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FOIA MARKER

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Record Group/Collection: George H.W. Bush Presidential Records
Collection/Office of Origin: Office of the President
Series: Daily Files
Subseries:

OA/ID Number: 90528
Folder ID Number: 90528-005

Folder Title:
Monday, December 4, 1989

Stack:	Row:	Section:	Shelf:	Position:
V	12	11	5	1

Withdrawal/Redaction Sheet

(George Bush Library)

Doc. No. / Type	Subject/Title	Date	Restriction	Classification
01a. Note	to President Bush Re: Helsinki Agreement (1 pp.)	n.d.	(b)(1)	
01b. Notes	Handwritten notes of Heads of State & Government at NATO (8 pp.)	12/06/89	(b)(1)	
01c. Talking Points	President's Afternoon Intervention on the Future of Europe: Points to be Made (5 pp.)	n.d.	(b)(1)	C
02a. Notes	Handwritten notes of Presidential Phone call with with Vice President Quayle Re: Philipines (1 pp.)	n.d.	(b)(1)	
02b. Notes	Handwritten notes on back of menu Re: Gorbachev (1 pp.)	n.d.	(b)(1)	
02c. Note	From President Bush to Brent [Scowcroft] Re: Proposed meetings (1 pp.)	n.d.	(b)(1)	
03. Log	White House Telephone Log [Signal Switchboard] [redaction of personal information] (2 pp.)	12/04/89	(b)(6)	

Page 1 of 1

Collection:

Record Group: Bush Presidential Records

Office: Office of the President

Series: Daily Files

Subseries:

WHORM Cat.:

File Location: Monday, December 4, 1989

Pinksheet Number: dw1527

OA/ID Number: 90528-005

Date Closed: 10/29/2009

FOIA/Sys Case #: 2009-0166-S

Re-review Case #:

P-2/P-5 Review Case #:

[Originally located on front folder flap]

Box 11

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per POTUS

daily file

notes from
NATO meeting

p.

Document Originally
Attached to
Following Page

12-6-89

AT NATO

Heads of State & Government

Sec Gen - ~~Chavannes~~ Wommer

11³⁵ Francois

Gauss, Environment - show good state
of Dialogue.

Went talk C. Amica - more important
to Paris. Bush

FM mentions Lebanon - (no Syria invasion)

E. Europe -

" greatest revolution of last 2 centuries "

a first " no blood shed "

" democratic & peaceful " - key words

" self-determination " - linked to reform -

no " " without reform

Sov People " worse off today - than yesterday "

" as when will it become unbearable "

Wato

Mitrand (cont)

Am. Contro/

Chem can go fast

Agree on Naval Forces

11 30

Kohl

re: SOVS "Optimistic but must start from
realities not moods."

"On Nationalities Gorb has all problems
of a Colonial power."

"especially welcome GB report on
Comm, Stat, Criminal -"

"Amer. Friends Should Take Imbination"

C. Europe ~ E. Europe

Pol - Hungary

Tough winter ahead, drastic
reforms needed.

Support GB's Stability Fund Pol - Hungary.
We must support.

Kohl (cont)

" We ^{FRG} will not jeopardize stability "

Profound Change GDR

1-5 mill people demonstrated
peacefully every day -

" We cannot pursue self-determination
in private manner - we in part of
Europe - inconceivable for us for me
to pursue Germ 2 on our own "

Many people criticize my 10 point
plan - they have not read my plan.

Sum - he protests criticism that
he's pushing too hard - too fast.

Part of answer "No isolated cause
for the Germans" -

A strong defense of his position

4.

NATO (cont)

MARTENS

(Belg.)

Harvard Report still valid re German

Process Eur. Integration must be
implemented

"Atl Alliance remains irreplaceable
symbol of symmetry"

Turkey

Nur P. M. Yildirim Akbulut

Strong support NATO

Portugal

Caracao - Silva

NATO must hold + project
both continuity + stabilit.
cohesive - Allies

U

5- NATO-

UK - Thatcher

Changes since last mtg

1. What can we do about changes

a. Keep peace

" Canadian & US forces here

" 1st objective - secure genuine democracy
in E. Europe "

" says no idea what what economy means. "

Continue NATO with present borders.

1st conclusion

Re-assess NATO's role for peace

2nd question - What help do we give E. Eur.

Pol. & Hungary first - cuz they have moved
democracy

Can't come in GATT until have market economy

What practical steps we take to
help - must have Cocom

6- UK

All for signing agreements. but question
is implementing them

"No country in NATO should cut
weapons without agreement"

Denmark Paul Schlüter

1-38 Thank GB for calm handling of
charges

American commitment - (presence) in
Europe is vital

Greece - Mr Zolotas

Thank GB close contact w allies

12⁴⁵ Hannesson - Iceland

support "no agenda" meet US-Sov

Builds Confidence -

suggest Tech assist for Sovs

Transport

Food Distributors

pleased GB thinks 90 will result

Start Clinical

Disappointed Naval Arms Control not on agenda

Iceland (cont)

Environmental Controls. Global Climate
fine but pollution of the sea? -

Agree NATO must stay strong.

Like see NATO lead away from
Cold War

LUNCH

2 is Lubbock -

revised Gorb's proposal CSCF

EC should be generous accepting
E into Europe

At 1. Partnership -

1. no question on neg. p's for all in

Wants Can + US involved

Atch Environment - Global warming

NATO cont.

8

- Size? - Norway

2²⁵ PM

Environment - very

9

2³²

M. Santer Lux

Support Centr. European countries

2³⁹

Spain

Sec. Gen. Robert

2⁴²

GB 2nd intervention

"Future of Europe"

" " Nato etc

3 Andreotti

caution on German re-un - no agreement

3⁰⁵

Helmut Kohl

strongly defend →

3¹²

Lubbers -

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

PRESIDENT'S AFTERNOON INTERVENTION
ON THE FUTURE OF EUROPE

POINTS TO BE MADE

INTRODUCTION

- THIS MORNING I REVIEWED MY DISCUSSIONS WITH PRESIDENT GORBACHEV AT MALTA AND WE HEARD FROM PRIME MINISTER ANDREOTTI AND PRIME MINISTER MULRONEY ABOUT THEIR RECENT MEETINGS WITH HIM.
- I WOULD LIKE TO TAKE THIS OPPORTUNITY THIS AFTERNOON TO TALK ABOUT A SUBJECT OF EVEN BROADER SCOPE: THE FUTURE SHAPE OF THE NEW EUROPE AND THE NEW ATLANTICISM.

A TIME OF CHOICE

- WHEN WE LAST MET IN MAY, OUR SUMMIT DECLARATION DESCRIBED THE SETTING AS A "JUNCTURE OF UNPRECEDENTED CHANGE AND OPPORTUNITIES." IN THE LAST SIX MONTHS, WE HAVE WITNESSED EVENTS THAT HAVE FINALLY BEGUN TO MATCH OUR HOPES THESE FORTY YEARS. OUR DREAMS FOR AN HISTORIC TRANSFORMATION OF EUROPE FROM A DIVIDED CONTINENT INTO A CONTINENT WHOLE AND FREE ARE COMING TRUE.
- THE ALLIANCE WAS ESTABLISHED IN 1949 TO PROVIDE THE BASIS FOR PRECISELY THE EXTRAORDINARY EVOLUTION WHICH IS OCCURRING IN EASTERN EUROPE TODAY.
- THIS YEAR THE PEOPLE OF THE EAST MADE FUNDAMENTAL CHOICES ABOUT THEIR DESTINY, AND GOVERNMENTS THERE BEGAN TO HONOR THE CITIZEN'S RIGHT TO CHOOSE. WHAT THESE CHANGES AMOUNT TO IS NOTHING LESS THAN A PEACEFUL REVOLUTION.
- THE TASK BEFORE US IS TO CONSOLIDATE THE FRUITS OF THIS PEACEFUL REVOLUTION AND PROVIDE THE ARCHITECTURE FOR CONTINUED PEACEFUL CHANGE. GREAT CHOICES ARE BEING MADE, AND GREATER OPPORTUNITIES BECKON.

THE FIRST PRINCIPLE FOR EUROPE'S FUTURE: OVERCOMING THE DIVISION OF EUROPE THROUGH FREEDOM

- IN ANY TIME OF GREAT CHANGE, IT IS GOOD TO HAVE FIRM PRINCIPLES TO GUIDE OUR WAY. OUR GOVERNMENTS COMMITTED THEMSELVES AGAIN IN MAY TO SEEK AN END TO THE PAINFUL DIVISION OF EUROPE. WE HAVE NEVER ACCEPTED THIS DIVISION. THE PEOPLE OF EVERY NATION HAVE THE RIGHT TO DETERMINE THEIR OWN WAY OF LIFE IN FREEDOM.
- OF COURSE, WE HAVE ALL SUPPORTED GERMAN REUNIFICATION FOR FOUR DECADES. AND IN OUR VIEW, THIS GOAL OF GERMAN UNIFICATION SHOULD BE BASED ON THE FOLLOWING PRINCIPLES.

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- FIRST, SELF-DETERMINATION MUST BE PURSUED WITHOUT PREJUDICE TO ITS OUTCOME. WE SHOULD NOT ENDORSE NOR EXCLUDE ANY PARTICULAR VISION OF UNITY.
- SECOND, UNIFICATION SHOULD OCCUR IN THE CONTEXT OF GERMANY'S CONTINUED ALIGNMENT WITH NATO AND AN INCREASINGLY INTEGRATED EUROPEAN COMMUNITY.
- THIRD, IN THE INTERESTS OF GENERAL EUROPEAN STABILITY, MOVES TOWARD UNIFICATION MUST BE PEACEFUL, GRADUAL, AND PART OF A STEP-BY-STEP PROCESS.
- LASTLY, ON THE QUESTION OF BORDERS WE SHOULD REITERATE OUR SUPPORT FOR THE PRINCIPLES OF THE HELSINKI FINAL ACT.
- AN END TO THE UNNATURAL DIVISION OF EUROPE, AND OF GERMANY, MUST PROCEED IN ACCORDANCE WITH AND BE BASED UPON THE VALUES THAT ARE BECOMING UNIVERSAL IDEALS, AS ALL THE COUNTRIES OF EUROPE BECOME PART OF A COMMONWEALTH OF FREE NATIONS. I KNOW MY FRIEND HELMUT KOHL COMPLETELY SHARES THIS CONVICTION.

THE ROLE OF NATO

- THE POLITICAL STRATEGY FOR NATO THAT WE AGREED UPON LAST MAY MAKES THE PROMOTION OF GREATER FREEDOM IN THE EAST A BASIC ELEMENT OF ALLIANCE POLICY. ACCORDINGLY, NATO SHOULD PROMOTE HUMAN RIGHTS, DEMOCRACY, AND REFORM WITHIN EASTERN COUNTRIES AS THE BEST MEANS OF ENCOURAGING RECONCILIATION AMONG THE COUNTRIES OF EASTERN AND WESTERN EUROPE.
- THIS EFFORT RECALLS THE ORIGIN OF NATO AS A POLITICAL ALLIANCE OF NATIONS SHARING THE SAME FUNDAMENTAL VALUES, A FOUNDATION ON WHICH I EXPECT NATO WILL INCREASINGLY BUILD IN THIS NEW AGE OF EUROPE.
- ALLIANCE SUPPORT FOR REFORM AND POSITIVE CHANGE IN THE EAST NEEDS TO BE BROAD, MULTIFACETED, AND FLEXIBLE. IT SHOULD NOT ONLY BE A QUESTION OF ECONOMIC ASSISTANCE -- AS IMPORTANT AS THAT MIGHT BE -- BUT OF STEPS TO SUPPORT GREATER POLITICAL PLURALISM, OPEN UP FLOWS OF INFORMATION, DEVELOP NEEDED TECHNICAL EXPERTISE, AND PROVIDE THROUGH OUR DEFENSE AND ARMS CONTROL EFFORTS A STABLE SECURITY ENVIRONMENT FOR INDIVIDUAL EUROPEAN STATES, BOTH EAST AND WEST.
- THIS FITS THE CONCEPT OF "NEW MISSIONS FOR NATO" WHICH I PROPOSED WHEN I WAS HERE LAST MAY FOR OUR SUMMIT.
- BUT WE ALSO MUST REMAIN CONSTANT WITH NATO'S TRADITIONAL SECURITY MISSION. THE POTENTIAL FOR STRIFE IS INHERENT IN ANY PERIOD OF FUNDAMENTAL POLITICAL TRANSITION. IN SEEKING AND PREPARING PEACEFUL CHANGE, THIS ALLIANCE ALSO MUST REMAIN A RELIABLE GUARANTOR OF PEACE IN EUROPE, AS IT HAS

BEEN FOR FORTY YEARS. IT UNITES THE FREE STATES OF THE ATLANTIC COMMUNITY IN SHARING RISKS AND RESPONSIBILITIES AS WE WORK TOGETHER TO NURTURE AND GUIDE THE DEVELOPMENT OF A NEW EUROPE.

