

WHORM Cat.:

File Location: Non-Summit - December 2-3, 1989 [3]

Date Closed:	11/7/2007	OA/ID Number:	CF01952-005
FOIA/SYS Case #:	2001-1853-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:	

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

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

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

PRM. Removed as a personal record misfile.

(b)(1) National security classified information [(b)(1) of the FOIA]
(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.
04. Cable	To Department of State, et al., re: Comments by President Mitterrand Concerning French Policy Toward German Reunification. (3 pp.)	11/13/89	(b)(1)	S

Collection:

Record Group: Bush Presidential Records
Office: National Security Council
Series: Blackwill, Robert D.
Subseries:
WHORM Cat.:
File Location: Non-Summit - December 2-3, 1989 [3]

Date Closed:	11/7/2007	OA/ID Number:	CF01952-005
FOIA/SYS Case #:	2001-1853-F	Appeal Case #:	
Re-review Case #:		Appeal Disposition:	
P-2/P-5 Review Case #:		Disposition Date:	
AR Case #:		MR Case #:	
AR Disposition:		MR Disposition:	
AR Disposition Date:		MR Disposition Date:	

RESTRICTION CODES

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

P-1 National Security Classified Information [(a)(1) of the PRA]
 P-2 Relating to the appointment to Federal office [(a)(2) of the PRA]
 P-3 Release would violate a Federal statute [(a)(3) of the PRA]
 P-4 Release would disclose trade secrets or confidential commercial or financial information [(a)(4) of the PRA]
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 (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

15-Nov-1989 11:10 EDT

1. B. G.
2. B. S.

MEMORANDUM FOR:

BLACKWILL

FROM: VMSMail User WHSR
(WHSR@VAXE@)

APNSA Has Seen

SUBJECT:

Received: From VAXE(WHSR) by VAXC with Jnet id 5352
for BLACKWILL@VAXC; Wed, 15 Nov 89 11:10 EDT
Date: Wed, 15-NOV-1989 11:06 EST
From: <WHSR@VAXE>
To: BLACKWILL@VAXC

11/15/89
1505

<DIST>
SIT: BENKO BLACKWILL HUTCHINGS VAX ZELIKOW

<PREC>
PRIORITY
<CLAS>
~~CONFIDENTIAL~~
<OSRI>
RUFHVL
<DTG>
151553Z NOV 89

Brent -- The President
might be inked
in Sally N.'s first
week in Malta.

<ORIG>
FM AMEMBASSY VALLETTA

<TO>
TO RUEHCSECSTATE WASHDC PRIORITY 3704
INFO RUEHRO/AMEMBASSY ROME 7606

<SUBJ>
SUBJECT: AMBASSADOR'S FIRST WEEK IN MALTA;
- PRESENTATION OF CREDENTIALS

BB Blackwill

<TEXT>
BT
~~CONFIDENTIAL~~ SECTION 01 OF 02 VALLETTA 02289
E.O. 12356: DECL:OADR

TAGS: PREL, MT, LY
SUBJECT: AMBASSADOR'S FIRST WEEK IN MALTA;
- PRESENTATION OF CREDENTIALS
REFS: A) VALLETTA 2207, B) VALLETTA 2253 (NOTAL)
1. (U) SUMMARY. THE AMBASSADOR'S FIRST WEEK IN
MALTA, INCLUDING CREDENTIALS PRESENTATION ON
NOVEMBER 9, HAS BEEN COVERED EXTENSIVELY IN MALTA'S
PRESS. COVERAGE BY THE PRO-GOVERNMENT AND
INDEPENDENT PRESS HAS BEEN UNIFORMLY FAVORABLE,
AND EVEN THE USUALLY HOSTILE PRO-LABOR PARTY PRESS
HAS BEEN NEUTRAL. MALTA IS FLOATING ON THE WAVE
OF PREPARATIONS FOR THE BUSH-GORBACHEV TALKS IN
DECEMBER, AND THERE WAS HEAVY MEDIA COVERAGE OF
THE SOVIET NATIONAL DAY RECEPTION, WHERE THE
AMBASSADOR AND THE U.S. SURVEY TEAMS WERE GUESTS.
2. (U) AT THE CREDENTIALS PRESENTATION, THE
AMBASSADOR AND PRESIDENT TABONE AGREED THAT

DECLASSIFIED
PER DOS WAIVER, November 6, 2015
By SS NARA, Date 9/2/25

BILATERAL RELATIONS ARE GOOD AND GETTING BETTER,
AND THAT THE APPROACHING PRESIDENTIAL TALKS WOULD
PROMOTE THE CAUSE OF PEACE. PRESIDENT TABONE HOPED
THAT THE TALKS SIGNIFIED A RENEWED U.S. INTEREST
IN THE MEDITERRANEAN AND NOTED HIS DISAPPOINTMENT
THAT THE MEDITERRANEAN HAS BEEN LEFT OUT OF INF
REDUCTIONS. END SUMMARY.
CREDENTIALS PRESENTATION

3. (U) THE AMBASSADOR PRESENTED HER CREDENTIALS
TO THE PRESIDENT OF MALTA, DR. CENSU TABONE, ON
NOVEMBER 9 AT THE PRESIDENT'S PALACE IN VALLETTA.
MR. NOVETZKE, THE DCM AND THE PAO ALSO ATTENDED.
THE AMBASSADOR'S GREETING (SEE REF A) AND THE
PRESIDENT'S RESPONSE WERE RECORDED BY TV MALTA,
AND MUCH OF THE PROCEEDINGS WERE PLAYED BACK ON
THE EVENING NEWS. IN HIS PUBLIC RESPONSE, THE
PRESIDENT SAID THAT MALTA WAS PROUD OF ITS
CONTRIBUTION TO THE FORTHCOMING BUSH-GORBACHEV
MEETING. HE SAID THAT THE HISTORIC EVENT WOULD
STRENGTHEN THE ALREADY GOOD RELATIONS BETWEEN
MALTA AND THE UNITED STATES. THE TWO LEADERS,
HE SAID, HAVE SET AN EXAMPLE TO THE WORLD ON HOW
TO MEET AND DISCUSS DIFFICULT ISSUES SUCH AS
ARMS REDUCTION.

4. (C) THE PRESIDENT EXPANDED ON THESE THEMES
AND OTHERS IN HIS PRIVATE REMARKS, AFTER THE
PRESS HAD LEFT, AND AT A LUNCHEON HE HOSTED LATER
THAT DAY. HE WAS ESPECIALLY INTERESTED IN WHAT
ROLE THE MALTA TALKS MIGHT PLAY IN FOCUSSED
ATTENTION ON THE MEDITERRANEAN. HE RECALLED A
MEETING SOME YEARS AGO WITH ANDREW YOUNG, THEN
AMBASSADOR TO THE U.N., IN WHICH HE SAID YOUNG
CLEARLY CONVEYED THE IDEA THAT THE MEDITERRANEAN
WAS OF INTEREST TO THE BRITISH, BUT NOT
PARTICULARLY TO THE AMERICANS. NOW, HE SAID,
IT SEEMED THAT THE U.S. HAS CORRECTLY CONCLUDED
THAT THE MED IS REALLY NOT OF SPECIAL INTEREST
TO THE BRITISH AND THAT THE AMERICANS SHOULD BE
MORE ENGAGED IN MEDITERRANEAN AFFAIRS. HE ALSO
SUGGESTED THAT PERHAPS THE PRESIDENTIAL TALKS
COULD SERVE IN SOME WAY TO EASE TENSIONS BETWEEN
LIBYA AND THE U.S. (HE EVEN SEEMED TO HAVE SOME
SYMPATHY FOR THE OPPOSITION MALTA LABOR PARTY
NOTION OF A MEETING BETWEEN PRESIDENT BUSH AND
KHADDAFI). FINALLY, PRESIDENT TABONE DISCUSSED
THE CONCEPT OF THE MEDITERRANEAN AS A "ZONE OF
PEACE," AND HIS DISAPPOINTMENT THAT UNTIL NOW
FORCES IN THE MEDITERRANEAN HAVE BEEN LEFT OUT
OF INF REDUCTIONS. THE AMBASSADOR SAID THAT
PRESIDENT BUSH IS CERTAINLY COMMITTED TO PEACE,
AND THAT SHE WAS SURE THAT EVERY EFFORT DURING
THE FORTHCOMING TALKS NEAR MALTA WOULD BE BENT
TOWARD THE END OF SECURING PEACE. THESE TALKS
WOULD LAY A FIRM GROUNDWORK FOR THE SUMMIT MEETING
NEXT YEAR, SHE SAID.

5. (C) PRESIDENT TABONE AND THE AMBASSADOR
AGREED THAT RELATIONS BETWEEN THE U.S. AND MALTA
ARE STEADILY IMPROVING. TABONE SAID EVEN THOUGH
AS PRESIDENT HE IS NOT SUPPOSED TO BE INVOLVED
IN POLITICAL AFFAIRS, HE NEVERTHELESS VIEWED
WITH SATISFACTION THE IMPROVEMENT IN THE QUALITY
OF THE RELATIONSHIP OVER THE PAST COUPLE OF
YEARS. THE AMBASSADOR SAID THAT SHE WAS SURE
BT

BT

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~ SECTION 02 OF 02 VALLETTA 02289

E.O. 12356: DECL: OADR

TAGS: PREL, MT, LY

SUBJECT: AMBASSADOR'S FIRST WEEK IN MALTA;

WE COULD LOOK FORWARD TO CONTINUED STRENGTH IN
THE MALTA-U.S. RELATIONSHIP.

