

Originally Processed With FOIA(s):
2009-0275-S

FOIA Number:
2009-0275-S

FOIA MARKER

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

Record Group/Collection: George H.W. Bush Presidential Records
Collection/Office of Origin: Scowcroft, Brent, Collection
Series: Presidential Correspondence Files
Subseries: Head of State Message Files

OA/ID Number: 91115
Folder ID Number: 91115-002

Folder Title:
Japan (Outgoing) 1989 - 1993

Stack:	Row:	Section:	Shelf:	Position:
G	34	3	2	2

Withdrawal/Redaction Sheet

(George Bush Library)

Doc. No. / Type	Subject/Title	Date	Restriction	Classification
01. Cable	Re: Message from President Bush to the Prime Minister (3 pp.)	7/6/89	(b)(1)	S
02. Cable	Re: Message to Prime Minister Kaifu from President Bush (2 pp.)	10/4/89	(b)(1)	S
03. Cable	Re: Message from President Bush to Prime Minister Kaifu (1 pp.)	10/31/89	(b)(1)	S
04. Cable	Re: Message to Prime Minister Toshiki Kaifu from President Bush (3 pp.)	6/4/90	(b)(1)	S
05. Cable	Re: Message to Prime Minister Toshiki Kaifu from President Bush (2 pp.)	6/26/90	(b)(1)	S
06. Cable	Re: Message to Prime Minister Toshiki Kaifu from President Bush (1 pp.)	7/20/90	(b)(1)	S
07. Cable	Re: Message to Prime Minister Kaifu of Japan from President Bush (2 pp.)	9/7/90	(b)(1)	C
08. Cable	Re: Message to Prime Minister Kaifu from President Bush (2 pp.)	1/9/91	(b)(1)	C
09. Cable	Re: Message to Prime Minister Kaifu from President Bush (2 pp.)	3/22/91	(b)(1)	S
10. Cable	Re: Message to Prime Minister Kaifu from President Bush (4 pp.)	7/3/91	(b)(1)	S
11. Cable	Re: Message to Prime Minister Kaifu from President Bush (3 pp.)	7/11/91	(b)(1)	S

Page 1 of 2

Collection:

Record Group: Bush Presidential Records
Office: Scowcroft, Brent, Files
Series: Presidential Correspondence Files
Subseries: Head of State Message Files
WHORM Cat.:
File Location: Japan (Outgoing) 1989 - 1993

Pinksheet Number: cap967
OA/ID Number: 91115-002
Date Closed: 2/12/2009
FOIA/Sys Case #: 2009-0275-S
Re-review Case #:
P-2/P-5 Review Case #:

Withdrawal/Redaction Sheet

(George Bush Library)

Doc. No. / Type	Subject/Title	Date	Restriction	Classification
12. Cable	Re: Message to Prime Minister Kiichi Miyazawa from President Bush (1 pp.)	11/8/91	(b)(1)	C
13. Cable	Re: Message from President Bush to Prime Minister Miyazawa (2 pp.)	2/12/92	(b)(1)	S
14. Cable	Re: Message from President Bush to Prime Minister Miyazawa (1 pp.)	5/31/92	(b)(1)	C
15. Cable	Re: Message to Prime Minister Miyazawa from President Bush (2 pp.)	6/26/92	(b)(1)	C
16. Cable	Re: Message to Prime Minister Miyazawa from President Bush (2 pp.)	8/17/92	(b)(1)	C
17. Cable	Re: Message to Prime Minister Major Be Shared with Prime Minister Miyazawa (1 pp.)	8/19/92	(b)(1)	C
18. Cable	Re: Message to Prime Minister Miyazawa from President George Bush (1 pp.)	9/11/92	(b)(1)	S
19. Cable	Re: Message from President Bush to Prime Minister Miyazawa (2 pp.)	9/25/92	(b)(1)	C
20. Cable	Re: Message to Prime Minister Miyazawa from President Bush (2 pp.)	11/11/92	(b)(1)	S

Page 2 of 2

Collection:

Record Group: Bush Presidential Records
Office: Scowcroft, Brent, Files
Series: Presidential Correspondence Files
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P-2/P-5 Review Case #:

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<TO>TO FOREIGN MINISTRY

<TEXT>ZEM

~~SECRET~~ VIA BATMAN CHANNELS

QQQQ

SECTION 01 OF 02

PLEASE DELIVER THE FOLLOWING MESSAGE FROM PRESIDENT BUSH
TO THE PRIME MINISTER.