- AS A DEFENSIVE ALLIANCE AND PARTNERSHIP OF DEMOCRACIES, NATO SHOULD NOT BE SEEN AS THREATENING BY THE EAST. RATHER, IT CAN HELP MANAGE PEACEFUL CHANGE IN EUROPE IN A WAY THAT PRESERVES SECURITY AND STABILITY FOR ALL STATES. A HEALTHY NATO WILL SUPPORT BOTH MOVES TOWARD GREATER UNITY WITHIN WESTERN EUROPE AS WELL AS THE DISSOLUTION OF BARRIERS WITH THE EAST.
- ALTHOUGH THIS IS A TIME OF GREAT HOPE, WE MUST NOT BLUR THE DISTINCTION BETWEEN PROMISING EXPECTATIONS AND PRESENT REALITIES.
- MY GOVERNMENT THEREFORE REMAINS COMMITTED TO THE ALLIANCE STRATEGY FOR THE PREVENTION OF WAR, BASED ON A MIX OF NUCLEAR AND CONVENTIONAL FORCES.
- I PLEDGE TODAY THAT THE UNITED STATES WILL MAINTAIN SIGNIFICANT MILITARY FORCES IN EUROPE AS LONG AS OUR ALLIES DESIRE OUR PRESENCE AS PART OF A COMMON SECURITY EFFORT.
- AS I SAID AT NATO EARLIER THIS YEAR, THE U.S. WILL REMAIN A EUROPEAN POWER. THAT MEANS THE U.S. WILL STAY ENGAGED IN THE FUTURE OF EUROPE, AND IN OUR COMMON DEFENSE.
- THIS IS NOT OLD THINKING. IT IS GOOD THINKING. OF COURSE I WOULD LIKE TO SEE A LESS MILITARIZED EUROPE. EVERYONE HERE KNOWS HOW STRONGLY I SUPPORT THE PROGRESS BEING MADE IN THE NEGOTIATIONS ON CONVENTIONAL FORCES IN EUROPE TOWARD AN AGREEMENT THAT WOULD REDUCE THE SIZE OF THE CONVENTIONAL FORCES ON BOTH SIDES OF THE EAST-WEST DIVIDE.
- THIS CFE AGREEMENT WOULD DRAMATICALLY CUT BACK WARSAW PACT, PARTICULARLY SOVIET, FORCE STRENGTH. THIS HAS GREAT IMPLICATIONS FOR THE PROCESS OF REFORM IN EASTERN EUROPE AS WELL AS FOR THE SECURITY OF WESTERN EUROPE. AND IT WOULD PROVIDE FOR A CAREFULLY MANAGED AND RESPONSIBLE SET OF ALLIED REDUCTIONS AS WELL.
- AS WE SEEK TO ADJUST OUR MILITARY POSTURE TO THE CHANGING POLITICAL CLIMATE, I CAN THINK OF NO BETTER MODEL THAN THE CFE PROCESS AS A WAY TO COORDINATE OUR RESPONSES TO THE NEW REQUIREMENTS OF EUROPEAN SECURITY. WE MUST STAND TOGETHER FOR NEGOTIATED, COORDINATED, STABILIZING REDUCTIONS AGAINST A RUSH TO THROW OFF DEFENSE BURDENS, AGAINST A RETURN TO THE NARROW PROTECTION OF SELF-INTEREST THAT COULD BE SO DANGEROUS AT A TIME WHEN EUROPEAN POLITICS ARE IN A STATE OF FLUX RIVALED IN MY ADULT LIFE ONLY BY THE IMMEDIATE AFTERMATH OF THE SECOND WORLD WAR.

- YET, THE CFE PROCESS HAS NOT REALIZED ITS FULL POTENTIAL. LAST MAY WE AGREED TO SEEK AN AGREEMENT WITHIN ONE YEAR. WE HAVE MADE GOOD PROGRESS SINCE THEN, BUT TOO LITTLE AND TOO SLOWLY TO TAKE FULL ADVANTAGE OF THE OPPORTUNITY BEFORE US: THE CHANCE TO EASE THE SOVIET ARMY OUT OF EASTERN EUROPE AND SUBSTANTIALLY REDUCE THE RISK OF SURPRISE ATTACK AND AGGRESSION.
- WE AS POLITICAL LEADERS NEED TO REMAIN FIXED ON THIS GOAL AND TO RE-ENERGIZE OUR BUREAUCRACIES AND NEGOTIATORS TO SEIZE THIS URGENT OPPORTUNITY. I HOPE YOU AGREE WITH ME ON THE NEED FOR ACTION NOW. IF WE IN THIS ALLIANCE ARE NOT EQUAL TO THE CHANGES THAT ARE GOING ON IN EUROPE AROUND US, THE CFE PROCESS COULD BE OVERRUN BY EVENTS. THAT COULD BE DANGEROUS AND WE MUST AVOID IT.
- SIMILARLY, WE NEED TO GIVE THOUGHT TO HOW THE ALLIANCE CAN BEST ACHIEVE, IN THE MIDST OF CHANGE, MAXIMUM DETERRENCE AT MINIMUM LEVELS OF FORCE. THE COMPREHENSIVE CONCEPT THAT WE AGREED TO IN MAY STATES THAT WE WILL MAINTAIN SECURITY AT THE LOWEST POSSIBLE LEVEL OF FORCES.
- FOR THAT REASON, I AM PREPARED TO LOOK WITH AN OPEN MIND AT WAYS IN WHICH WE CAN TOGETHER ACHIEVE EVEN LOWER LEVELS OF CONVENTIONAL AND NUCLEAR FORCES IN EUROPE AS PART OF A NEGOTIATED AGREEMENT.

THE ROLE OF CSCE

- MANY OF THE VALUES THAT SHOULD GUIDE EUROPE'S FUTURE ARE DESCRIBED IN THE FINAL ACT OF THE CONFERENCE OF SECURITY AND COOPERATION IN EUROPE. THESE VALUES ENCOMPASS THE FREEDOM OF PEOPLE TO CHOOSE THEIR DESTINY UNDER A RULE OF LAW WITH RULERS WHO ARE DEMOCRATICALLY ACCOUNTABLE.
- I THINK WE CAN LOOK TO THE CSCE TO PLAY A GREATER ROLE IN THE FUTURE OF EUROPE.
- EARLIER THIS YEAR, I SUGGESTED WE EXPAND THE CSCE HUMAN RIGHTS BASKET TO INCLUDE FREE ELECTIONS. GIVEN THE CALLS AND COMMITMENTS TO ELECTIONS IN MANY NATIONS TO THE EAST, THIS COULD BE AN EXCELLENT TIME FOR THE CSCE TO ASSUME THIS ADDITIONAL MANDATE.
- IN ADDITION, THE "ECONOMIC BASKET" OF THE CSCE HAS BEEN UNDERDEVELOPED. I SUGGESTED TO CHAIRMAN GORBACHEV THIS WEEKEND THAT WE COULD BREATHE NEW LIFE INTO THIS ASPECT OF CSCE BY FOCUSING ON THE PRACTICAL QUESTIONS INVOLVED IN THE TRANSITION FROM STAGNANT PLANNED ECONOMIES TO FREE AND COMPETITIVE MARKETS.
- IN SUM, THE THIRTY-FIVE NATIONS OF THE CSCE BRIDGE BOTH THE DIVISION OF EUROPE AND THE ATLANTIC OCEAN. IT IS A STRUCTURE THAT SHOULD BE ABLE TO CONTRIBUTE MUCH TO THE FUTURE ARCHITECTURE OF EUROPE.

THE ROLE OF THE EC

- I ALSO APPRECIATE THE VITAL ROLE THE EC MUST PLAY IN THE NEW EUROPE.
- BEFORE MY TRIP TO MALTA, PRESIDENT MITTERRAND CALLED TO SHARE WITH ME THE VIEWS ABOUT RECENT EVENTS EXPRESSED AT THE EC MEETING HE HAD CALLED. AND I KNOW THE COMMUNITY WILL BE RETURNING TO THESE TOPICS IN STRASBOURG LATER THIS WEEK.
- IT'S MY BELIEF THAT THE EVENTS OF OUR TIMES CALL BOTH FOR A CONTINUED, PERHAPS EVEN INTENSIFIED, EFFORT OF THE TWELVE TO INTEGRATE, AND A ROLE FOR THE EC AS A MAGNET THAT DRAWS THE FORCES OF REFORM FORWARD IN EASTERN EUROPE.
- THAT'S WHY I WAS EXCEPTIONALLY PLEASED THAT WE AGREED AT THE PARIS ECONOMIC SUMMIT ON A SPECIFIC ROLE FOR THE EC IN THE GROUP OF 24 EFFORT TO ASSIST POLAND AND HUNGARY. NOW THE G-24, CATALYZED BY EC EFFORTS, MUST DELIVER. ONE KEY STEP IS TO HELP POLAND ASSEMBLE THE \$1 BILLION STABILIZATION FUND IT HAS REQUESTED TO SUPPORT THE MAJOR MACROECONOMIC OVERHAUL PLAN IT INTENDS TO PUT IN PLACE WITHIN WEEKS.
- I RECOGNIZE, OF COURSE, THAT THE EC CANNOT BEAR THIS BURDEN ALONE. THE UNITED STATES WILL BE AT THE COMMUNITY'S SIDE IN THIS NOBLE ENDEAVOR.
- I ALSO AM COMMITTED TO A CLOSE U.S. PARTNERSHIP WITH THE EC. WE ARE BOUND TOGETHER BY COMMON VALUES AND DEMOCRATIC INSTITUTIONS AS WELL AS BY SHARED INTERESTS. SO WE SHOULD LOOK FOR WAYS TO IMPROVE OUR TIES SO A NEW ATLANTICISM WILL PULL IN HARNESS WITH A NEW EUROPE.

CONCLUSION

- WE STAND ON THE THRESHOLD OF A NEW ERA. WE KNOW THAT WE ARE CONTRIBUTING TO A PROCESS OF HISTORY DRIVEN BY PEOPLES DETERMINED TO BE FREE. THE PEOPLE OF EUROPE, ESPECIALLY THE BRAVE CITIZENS OF THE EAST, ARE ILLUMINATING THE FUTURE.
- YET THE OUTCOME IS NOT PREDESTINED. IT DEPENDS ON OUR CONTINUED STRENGTH AND SOLIDARITY AS AN ALLIANCE. IT DEPENDS VITALLY ON THE ACTIONS WE TAKE, AS GOVERNMENTS AND INDIVIDUALS, TO OFFER LEADERSHIP, PROTECTION, AND ENCOURAGEMENT FOR THIS PROCESS OF PEACEFUL TRANSFORMATION.
- EUROPE IS CHANGING, AND WE WILL BE EQUAL TO THE CHANGE. OUR TRANSATLANTIC PARTNERSHIP CAN CREATE THE ARCHITECTURE OF A NEW EUROPE, AND A NEW ATLANTICISM, WHERE SELF-DETERMINATION, AND INDIVIDUAL FREEDOM EVERYWHERE REPLACE COERCION AND TYRANNY, WHERE ECONOMIC LIBERTY EVERYWHERE REPLACES ECONOMIC CONTROLS AND STAGNATION, AND WHERE LASTING PEACE IS REINFORCED EVERYWHERE BY COMMON RESPECT FOR THE RIGHTS OF MAN.