EXTENSIVE MEDIA COVERAGE

6. (U) UPON CONCLUSION OF THE MEETING WITH
PRESIDENT TABONE, THE AMBASSADOR WAS MET OUTSIDE
THE MEETING ROOM BY A DOZEN JOURNALISTS AND
PHOTOGRAPHERS. THE PALACE STAFF WAS CLEARLY
UNPREPARED FOR THIS MINI-INVASION -- A TASTE OF
THINGS TO COME AS THE PRESIDENTIAL TALKS NEAR
MALTA DRAW NEARER. IN FACT, JOURNALISTS HAVE
COVERED FULLY ALL PUBLIC ASPECTS OF THE
AMBASSADOR'S FIRST WEEK IN MALTA, BOTH BEFORE
AND AFTER THE CREDENTIALS PRESENTATION. COVERAGE
WAS UNPRECEDENTED STARTING WITH HER ARRIVAL ON
NOVEMBER 4 AND CONTINUING THROUGH HER MEETING
WITH PRIME MINISTER FENECH ADAMI ON NOVEMBER 10
(REF B).

7. (U) THE PRO-GOVERNMENT DAILY "IN-NAZZJON
TAGHNA" OPENED THE MEDIA EXTRAVAGANZA ON
NOVEMBER 4 WITH A THREE-COLUMN HEADLINE ANNOUNCING:
"NEW AMERICAN AMBASSADOR ARRIVES TODAY." THE
PAPER CARRIED THE AMBASSADOR'S BIOGRAPHY AND A
SINGLE COLUMN PHOTO. THE LARGE CIRCULATION,
INDEPENDENT "THE TIMES" OF NOVEMBER 7 CARRIED
AN INSIDE DOUBLE COLUMN PHOTO OF THE AMBASSADOR'S
OCTOBER 28 SWEARING-IN IN IOWA. HEADLINED:
"U.S. AMBASSADOR SWORN IN," THE CAPTION STORY
INCLUDED HER REMARKS AT THE CEREMONY.

8. (U) DOMINATING MEDIA COVERAGE, INCLUDING
TELEVISION, ON NOVEMBER 8 WAS A MEETING BETWEEN
AMBASSADOR NOVETZKE AND SOVIET AMBASSADOR PLECHKO
AT THE SOVIET NATIONAL DAY RECEPTION. THE MALTESE
AUTHORITIES AGREED THAT DUE TO UNIQUE CIRCUMSTANCES,
INCLUDING PRESENCE OF SOVIET AND U.S. SURVEY
TEAMS FOR THE PRESIDENTIAL TALKS, PROTOCOL
SHOULD NOT PREVENT THE AMBASSADOR'S ATTENDANCE,
EVEN BEFORE PRESENTING HER CREDENTIALS.

9. (U) ALL NEWSPAPERS REPORTED THE NOVEMBER 9
PRESENTATION OF CREDENTIALS, INCLUDING THE PRO-
OPPOSITION PRESS. MOST WERE ACCOMPANIED BY
PHOTOS. AMBASSADOR NOVETZKE'S GREETINGS TO
PRESIDENT TABONE AND A SHORT INTERVIEW WITH MALTA
TELEVISION AFTERWARDS WERE BOTH CARRIED ON THE
PRIME TIME EVENING NEWS. "IN-NAZZJON TAGHNA"
CARRIED A FRONT-PAGE DOUBLE-COLUMN PHOTO AND A
HIGHLIGHTED HEADLINE. THIS CONTINUED ON THE
BACK PAGE UNDER A FIVE COLUMN HEADLINE WHICH
READ: "THE NEW AMBASSADOR SAID BUSH AND GORBACHEV
AGREED THAT MALTA WAS THE MOST SUITABLE VENUE FOR
THE MEETING." THE BACK PAGE CARRIED ANOTHER
PHOTO SHOWING AMBASSADOR NOVETZKE WITH PRESIDENT
CENSU TABONE. THE AMBASSADOR WAS QUOTED SAYING
THAT SHE WAS CONFIDENTLY LOOKING TO STRENGTHEN
U.S. RELATIONS WITH MALTA AND THAT SHE WILL WORK
IN THE INTEREST OF DEMOCRACY, HUMAN RIGHTS AND
FREEDOM. THE PRO-OPPOSITION "L-ORIZZONT" COVERAGE
FOCUSSED ON QUESTIONS PUT THE AMBASSADOR BY THE
PRESS AT THE PALACE RELATING TO THE PRESIDENT'S
SECURITY IN MALTA AND TO MALTA'S ATTITUDE TOWARD
NUCLEAR-ARMED VESSELS.

10. (U) THE PRO-GOVERNMENT "IN-NAZZJON TAGHNA"
OF NOVEMBER 11 CARRIED AN EXCLUSIVE PHOTO OF
AMBASSADOR NOVETZKE BEING GREETED BY PREMIER EDDIE
FENECH ADAMI AT THE OFFICE OF THE PRIME MINISTER.
THE TWO-COLUMN COLOR PHOTO WAS CARRIED AS THE
LEAD ITEM ON THE FRONT PAGE WITH THE HEADLINE:
"THE AMERICAN AMBASSADOR CALLED ON THE PRIME
MINISTER." THE STORY QUOTED THE PRIME MINISTER'S
REMARKS WELCOMING EVENTS IN EAST GERMANY AND
ADDED THAT: "THEY ALSO DISCUSSED VARIOUS TOPICS
OF MUTUAL INTEREST INCLUDING THE FURTHER
PROMOTION OF THE EXISTING BILATERAL RELATIONS FOR
THE BENEFIT OF BOTH PEOPLES." THE PRO-GOVERNMENT
WEEKLY NEWSPAPER "THE DEMOCRAT" OF NOVEMBER 11
CARRIED A DOUBLE-COLUMN PHOTO OF AMBASSADOR
NOVETZKE WITH PRESIDENT TABONE ON THE BACK PAGE.
NOVETZKE

BT

#2289

<SECT>

SECTION: 01 OF 02

<SSN>

2289

<TOR>

891115110116 MSG000248439676

<SECT>

SECTION: 02 OF 02

<SSN>

2289

<TOR>

891115110157 MSG000248439717

WASHINGTON, D.C. 20506
November 20, 1989

INFORMATION

MEMORANDUM FOR BRENT SCOWCROFT

THROUGH: ROBERT BLACKWILL *RB*
FROM: CONDOLEEZZA RICE *CR*
SUBJECT: Soviet Delegation for Malta

The following is the Soviet delegation list for Malta in the order given to us. You will note that there are no serving military officers (though Akhromeyev will be there) and the only known regional expert is a Latin Americanist.

Official Delegation that will participate in the larger bilateral group meetings

E.A. Shevardnadze (Foreign Minister)
A.N. Yakovlev (Party Secretary/Chairman of the International Policy Commission)
A.A. Bessmertnykh (First Deputy Foreign Minister)
A.S. Chernyaev (Aide to Gorbachev/likely notetaker)

Advisers

N.E. Kruchina (Full member of Central Committee/responsibilities unknown)
V.M. Falin (Chief of the International Department of the Central Committee [Specialist on Soviet-European Affairs])
A.F. Dobrynin (Special Assistant to Gorbachev [Former Ambassador to the United States])
V.V. Zagladin (Special Assistant to Gorbachev [European and American Affairs])
S.F. Akhromeyev (Special Assistant to Gorbachev [Former Chief of the General Staff])
I.T. Frolov (new editor of Pravda but also key aide to Gorbachev on domestic affairs)
V.P. Karpov (Deputy Foreign Minister [Arms control specialist])
Y.V. Dubinin (Ambassador to the United States)
G.A. Arbatov (Director of the Institute for the Study of the USA and Canada)
V.S. Gusenkov (responsibilities unknown)

Accompanying Experts

T.G. Stepanov (Assistant to Shevardnadze)
N.A. Kosolapov (responsibilities unknown)
V.I. Chernyshev (Protocol)

DECLASSIFIED
PER NSC WAIVER, 1500 2021-02
By SS NARA, Date 9/11/25

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V.N. Shevchenko (responsibilities unknown)
S.P. Tarasenko (rumored new head of Policy Planning for
Shevardnadze)
A.A. Obukhov (USA Directorate/Foreign Ministry)
Y.I. Pavlov (Latin Americanist)
G.E. Mamedov (Obukhov's Deputy)
Y.A. Gremitikh (Press and Information)

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

08-Nov-1989 04:38 EDT

MEMORANDUM FOR:

MONTGOMERY

FROM: VMSMail User WHSR
(WHSR@VAXE@)

APNSA Has Seen

SUBJECT:

Received: From VAXE(WHSR) by VAXC with Jnet id 1896
for MONTGOMERY@VAXC; Wed, 8 Nov 89 04:38 EDT
Date: Wed, 8-NOV-1989 04:34 EST
From: <WHSR@VAXE>
To: MONTGOMERY@VAXC

<DIST>

PRT: HAAS

SIT: CHARLES HAASS MONTGOMERY WELCH

<ORIG>

FBIS

<TOR>

891108040442

<TEXT>

FBIS UNNUMBERED

UNCLAS 5L

(WHSR: PLS PASS TO JOHN MONTGOMERY/NSC; 395-3685)

ISRAEL: THEORIES OF NSC'S HAAS VIEWED (TAKE 1 OF 2)