BEGIN TEXT

DEAR MR. PRIME MINISTER,

AS YOU KNOW, I AM IN THE FINAL STAGES OF PREPARING FOR MY VISITS TO
POLAND AND HUNGARY ENROUTE TO PARIS FOR THE BICENTENNIAL AND THE
ECONOMIC SUMMIT. I LOOK FORWARD TO SEEING YOU THERE, BUT EVEN IN
ADVANCE OF THAT WOULD LIKE TO BEGIN SHARING THOUGHTS WITH YOU ABOUT
HOW BEST TO ASSIST AND ENCOURAGE THE POLITICAL AND ECONOMIC REFORM
TRENDS SO DRAMATICALLY IN EVIDENCE IN EASTERN EUROPE.

POLAND AND HUNGARY ARE UNDERTAKING BOLD EXPERIMENTS IN RESTRUCTURING
THEIR POLITICAL AND ECONOMIC SYSTEMS. IT IS VITAL THAT THESE
EXPERIMENTS SUCCEED. IF THEY DO, NOT ONLY THE PEOPLES OF POLAND AND
HUNGARY, BUT COUNTLESS OTHERS AROUND THE WORLD WHO ARE WAITING AND
WATCHING WILL CONCLUDE NOT ONLY THAT FREEDOM WORKS BUT THAT FREEDOM
IS ATTAINABLE. THE FATE OF THESE COUNTRIES, AND THE COURSE OF
HISTORY, MAY HINGE ON HOW WE FACE THIS CHALLENGE TOGETHER IN PARIS.

NATURALLY, THE FUTURE OF POLAND AND HUNGARY RESTS PRINCIPALLY WITH
THE POLES AND THE HUNGARIANS. YET THE INDUSTRIALIZED DEMOCRACIES
HAVE AN INDISPENSABLE ROLE TO PLAY IN SUPPORT OF DEMOCRATIC FORCES,
SUCH AS SOLIDARITY, THAT HAVE ASKED PLAINLY AND DIRECTLY FOR HELP.
THIS SUPPORT MUST INCLUDE ECONOMIC ASSISTANCE TO ENCOURAGE AND ASSIST
IN MOLDING THE FUNDAMENTAL CHANGES THAT ARE NEEDED IN THE WAY THESE
ECONOMIES OPERATE.

I HOPE THAT YOUR GOVERNMENT WILL GIVE CAREFUL CONSIDERATION TO THE
OPPORTUNITY BEFORE US, THE INDUSTRIALIZED NATIONS, IN POLAND AND
HUNGARY. JAPAN IS UNIQUELY POSITIONED TO CONTRIBUTE TO THIS PROCESS
BASED ON A SINCERE MOTIVATION TO PROMOTE INTERNATIONAL MARKET FORCES.

I ALSO BELIEVE THAT REFORM IN EASTERN EUROPE, TOGETHER WITH REFORM IN
THE SOVIET UNION ITSELF, CAN REDUCE TENSIONS ON THE PERIPHERY OF THE
U.S.S.R. OUR COMMON EFFORTS TOWARD THESE GOALS WILL HAVE
FAR-REACHING SIGNIFICANCE FOR THE ENTIRE FREE WORLD.