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Franco's

looks

unwell

so grey

Bush Library Photocopy
George Bush Handwriting

Photocopy from George Bush Presidential Library

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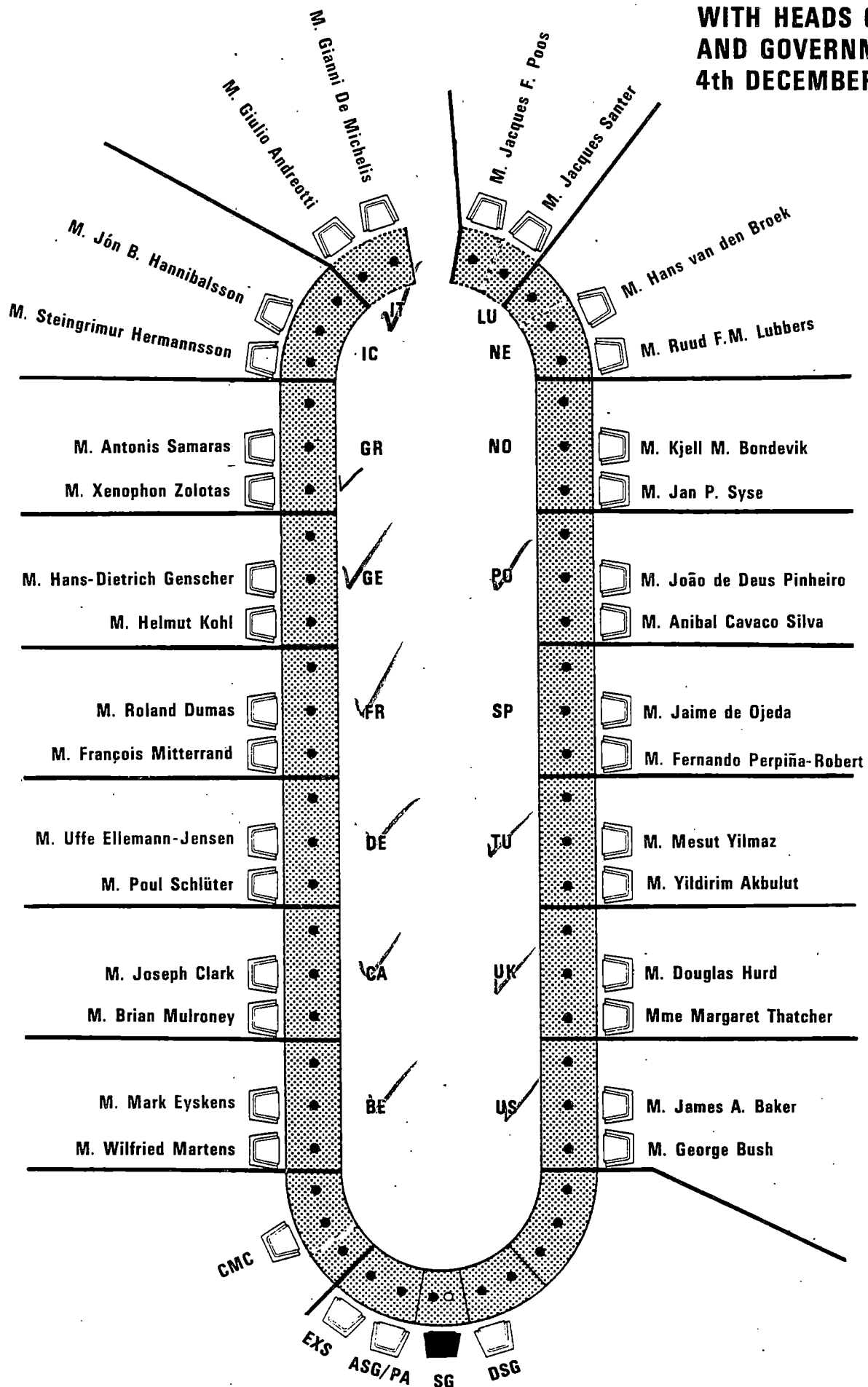
C. Closed in accordance with restrictions contained in donor's deed of gift.

PRM. Removed as a personal record misfile.

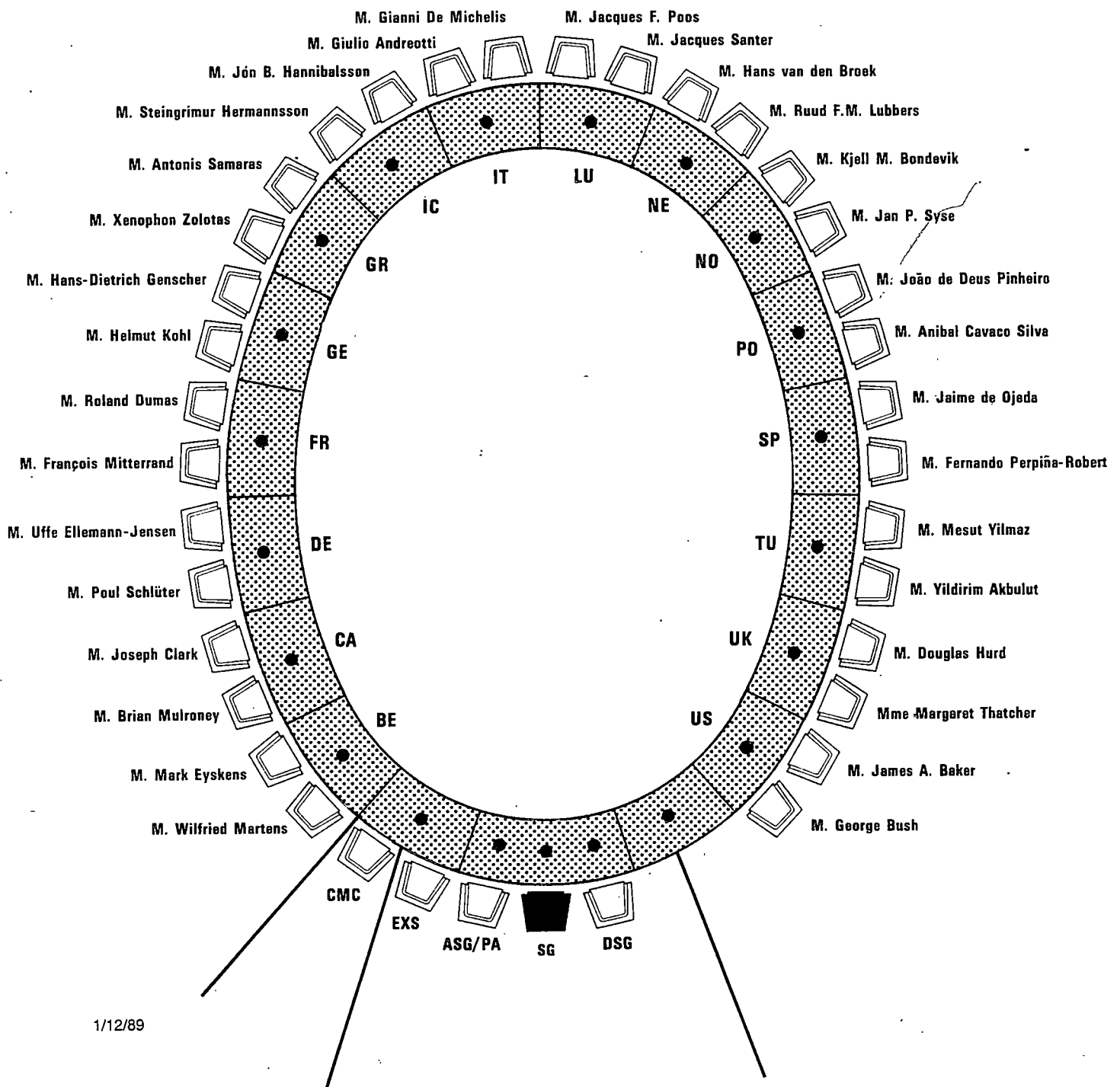
Freedom of Information Act - [5 U.S.C. 552(b)]

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

**MEETING OF COUNCIL
WITH HEADS OF STATE
AND GOVERNMENT
4th DECEMBER 1989**



**MEETING OF COUNCIL
WITH HEADS OF STATE
AND GOVERNMENT
4th DECEMBER 1989**



TELEPHONE MEMORANDUM

PRESIDENT BUSH

[illegible]

Withdrawal/Redaction Sheet

(George Bush Library)

Document No. and Type	Subject/Title of Document	Date	Restriction	Class.
03. Log	White House Telephone Log [Signal Switchboard] [redaction of personal information] (2 pp.)	12/04/89	(b)(6)	

Collection:

Record Group: Bush Presidential Records
Office: Office of the President
Series: Daily Files
Subseries:
WHORM Cat.:
File Location: Monday, December 4, 1989

Date Closed: 10/29/2009	OA/ID Number: 90528-005
FOIA/SYS Case #: 2009-0166-S	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]
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THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

TELEPHONE MEMORANDUM

SIGNAL SWITCHBOARD

December 4, 1989

	TIME		NAME	ACTION
	PLACED	DISC		
OUT	AM		Mrs. Barbara Bush Mrs. Vanderjadt's Residence	Tlkd-ok 1:06 PM via Secure Satellite
~~INC~~	1:00 PM	1:12	(b)(6)	
OUT	AM		Mrs. Dorothy LeBlond	Tlkd-ok 1:26 PM via Secure Satellite
~~INC~~	1:18 PM	1:29	(b)(6)	
OUT	AM		Ms. Patty Presock White House Staff Mess	Tlkd-ok 1:39 PM Phone Passed to
~~INC~~	1:37 PM	1:43	White House Signal 2-2681	
OUT	AM			Ms. Grace Holdon 1:41 PM Phone Passed to
INC	PM			
OUT	AM			Ms. Patty Presock 1:42 PM via Secure Satellite
INC	PM			
OUT	AM		President Corazon C. Aquino	PRESUS Cancel 4:10 PM
~~INC~~	3:47 PM		(b)(6)	
OUT	AM		Message: "Can you please pass to President Aquino. I wish you well. You can watch me on CNN.	Passed to Captain Doplayna 4:20 PM
~~INC~~	4:10 PM			
OUT	AM		Conference Call: President Corazon C. Aquino	Tlkd-ok 7:36 PM
~~INC~~	7:30 PM	7:43	(b)(6)	
OUT	AM		Mr. Karl D. Jackson White House Situation Room	
INC	PM		White House Signal 2-2264	
OUT	AM			
INC	PM			
OUT	AM			
INC	PM			

Photocopy from George Bush Presidential Library

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

TELEPHONE MEMORANDUM

SIGNAL SWITCHBOARD

December 4, 1989

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OUT	AM		White House Signal 2-2264	
INC	PM			
OUT	AM			
INC	PM			

Photocopy from George Bush Presidential Library

PRESIDENTIAL MOVEMENTS

LOCATION Brussels, Belgium
Washington, D.C.

DATE 4 December 1989

TIME

MOVEMENTS

[illegible]

EST



News Summary

OFFICE OF THE PRESS SECRETARY

MONDAY, DECEMBER 4, 1989 -- 6 A.M. EST/12 P.M. BRUSSELS EDITION

TODAY'S HEADLINES

TRIP NEWS

BUSH, GORBACHEV HAIL NEW COOPERATION -- President Bush and Soviet President Gorbachev, concluding two days of summit talks aboard a Soviet cruise liner, Sunday hailed a new relationship between their countries based on closer political and economic cooperation but continued to disagree openly about the conflict in Central America.

(New York Daily News, Washington Post, Washington Times)

CONGRESSIONAL LEADERS PRAISE SUMMIT -- Congressional leaders praised President Bush for taking the lead in superpower relations at his summit with Soviet President Gorbachev, but most urged caution in the U.S. approach to arms control.

(UPI)

INTERNATIONAL NEWS

E. GERMAN CHIEF KRENZ, PARTY HEIRARCHY RESIGN -- East German Communist Party chief Egon Krenz and his entire leadership, including the Politburo and the Central Committee, resigned Sunday as a swiftly widening corruption scandal left the country in political disarray.

(Washington Post)

NETWORK NEWS (Sunday evening)

MEETING/BRUSSELS -- President Bush will brief America's European allies on his summit meeting with President Gorbachev.

CZECHOSLOVAKIA -- The Czech prime minister proposed the first government with non-communists since 1948.

PHILIPPINES -- Government forces are saying they have now crushed the coup attempt against President Aquino.

TRIP NEWS.....A-1

INTERNATIONAL...A-6

NATIONAL NEWS...A-9

NETWORK NEWS....B-1

TALK SHOWS.....C-1

MONDAY, DECEMBER 4, 1989
6:00 a.m. est/12:00 p.m. Brussels Summary

TRIP NEWS

ARMS ACCORDS PUT ON FAST TRACK

Top U.S. officials, who spent their first six months in office urging a cautious approach to arms control matters, announced Sunday that President Bush and Soviet President Gorbachev agreed at their Malta summit to place four new arms accords on a fast track to completion by the end of next year.

After a decade marked by the signing of just one major new treaty limiting a small fraction of the world's nuclear weapons, the officials committed their countries to a brisk schedule that calls for new limitations on strategic nuclear weapons, chemical arms, and conventional forces, plus new procedures for inspections of nuclear tests.

U.S. officials said the two sides had agreed to such an acceleration because of a shared sense that the negotiations are entering their final stage, and a desire to lock in place a diversion of Soviet military resources to civilian needs as quickly as possible.

(Jeffrey Smith, Washington Post, A21)

Bush, Gorbachev Hail New Cooperation

VALLETTA -- President Bush and Soviet President Gorbachev, concluding two days of summit talks aboard a Soviet cruise liner, Sunday hailed a new relationship between their countries based on closer political and economic cooperation but continued to disagree openly about the conflict in Central America.

In an unprecedented joint news conference, Bush declared, "We stand at the threshold of a brand new era of U.S.-Soviet relations," and Gorbachev responded, "The world leaves one epoch of Cold War, and enters another epoch."

"This is just the beginning," Gorbachev said, of a "long road to a long-lasting peaceful period."

After a year of uncertain relations, Bush and Gorbachev announced plans to use the coming months to extend Western trade and investment to the stagnant Soviet economy. Bush said he would encourage Soviet participation in the global economy "every way I can."

The leaders promised to strive toward completing two major arms control treaties next year. They also said that the reform movements in Eastern Europe will be given the leeway to continue their historic drive toward pluralism and free-market economies.

Gorbachev assured Bush the Soviet Union "would never start 'hot war' against the United States," and Bush later said he believed him.

(David Hoffman, Washington Post, A1)

-more-

The Prez & Gorby End Talks

VALLETTA -- President Bush and Soviet leader Gorbachev Sunday concluded a high-seas summit that will be remembered as the formal death of the Cold War and the birth of an uncharted era in superpower relations.