TA0811082189 TEL AVIV HA'ARETZ IN HEBREW 3 NOV 89 P B1

[COMMENTARY BY A. SCHWEITZER: "NOT IN THIS LIFETIME"]

[TEXT] RICHARD HAAS, THE MAN IN CHARGE OF MIDDLE EAST AFFAIRS AT THE U.S. NATIONAL SECURITY COUNCIL, IS SUPPOSED TO BE THE FATHER OF THE THEORY OF MATURITY. THIS THEORY ASSERTS THAT INTERNATIONAL CONFLICTS ARE NEVER SOLVED BEFORE REACHING A CERTAIN DEGREE OF MATURITY -- IN OTHER WORDS, BEFORE THE PARTIES HAVE TRIED ALL THE ALTERNATIVES AND REACHED THE CONCLUSION THAT IT IS TIME TO WIND THINGS UP; IT IS AS SIMPLE AS THAT. HAAS HAD THE PRIVILEGE OF IMPLEMENTING HIS THEORY: WHEN HE JOINED THE NATIONAL SECURITY COUNCIL HE FOUND JEWS AND PALESTINIANS TORMENTED BY THE INTIFADAH, A SOFTENED 'ARAFAT, AND AN INITIATIVE-HERALDING SHAMIR. IT APPEARS THAT THE U.S. ADMINISTRATION'S UNENTHUSIASTIC INVOLVEMENT STEMMED FROM THE DISCOVERY AT THE BEGINNING OF 1989 THAT CONDITIONS IN THE REGION WERE RIPE. HOWEVER, THE ASSUMPTION WAS ERRONEOUS: SOME DAY, ALL THE PROTAGONISTS MAY YET ATTAIN THE NECESSARY MATURITY FOR THE SETTLEMENT OF THE CONFLICT -- BUT NOT IN THIS LIFETIME.

IT IS HARD TO TRUST 'ARAFAT'S WORD, BUT IT IS ENTIRELY POSSIBLE TO RELY ON SHAMIR. WHEN HE SAYS THAT ERETZ YISRA'EL WILL NOT BE REDIVIDED, THEN -- AS FAR AS IT IS UP TO HIM -- IT WILL NOT BE. THE ELECTION INITIATIVE AND THE RESULTING AUTONOMY CONTRADICT -- IN SPIRIT, ALTHOUGH NOT NECESSARILY IN FORMULATION -- THE PRIMARY TENET OF SHAMIR'S CREDO. THE FATE OF THE INITIATIVE SINCE ITS CONCEPTION PROVES THAT IT WAS A DUD FROM THE MOMENT SHAMIR WHISPERED IT IN PRESIDENT BUSH'S EAR. THE PRIME MINISTER MAY HAVE BEEN SINCERE: RABIN, WITH HIS INFINITELY ANALYTICAL MIND, MAY HAVE CONVINCED HIM THAT THERE ARE NO CONTRADICTIONS; RABIN -- AND BUSH AFTER HIM -- BELIEVED, BECAUSE THIS IS WHAT THEY WANTED TO BELIEVE; AS FOR HAAS, HE SAW THE CULMINATION OF A RIPENING PROCESS. THAT IS TO SAY, THEY

Bob/Brent
I've been accused of
being the son of something,
& the father of several
things -- but never
maturity.

ALL JOINED FORCES THE MOMENT THE INITIATIVE WAS BORN, BECAUSE THEY BELIEVED THAT A VIABLE CREATURE WOULD EMERGE.

THE BELIEVERS' HOPES WERE SHATTERED WITH THE ARRIVAL OF THE LIKUD'S CONSTRAINTS CONVENTION, WHOSE MAIN SIGNIFICANCE WAS THAT IT ILLUMINATED THE IMPLICATIONS OF THE INITIATIVE. USING TRADITIONAL LIKUDIC ARGUMENTS, SHARON, LEVI, AND MODA'I OPENED SHAMIR'S EYES AND CONVINCED HIM THAT HE HAD BEEN CAUGHT IN THE NET SPREAD AT HIS FEET BY THE WILY MAPAINIK [MEMBER OF THE TRADITIONAL LABOR PARTY -- FBIS], YITZHAQ RABIN. CONVINCED BY THE SOUNDNESS OF HIS RIVALS' ARGUMENTS, SHAMIR CAVED IN. THE UNDIGNIFIED ARGUMENT ABOUT THE EXTENT TO WHICH CENTRAL COMMITTEE RESOLUTIONS BIND INNER CABINET MEMBERS WAS REALLY UNCONVINCING. IN THIS, SHAMIR'S LESS ATTRACTIVE SIDE WAS REVEALED. AFTERWARD, EACH DAY REINFORCED THE IMPRESSION THAT SHAMIR IS UNRELIABLE AND THAT FOR HIM, THE INITIATIVE HAD BEEN A MISTAKE. AND AT THIS POINT, HAD THE ALIGNMENT NOT BEEN SO BEGUILED BY RABIN'S ANALYTICAL CHARM, AND BELIEVED INSTEAD IN THE DEVELOPMENT IT WAS WITNESSING IN THE LIKUD, IT WOULD HAVE PACKED UP AND BOLTED THE GOVERNMENT IN ORDER TO AVOID BEING CHARGED SOME DAY WITH EITHER NAIVETE OR MENDACIOUSNESS.

(MORE)

08 NOV 0906Z RF

NNNN

08-Nov-1989 04:56 EDT

MEMORANDUM FOR:

MONTGOMERY

FROM: VMSMail User WHSR
(WHSR@VAXE@)

SUBJECT:

Received: From VAXE(WHSR) by VAXC with Jnet id 5224
for MONTGOMERY@VAXC; Wed, 8 Nov 89 04:56 EDT
Date: Wed, 8-NOV-1989 04:52 EST
From: <WHSR@VAXE>
To: MONTGOMERY@VAXC

<DIST>
SIT: HAASS MONTGOMERY WELCH

<ORIG>
FBIS

<TOR>
891108044029

<TEXT>
FBIS UNNUMBERED
UNCLAS 5L
ISRAEL: THEORIES OF NSC'S HAAS VIEWED (TAKE 2 OF 2--AACNOV08)
///NAIVETE OR MENDACIOUSNESS.
TA0811091389

[TEXT] WHEN SHAMIR WOKE UP TO THE SIGNIFICANCE OF HIS INITIATIVE, THERE WAS NO LONGER DOUBT THAT HE WOULD SHAKE HIMSELF FREE OF IT AS SOON AS HE COULD. HAVING MADE A COMMITMENT TO PRESIDENT BUSH, HOWEVER, HE WAS OBLIGED TO KEEP UP APPEARANCES. THIS WAS HOW HE AND HIS HELPER FROM THE FOREIGN MINISTRY, MOSHE ARENS, WERE FORCED INTO PLAYING HIDE-AND-SEEK WITH 'ARAFAT, BASED ON "WHO CAN HIDE BEST UNTIL THE OTHER KILLS THE INITIATIVE." HAD THE INITIATIVE BEEN IMPORTANT TO SHAMIR, HAD HE REALLY AND TRULY DESIRED ITS SUCCESS -- AS HIS AND HIS COURT ATTENDANTS' SANCTIMONIOUS DECLARATIONS LED US TO BELIEVE -- HE WOULD NOT HAVE WISHED IT FOILED BY THE HEAD OF THE PLO. AND IT IS TO BE REMEMBERED THAT EVEN FROM THE VIEWPOINT OF HIS NEGOTIATIONS WITH THE AMERICANS, HIS CHANCES OF PERSUADING THEM OF THE VALIDITY OF HIS RESERVATIONS WOULD HAVE IMPROVED HAD IT NOT BEEN PLAIN TO ALL HIS INTERLOCUTORS THAT HE HAD LONG AGO WEARIED OF THE INITIATIVE BEARING HIS NAME, WHICH WAS USED AS A ROD OF CHASTISEMENT EXCLUSIVELY BY HIS RIVALS IN HIS OWN PARTY.

IT IS DOUBTFUL WHETHER THE U.S. ADMINISTRATION -- INCLUDING, AND TO AN EVEN GREATER DEGREE, THOSE IN CHARGE OF FOREIGN POLICY, THESE VERY EXPERIENCED PEOPLE WHO ARE, AFTER ALL, FRIENDLY TOWARD ISRAEL -- VIEWS 'ARAFAT AND HIS ORGANIZATION DIFFERENTLY THAN ISRAELIS USUALLY DO. CONVERSELY, WHERE THE ISRAELI PRIME MINISTER AND HIS FOREIGN MINISTER (WHO, IN ADDITION, IS A FELLOW COUNTRYMAN) ARE CONCERNED -- THEIR WORD IS WORD. ON THE BASIS OF THIS BIAS, WHICH HAS BEEN NOURISHED OVER THE PAST 40 YEARS BY ALL ISRAELI GOVERNMENTS TO THE BEST OF THEIR ABILITY, THE BUSH ADMINISTRATION, WHICH HAD ALREADY ACQUIRED A REPUTATION OF BEING IRRESOLUTE AND HESITANT, DECIDED TO RAISE ITS PROFILE ON THE MIDDLE EAST ISSUE. THEY REALIZED IN THE MEANTIME THAT ARENS DOES NOT PRECISELY UNDERSTAND WHAT HE IS BEING TOLD IN ENGLISH, AND THAT SHAMIR IS UNRELIABLE --