A chaotic joint news conference on the sixth deck of the Soviet luxury liner Maxim Gorky symbolized their historic achievement.

"The world leaves one epoch of Cold War and enters another epoch," Gorbachev said. "We're just at the very beginning of our long road to a long-lasting peaceful period."

He pledged he would never "start hot war against the United States of America."

As usual, Bush was more cautious, though he did flash a "thumbs up" when a reporter asked if the Cold War had collapsed.

"With reform under way in the Soviet Union, we stand at the threshold of a brand-new era of U.S.-Soviet relations," Bush declared.

(Maureen Santini, New York Daily News, A5)

U.S. And Soviets Agree On Cuts But Not Timing

VALLETTA -- President Bush spoke hopefully Sunday of a treaty next year that would cut superpower strategic nuclear arsenals by half, but declined to join Soviet leader Gorbachev in predicting such a treaty will be signed when the two men meet again in Washington in June.

"I'm in favor of signing (a START treaty) at the (Washington) summit meeting," Gorbachev said Sunday at the end of the two-day Malta summit.

Bush talked of bringing the two nations' arms positions closer together, but his spokesman said the President hopes only to have all the issues "on the table" by June and to sign a treaty "later."

The President himself later said, "I think we should shoot for a START treaty" by the time he and Gorbachev meet in Washington the last two weeks of June, adding that it would be complicated but possible.

The leaders agreed that Secretary of State Baker and Foreign Secretary Shevardnadze will meet next month in Moscow to work on technical obstacles, then meet again in the U.S. in March to iron out most other details.

(Frank Murray, Washington Times, A1)

U.S., SOVIETS 'SEEING A NEW ERA'

Central America -- 'One Of The Major Sticking Points'

Central America was the one issue over which Presidents Bush and Gorbachev remained at odds during their friendly Malta summit.

"That's one of the major sticking points between us," Secretary of State Baker said Sunday.

"The Soviet Union has told us they are leaning on Nicaragua and Cuba not to send weapons to the FMLN, but that has not worked. We're encouraging them to lean even harder."

At issue: Are the Soviets shipping sophisticated arms to Nicaragua -- arms that wind up in the arsenal of El Salvador's Marxist guerrillas?

Gorbachev said no, and Bush said he believes him.

But Bush doesn't believe Nicaraguan assurances given to Gorbachev.

"We have a difference," Bush said in Malta after the summit. "I don't believe that the Sandinistas have told the truth to our Soviet friends. And why? Because we know for a fact that arms have gone in there."

(Juan Walte, USA Today, A8)

BUSH AND GORBY LEAVE THEIR TALKS

VALLETTA -- They may not have formed a mutual admiration society, but President Bush and Soviet leader Gorbachev let it be known they managed to get along just fine.

World peace demanded no less.

"I'm not the most articulate emotionalist," Bush confessed to reporters in a post-summit interview. "But I just can't have asked for a better ambience, a better feel from the meetings, even though the differences are acute in some areas. You get the feeling he really wants to work with us."

Bush said the climate during the eight hours of talks was "without rancor and without hostility."

That reflects an evolution on the part of both leaders, Bush acknowledged. (Maureen Santini, New York Daily News, A4)

GORBACHEV PLEASED WITH U.S. ECONOMIC HELP OFFERED AT SUMMIT

MOSCOW -- Soviet leader Mikhail Gorbachev returned home from his Mediterranean summit with President Bush with the prize he sought -- a promise of the U.S. economic cooperation he needs to rebuild the Soviet economy.

The Soviet leader planned to brief Warsaw Pact leaders Monday on the outcome of the talks, which he said "even surpassed my expectations."

The Malta talks hold the promise of the "political impetus that we have been lacking" in economic reform efforts, Gorbachev told a joint news conference with Bush Sunday aboard the Soviet cruise liner Maxim Gorky.

In his package of proposals to Gorbachev, Bush promised "most-favored-nation" trading status for the Soviet Union, removal, removal of restrictions on trade credits, an investment treaty and observer status at the GATT.

Those developments are "of principal importance," Gorbachev said, adding that success for Soviet reforms ultimately depended on the Kremlin's adopting a more rational pricing system and currency reform. (UPI)

BUSH SHIFTS TO BACK MOSCOW

Leaders Go Beyond Gains Of Reagan Era

VALLETTA -- In his first summit, which ended here Sunday, George Bush moved U.S. policy for the first time since World War II to an openly cooperative political and economic relationship with the Soviet Union and active support of its leader, Mikhail Gorbachev.

In so doing, he went beyond the achievements of his predecessor, Ronald Reagan, who in his second term had managed to diminish the hostility between the two superpowers.

Amid the turmoil of Eastern Europe, where communist rule continued to crumble even as they met, Bush and Gorbachev sent an important political signal of willingness to work together for stability.

Characteristically, Bush moved by incremental steps rather than by any bold leaps of either policy or rhetoric. Nonetheless, the message was unmistakable that his Administration now seeks to help Gorbachev sustain his dramatic reversals of previous Soviet policies at home as well as in Eastern Europe and elsewhere.

(Don Oberdorfer, news analysis, Washington Post, A1)

BUSH FOLLOWS PATTERN FROM '88 CAMPAIGN

Ronald Reagan has long been known as a public relations master, but George Bush, in his low-key way, could have the makings of a PR whiz.

Bush appears to have a knack for going into critical situations and coming out looking better than expected. As he prepared for the Malta summit, critics charged he was too "timid" and would get snookered by the wily Soviet leader Mikhail Gorbachev. Bush did little to dampen such predictions. And when it didn't happen, he looked like a hero.

"He does a masterful job of saying don't count on much happening and looking good by just showing up," says Democratic consultant Victor Kamber....

Political strategists say the summit's outcome could boost Bush's popularity ratings to new highs by Christmas.

"For a guy who hasn't done much, it's amazing" says Democratic media consultant Frank Greer. (Richard Benedetto, USA Today, A1)

SOVIET REFORM ACQUIRES NEW URGENCY

ABOARD THE MAXIM GORKY -- Soviet President Gorbachev flew home to Moscow from the storm-tossed Malta summit Sunday, aware that he must now step up the pace of his perestroika reform movement to take advantage of President Bush's willingness to allow the Soviet Union into the world economic club.

Apart from the foul weather, which caused Gorbachev to pace the deck of the Soviet cruise ship Maxim Gorky in frustration Saturday evening after cancellation of five hours of talks with Bush, the two-day meeting seems to have lived up to Soviet hopes and expectations. It has produced an informal superpower agreement on the need for peaceful change in Eastern Europe and created a more favorable international climate for reforms Gorbachev would like to introduce in the Soviet Union itself.

"The United States has declared that it has stopped economic warfare against the Soviet Union," exulted Georgi Arbatov, the dean of Soviet Americanologists. "We are now being dealt with as a normal country." ...

But Gorbachev and his advisers are also agonizingly conscious of the long and rocky road that the Soviet Union must travel if it is to integrate itself into the world economy. They are also aware that persuading Washington to accept Moscow as a worthy international partner is a relatively simple task compared with the gigantic challenge of transforming a crumbling economy devastated by decades of centralized mismanagement.

(Michael Dobbs, news analysis, Washington Post, A1)

BUSH, GORBACHEV STAR IN OWN 'GHOSTBUSTERS'
At Malta, Both Presidents Exorcise Presence Of Reagan
And Personal Antagonisms From Past Encounters

VALLETTA -- Mikhail Gorbachev and George Bush exorcised the ghosts of Ronald Reagan and of tensions from their own past contacts Sunday in a chummy summit-ending press conference dedicated to a new era of workaday togetherness.

"Much more pragmatic," Soviet spokesman Gerasimov said when asked to compare Bush to Reagan. Bush "is more workmanlike. I guess he could leave his thick reference book on the other ship."

Gone was the soaring rhetoric of the Reagan-Gorbachev summits in Washington and Moscow. Instead of competing to put forward bold visions, Bush and Gorbachev appeared intent on not upstaging each other and not adding to each other's problems.

Asked anew if the Cold War was over, Gorbachev made no sweeping declaration. Instead, he said prosaically that he and Bush had "sought the answer to the question, 'Where do we stand now?'"

The positive chemistry established in Malta between the world's two most powerful leaders stemmed in large part from their mutual command of detail over a wide range of international issues, Bush suggested.

(Jim Hoagland, Washington Post, A21)

CONGRESSIONAL LEADERS PRAISE SUMMIT

Congressional leaders praised President Bush for taking the lead in superpower relations at his summit with Soviet President Gorbachev, but most urged caution in the U.S. approach to arms control.

Sen. Mitchell was quick to give Bush high marks Sunday for his two-day meeting with Gorbachev, claiming the President had adopted his recommendations for a better economic relationship with the Soviet Union and for accelerating arms control talks.

"I think it was a successful meeting," Mitchell said in an interview on ABC's "This Week with David Brinkley." "The President's proposals -- each of them -- were proposals that I have been urging publicly for some months.... So naturally, I'm pleased in that respect." ...

Sen. Dole was more cautious in his assessment of the meeting off the coast of Malta, which was disrupted by unusually miserable Mediterranean weather, saying: "I think we're a little short on specifics."

"I'm a little concerned about trying to put a deadline on any arms control negotiations," Dole told ABC. "I hope that wasn't done. I'm not certain. And, I'm a little unclear on what happened with reference to El Salvador and Nicaragua. But, I think it was a good meeting, despite the weather."

(Robin Greene, UPI)

INTERNATIONAL NEWS

E. GERMAN CHIEF KRENZ, PARTY HEIRARCHY RESIGN

EAST BERLIN -- East German Communist Party chief Egon Krenz and his entire leadership, including the Politburo and the Central Committee, resigned Sunday as a swiftly widening corruption scandal left the country in political disarray.

Before quitting, the communist officials expelled from the party former leader Honecker....

With the government under pressure from opposition groups to investigate past wrongdoing, three recently fired Politburo members were also arrested on corruption charges, and a senior trade official being pursued by investigators was reported to have fled the country.

After a tumultuous weekend, the government of Prime Minister Modrow remains nominally in charge, but the Communist Party, which directs the government, is now in the hands of a temporary 25-man committee, none of whose members have served on the Politburo.

(Mark Fisher, Washington Post, A1)

GENSCHER SAYS U.S. IS NOT WORRIED
ABOUT EVENTS IN EAST GERMANY

BRUSSELS -- West German Foreign Minister Genscher said the U.S. was not concerned about the rapid pace of change in East Germany.

"There is no concern in the United States, more a need for information," he told journalists Sunday night after a private dinner with Secretary of State Baker.

"You cannot say they are worried. From the point of view of democrats the growth of freedom and democracy cannot be destabilizing. Democracies need not be afraid when democracy starts in other countries, only dictatorships are afraid of that."

President Bush briefed Chancellor Kohl at a separate dinner about the outcome of his Malta summit meeting with Soviet President Gorbachev.... Kohl told journalists he was pleased about the outcome of the summit, saying: "There has been progress in all matters important to us."

(Reuter)

VOICE OF AMERICA TO OPEN OFFICE IN WARSAW

The VOA...will open an office in Warsaw that will expand its operations in the Eastern bloc to two cities, officials said Sunday.

VOA Deputy Director Robert Coonrod said the office in Poland is the result of "the openness of the situation there in general and also because for our audience the story there is very important."

(AP, Washington Post, A13)

REBEL GENERAL WARNS AGAINST GOVERNMENT ATTACK IN PHILIPPINES

CEBU -- An Air Force general leading rebel troops at an air base in the central Philippines refused Monday to surrender and threatened to blow up all aircraft at the base if they were attacked.

"If the government forces launch an attack, we will blow up all the military planes parked at the base," Brig. Gen. Jose Comendador, Mactan air base commander, told a Cebu radio station. Armed Forces Chief Gen. Renato De Villa ordered a naval blockade of Mactan island, where the base is located, and said any ship approaching would be sunk. (Reuter)

U.S. GRANTED PHILIPPINES QUICK SALE OF ARMS -- NEWSPAPER

NEW YORK -- The Bush Administration Saturday granted a Philippine request for the quick sale and transfer of hundreds of anti-tank weapons from American bases to forces loyal to President Aquino, the New York Times reported Monday.

The report, quoting unnamed Administration officials, said the U.S. took the step because it feared Aquino's forces were losing ground to the military rebellion even though they claimed Saturday to have triumphed and were just mopping up. (Reuter)

MANILA REBELS SURROUNDED Heavy Fighting Ends In Much Of Capital

MANILA -- Government forces Monday surrounded hundreds of mutineers who have refused to surrender in Manila's financial district, while heavy fighting that raged for three days subsided in other areas of the capital and government officials said the coup attempt had finally been quelled.

Advancing behind tanks and armored personnel carriers, troops loyal to President Aquino blocked off avenues leading to the affluent Makati financial district and surrounded the areas under control of the rebels, some of whom were firing indiscriminately at people and vehicles on the streets from the rooftops of tall buildings. Sporadic gun battles erupted Sunday, and shoring was heard early Monday.

Military sources said government troops might be forced to launch building-to-building attacks if the rebels refuse to surrender. "We won't have any choice if those guys don't move out of there," said one officer.

(Criselda Yabes, Washington Post, A1)

REBELS ACCUSE AQUINO OF MAKING PHILIPPINES 'A BEGGAR'

MANILA -- A leader of the abortive army coup in the Philippines said the rebels just wanted to rescue the country from a corrupt government, not to create a military junta or rule through martial law.

In a statement published in Monday's Manila Times, cashiered Col. Gergorio "Gringo" Honasan accused President Aquino's government of reducing the country to the status of "an international beggar, without self-respect and without honor."

He said the rebels were just "an effective instrument to install a competent collective leadership that will guarantee good government."

"We have no plan or desire to run the government," Honasan declared.

(Reuter)

IRAN-LINKED TERRORISTS REPORTEDLY
WILL STRIKE AIRLINER THIS MONTH

Middle Eastern terrorists with links to factions in Iran are plotting to blow up an airliner this month, most likely one belonging to a West European nation, according to Bush Administration officials and Palestinian sources.

The PLO had recently warned the U.S. that such an attack was planned, the sources said.

The Palestinian sources said the PLO feared the attack might take place during the Christmas period like last year's bombing of Pan Am flight 103, which killed 270 persons over Lockerbie, Scotland.

Administration officials said they were taking the PLO warning seriously. It was not immediately clear whether this had resulted in a warning to the airlines by the FAA. (James Dorsey, Washington Times, A8)

PLO ACCEPTS BAKER'S PLAN FOR MIDEAST PEACE PARLEY

The PLO has accepted Secretary of State Baker's five-point Middle East peace plan on the basis of U.S. assurances that the PLO will play a role in efforts to resolve the Arab-Israeli conflict, Palestinian sources and Israeli press reports said Sunday.

The sources said the breakthrough in Baker's 7-month-old peace effort came Friday when the Bush Administration signaled the PLO that it was willing to take Palestinian concerns into account.

Administration officials confirmed that there was movement toward getting Palestinian agreement to the Baker plan aimed at achieving a Palestinian-Israeli dialogue but stopped short of characterizing it as acceptance. Baker had yet to pronounce judgment on the latest PLO response to his proposal, the officials said.

(James Dorsey, Washington Times, A8)

FIRST-HALF EXPORTS UP FOR 3 LARGEST TRADERS

The U.S., Japan and West Germany -- the world's largest trading nations -- all showed increases in the value of their exports during the first half of this year compared with 1988, the IMF reported Sunday.

West Germany's exports increased from \$159.1 billion to \$169.1 billion; U.S. exports from \$157.6 billion to \$182.7 billion; and Japan's from \$125.3 billion to \$135 billion, the IMF said.

(AP, Washington Post, A9)

NATIONAL NEWS

DRUG CZAR DOWN BUT NOT OUT

Drug Czar Bennett has heard reports of his imminent departure circulating the Capitol before -- so, he says, he's not entirely surprised to hear the drum beat starting again.

"Listen, when I was Education Secretary, that thing was going around, too," Bennett says of a betting pool among his staff and the FBI, forecasting an early resignation.

"I have no intention to go," he says, but then tempering his defiance adds: "I'll stay as long as it makes sense" -- but not through two whole terms.

(Jack Kelley, USA Today, A3)

-end-

NETWORK NEWS SUMMARY
BRUSSELS EDITION

(Sunday Evening, December 3)

[CBS News and NBC News did not air tonight.]

MALTA MEETING

ABC's PETER JENNINGS: President Bush is here in Brussels tonight where he had dinner with West German Chancellor Kohl. Tomorrow here he'll brief America's other European allies on his summit meeting in Malta with Mr. Gorbachev. Mr. Gorbachev has gone back to Moscow where he will brief the leaders of an alliance rocked again this very weekend by change. In Czechoslovakia today, the first government in 40 years to include non-communists has been rejected by the opposition as not enough. In East Germany today, the entire communist leadership has been forced to resign. It's been another weekend for the history books.

ABC's BRIT HUME: The seas had calmed this morning enough to allow the President at least to leave the U.S. cruiser Belknap. As he departed, he bristled at the notion the drenching gale that forced cancellation of last night's summit session had been a serious problem.

(REPORTER: "Mr. President, has the weather ruined this summit?"

PRESIDENT, speaking on ship deck: "Hell no. Hell, no. Actually the summit's going just fine, thanks.")

As if to underscore that, Mr. Bush proceeded to ride around the harbor bucking the swells and acting like a man who, in the words of his spokesman, had been energized by the intensity of the storm.

(TV coverage: President riding waves in launch.)

Again today, he met Gorbachev aboard the docked Soviet cruise liner Gorky, and their second session lasted three hours.

(TV coverage: President sitting with Gorbachev.)

Afterwards Mr. Bush had planned a news conference on the deck of the Belknap. But the storm made that impossible so he held it on the Gorky with Gorbachev.

(TV coverage: President sitting with Gorbachev at news conference.)

Nothing like that had ever happened before and it seemed to reflect the way the two said the meetings had gone.

(GORBACHEV, through interpreter: "The atmosphere was friendly, straightforward, open.")

(PRESIDENT: "I think if a meeting can improve relations, I think this one has.")

But there has been strong disagreement on some points, including the continuing flow of East bloc weapons into Central America. Gorbachev flatly denied his country was responsible. That was not good enough for Mr. Bush.

(PRESIDENT: "Whatever it is, however it comes, it is unsatisfactory.")

But the President did get something he wanted on Central America: support for democracy in Nicaragua.

(GORBACHEV, through interpreter: "We are in favor of free elections with the representatives of the United Nations and other Latin American countries to determine the state of Nicaragua.")

Mr. Bush called the discussions of his plans to help the Soviet economy most fruitful. The two men agreed on Bush proposals to accelerate disarmament talks involving nuclear, conventional, and chemical weapons.

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HUME continues: Gorbachev also proposed naval force reductions and got the response you might expect from the leader of a nation and an alliance heavily dependent on sea power.

(PRESIDENT: "The Chairman raised the question of naval arms control and I was not particularly positive in responding on naval arms control.")

The two leaders were cordial but didn't seem to be developing the kind of friendship Ronald Reagan had with Gorbachev.

(TV coverage: President at news conference laughing with Gorbachev.)

And afterward, Mr. Bush was once again trying to guard against euphoria about changed East-West relations.

(PRESIDENT: "It's fine to envision a group of countries that spend a lot more time worrying about the economic side and less on the defense side.... We are not there yet.")

The President, who was careful to consult the NATO allies every step of the way to this summit, left this afternoon for Brussels to brief them.

(TV coverage: President boarding Air Force One.)

He seemed confident of their reaction and eager to go.

JENNINGS reports that Mr. Bush and Mr. Gorbachev may not as yet have the kind of the relationship which could be described as more than business-like. Nonetheless, Mr. Gorbachev pronounced himself more than pleased with the results of Malta. For one thing, he got quite a lot of what they hoped for and they agreed that they're going to have their next summit in the last two weeks of June in Washington.

ABC's JIM LAURIE reports from Malta that it was clear the Soviets were well-satisfied with this two-day meeting. An enthusiastic Gorbachev stopped aboard ship to talk to ABC News about what he said was time well spent. The talks, Gorbachev told us, were remarkable for their depth and openness. And holding them onboard ship in bad weather Gorbachev described as even romantic. Gorbachev predicted negotiations on a strategic arms limitation treaty would be completed by June with a signed agreement shortly thereafter. Looking forward to his next meeting with President Bush, the Soviet leader described a new atmosphere where anything is possible. He also said the U.S. and the Soviet Union shared a similar point of view on Eastern Europe and that President Bush appeared to agree to a 34-nation summit in Helsinki next year to discuss the changed political climate in Europe. All in all, the Soviets in two days offered no new initiatives but did get most of what they came for: an accelerated timetable for arms control, a pledge of normal economic relations, and an endorsement from President Bush of all the reforms the Soviet leader has championed at home. Mikhail Gorbachev now takes the results of this meeting back to Moscow to brief his allies from rapidly changing Eastern Europe. He does so feeling that Moscow and Washington, as he put it, have left behind the epic of the Cold War and are on a new, long road to peace.

(ABC-Lead)

JENNINGS reports that Mr. Bush and Mr. Gorbachev talked about the German reunification question. Mr. Bush didn't commit himself and Mr. Gorbachev said again the two Germanies were two nations, and that was reality. On Czechoslovakia, Mr. Bush said he wanted the political evolution to continue. Mr. Gorbachev said no one can avoid this historical process. There has still been no apology for the Soviet-led invasion of Czechoslovakia in 1968.

(ABC-4)

JENNINGS asks ROBERT LEGVOLD of the Harriman Institute if he thinks the two leaders have thought about the long-range shape of Europe.

LEGVOLD: Almost certainly not. They've been working so hard at putting their own relationship...in order that they haven't yet been able to focus on the historic questions of what's to become of Europe [and] what's to become of Eastern Europe.

JENNINGS: ...This morning the Czechs and the East Germans were changing -- I'm not even sure Mr. Gorbachev and Mr. Bush knew about it. What does this say about their ability to control events in the future? Are they separate or together?

LEGVOLD: Almost certainly there is no leadership either in Moscow or Washington that could control events given their pace. Indeed, the real problem now is to simply comprehend what's going on. But in the near future they're going to have to begin to make an effort to begin managing the process to protect us against its hazards, against the instability, against the unpredictable aspects of the change that's under way.

JENNINGS: Let's talk about personalities. I didn't get the impression that there was a win or loss on a personal basis quotient from this summit. Did you get the same impression?

LEGVOLD: Indeed.... There were no winners or losers at this summit.

JENNINGS: So in this respect the two of them have accomplished what Mr. Reagan to some extent wanted to accomplish -- and President Bush -- a sort of a regular meeting to manage the relationship.

LEGVOLD: Exactly. And you noticed today that President Bush constantly came back to the theme of the importance of dialogue and how successful the meeting had been even though it hadn't resolved some basic differences between the two sides. (ABC-7)

MALTA MEETING/CONGRESSIONAL RESPONSE

JENNINGS: Reaction to the Malta summit in Washington has been swift and generally positive, among congressional leaders especially. On "This Week with David Brinkley," Senate Majority Leader Mitchell gave President Bush high marks for accelerating arms control talks and improving economic relations with the Soviets. The Senate's Minority Leader, Bob Dole, praised Mr. Bush for laying out the summit's agenda and proving his leadership in what Senator Dole called the global arena. (ABC-5)

NATO MEETING

ABC's BARRY DUNSMORE: Briefing the NATO allies used to mean telling them what the big boys had decided, but as the President arrived here in Brussels tonight he stressed his conviction that this too had changed. (TV coverage: President stepping off Air Force One.)

(PRESIDENT, on tarmac: "And tonight we stand at the crossroads of history on our way to a Europe whole and free. Europe is in the midst of the most profound transformation in four decades. Now, more than ever, this alliance of free nations remains the bedrock of peaceful change in Europe.")

DUNSMORE continues:

The President's NATO briefing tomorrow is more than just a courtesy; as the barriers between East and West are disappearing, Western Europeans are no longer prepared to allow their future to be decided in Washington, Moscow, or Malta. Notably, Britain's Prime Minister Thatcher is determined that in this period of uncertainty, the West must stand firm and give little. It is significant that President Bush set aside this evening to have dinner with West German Chancellor Kohl....

(TV coverage: President shaking hands with Kohl.)

Now that the superpowers are looking a lot less super, the Western Europeans are eager to participate more in the future of their continent.

(TV coverage: President sitting before fire with Kohl.)

To this end, they'll be meeting again next weekend...when they'll be defining the relationship between East and West and making decisions which may turn out to be much more important to the future of Europe than those taken this weekend in Malta.

(ABC-6)

EAST GERMANY

ABC's MIKE VON FREMD reports from East Berlin that people outraged by reports of massive corruption marched through the streets demanding the removal of everyone in power. They demonstrated in force outside the Central Committee Headquarters as the party leaders were meeting inside in emergency session. Minutes after the angry crowd arrived, Communist Party spokesman Guenter Schabowski was sent out to try to calm them. The boos turned to cheers when he announced that the entire leadership of the Communist Party, including chief Egon Krenz, yielded to the demonstrators' demands and resigned. Erich Honecker was thrown out of the party today and several of his former top aides have been arrested on corruption charges. Now that the leadership has resigned from the party, an interim commission has been established.

(JOERG VORHOLZER: "In this working commission -- and [this] is very important -- there is no member of the old Politburo.")

While the East Germans have succeeded in ousting the old guard, there is no group of new leaders ready to take over. The party is going to try to find candidates with popular support, but tonight it is the people who hold the power.

(ABC-2)

CZECHOSLOVAKIA

JENNINGS reports that the Czech prime minister today proposed the first government with non-communists in it since 1948 when the communists seized power. The opposition said it was unacceptable. Moreover, the opposition said it's an outrage.