AS SIMPLE AS THAT. AT THIS POINT, HOWEVER, THEY WERE ALREADY STUCK IN THE MIDDLE EAST IMBROGLIO. WHICH WAS WHY, ALTHOUGH THE REGION DID NOT REQUIRE EMERGENCY TREATMENT, AND ALTHOUGH THE UNITED STATES WAS LADEN WITH PROBLEMS IN EUROPE, LATIN AMERICA, ON DRUGS, AND WHATNOT, SECRETARY BAKER HAS BEEN SEEN SPENDING HIS PRECIOUS TIME MAKING FRUSTRATING PHONE CALLS TO THE MIDDLE EAST. IT SEEMS THAT THE ADMINISTRATION WOULD HAVE ABANDONED ITS DEALINGS WITH SHAMIR, ARENS, MERIDOR, OLMERT, NETANYAHU, AND THE VARIOUS ANONYMOUS HEROES CARRYING OUT MISERABLE ISRAEL'S FOREIGN POLICY, HAD IT NOT CONSIDERED IT A SHAME (FROM THE EUROPEANS' POINT OF VIEW, FOR INSTANCE) AND A CONFESSION OF THE FAILURE OF A POLICY WHICH IS MORE BALANCED THAN THAT OF, SAY, PRESIDENT REAGAN. AN INTERNATIONAL SUPERPOWER DOES NOT LIKE TO FIND ITSELF IN SUCH HUMILIATING SPOTS, PARTICULARLY WHEN CREATED BY A PROTEGE.

BUT THERE IS NO DOUBT THAT THE UNITED STATES WILL EVENTUALLY ADMIT TO ITSELF THAT AN ESCAPE FROM THE DIPLOMATIC BATTLEFIELD IS PREFERABLE TO THE CONTINUING TORTURE OF NEGOTIATIONS WITH THE ISRAELI PRIME MINISTER AND HIS COURT ATTENDANTS. ONE CAN ADD THAT IT IS OF NO SIGNIFICANCE WHETHER ISRAELI POLICYMAKERS WILL SWALLOW BAKER'S FIVE P ENDLESS OPPORTUNITIES TO DELAY OR TORPEDO THE NEGOTIATIONS. (AS WILL THE PLO; HOWEVER, IN THE ERETZ-YISRA'EL CONTEXT, ISRAEL IS THE DOMINANT INTERLOCUTOR, MOSTLY DUE TO ITS U.S. CONNECTION.) IT IS GUARANTEED THAT HE WILL NOT MISS EVEN ONE OF THESE OPPORTUNITIES. AS WE SAID BEFORE: PEACE MAY REIGN SOME DAY IN THE PROMISED LAND, BUT NOT IN THIS LIFETIME.

(ENDALL)

08 NOV 0942Z RF

NNNN

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

NON-LOG

NATIONAL SECURITY COUNCIL
WASHINGTON, D.C. 20506

November 22, 1989

INFORMATION

MEMORANDUM FOR ROBERT M. GATES

FROM: WILLIAM SITTMANN

SUBJECT: Malta: FYI

Bob Goodwin the White House lead advance called from Malta this morning with some updated items reference the agenda:

- OK for us, then.*
- (1) Gorbachev is now planning to arrive in Malta on Friday between 10:00 and 10:30 p.m. He is planning on meeting the Maltese Prime Minister at the airport.
- (2) When Gorbachev and the President are meeting one-on-one, the Soviets recommend that Secretary Baker and one or two others meet with Shevardnadze.
- What does this mean?*
- (3) The luncheon on Saturday on the Slava, the Soviets are calling that an official luncheon, with press coverage and 12 on a side.
- (4) The Soviets would like our dinner on Saturday to be official with press coverage.
- Good*
- (5) Gorbachev will be leaving early on Sunday and request that the luncheon be cancelled.
- careful about this*
- (6) They would like to have the expanded meeting first and then the one-on-one to be followed with the joint press statement. Gorbachev needs to leave the US ship by 1:30 pm. He will then return to the Slava for the press conference, approximately 45-minutes long.
- seems OK.*
- (7) Advance is getting reports that there may be large demonstrations at Prime Minister's office if President meets with Prime Minister there. They suggest we may want to meet PM at airport and then fly to USS Forrestal.

Now we should easily be able to get to Brussels for 9:00 pm dinner.

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

Declassify on: OADR

DECLASSIFIED
PER NSC WAIVER, 1500 2021-02
By SS NARA, Date 9/12/15

NATIONAL SECURITY COUNCIL

17-Nov-1989 11:01 EDT

UNCLASSIFIED

MEMORANDUM FOR:

Florence E. Gantt

(GANTT)

FROM:

Elaine M. Mitsler
(MITSLER)

SUBJECT:

ZDF - Revised Note

The following note is from Roman.

West Germany ZDF's "Studio One" current affairs magazine would like to do an on-camera interview with the General sometime between November 20 and December 15. The subject, of course, would be Malta. The interviewer would be Dr. Hoffman, who claims he interviewed the General in 1984 when they were both at CSIS. Ambassador Walters strongly supports this request. However, I do not believe we should do this. Reason: The President will have an interview with the West German newspaper on November 21, Secretary Baker will have a WORLDNET to Europe prior to Malta, and there will be a State Department official doing a WORLDNET after Malta. In addition, the President will have a news conference in Malta. So, there will be ample TV coverage for the West Germans. In addition, doing a specialized subject like West Germany on camera can open more pitfalls than one can solve.

In addition to Walters, I understand that Horst Telschik was to call the General supporting the interview. USIA is also calling every hour in support of it. This is quickly escalating above my pay grade. Hoffman will be in town the week of November 20 to interview Kissinger.

Flo, can I get a response ASAP sometime today.

CC: Wilma G. Hall

(HALL)

THE WHITE HOUSE
Office of the Press Secretary

For Immediate Release

November 1, 1989

STATEMENT BY THE PRESS SECRETARY

In accordance with an agreement with Maltese authorities, the informal meeting between President Bush and President Gorbachev will take place December 2-3 on U.S. and Soviet naval vessels in the waters off Malta.

#

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

NATIONAL SECURITY COUNCIL
WASHINGTON, D.C. 20506

9253

November 16, 1989

ACTION

MEMORANDUM FOR BRENT SCOWCROFT

THROUGH: ROBERT D. BLACKWILL *RB*
FROM: CONDOLEEZZA RICE *CR*
SUBJECT: President's Meeting with Former U.S. Ambassadors
to the Soviet Union

Attached at Tab I is a memorandum from you to the President for his meeting with former U.S. ambassadors to the Soviet Union on Friday, November 17.

RECOMMENDATION

That you sign the memo at Tab I.

Attachments

Tab I Memorandum to the President
Tab A List of Participants

DECLASSIFIED

White House Guidelines

E.O. 12958, SEC 3.4 (B) September 11, 2006

By *RMC* NARA, Date *11/07/07*

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

Declassify on: OADR

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

9253

DECLASSIFIED
PER NSC WAIVER, 1500 2021-02
By SS NARA, Date 9/2/25

November 16, 1989

MEETING WITH FORMER U.S. AMBASSADORS TO THE SOVIET UNION

DATE: November 17, 1989

LOCATION: Oval Office

TIME: 2:00 p.m. - 3:00 p.m.

FROM: BRENT SCOWCROFT

Rg for

I. PURPOSE

You will meet with George Kennan, Thomas Watson, Malcolm Toon and Arthur Hartman -- all former U.S. ambassadors to the Soviet Union -- to hear their views on perestroika and the implications of Soviet internal reform for U.S.-Soviet relations.

II. BACKGROUND

This meeting will provide an opportunity to hear the unique perspective of former ambassadors to the Soviet Union on Gorbachev, perestroika and U.S.-Soviet relations. George Kennan, one of the principal architects of containment, served in Moscow from May until September of 1952 when he was declared persona non grata by Stalin. He has categorically declared the Cold War to be over. Malcolm Toon (January 1977 - October 1979) and Thomas Watson (October 1979 - January 1981) served during the height of what the Soviets now call the period of stagnation -- the late Brezhnev years. Arthur Hartman (October 1981 - February 1987) was our representative in Moscow at the time of Brezhnev's death; during the brief tenure of Andropov and Chernenko; and during Gorbachev's first two years. We have asked the former ambassadors to reflect on the following questions in order to focus the discussion:

Can perestroika succeed and what does success mean?
What is the nature of Gorbachev's policy in Europe?
Does Gorbachev have a strategy or is he flying by the seat of his pants?
How do they assess Gorbachev the man and leader?

III. PARTICIPANTS

Listed at Tab A

IV. PRESS PLAN

White House photographer

cc: Vice President
Chief of Staff

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

Declassify on: OADR

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

V. SEQUENCE

Meeting

Attachment

Tab A List of Participants

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

PARTICIPANTS

The President

James A. Baker, Secretary of State

John H. Sununu, Chief of Staff

Brent Scowcroft, Assistant to the President for National Security Affairs

Robert Gates, Assistant to the President and Deputy for National Security Affairs

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

Condoleezza Rice, Director for Soviet and East European Affairs, NSC Staff (Notetaker)

George Kennan, former US Ambassador to USSR

Thomas Watson, former US Ambassador to USSR

Arthur Hartman, former US Ambassador to USSR

Malcolm Toon, former US Ambassador to USSR

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

9338

NATIONAL SECURITY COUNCIL
WASHINGTON, D.C. 20506

November 20, 1989

ACTION

MEMORANDUM FOR BRENT SCOWCROFT

THROUGH: ROBERT D. BLACKWILL *RB*

FROM: CONDOLEEZZA RICE *CR*

SUBJECT: President's Meeting with Jeane Kirkpatrick and
James Schlesinger

Attached at Tab I is a memorandum from you to the President for his breakfast meeting with James Schlesinger and Jeane Kirkpatrick on Tuesday, November 21.