ABC's JERRY KING reports that it was ironic that Gustav Husak should officially appoint the new government that has vowed to undo virtually everything he stood for. The opposition has demanded his resignation by next Sunday. The reviews for the new members of the government were hardly flattering: an average age only four years younger than the outgoing group. More importantly, only five non-communists out of 20. Even the official announcement of the government conceded the obvious.

(BOHUMIL URBAN, Deputy Prime Minister, through interpreter: "And I do admit that all the demands of the Civic Forum could not yet at this stage be respected.")

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KING continues:

One of the first things Prime Minister Adamec said at the ceremonial first meeting of his government was that, if necessary, its makeup could be improved. A Civic Forum spokesman tonight on state-run television called for another mass demonstration for Monday to pressure the authorities again. The spokesman said that too many new leaders were in the old government; we can only trust them if the government is changed completely, he said. (ABC-3)

PHILIPPINES

ABC's FORREST SAWYER reports government forces are saying they have now crushed the coup attempt against President Aquino. But some rebels are still holding out in luxurious hotels and high-rises in Manila's financial district. Aquino has ruled out a cease-fire with the rebels saying, what they started, we will finish. Hospital and Red Cross figures indicate at least 56 people have been killed since Friday.

ABC's KATHLEEN BARNES reports from Manila that Camp Aguinaldo remained in government hands despite grim rebel attempts to capture the symbolic and strategic garrison. Rebels pinned down in the fighting began to surrender. In the city's commercial district, rebels continue to hold strategically impregnable position on the tops of high-rise buildings. Thousands of residents, including several hundred Americans, are inside the rebel-controlled buildings. The next move is Aquino's and she faces a tough decision: either allow the insurrection to continue to erode her government's credibility or risk more lives in an effort to finally rout out the last of the rebels. (ABC-8)

U.S. PRISONS

SAWYER says a new government report states the federal prison population has doubled since 1980. The report says the nation's 70 federal prisons are operating at 56% above capacity. The key reasons: mandatory sentences and stricter parole practices. (ABC-9)

AIDS

SAWYER reports researchers say a new group of synthetic compounds has proven effective in blocking the growth of the AIDS virus in test-tube experiments. They caution the finding is only preliminary; it has not been tested on humans. (ABC-10)

FIRST LADY

SAWYER: While Raisa Gorbachev spent the weekend in Malta with her husband, Mrs. Bush was here in Washington and late this afternoon hosted a visit from this year's Kennedy Center honorees....

(TV coverage: First Lady speaking, then shaking hands with award recipients.) (ABC-11)

THIS WEEK WITH DAVID BRINKLEY

MODERATOR: DAVID BRINKLEY. PANEL: GEORGE WILL, SAM DONALDSON. GUESTS: GOV. SUNUNU, followed by ADM. CROWE, followed by SENS. DOLE AND MITCHELL.

GUEST: GOV. SUNUNU.

BRINKLEY: ...How well did [the meeting] go?

SUNUNU: I think the President said it at the news conference; he feels it went very, very well, we all feel it went well.... This has been an excellent meeting and the President feels that he's established not only a relationship but sort of an agenda for the near term with Mr. Gorbachev.

WILL: ...The standard of living in the Soviet Union was appalling when Mr. Gorbachev took over, it has declined rapidly in the five years since he took over. Did President Bush say, the U.S. wants you to succeed, but you can't possibly succeed with another five years of rapid decline, and did we indicate how we thought he might arrest this decline?

SUNUNU: The discussion on that issue was in the sense of what can we do to help you make the changes that you feel are necessary in order to restructure your economy...to try to refocus some of the resources that in the past have gone toward Soviet military.... What we are looking at are cooperative programs, not assistance programs.

WILL: ...Did Mr. Bush give any signals [on Soviet aid to Central America and the possible use of Soviet force in Eastern Europe or within the Soviet Union]. Did Mr. Bush give any warning signals on either of those?

SUNUNU: On Central America it was made as clear as it possibly could that we considered what was going on...as an issue of grave concern. I don't think the President minced any words at all that we thought that Nicaragua was supplying arms to the FMLN...was not a constructive thing to do. And he really emphasized his urgings that the Soviets use their influence to allow not only free and fair elections in Nicaragua...but to make sure that the freely elected...government El Salvador was not toppled by rebels armed by Nicaragua.... In terms of Eastern Europe, the focus there was more on the political reforms that were coming. There was a basic acknowledgment that these reforms are moving in a direction that Mr. Gorbachev feels comfortable with and I don't think there was any sense at all that there ought to be concern about the utilization of force in Eastern Europe....

DONALDSON: ...Two quick questions on arms control. I take it...both sides, believes there's going to be a START treaty this [coming] year, and what about a conventional arms treaty?

SUNUNU: They talked about three areas in arms control: START, the CFE proposal that the President put down back at NATO, and issues associated with the banning of chemical weapons. The President took the initiative in his early presentation to touch on all three of those rather directly, pushing for an agreement on chemical weapons, thinking that we are quite close and that we ought to close that gap quickly. Saying that when the President and Mr. Gorbachev got together again in late spring or early summer...that they ought to make sure that the minor differences are ironed out.... The President again emphasized that we would love to be able to sign a CFE agreement at a CFE summit some time next year.

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GUEST: ADM. CROWE.

BRINKLEY: ...In view of the changes [in Eastern Europe], we see in our own country a rush...to cut the military and to cut the spending.... What do you think about this. How far should we go?

CROWE: I would characterize it more as a panic. We have an awful lot of people trying to take advantage of this I think for reasons beyond security, that are not security reasons. They want the defense monies.... I think the international circumstances are changing and that probably justifies some kind of reappraisal.... But I wouldn't say it justifies the rush...we're seeing now.... I think we're facing a very dangerous and traumatic period in Eastern Europe now. We've seen the Wall crumble and we've seen a lot of people tell us what's wrong with the present system, but we've seen very little about what's going to replace it. And I think we're in for a long period of uncertainty and turmoil and maybe serious friction and instability.

WILL: ...Where, if anywhere, will the Soviet military say, we've reached the limit of our tolerance in Eastern Europe?

CROWE: ...I think we probably put too much emphasis on the Soviet military as a political force in the U.S.S.R.... I think they're very concerned, but more concerned about internal problems than external. And I believe the current leadership of the Soviet military is very closely wedded to Gorbachev.... I think the leadership of the army today does agree [with Gorbachev's course].

DONALDSON: A question on the Philippines.... Is it wise for the U.S. military to get involved in trying to save her government?

CROWE: It's a tough decision, I personally thought it was a wise decision on the part of the President.

GUESTS: SENS. DOLE & MITCHELL:

MITCHELL: I think it was a successful meeting. I think that the two principle objectives, which I had hoped would be accomplished, that is the beginnings of a better economic relationship with the Soviet Union, the trade steps that the President proposed, which I've been urging since May, have been taken or at least begun. And second, it appears as though...the arms control talks are on track to produce agreement by the next full summit in June.

DOLE: I believe they've established a relationship. I think we're a little short on specifics.... I'm a little concerned about trying to put a deadline on any arms control negotiation, I hope that wasn't done, I'm not certain. And I'm a little unclear on what really happened with reference to El Salvador and Nicaragua. But I think it was a good meeting....

BRINKLEY: There was a good deal of talk about trade.... Applying [MFN status] to the Soviet Union. Are you in favor of that?

MITCHELL: Yes, I'm for providing Most Favored Nation status. The reality is of course that it will not produce any significant increase in Soviet sales in this country.... I think it's a positive step....

DOLE: It's going to be a waiver of the Jackson-Vanik amendment.... President Bush sort of stuck with his position that he's prepared to do it once they in effect codify their emigration policies. So I think there should be a waiver of Jackson-Vanik. We ought to have a trade agreement with the Soviets.

WILL: ...Can you tell us how fast and how far you expect the [U.S. defense] budget to decline?

MITCHELL: I think first there's been a lot of premature, even wild, speculation about the amounts involved and the pace.... I think the discussion ought to center first on what is our policy in light of the changed circumstances in Eastern and Western Europe, what are our security interests? Do we still need to devote 60% of our defense budget to preparing for a land war in Europe? I think the answer clearly is no. Once we decide our policy then we should decide what forces we need to support that policy. I think we are going to see reductions, clearly, but I think the pace and amount of those reductions should await the kind of policy review and reanalysis that has not yet occurred.

DOLE: I hope, as the Admiral just stated, we don't have this panic. There's no question in my mind there are a lot of members of Congress who are going to figure out ways we ought to spend [the so-called peace dividend].... But I think we ought to be very careful, go very slowly, we shouldn't start unilateral disarmament policies in the U.S. until we know precisely what our long-range plans are. I'm hopeful that when we come back here in January, there's not going to be a mad rush by many of the liberals in the Congress to in effect start a disarmament policy.

DONALDSON asks MITCHELL: You've been critical of President Bush for not moving rapidly enough to get behind what's happening in Eastern Europe.... Do you now believe after Malta that he is moving fast enough for you?

MITCHELL: At Malta, the President's proposals, each of them, were proposals that I have been urging publicly for some months that he make.... So naturally I'm pleased in that respect.... I hope very much that the progress begun at Malta will continue.

DONALDSON asks DOLE: Are you worried that President Bush has become too quick to get behind Gorbachev, too imprudent?

DOLE: No, I don't think that's going to happen. I think President Bush has been prudent. This has really sort of a Bush summit, I mean no question about it. He laid out the agenda; I never heard Gorbachev.... And in my view Gorbachev acted responsibly. But we've got a lot of things to concern ourselves with..... President Bush is now back in the global arena. He's providing leadership and that's good for all of us.

DONALDSON: Was it wise for us to provide American support to keep Mrs. Aquno in power, and if it happens again to her, should we do it again?

MITCHELL: The decision by the President to provide air cover was a prudent and wise decision.... It's very unwise to speculate on what may or may not occur and what our reaction might be.

DOLE: ...I think we did the right thing.

WILL: The President has vetoed a bill passed overwhelmingly by both houses of Congress that would extend for four years essentially the immunity of Chinese students of having to go back to what could be persecution under the Chinese regime. Why do you think he did this? He says I've done the same thing administratively, I don't need your law. Do you think that's right and what are you going to do when you come back next January?

DOLE: I've had conversations with the White House. They believe that the President can do everything that's in the law, and if in fact that's done, then I wouldn't see any reason to pass another law.

MITCHELL: The President's decision was wrong. He caved into the Chinese government, and of all the countries in the world we ought not to be caving into it's that government. We're going to take the law up again and we're going to override his veto. It's a serious mistake by the President.

DISCUSSION SEGMENT

(TOM WICKER joins the panel.)

WILL: [The summit] clearly means a safer world precisely because [what] we just saw consisted of two bystanders in a boat.... They're just trying to make irreversible changes that people have insisted upon who were not represented on that boat.

DONALDSON: ...I'm not sure what was on the table at this summit.... All of these economic advantages that apparently President Bush put on the table have been on the table for some time.... So from the standpoint of new material, I don't see any. People say this was a Bush summit. I beg to differ. I think on balance it was a Gorbachev summit because if anyone got anything there, whether it was old or new, it will have been Gorbachev, not President Bush.

WICKER: ...The mere fact that the superpowers will no longer dominate the world, if that's the case, the mere fact that a lot of other forces are now being let loose, particularly in Eastern Europe, the...possible reunification of Germany and everything that that means, I think it doesn't necessarily mean a safer world. It means a world less likely to have a Soviet-American war, perhaps, but forces elsewhere in Eastern Europe, in the Middle East or somewhere could raise very difficult situations.

CBS's FACE THE NATION

MODERATOR: LESLEY STAHL. GUEST: SECRETARY BAKER.

STAHL: I asked [Secretary Baker] if he thought the Cold War was over and if the United States and the Soviet Union are now friends.

BAKER: We are moving from competition to dialogue and then to cooperation. And that move, I think, started a number of months ago and this meeting between the two leaders will certainly give it a major, major boost. I think it's fair to say that we are moving into the post post-War era.

STAHL: So are we friends?

BAKER: I think we're friends, but as you heard if you listened to the press conference, there are still differences between us.... But the relationship is very sound. This was a very, very constructive and productive meeting. It accomplished, I think, exactly what the President was seeking when he suggested it. And I know for a fact that the Soviets were very pleased with it as well.

STAHL: Mr. Bush came here with some presents for Mr. Gorbachev on the economy, virtually giving him his wish list.... You have always said you don't give anything away unless you get something in return. What did we get?

BAKER: We've made it very clear for a long time that we think it's important that perestroika succeed and that the current leadership in the Soviet Union succeeds. And the reason we think it's important is that will give us a more open, stable and secure Soviet Union. For some time now we have been talking to the Soviets about economic issues through the technical economic cooperation approach. So what the President did was say, I will support your observer membership in GATT but only after the Uruguay round is completed. And he also said, I will work with the Congress...to see if we can't repeal some of this legislation that prevents us from having more normal economic relations.

STAHL: Over and over in the news conference the President kept saying differences remain, and then he sort of honed in on Central America. Apparently you weren't satisfied with what the Chairman said about arms going into Nicaragua. You didn't get that kind of satisfaction, I assume.

BAKER: No, and that's one of the major sticking points between us and he's made that clear.... And it's not a case of our thinking that the Soviet Union is sending weapons to Nicaragua, because they've told us they're not and we believe them. But the Soviet Union has also told us that they are leaning on Nicaragua and Cuba not to send weapons to the FMLN. But that has not worked. So we're encouraging them to lean even harder.

STAHL: But you do believe they've been leaning on them.

BAKER: They tell us they have and we have no reason to disbelieve them. Either the Nicaraguans are lying to the Soviets or the Soviets are lying to us and we think it's the former....

STAHL: ...In your own opinion, can you get [START] ready for when Mr. Bush and Mr. Gorbachev meet in June?

BAKER: The treaty itself, I rather doubt it. And the proposal the President made was, let's solve all of the political issues by the time of the summit so then we can complete the textual work, and that takes four or five months...just to get it all transcribed into an appropriate text. But that would be looking then at possibly signing a strategic arms treaty toward the end of 1990....

STAHL: What was the discussion [on the question of German reunification]? What does he think about U.S. troops in Germany and did you get into that kind of a discussion?

BAKER: We didn't get into discussions that would revolve around lowered force levels, troop reductions and so forth, because we are there as a part of the NATO alliance. But I do have the sense...that the Soviets are not entirely unhappy with the fact that there are some American troops in Europe. After all, they have represented a force for stability for over 40 years. Change is taking place now very, very dynamically. You know, they're not saying we want you to keep all your troops in Europe, because we're both working on the conventional forces initiative the President announced last May.

STAHL: ...Are you at all concerned about conservatives back home criticizing Mr. Bush for going forward with these trade gifts to the Soviets before all the human rights issues have been resolved....?

BAKER: We have made so much progress in human rights over the course of the past 18 months in the Soviet Union it's almost too dramatic to even try and describe. We did focus on human rights today.... That's something we've always done in our meetings with the Soviets and we're going to continue to do.

STAHL: There's a report that Mrs. Aquino, when the coup attempt started in the Philippines, asked the U.S. to bomb the rebel strongholds and we turned her down. Is that true?

BAKER: I'm not going to comment on what she might or might not have asked us to do.... What you have here is people are trying through bullets and bayonettes to overthrow a duly and freely elected government. And we defend democracy, we defend democracy around the world....

GUEST: SEN. NUNN.

STAHL: What are your thoughts...about the summit, and did President Bush meet your expectations?

NUNN: I think it was a successful and constructive summit. I believe it was a very historic week, not only the meeting we've just seen..., but also the meeting...between Gorbachev and the Pope. I believe that meeting symbolized the end of...really a declaration of war of communism versus religion since World War II. I also think that Mother Nature played a real role...[in that she] was sending a broader signal that there are certain independent winds in the world that have their own momentum that are beyond the control of either superpower. -more-

STAHL: ...We have a policy that we're going to upgrade short-range nuclear missiles [in West Germany] by 1992. Is it time to abandon that policy?

NUNN: I believe it's time to take another look at how we modernize. I think we're going to continue to have to have a nuclear presence in Europe for some time to come.... But we've got to get conventional arms control and get the disparity between Soviet tank forces and ours down to an equal level, and hopefully even reduce that before we talk about further nuclear disarmament there. As far as modernization, though, I don't think the Lance missile is ever going to be deployed there. I think we need to start thinking in terms of air weapons that could be based on various countries rather than ground-based modernization.

STAHL: I'd like your opinion on the impetus the President is pushing for toward the START treaty. You hear Secretary Baker say he doesn't think they can get the START ready by June. Is there any concern on your part that they're pushing it too hard, that they may be rushing this?

NUNN: There's nothing wrong with the leaders giving a push to the arms control negotiators, but there would be a danger here if we pushed them so hard and so fast that we get a bad agreement rather than one that will stand the test of time.... The political side of the equation is getting out in front of the arms control side.... And that's going to create all sorts of expectations...that will not be able to be fulfilled on the timetable of expectations....

STAHL: There's been a lot of talk that President Bush hasn't been enthusiastic enough about the changes.... Is there any concern that we now may be becoming too euphoric about the changes and the new relationship with the Soviet Union?

NUNN: I think the relationship is friendlier.... But we're still going to have difficulties.... Central America is obviously still out there, Afghanistan is there, difficulties in the Middle East. So we haven't solved all the problems, but I believe the world should be gratified with the progress that is being made.

STAHL: Do you think this means that we can take deep cuts in our defense budget now...?

NUNN: The first thing we need to do is ask the administration to come forward with a new threat assessment. There is no doubt about the fact the changes in Eastern Europe have caused the threat to diminish.... We need to look at other parts of the world, for instance, has the threat changed in Korea, has the threat diminished in Japan? So we need to take a fresh look.

NBC's MEET THE PRESS

MODERATOR: Garrick Utley. PANEL: Tom Brokaw and John Cochran.
GUEST: General Scowcroft.

UTLEY: In the news conference with Bush and Gorbachev earlier today, both leaders said they have given their aides...specific instructions to advance the negotiations to reduce nuclear weapons and conventional forces in Europe. How specific are those instructions?

SCOWCROFT: They're fairly specific. First of all, their was guidance to the foreign ministers as to the START topics they should take up in January, and then more general guidance that we hope to have all of the major issues in START resolved by the time of the summit next June in order that a treaty could be signed somewhere in 1990.

UTLEY: Let's get specific here. Is the guidance to meet this deadline or do these guidelines include specific figures the foreign ministers haven't given?

SCOWCROFT: No, no. They do not include specific figures. All of these were fairly general, and it was more timetables than it was issues which were resolved between the two of them.

UTLEY: But in effect the order has gone out Bush and Gorbachev want agreements by the summit next summer?

SCOWCROFT: That's right.

COCHRAN: ...Based on what happened here in Malta, is it more likely now that you can have some fairly deep cuts in the Pentagon budget?

SCOWCROFT: It certainly isn't less likely, but I would be [wary] of saying deep cuts in the Pentagon budget.

BROKAW: Based on what we saw in the news conference today...obviously there are still differences about Central America. Did you put on the table before him the evidence that you have that if not the Soviet Union, certainly its clients, Cuba and Nicaragua, continue to send weapons into El Salvador.

SCOWCROFT: We didn't put it on the table specifically, that evidence. The President alluded to it in his presentation and then the two foreign ministers...were going to discuss it. Secretary Baker said he just didn't have a chance. But we will make that evidence available to them.

BROKAW: Is it your impression that President Gorbachev has gone to Cuba and/or Nicaragua and said to them, cool it, we don't want any more arms going to El Salvador while we're trying to resolve these wider issues of peace and war on a global scale?

SCOWCROFT: He says he has and I think there's no reason not to believe him. But if he has said it, it has not stuck. It has not taken hold.

COCHRAN: ...In the face-to-face meetings with President Bush, what did Gorbachev say in terms of how far he's prepared to let these [Eastern European] countries go towards capitalism, towards democratic governments...?

SCOWCROFT: What he said was that he believes fundamentally in self determination.... And he didn't put any limits on that.

COCHRAN: Do you, did President Bush, take all of this at face value? Are there any doubts in your minds in terms of what Gorbachev is prepared to allow to happen in Europe today?

SCOWCROFT: He seemed very sincere. Indeed, he seemed to take credit for what's happening in Eastern Europe as a reflection of what he's trying to do in the Soviet Union with perestroika.

BROKAW: The President is going to meet with Chancellor Kohl of West Germany. Will he encourage him to move forward even more rapidly with his concept of a federated Germany in which you have, in effect, two governments, one country?

SCOWCROFT: I see no reason he should suggest that we move forward even faster. I think that the President feels events should take their own timing and velocity.... Let me put it this way. The President will certainly not stand in the way of German reunification. At the same time, the Soviet Union is very nervous about events in Germany. So again with the idea that we move slowly, cautiously, to keep things going, not to destabilize it to the point this whole process could be disrupted. I think that's what the President is likely to talk about.

COCHRAN: It's reported in the Washington Post this morning that President Aquino asked President Bush to permit American planes to make air strikes on rebel-held targets during this rebel insurrection in the past several days, and that the President refused. True?

SCOWCROFT: What we agreed to do was in a way a kind of functional equivalent. And that is to fly cover over two airfields.... We made it clear to her that we did not want to get into the business of killing Filipinos.

COCHRAN: Let me go back to what happened here on Malta. President Bush offered some limited economic help to President Gorbachev. Now, President Gorbachev represents a superpower. Was he pleased or offended?

SCOWCROFT: Well, limited help, you have to define that more carefully. We talked about a trade agreement as a precondition for most-favored-nation.... We talked about the Soviet Union getting observer status at GATT. But, you know, that's the kind of thing. We're not talking about economic aid in that sense....

BROKAW: ...Give us your best vision about what is going to happen. Has this been a triumph for democracy and liberal thinking throughout the world, as some people have suggested...or are we merely in a transition to a new phase that we cannot yet be certain about how it's going to take hold?

SCOWCROFT: I think there's no question that we're in a new phase. The world in which we all grew up and know that's so familiar, the kind of confrontational world between the United States and the Soviet Union is changing. The post-World War II world is collapsing about us, and I think it's premature to say what will follow. It's a very exciting time but a very perilous time because it could still blow up. I don't think it will, but we have to move very cautiously and prudently.

UTLEY: ...Could it not be said that...Malta is in many ways as important as Yalta was?

SCOWCROFT: I hope it will prove to be. The reason the President doesn't like the Yalta reference is not only from the political consequences of Yalta and what happened, but there it was the great powers settling the fate of Europe and the President said...it's not up to us and it's not up to the Soviet Union to settle Europe. It's up to everybody involved....

BROKAW: ...What was it like out on the Belknap? ...Was it terribly uncomfortable and was it a good idea to make these arrangements under these kinds of dicey conditions?

SCOWCROFT: Yes, I think it was good to make these arrangement. I don't think they interfered with the meetings in any significant way. And yes, it was slightly uncomfortable on the Belknap last night.

COCHRAN: ...Did Gorbachev indicate he just can't control Castro?

SCOWCROFT: He did say that he had urged Castro to get along with perestroika, to follow the Eastern European example. But then he said, after all, I believe in self-determination, now, so Mr. Castro can take his own course.

PANEL DISCUSSION (JOHN DANCY joins the panel.)

COCHRAN: ...George Bush could have said Gorbachev was lying [regarding arms in Central America]. Instead, George Bush said: I believe what Gorbachev is telling me and I believe that the Nicaraguans are lying to Gorbachev. In effect, Bush is saying: You are not a crook, Mikhail Gorbachev. I think it's very important that this was out on the table early on. And it removed, I think, what could have been a rather nasty atmosphere.... Basically what they've done is agree to disagree....

DANCY: I was interested by the fact today that the Soviets, and Gerasimov particularly, tried to drag George Bush kicking and screaming to a declaration that the Cold War was over and he would not do it. He would not say the words.

UTLEY: Didn't we see a change in our President at this Malta summit? At his news conference this afternoon, he was saying to White House journalists, he was saying: I'm going to push the bureaucracy to get these arms agreements by this summer.... This is not George Bush being passive George Bush. He's going to go out there and kick some rear ends, on the American side, assuming Gorbachev's doing the same thing.

COCHRAN: Adrenaline was flowing in George Bush today.

INSIDE WASHINGTON

MODERATOR: Gordon Peterson. PANEL: Jack Kilpatrick, Charles Krauthammer, Carl Rowan, Strobe Talbott.

Program begins with a discussion of Gorbachev's meeting with the Pope before moving to the Malta meeting.

ON THE MALTA MEETING:

PETERSON: Once again, Mr. Gorbachev has upstaged President Bush. President Bush had not even left for Malta and Mr. Gorbachev was on center stage.

ROWAN: Mr. Gorbachev managed to upstage himself.... Who, before this summit, would pull off this deal at the Vatican?

TALBOTT: But the weather upstaged both of them, and I think in this case, I know it's a cliché, but I think the weather is really kind of a metaphor for history here. What's been going on at the summit is that you have the two leaders of the superpowers trying to tell each other and tell the world they still are the leaders of true superpowers and that they still have some control over events and along comes some gale force winds to remind them that they don't have that much control.

KRAUTHAMMER: I think that's half right, but of the two leaders the one who really doesn't have things under control is Gorbachev. After all, it's his empire which collapsed last month and not ours....

TALBOTT: ...But which of the two leaders -- Bush or Gorbachev -- is getting credit around the world for leadership, for vision, for being in some kind of control?

KRAUTHAMMER: Who cares about credit? If Gorbachev gets the credit for letting his empire dissolve, I'd give him double credit. Let him dissolve his own Soviet Union.... Let him give up Nicaragua and get even more applause. He can have applause and we'll have pieces of his empire.

KILPATRICK: Let me rise to the defense of our President just for a minute. I know Gorby is a master of public relations and image-making and so on, but I kind of like the way President Bush has approached this -- very calm, composed....