RECOMMENDATION

That you sign the memo at Tab I.

Attachments

Tab I Memorandum to the President
Tab A List of Participants

DECLASSIFIED

White House Guidelines

E.O. 12958, SEC 3.4 (B) September 11, 2006

By *RL* NARA, Date *11/07/07*

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

Declassify on: OADR

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

9338

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

November 20, 1989

BREAKFAST WITH JAMES SCHLESINGER AND JEANE KIRKPATRICK

DATE: November 21, 1989
LOCATION: Oval Office
TIME: 7:15 a.m. - 8:00 a.m.
FROM: BRENT SCOWCROFT 

I. PURPOSE

You will meet with former Secretary of Defense James Schlesinger and former Ambassador to the U.N. Jeane Kirkpatrick to hear their views and suggestions for your meeting with President Gorbachev in Malta.

II. BACKGROUND

This meeting will give you an opportunity to discuss the upcoming Malta meeting, recent events in Europe, and the state of U.S.-Soviet relations.

III. PARTICIPANTS

Listed at Tab A.

IV. PRESS PLAN

White House photographer

V. SEQUENCE

Breakfast and meeting in Oval Office.

Attachment
Tab A List of Participants

DECLASSIFIED
PER NSC WAIVER, 1500 2021-02
By SS NARA, Date 9/2/25

cc: Vice President
Chief of Staff

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

Declassify on: OADR

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

PARTICIPANTS

The President

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 Gates, Assistant to the President and Deputy for National
Security Affairs

James Schlesinger, Former Secretary of Defense

Jeane Kirkpatrick, Former Ambassador to the U.N.

November 16, 1989

General --

In setting up the various meetings/briefings pre-Malta, Joe Hagin asked Condi to check on the availability of President Nixon coming to the White House for breakfast with the President on Tuesday, November 28, at 7:15 a.m. Nixon will be in country.

Who should do the inviting?

Who will participate?

Will it be in President's Office?

Do we need to work on transportation?

Florence

Withdrawal/Redaction Sheet

(George Bush Library)

Document No. and Type	Subject/Title of Document	Date	Restriction	Class.
10. Memo	Sig Rogich to Chief of Staff, re: Decisions for the President's Trip to Malta; security information redacted. (1 pp.)	11/15/89	(b)(7)(e), (b)(7)(f)	

Collection:

Record Group: Bush Presidential Records
Office: National Security Council
Series: Blackwill, Robert D.
Subseries:
WHORM Cat.:
File Location: Non-Summit - December 2-3, 1989 [3]

Date Closed:	11/7/2007	OA/ID Number:	CF01952-005
FOIA/SYS Case #:	2001-1853-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

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

November 15, 1989

MEMORANDUM FOR THE CHIEF OF STAFF

FROM: SIG ROGICH *S.R.*

SUBJECT: Decisions for the President's Trip to Malta

Our advance team in Malta will resume preparation negotiations with the Soviets this Friday. The following issues and questions need to be addressed before these meetings begin:

1. BELKNAP OVERNIGHT ACCOMODATIONS

There are 24 available bunks on the USS Belknap. We propose that the standard ambassadorial residence package remain overnight aboard the ship. The following individuals would remain aboard:

The President
Secretary Baker
Tim McBride
Doctor
Mil Aide



(b)(7)(e), (f)

The remainder of the rooms we have committed as holding rooms for the Soviets. Should you and General Scowcroft wish to sleep aboard the ship, you would occupy what are the daytime holding rooms for Premier Gorbachev and Foreign Minister Schevardnadze. For all intents and purposes, this would require you to move out every morning. Nothing of comparable quality is available on the ship.

It is our recommendation that the standard residence package remain aboard the ship, and that helicopter and launch service be provided for you and General Scowcroft between the hotel and the ships.

APPROVE

DISAPPROVE

II. MEETING PARTICIPANTS

We will need to ascertain the exact names and numbers of participants for both the restricted and expanded meetings and meals.

III. MEAL PLANS

Guidance is also sought as to what is appropriate for the meals that the American and Soviet Delegations shall share.

The following questions should be addressed:

- * Formality of Meals. Which are to be social and which are to be working meals? Should crystal and silverware be used?
- * Should Toasts and Remarks be scripted?
- * Menu ideas

Your assistance in answering these questions is appreciated. I would welcome the opportunity to discuss this with you further.

✓ cc: General Scowcroft

MORNING SESSION - Saturday, November 18, 1989 -- 10:00 - 12:00

Soviet Domestic Policy

Richard Pipes (Harvard University)
Alexander Dallin (Stanford University)
Gail Lapidus (University of California at Berkeley)
Steve Cohen (Princeton University)
Core Group (10 people)

11

AFTERNOON SESSION - Saturday, November 18, 1989 - 1:30 - 3:30

East-West Relations

William Hyland (Foreign Affairs)
Richard Perle (American Enterprise Institute)
Ed Fulner (Heritage)
Randall Forsberg (Institute for Disarmament Studies)
Coit Blacker (University of Southern California)
Core Group

Does the President want to invite them for lunch? It would be a total of 17-19 people (there is a chance 2 can't join for lunch).

Both groups for Lunch _____

Other _____

CORE GROUP: President
Vice President
Secretary Baker
Governor Sununu
Brent Scowcroft
Robert Gates
Robert Blackwill
Condi Rice
3 2 State Department

11

MORNING SESSION - Saturday, November 18, 1989 -- 10:00 - 12:00

Soviet Domestic Policy

Richard Pipes (Harvard University)
Alexander Dallin (Stanford University)
Gail Lapidus (University of California at Berkeley)
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AFTERNOON SESSION - Saturday, November 18, 1989 - 1:30 - 3:30

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Core Group

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Both groups for Lunch _____

Other _____

CORE GROUP: President
Vice President
Secretary Baker
Governor Sununu
Brent Scowcroft
Robert Gates
Robert Blackwill
Condi Rice
2 State Department

NATIONAL SECURITY COUNCIL

16-Nov-1989 09:39 EDT

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

MEMORANDUM FOR:

Florence E. Gantt

(GANTT)

FROM:

Condoleezza Rice
(RICE)

SUBJECT:

Saturday Briefing

Florence,

We have invited and confirmed the following people for Camp David:

Morning Session 10:00-12:00 -- Soviet Domestic Policy

Richard Pipes (Harvard University)
Alexander Dallin (Stanford University)
Gail Lapidus (University of California at Berkeley)
Steve Cohen (Princeton University)

Afternoon Session 1:30-3:30 -- East-West Relations

William Hyland (Foreign Affairs)
Richard Perle (American Enterprise Institute)
Ed Fulner (Heritage)
Randall Forsberg (Institute for Disarmament Studies)
Coit Blacker (University of Southern California)

CC: Robert Blackwill

(BLACKWILL)

DECLASSIFIED

White House Guidelines

E.O. 12958, SEC 3.4 (B) September 11, 2006

By RWC NARA, Date 11/07/07

NATIONAL SECURITY COUNCIL

16-Nov-1989 08:06 EDT

UNCLASSIFIED

MEMORANDUM FOR:

Florence E. Gantt

(GANTT)

FROM:

Condoleezza Rice
(RICE)

SUBJECT:

arbatov

NO

Florence,

Please ask Brent if he has any interest in seeing Yuri Arbatov. He will be in town Monday and Tuesday of next week. I don't see any reason that he should but Brent has known him for a long time.

CC: Robert Blackwill

(BLACKWILL)

November 15, 1989

General --

Bob Blackwill says that Dick Cheney thinks Howard Graves is going to Malta along with Wolfowitz. Please inform Bob if this is so.

Graves is is not going

Florence

THE WHITE HOUSE

November 15, 1989

Dear Raisa,

I got your good letter
and I certainly understand.
I will look forward to seeing
you when you and the President
come to the United States next
year.