TALBOTT: ...I would not fault President Bush on the substance of his policy. It just seems that he has not risen much to the occasion of articulating, of enunciating of what he calls the vision thing. He has appeared to be sort of passive and applauding tepidly rather than in some sense --

KRAUTHAMMER: But you don't have to have a vision when the other guy's committing suicide. All you have to have is patience and discipline. And I think he's doing exactly the right thing.

ON THE PHILIPPINES/ATTEMPTED COUP:

TALBOTT: In so doing [dispatching planes], I'm sure the President increased his bargaining power as the United States tries to hang on to those military bases out there.... I think there's a big question whether Aquino can survive the 7th or the 8th [coup attempts]....

ROWAN: ...You can bet the people who don't like Aquino will be in the streets talking about U.S. military intervention -- and they'll be attacking those bases and bombing cars and shooting soldiers. So this is not necessarily a winning deal on our part.

KILPATRICK: Resenting. Exactly.

TALBOTT: ...Of course, [the President] had his mind on other things. In fact, I would say the attempted coup...produced the scariest line of the week out of the White House, which is: Here at the White House in charge of the crisis is Vice President Dan Quayle.

KILPATRICK: Now, now.

TALBOTT: I think...one reason he wanted to move very quickly on this was that he had the Panama coup in mind when he was accused of dragging his feet and being indecisive.

KRAUTHAMMER: And particularly in these days of people power in Eastern Europe, where we're getting used to revolutions in which people are able to bring down governments without any use of force, I think this is a good reminder that by the use of two planes, apparently, over a couple of air bases, we were able to save a democratic government in the Philippines, that tanks and planes are not obsolete in world affairs and that our willingness to use them can be extremely important....

ON EL SALVADOR:

KRAUTHAMMER: The Soviets promised it [no new arms to Central America] in the summit between foreign ministers...and I think that our State Department feels cheated and hoodwinked. There's a sense that either the Soviets were not playing straight then or they're not playing straight now on this issue.

ROWAN: You know, we went into those talks in Malta with a little embarrassment. We're talking to the Soviets about not helping rebels and it turns out we're sending arms to the Angolan rebels again.

TALBOTT: And to Afghanistan. The Soviets are using Central America for leverage on us over Afghanistan.

KILPATRICK: That deal in Afghanistan was blown up by the communists, not by us. I mean, when do we stop helping our friends?

ROWAN: You can say that about [the Soviets aiding their friends in] El Salvador.

CNN's CAPITAL GANG

MODERATOR: Pat Buchanan. PANEL: Albert Hunt, Frank Shields, Alexander Haig; with Robert Novak from Malta.

ON MALTA:

NOVAK: ...What surprised me -- and I think it surprised a lot of people -- was how forthcoming President Bush was [during his first meeting with Gorbachev]. He said for example that they thought they would get a START agreement by the June summit.... That means a lot of pressure on the U.S. to make commitments on missiles and on things that have been in disagreement for years. He's agreed to observer status at the trade organization GATT; he really excited Gorbachev, I'm told, with all of the proposals he made for technical assistance, trade negotiations. And he did all of this even though Gorbachev continued to stonewall on the question of aid to the guerrillas in El Salvador.... The President did bring it up, he made a very strong point on it.... They agreed on nothing [regarding aid to the FMLN], but it didn't keep them from going ahead with the other commitments. And the reason is that they believe that Gorbachev has gone so far in Eastern Europe toward democracy, toward even privatization, that the President can [desist] on Central America.

BUCHANAN: Should the U.S. go forward with this big economic bailout of sorts of the Soviet Union if they give us nothing in Central America?

HAIG: No, I don't think we should go with a bailout in any event, regardless of Central America. We should be somewhat more forthcoming, perhaps, with Jackson-Vanik...and perhaps some other consultative economic assistance, but very, very limited....

HUNT: I think we have every right to get something on Central America, and elsewhere too. The Soviets spend something like \$15 to \$20 billion a year in Cuba, Ethiopia and Afghanistan and other places, and I think that we have a substantive case to be made and say basically: Your economy is in shambles, you're not going to spend this kind of money.... This is going to be a terribly important summit even if it is cut short by bad weather. Just look at what's happened in the four-and-a-half weeks since they announced the summit: You've had communist regimes topple in East Germany, Bulgaria, Czechoslovakia, the U.S. defense secretary is talking about a \$180 billion cuts in our Pentagon budget, and the Berlin Wall's toppled.

BUCHANAN asks HAIG: Can we bring home a strategic arms agreement that's truly in our interests in six months?

HAIG: No, this would be very risky.... I think we ought to be very, very careful. First, Gorbachev is not the cause of all of these wonderful things; he's a catalyst. The cause is the failure and the collapse of Marxist-Leninism. And we shouldn't build all this on Mr. Gorbachev; we should build it on our interests.

HUNT: ...It's important that we proceed on the proper course here. I think that the first thing that ought to be done is some kind of European integration, '92, we ought to accelerate it. Margaret Thatcher is wrong.

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White House News Summary - Sunday, December 3, 1989 -- C-14

ON THE GORBACHEV'S MEETING WITH THE POPE:

BUCHANAN asks NOVAK: What is the take over there in Malta on Gorbachev's visit with the Pope?

NOVAK: It was a stunner here because once again Gorbachev plays the PR game beautifully. He gets all the world headlines, while President Bush is shaking hands with the boys on the Forrestal. He's getting the sailors applause and Gorbachev is getting world applause. But the fascinating thing about it is when Gorbachev in Vatican City said he believes in separation of church and state...that to me is even more stunning than even democracy in Eastern Europe.

ON THE PHILIPPINES/ATTEMPTED COUP:

BUCHANAN: Was the President right to intervene here?

SHIELDS: Bold decisiveness was the order of the day. No Panama revisited or anything of the sort here. I think that Mrs. Aquino took a real risk. Nationalists in the Philippines on both the left and the right will not be quick to forgive her for bringing U.S. armed intervention. I think that one has to conclude -- the Bush Administration did conclude -- that the fall of that government to a coup was unacceptable.

HAIG: Absolutely, he [the President] was right on the mark.

HUNT: I think the President did the right thing. I think what's really encouraging is that there are indications that he learns from his mistakes. Panama, as Mark said, was a dreadful mistake, and this time the whole system worked well. Cory Aquino is in deep trouble, however....

OUTRAGE OF THE WEEK:

NOVAK: President Bush, on his way to the Malta summit, announced he was vetoing the bill to provide permanent residence for Chinese dissident students. They're going to be able to stay here anyway and the President rightly says he doesn't want Congress taking over foreign policy responsibilities. But he was acting to kowtow to the Chinese government which said it would absolutely deteriorate relations with us if he signed that bill. The President knuckled under.

HAIG: The President was right on the mark.

HUNT: As uncomfortable as this makes me feel, Bob Novak is absolutely right and Al Haig is absolutely wrong....

SHIELDS: I'm going to...sign up with Novak again on this one....

MCLAUGHLIN GROUP

MODERATOR: John McLaughlin. PANEL: Fred Barnes, Arnaud de Borchgrave, Jack Germond, Morton Kondracke.

ON THE MALTA MEETING:

MCLAUGHLIN: Why is it that George Bush and his staff let Gorbachev steal the entire run-up to the summit? And when the world's newspapers write their headlines next Monday and Tuesday about this summit, what will they say?

DE BORCHGRAVE: Superpowers scuttle Cold War. And secondly...chart new course for the 90s.

BARNES: The headline, I think, will be something like Gorby-Bush in love tryst. Basically the summit's a love-in and it's going to promote exactly what Bush claims he's trying to not have, and it's his phrase: "uncalled for euphoria." I'm afraid we're going to get too much of that, And the budget cuts in defense that the Bush Administration has stupidly talked about ahead of time, before getting a deal with the Soviets, are going to become inevitable.

GERMOND: The headlines are going to say that Bush, Gorbachev agree on arms reductions, or arms and manpower reductions, because they will.

KONDRACKE: I have two for you. First one: Bush offers Gorby winter airlift in case of famine.... In other words, if it looks like Gorbachev is going to go down the tubes because people are starving to death, we're going to helicopter -- The second one: Bush counters Gorby Eurosummit idea with revisit to Helsinki. That is, instead of the common European home and the European summit, which will exclude the United States, Bush will counter with a return to what's called the CFCE process out of Helsinki in 1975 to have the United States and Canada included.

GERMOND: This whole concentration on what the headlines say, and on scene stealing and public relations, sort of misses the point. First of all, there is no way that Bush can compete with Gorbachev in this endeavor because Gorbachev is the one who has concessions to make.... And the fact is most people in the world don't care. They don't care who gets the headlines; they don't care who gets the attention.

ON EL SALVADOR:

MCLAUGHLIN: What do you think of Gerasimov's denial of Nicaraguan involvement in what's going on in El Salvador?

DE BORCHGRAVE: I believe that. That may surprise you. I don't think the Soviets are involved in El Salvador or Nicaragua at this time. In fact, Castro's become a great embarrassment to the Soviet Union and I'm sure that will be very high on the list of topics to be discussed in Malta, that the Soviets have to apply more pressure on Castro to tell the Sandinistas, to knock it off.

MCLAUGHLIN: Do you think that Gorby's going to ask Bush to ask Kohl to tone down the talk on German reunification?

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BARNES: He certainly wants that talk toned down and...Bush would be crazy to do it. I mean, here Kohl with his German reunification talk...has all of the sudden stolen the issue and made himself electable again....

KONDRACKE: There's one thing here that Bush really ought to do and that is to demonstrate Western generosity both toward Gorbachev with airlift -- it's not on the script, but I think it would be a great move to guarantee Gorbachev that if things get really bad in the Soviet Union this winter, as they might well, and do the same thing for Eastern Europe.

GERMOND: It seems to me that the whole notion of Bush making big concessions in terms of offers of economic help do depend on Gorbachev indicating in some way that he is sympathetic to our concerns about El Salvador and Afghanistan....

ON THE "PEACE DIVIDEND":

BARNES: One other thing that's going to happen as an aftermath of this summit and that is there's going to be much more talk about the peace dividend -- in other words, the money that's going to be saved from the defense budget to be spent on other things. And you will see -- I predict at any rate -- all these Democrats and Republicans who worried about the deficit now aren't going to be worried about it any more. They're going to want to spend that money, probably on wasteful programs.

ON THE PHILIPPINE COUP ATTEMPT:

MCLAUGHLIN: Did George Bush do the right thing...?

BARNES: He did, but more precisely it was Vice President Quayle who handled the crisis management.... He had to convince President Bush on the plane flying to Malta. The White House aides were not initially convinced that it was a serious situation, and it was....

DE BORCHGRAVE: She brought this upon herself. About a month ago, she started pushing the idea to take the constabulary away from the military and that is the largest single segment of the military. This caused a lot of agitation in the military ranks....

MCLAUGHLIN: Also, the army is disturbed by her willingness to negotiate with the People's Liberation Army.

KONDRACKE: ...I think Fred is exactly right. The Bush Administration for once acted with swiftness and did exactly the right thing. They got a statement out right on time that could be rebroadcast in the Philippines over and over and over again that we were on her side, and secondly put those planes in the air to capture control of the air and save her regime.

GERMOND: There isn't any question that Bush did the right thing. I didn't know he'd done it at the urging of Vice President Quayle. Bush had to make this decision. The important thing is we have to understand that we've got to prop her up constantly...because she's going to have one of these things after another....

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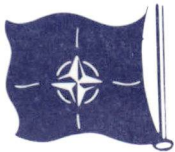
President BUSH



President's personal files
for Dec 4 '89

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Following Page

The Honorable George Bush
President of the United States
of America



On the occasion of the Special Session
of the North Atlantic Council.

The Chairman of the North Atlantic Council

Secretary General of the North Atlantic Treaty Organization

requests the pleasure of the company of

The Honorable George Bush

President of the United States of America

for a lunch at NATO, Private Dining Room,

on Monday 4th December, 1989, at 12.45 p.m.

A.S.V.P.

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BRUXELLES SPECIAL

- 4 DEC. 1989

Nom - Name

The Honorable GEORGE BUSH

President of the

Delegation

UNITED STATES

Chef du Service de Sécurité

Head of Security Service

**CETTE CARTE DOIT ETRE PORTEE
VISIBLEMENT**



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cc *BPB*

30

C O P Y
from ORM

Dear Bob:

Thank you for your letter of October 16.

It was good to see that Jim Baker recommended you for the "Open Skies" position, where you will do your usual great job. Knowing your talents, I wanted to ensure that you had a meaningful role in the Administration.

Good luck in this challenging assignment, and my best to Peggy.

With best wishes,

Sincerely,

A

GEORGE

The Honorable Robert L. Barry
3813 Legation Street, N.W.
Washington, D.C. 20015

GB/SG/ba (PC--11PRESC)

cc: Brent Scowcroft
Jan Burmeister
BARB BUSH

~~FOR THE PRESIDENT TO SEE AND SIGN~~

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