Please feel free to let me know
what you would like to see when
you are here. All of America
is awaiting your visit with
great anticipation.
Most warmly - Barbara

Trip Briefings

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~ NOVEMBER 1989

As of 11/13/89

SUNDAY	MONDAY	TUESDAY	WEDNESDAY	THURSDAY	FRIDAY	SATURDAY
			1	2	3	4
5	6	7 Election Day	8	9	10	11 Veterans Day
12	13 2:00 - 3:00 Briefing on Soviet Military Policy 7:30 Dinner with Henry Kissinger	14	15	16 4:00 - 5:00 Briefing on Soviet Economy	17 2:00 - 3:00 Mtg. with former Ambassadors to the Soviet Union, Watson, Hartman and Toon	18 ★10:00 - 12:00 Brfg. on Soviet Domestic Political Problems ★1:30 - 3:30 Briefing on East-West Issues RON CAMP DAVID
19	20	21 Breakfast with George Kennan 2:15 - 3:15 Mtg. with Cong. Ldrshp & Chairmen of Foreign Affairs Committees	22	23 Thanksgiving Day	24	25
26	27 11:00 - 12:00 Mtg. with Alan Greenspan and Robert Zoellick 2:00 - 3:00 Cong. Mtg. Intel & Armed Services	28 1:15-2:15 Briefing on Eastern Europe	29 4:00 - 5:00 NSC Principals Only Meeting	30 TBD Cabinet Mtg.	DECLASSIFIED PER NSC WAIVER, 1500 2021-02 By <u>SS</u> NARA, Date <u>9/2/85</u>	

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~
~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

Withdrawal/Redaction Sheet

(George Bush Library)

Document No. and Type	Subject/Title of Document	Date	Restriction	Class.
12. Memo	Philip D. Zelikow to Brent Scowcroft, re: Status of Site Preparations for the President's Mediterranean Meeting. (1 pp.)	11/13/89	(b)(1)	S

Collection:

Record Group: Bush Presidential Records
Office: National Security Council
Series: Blackwill, Robert D.
Subseries:
WHORM Cat.:
File Location: Non-Summit - December 2-3, 1989 [3]

Date Closed:	11/7/2007	OA/ID Number:	CF01952-005
FOIA/SYS Case #:	2001-1853-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]
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(b)(7) Release would disclose information compiled for law enforcement purposes [(b)(7) of the FOIA]
(b)(8) Release would disclose information concerning the regulation of financial institutions [(b)(8) of the FOIA]
(b)(9) Release would disclose geological or geophysical information

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

November 11, 1989

MEETING WITH SPECIALISTS ON THE SOVIET MILITARY

DATE: November 13, 1989

LOCATION: Oval Office

TIME: 2:00 p.m. - 3:00 p.m.

FROM: BRENT SCOWCROFT 

I. PURPOSE

This is another in the series of briefings that we have arranged in preparation for your December meeting with President Gorbachev. Monday's session will focus on the Soviet military's response to and attitudes toward perestroika and glasnost.

II. BACKGROUND

The meeting will begin with comments on the nature of Soviet security policy under Gorbachev by Arnold Horelick, Director of the RAND-UCLA Center on the Study of Soviet International Behavior; Stephen Meyer, Professor of Political Science at M.I.T., will make remarks about the military's political role; David Holloway, Professor of Political Science at Stanford University will talk about tensions in the military's relations with society; and Harry Rowen, Assistant Secretary for International Security Affairs will discuss the relationship of economic reform to military policy under Gorbachev. The remarks will be kept short to allow time for questions at the end of each segment.

III. PARTICIPANTS

Listed at Tab A

IV. PRESS PLAN

White House photographer

V. SEQUENCE

Meeting

cc: Vice President
Chief of Staff

Attachment
Tab A List of Participants

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

Declassify on: OADR

DECLASSIFIED
PER NSC WAIVER, 1500 2021-02
By SS NARA, Date 9/2/25

PARTICIPANTS

The President

James A. Baker, Secretary of State

Richard Cheney, Secretary of Defense

John H. Sununu, Chief of Staff

Brent Scowcroft, Assistant to the President for National
Security Affairs

Robert Gates, Assistant to the President and Deputy for National
Security Affairs

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

Condoleezza Rice, Director for Soviet and East European Affairs,
NSC Staff

Briefers

Arnold Horelick, Director of RAND-UCLA Center on Study of Soviet
International Behavior

Stephen Meyer, Professor of Political Science at MIT

David Holloway, Professor of Political Science, Stanford
University

Henry Rowen, Assistant Secretary of Defense for International
Security Affairs

NATIONAL SECURITY COUNCIL
WASHINGTON, D.C. 20506

November 11, 1989

ACTION

MEMORANDUM FOR BRENT SCOWCROFT

THROUGH: ROBERT BLACKWILL *RB*

FROM: CONDOLEEZZA RICE *CR*

SUBJECT: President's Meeting with Specialists on
the Soviet Military, Monday, November 13, 1989

Attached at Tab I is a memorandum from you to the President for his meeting with specialists on soviet military policy for Monday, November 13.

RECOMMENDATION

That you sign the memo at Tab I.

Attachments

Tab I Memorandum to the President
Tab A List of Participants

Withdrawal/Redaction Sheet

(George Bush Library)

Document No. and Type	Subject/Title of Document	Date	Restriction	Class.
14a. Memo	William F. Sittmann to Robert M. Gates, re: Malta; contains security information. (2 pp.)	11/13/89	(b)(7)(e), (b)(7)(f)	

Collection:

Record Group: Bush Presidential Records
Office: National Security Council
Series: Blackwill, Robert D.
Subseries:
WHORM Cat.:
File Location: Non-Summit - December 2-3, 1989 [3]

Date Closed:	11/7/2007	OA/ID Number:	CF01952-005
FOIA/SYS Case #:	2001-1853-F	Appeal Case #:	
Re-review Case #:		Appeal Disposition:	
P-2/P-5 Review Case #:		Disposition Date:	
AR Case #:		MR Case #:	
AR Disposition:		MR Disposition:	
AR Disposition Date:		MR Disposition Date:	

RESTRICTION CODES

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

PRM. Removed as a personal record misfile.

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

(b)(1) National security classified information [(b)(1) of the FOIA]
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VICE ADMIRAL SELIVANOV, &
VALENTIN YEGOROVICH -
CHIEF OF STAFF BLACK SEA
FLEET

CAPTAIN 1ST RANK KRIKUNOV,
VIKTOR ALEKSEYEVICH -
SQUADRON COMMANDER

CAPTAIN 2ND RANK LESNOY
(UNK.)
COMMANDER OF CRUISER SLAVA

the fellow who talked to us:
CAPTAIN 1ST RANK RUSIN

Mr B.N. CHAPLIN - Deputy Minister of Foreign Affairs

Mr V.N. SHEVCHENKO - Head of desk, Management Department
of the CPSU Central Committee

Mr V.D.SREDIN - Deputy Head of the USA and Canada
Department of the USSR Ministry of
Foreign Affairs

Mr V.V.GENERALOV - Head of the Security Department

Mr V.N. BELOV - Captain first rank, representative
of the USSR Main Naval Staff

Mr B.U. MARCHOUK - First Secretary of the USA and Canada
Department of the USSR Ministry of
Foreign Affairs

Mr S.K. DAVYDOV - First Secretary of the Protocol
Department of the USSR Ministry of
Foreign Affairs

Withdrawal/Redaction Sheet

(George Bush Library)

Document No. and Type	Subject/Title of Document	Date	Restriction	Class.
14b. Diagram	Re: Malta harbour with security diagrams/ positioning. (1 pp.)	n.d.	(b)(7)(e), (b)(7)(f)	

Collection:

Record Group: Bush Presidential Records
Office: National Security Council
Series: Blackwill, Robert D.
Subseries:
WHORM Cat.:
File Location: Non-Summit - December 2-3, 1989 [3]

Date Closed:	11/7/2007	OA/ID Number:	CF01952-005
FOIA/SYS Case #:	2001-1853-F	Appeal Case #:	
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AR Disposition:		MR Disposition:	
AR Disposition Date:		MR Disposition Date:	

RESTRICTION CODES

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Revised 11/10/89 10:00 am

PRELIMINARY OUTLINE SCHEDULE OF THE PRESIDENT

TO

MALTA

DECEMBER 1 - 4, 1989

7:15 am Depart Andrews AFB en route Valletta, Malta.
(Flying Time: 9 Hours 5 Minutes)
(Time Change: Ahead 6 Hours)
(Interchange: Yes)

10:20 pm Arrive Luqa Airport, Valletta, Malta.
* Arrival Ceremony

10:25 pm Depart Airport en route USS Belknap.
(Flying Time: 10 Minutes)

10:35 pm Arrive USS Belknap for RON.

Saturday, December 2, 1989

8:55 am Arrive Slava.

9:00 am First Expanded Bilateral Session begins.

<u>U.S. Participants</u>	<u>Soviet Participants</u>
THE PRESIDENT	President Gorbachev
Secretary Baker	
Governor Sununu	
General Scowcroft	
Notetaker	Notetaker
Interpreter	Interpreter

10:55 am First Expanded Bilateral Session concludes.

11:00 am Restricted Bilateral Session begins.

<u>U.S. Participants</u>	<u>Soviet Participants</u>
THE PRESIDENT	President Gorbachev
Notetaker	Notetaker
Interpreter	Interpreter

12:00 noon Restricted Bilateral Session concludes.
12:15 pm Luncheon.
1:45 pm Luncheon concludes.
1:50 pm Depart Slava en route USS Belknap.
2:00 pm Arrive USS Belknap
2:05 pm Arrive Admiral's Quarters for Private Time.

 (PRIVATE TIME: 1 HOUR 25 MINUTES)
3:30 pm Depart USS Belknap en route Slava.
3:40 pm Arrive Slava.
3:45 pm Second Expanded Bilateral Session begins.

Participants

Same as First Expanded Session

5:15 pm Second Expanded Bilateral Session concludes.
5:20 pm Depart Slava en route USS Belknap.
5:30 pm Arrive USS Belknap.
5:35 pm Arrive Admiral's Quarters for Private Time.

 (PRIVATE TIME: 1 HOUR 25 MINUTES)
7:00 pm Dinner Hosted by President Bush.
9:00 pm Dinner concludes.

RON USS Belknap

Sunday, December 3, 1989

9:00 am Participate in Church Service on deck of USS Belknap.
9:45 am Conclude participation in Church Service.
10:00 am Third Expanded Bilateral Session begins on board
USS Belknap.

7

U.S. Participants

Soviet Participants

THE PRESIDENT
Secretary Baker
Governor Sununu
General Scowcroft
Notetaker
Interpreter

President Gorbachev

Notetaker
Interpreter

12:00 noon

Third Expanded Bilateral Session concludes.

12:15 pm

Luncheon.

1:25 pm

Luncheon concludes.

1:30 pm

Final Restricted Bilateral Session begins.

U.S. Participants

Soviet Participants

THE PRESIDENT
Notetaker
Interpreter

President Gorbachev
Notetaker
Interpreter

2:15 pm

Conclude participation in Final Restricted Bilateral Session.

2:30 pm

Joint Press Statement

2:45 pm

Conclude participation in Joint Press Statement.

3:15 pm

Press Conference.

3:45 pm

Conclude participation in Press Conference.

RON USS Belknap

Monday, December 4, 1989

9:00 am

Depart USS Belknap en route USS Forrestal.

(Flying Time: 25 Minutes)

9:25 am

Arrive USS Forrestal.

11:30 am

Depart USS Forrestal en route Luqa Airport.

(Flying Time: 25 Minutes)

11:55 pm

Arrive Luqa Airport.

4

Proposed Schedule of Presidential Briefings

11/13	2:00-3:00	Briefing on Soviet Military Policy
11/16	4:00-5:00	Briefing on Soviet Economy
11/17	2:00-3:00	Meeting with former Ambassadors to the Soviet Union Watson, Hartman and Toon
11/18	at Camp David	
	10:00-12:00	Briefing on Soviet Domestic Political Problems
	1:30-3:30	Briefing on East-West Issues
11/21	2:15-3:15	Congressional Leadership and Chairmen of Foreign Affairs Committees
11/21	BREAKFAST	George Kennan
11/27	11:00-12:00	Alan Greenspan and Robert Zoellick
11/27	LUNCH	Henry Kissinger
11/27	2:00-3:00	Congressional Meeting: Intelligence and Armed Services
11/28	1:15-2:15	Briefing on Eastern Europe
11/29	4:00-5:00	NSC Principals Only Meeting
11/30	Time to be determined	Cabinet Meeting

Breakfast with Richard Nixon?

11/9/89
1430

Brant -- Here is the briefing
schedule we have worked
out with Joe Hagin.
When you approve, we
will invite the folks.

OK _____

As amended _____

Bob Blackwell

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~
~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

8921

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

ACTION

MEMORANDUM FOR THE PRESIDENT

FROM: BRENT SCOWCROFT

SUBJECT: Meetings on the Soviet Union

Purpose

You asked that we design a series of briefings and seminars in preparation for your meeting with Gorbachev. The purpose of these meetings will be to examine the nature and scope of perestroika and changes in Soviet foreign policy under Gorbachev.

Background

The first meeting took place with specialists inside the Administration on Saturday. Since the focus of that meeting was Soviet domestic politics, we recommend that a second meeting be scheduled with U.S. Government experts on Soviet foreign policy.

We would also like to arrange a series of meetings with outsiders which could be organized around a specific set of issues in order to focus the sessions. We would invite four or more Soviet specialists for each session who represent the range of opinion on the issues. Finally, you may want to hold at least two meetings with Congressional leaders and an NSC meeting. *and a cabinet meeting*

The following is a recommended list of meetings:

✓ Soviet Foreign Policy (with U.S. Government specialists)

YES ✓ Done NO _____

JUST FINISHED

✓ Meeting with Alan Greenspan and other U.S. Government economists

or do we need to do Alan at small lunch - then
YES ✓ NO _____ *do Gov's economists - 2 meetings*

Meetings with Outside Specialists

✓ Soviet Domestic Political Problems (including nationality issues)

Richard Pipes (Harvard University); Steve Cohen (Princeton University); Gail Lapidus (University of California at Berkeley); Alexander Dallin (Stanford University)

YES Assume yes NO _____

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

Declassify on: OADR

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~
~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

cc: Vice President
Chief of Staff

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~
2

✓ The Soviet Economy

CD? Robert Campbell (Indiana University); Vladimir Shlepentok (Michigan State University); Edward Hewitt (Brookings Institution); Judy Shelton (Hoover Institution)

YES ☒ NO ☐

✓ East-West Issues

CD Bill Hyland (Foreign Affairs); Marshall Shulman (Columbia); Randall Forsberg (Institute for Disarmament Studies); Don Zargoria (Hunter College/Columbia)

YES ☒ NO ☐

✓ Eastern Europe

Charles Gati (Hunter College/Columbia); Helmut Sonnenfeldt (Brookings); John Hardt (Congressional Research Service); Seweryn Bialer (Columbia University)

YES ☒ NO ☐

✓ Soviet Military Policy

Steve Meyer (M.I.T.); David Holloway (Stanford); Arnold Horelick (Rand); Ted Warner (Rand)

YES ☒ NO ☐

✓ Breakfast Meeting with George Kennan - *invite Tom Watson*

YES ☒ NO ☐

✓ Breakfast Meeting with Henry Kissinger

YES ☒ NO ☐

Congressional Meetings

- ✓ Meeting with the Leadership of both Houses (Dole and Mitchell; Michael, Foley and Gephardt); Chairmen and Ranking Minority Members for House Foreign Affairs and Senate Foreign Relations (Pell and Helms; Fawcett and Broomfield)

YES ☒ NO ☐

also

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Art Hartmann
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- ✓ Meeting with House and Senate Armed Services Chairmen and Minority Leaders and Intelligence Chairmen and Minority Leaders (Nunn and Warner; Aspin and Dickinson; Boren and Cohen; Beilenson and Hyde)

YES ✓ NO

- ✓ Finally, we would schedule a principals only NSC meeting sometime in the course of these briefing sessions.

YES ✓ NO

We will also provide a briefing book of articles by Western specialists; a representative sample of the range of opinion in the Soviet press; suggested Soviet films; and perhaps a CIA produced film.

RECOMMENDATION

That you review this briefing sequence and approve those meetings that we should arrange.

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

8921

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

ACTION

DECLASSIFIED
PER NSC WAIVER, 1500 2021-02
By SS NARA, Date 9/2/25

MEMORANDUM FOR THE PRESIDENT

FROM: BRENT SCOWCROFT
SUBJECT: Meetings on the Soviet Union

Purpose

You asked that we design a series of briefings and seminars in preparation for your meeting with Gorbachev. The purpose of these meetings will be to examine the nature and scope of perestroika and changes in Soviet foreign policy under Gorbachev.

Background

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We would also like to arrange a series of meetings with outsiders which could be organized around a specific set of issues in order to focus the sessions. We would invite four or more Soviet specialists for each session who represent the range of opinion on the issues. Finally, you may want to hold at least two meetings with Congressional leaders and an NSC meeting. *and a cabinet meeting*

The following is a recommended list of meetings:

Soviet Foreign Policy (with U.S. Government specialists)

YES ☒ NO ☐

Meeting with Alan Greenspan and other U.S. Government economists

or do we need to do Alan at small lunch - then
YES ☒ NO ☐ *do Govt economists - 2 meetings*

Meetings with Outside Specialists

Soviet Domestic Political Problems (including nationality issues)

Richard Pipes (Harvard University); Steve Cohen (Princeton University); Gail Lapidus (University of California at Berkeley); Alexander Dallin (Stanford University)

YES ☐ NO ☐

cc: Vice President
Chief of Staff

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

Declassify on: OADR

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~
2

The Soviet Economy

Robert Campbell (Indiana University); Vladimir Shlepentok (Michigan State University); Edward Hewitt (Brookings Institution); Judy Shelton (Hoover Institution)

YES ☒ NO ☐

East-West Issues

Bill Hyland (Foreign Affairs); Marshall Shulman (Columbia); Randall Forsberg (Institute for Disarmament Studies); Don Zargoria (Hunter College/Columbia)

YES ☒ NO ☐

Eastern Europe

Charles Gati (Hunter College/Columbia); Helmut Sonnenfeldt (Brookings); John Hardt (Congressional Research Service); Seweryn Bialer (Columbia University)

YES ☒ NO ☐

Soviet Military Policy

Steve Meyer (M.I.T.); David Holloway (Stanford); Arnold Horelick (Rand); Ted Warner (Rand)

YES ☒ NO ☐

Breakfast Meeting with George Kennan - *invite Tom Watson*

YES ☒ NO ☐

Breakfast Meeting with Henry Kissinger

YES ☒ NO ☐

Congressional Meetings

Meeting with the Leadership of both Houses (Dole and Mitchell; Michael, Foley and Gephardt); Chairmen and Ranking Minority Members for House Foreign Affairs and Senate Foreign Relations (Pell and Helms; Fawcett and Broomfield)

YES ☒ NO ☐

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Art Hartmann
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~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

Meeting with House and Senate Armed Services Chairmen and Minority Leaders and Intelligence Chairmen and Minority Leaders (Nunn and Warner; Aspin and Dickinson; Boren and Cohen; Beilenson and Hyde)

YES ☒ NO ☐

Finally, we would schedule a principals only NSC meeting sometime in the course of these briefing sessions.

YES ☒ NO ☐

We will also provide a briefing book of articles by Western specialists; a representative sample of the range of opinion in the Soviet press; suggested Soviet films; and perhaps a CIA produced film.

RECOMMENDATION

That you review this briefing sequence and approve those meetings that we should arrange.

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

Withdrawal/Redaction Sheet

(George Bush Library)

Document No. and Type	Subject/Title of Document	Date	Restriction	Class.
17a. Memo	Brent Scowcroft to POTUS, re: Meeting with U.S. Government Specialists. (1 pp.)	11/08/89	(b)(1)	S

Collection:

Record Group: Bush Presidential Records
Office: National Security Council
Series: Blackwill, Robert D.
Subseries:
WHORM Cat.:
File Location: Non-Summit - December 2-3, 1989 [3]

Date Closed:	11/7/2007	OA/ID Number:	CF01952-005
FOIA/SYS Case #:	2001-1853-F	Appeal Case #:	
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Withdrawal/Redaction Sheet

(George Bush Library)

Document No. and Type	Subject/Title of Document	Date	Restriction	Class.
17b. List	Participants, re: Meeting with U.S. Government Specialists. (1 pp.)	n.d.	(b)(1)	S

Collection:

Record Group: Bush Presidential Records
Office: National Security Council
Series: Blackwill, Robert D.
Subseries:
WHORM Cat.:
File Location: Non-Summit - December 2-3, 1989 [3]

Date Closed:	11/7/2007	OA/ID Number:	CF01952-005
FOIA/SYS Case #:	2001-1853-F	Appeal Case #:	
Re-review Case #:		Appeal Disposition:	
P-2/P-5 Review Case #:		Disposition Date:	
AR Case #:		MR Case #:	
AR Disposition:		MR Disposition:	
AR Disposition Date:		MR Disposition Date:	

RESTRICTION CODES

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~~SECRET~~

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9006

NATIONAL SECURITY COUNCIL
WASHINGTON, D.C. 20508

November 8, 1989

ACTION

MEMORANDUM FOR BRENT SCOWCROFT

THROUGH: ROBERT D. BLACKWILL *RB*

FROM: CONDOLEEZZA RICE *CR*

SUBJECT: Memorandum for the President on Meeting with U.S.
Government Soviet Specialists

The memorandum at Tab I from you to the President informs him of the organization of the meeting and lists the participants.

RECOMMENDATION

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

Attachments

Tab I Memorandum to the President
Tab A List of Participants

DECLASSIFIED

White House Guidelines

E.O. 12958, SEC 3.4 (B) September 11, 2006

By *PLM* NARA, Date *11/07/07*

~~SECRET~~

Declassify on: OADR

~~SECRET~~

~~SECRET~~

~~SECRET~~

8877

NATIONAL SECURITY COUNCIL
WASHINGTON, D.C. 20506

November 3, 1989

ACTION

MEMORANDUM FOR BRENT SCOWCROFT

THROUGH: ROBERT D. BLACKWILL NB

FROM: CONDOLEEZZA RICE CR

SUBJECT: Memorandum for the President on Meeting with U.S.
Government Soviet Specialists

The memorandum at Tab I from you to the President informs him of the organization of the meeting and lists the participants.

RECOMMENDATION

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

Attachments

Tab I Memorandum to President
Tab A List of Participants

DECLASSIFIED

White House Guidelines

E.O. 12958, SEC 3.4 (B) September 11, 2006

By PWK NARA, Date 11/07/07

~~SECRET~~

Declassify on: OADR

~~SECRET~~

Withdrawal/Redaction Sheet

(George Bush Library)

Document No. and Type	Subject/Title of Document	Date	Restriction	Class.
18a. Memo	Brent Scowcroft to POTUS, re: Meeting with U.S. Government Soviet Specialists. (1 pp.)	n.d.	(b)(1)	S

Collection:

Record Group: Bush Presidential Records
Office: National Security Council
Series: Blackwill, Robert D.
Subseries:
WHORM Cat.:
File Location: Non-Summit - December 2-3, 1989 [3]

Date Closed:	11/7/2007	OA/ID Number:	CF01952-005
FOIA/SYS Case #:	2001-1853-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.
18b. List	Participants, re: Meeting with U.S. Government Specialists. (1 pp.)	n.d.	(b)(1)	S

Collection:

Record Group: Bush Presidential Records

Office: National Security Council

Series: Blackwill, Robert D.

Subseries:

WHORM Cat.:

File Location: Non-Summit - December 2-3, 1989 [3]

Date Closed:	11/7/2007	OA/ID Number:	CF01952-005
FOIA/SYS Case #:	2001-1853-F	Appeal Case #:	
Re-review Case #:		Appeal Disposition:	
P-2/P-5 Review Case #:		Disposition Date:	
AR Case #:		MR Case #:	
AR Disposition:		MR Disposition:	
AR Disposition Date:		MR Disposition Date:	

RESTRICTION CODES

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

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P-3 Release would violate a Federal statute [(a)(3) of the PRA]
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C. Closed in accordance with restrictions contained in donor's deed of gift.

PRM. Removed as a personal record misfile.

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

(b)(1) National security classified information [(b)(1) of the FOIA]
(b)(2) Release would disclose internal personnel rules and practices of an agency [(b)(2) of the FOIA]
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(b)(8) Release would disclose information concerning the regulation of financial institutions [(b)(8) of the FOIA]
(b)(9) Release would disclose geological or geophysical information

Withdrawal/Redaction Sheet

(George Bush Library)

Document No. and Type	Subject/Title of Document	Date	Restriction	Class.
19. Draft	Joint Press Statement, re: Malta Summit. (1 pp.)	n.d.	(b)(1)	S

Collection:

Record Group: Bush Presidential Records
Office: National Security Council
Series: Blackwill, Robert D.
Subseries:
WHORM Cat.:
File Location: Non-Summit - December 2-3, 1989 [3]

Date Closed: 11/7/2007	OA/ID Number: CF01952-005
FOIA/SYS Case #: 2001-1853-F	Appeal Case #:
Re-review Case #:	Appeal Disposition:
P-2/P-5 Review Case #:	Disposition Date:
AR Case #:	MR Case #:
AR Disposition:	MR Disposition:
AR Disposition Date:	MR Disposition Date:

RESTRICTION CODES

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

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P-2 Relating to the appointment to Federal office [(a)(2) of the PRA]
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(b)(8) Release would disclose information concerning the regulation of financial institutions [(b)(8) of the FOIA]
(b)(9) Release would disclose geological or geophysical information

**NATIONAL SECURITY COUNCIL
EXECUTIVE SECRETARIAT STAFFING DOCUMENT**

TIME STAMP

89 NOV 8 P 4: 57

SYSTEM LOG NUMBER:

9029

ACTION OFFICER:

HUTCHINGS

DUE: AM

NOV 9

☒ Prepare Memo For Scowcroft/~~Gates~~

☐ Appropriate Action

☐ Prepare Memo For Cicconi

☐ Prepare Memo for Hughes

☐ Prepare Memo _____

to _____

CONCURRENCES/COMMENTS*

PHONE* to action officer at ext. 5732

FYI

☐ Basora
☐ Beers
☐ ☒ Blackwill
☐ Briggs
☐ Brooks
☐ Charles
☐ Coulson
☐ Deal
☐ Donley
☐ Dyke
☐ Ebner
☐ Grant
☐ ☒ Haass
☐ Hoffmann
☐ Hutchings
☐ Jackson
☐ LaMagna
☐ Kanter

FYI

☐ Lampley
☐ Leach
☐ Levin
☐ Lewis
☐ Mahley
☐ Mandel
☐ McCue
☐ Melby
☐ Menan
☐ Miller
☐ Miskel
☐ Needels
☐ Paal
☐ Pacelli
☐ Passage
☐ Popadiuk
☐ Porter
☐ Pryce

FYI

☐ Rademaker
☐ Reiss
☐ Rice
☒ Rodman
☐ Rostow
☐ Salvetti
☐ Snider
☐ Tilley
☐ Tobey
☒ Welch
☐ Whitley
☐ Working
☐ Zelikow
☐ _____
☐ _____
☐ _____
☐ _____
☐ _____

INFORMATION ☒ Hughes

☒ Scowcroft (advance)

☒ Gates (advance)

☒ Secretariat

☒ Exec. Sec. Desk

☐ _____

COMMENTS

Logged By _____

Return to Secretariat

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

Date: 11/8

TO:

General Scowcroft

FROM:

JAMES W. CICONI
Assistant to the President and
Deputy to the Chief of Staff

☐ Information

☒ Action

☐ Let's Discuss

7027

Sent to Blockwell's
Shop

Natl Sec Advisor
has seen

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

11/7/89

Brent
John S

Re: Briefings on Malta.

Let's not forget "Conservative"
Community.
I see we may have Pipes etc.
that is good.
Might want to seed in Feulner,
and one or two others as we go along.

gb .

NATIONAL SECURITY COUNCIL

16-Nov-1989 10:48 EDT

UNCLASSIFIED

MEMORANDUM FOR:

Florence E. Gantt

(GANTT)

FROM:

Nancy H. Maxfield
(MAXFIELD)

SUBJECT:

Briefing by Former Ambassadors

Florence,

The following four former Ambassadors will be briefing the President tomorrow at 2pm. We will be sending over a memo.

George P. Kennan

May 14, 1952 until September 19, 1952

Malcolm Toon

January 18, 1977 until October 16, 1979

Thomas J. Watson, Jr.

October 29, 1979 until January 15, 1981

Arthur Adair Hartman

October 26, 1981 until February 20, 1987

Nancy Maxfield

CC: Condoleezza Rice

(RICE)

CC: Robert Blackwill

(BLACKWILL)

CC: Mary Kay Stults

(STULTS)