I WOULD LIKE TO PROPOSE THAT THE SEVEN GOVERNMENTS OF THE ECONOMIC
SUMMIT GROUP JOIN TOGETHER TO ESTABLISH A WESTERN CONSORTIUM TO
SUPPORT ECONOMIC REFORM BASED ON POLITICAL PLURALISM IN POLAND AND
HUNGARY. THE PURPOSE WOULD BE TO ENSURE THAT OUR RESPECTIVE
ASSISTANCE EFFORTS HAVE MAXIMUM EFFECT AND THAT WE SPEAK IN CONCERT.
THIS IS IMPORTANT IF WE ARE TO EDUCATE AND ENCOURAGE THE LEADERS OF
BOTH COUNTRIES TO UNDERTAKE THE DIFFICULT ECONOMIC REFORMS REQUIRED

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PER E.O. 13526

2009-0770-MR
11/26/2014 MM

FOR SUCCESS.

AS I ENVISION THE CONSORTIUM, IT WOULD BE HEADED BY THE DEPUTY FOREIGN MINISTERS OF THE NATIONS REPRESENTED AT THE PARIS SUMMIT. THE GROUP WOULD COORDINATE ECONOMIC ASSISTANCE TO POLAND AND HUNGARY SO AS TO ENSURE THAT THESE RESOURCES ARE SUFFICIENT, TO AVOID REDUNDANCY AND TO ASSURE APPROPRIATE CONDITIONALITY. THE CONSORTIUM WOULD, OF COURSE, WORK CLOSELY WITH THE POLES AND THE HUNGARIANS TO DEVELOP A STRATEGY FOR ECONOMIC REFORM AND RECOVERY.

WHAT I HAVE IN MIND IS AN AD HOC ARRANGEMENT THAT WOULD DERIVE ITS IMPETUS FROM THE PARIS SUMMIT WITHOUT BEING FORMALLY LINKED TO IT. A CONNECTION WITH THE ECONOMIC SUMMIT MIGHT HELP ALLAY SOVIET SUSPICIONS THAT THE CONSORTIUM WOULD HAVE A POLITICAL/ MILITARY OBJECTIVE. THE LEADERSHIP WOULD COME FROM THE SEVEN, AND THE SIZE AND OPERATING PROCEDURES OF THE CONSORTIUM COULD BE REVISED IN A PRAGMATIC WAY ONCE WE GAINED EXPERIENCE. A SIMILAR CONSORTIUM, CREATED WITHIN THE OECD, WORKED WELL IN HELPING TURKEY THROUGH SOME ESPECIALLY DIFFICULT TIMES IN THE EARLY 1980S. AS IN THAT EXAMPLE, THE CONSORTIUM WOULD COOPERATE WITH EXISTING INSTITUTIONS SUCH AS THE IMF, THE WORLD BANK AND THE PARIS CLUB AND WOULD IN NO WAY UNDERCUT THEM.

I BELIEVE THAT THE CREATION IN PARIS OF SUCH A MECHANISM FOR ASSISTANCE AND COOPERATION WOULD SEND A POWERFUL MESSAGE TO THE DEMOCRATIC FORCES AND PEOPLES OF POLAND AND HUNGARY THAT THE INDUSTRIAL DEMOCRACIES ARE READY TO WORK WITH THEM AS POLITICAL AND ECONOMIC REFORMS PROCEED. IT WOULD BE A NEW MEANS OF STRENGTHENING OUR DIALOGUE WITH THESE COUNTRIES AND OVERCOMING THE DIVISION OF EUROPE. AND, IF HANDLED PROPERLY, IT COULD HAVE POSITIVE REPERCUSSIONS ELSEWHERE IN EASTERN EUROPE.

IN CONNECTION WITH THE CONCEPT OF A CONSORTIUM, I HAVE DECIDED TO ASK THE US CONGRESS TO APPROPRIATE SUBSTANTIAL RESOURCES, IN THE RANGE OF \$100 MILLION, FOR POLAND AND HUNGARY TO BE USED TO PROMOTE PRIVATE

#0121

ZEM

~~SECRET~~ VIA BATMAN CHANNELS

QQQQ

FINAL SECTION OF 02

AND DECENTRALIZED ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT IN BOTH COUNTRIES. THE GRANTS WOULD HELP TO ASSIST PRIVATE ENTREPRENEURS, PROVIDE NEEDED OUTSIDE INVESTMENT, STRENGTHEN THE INFRASTRUCTURE FOR PRIVATE ENTERPRISE, AND FUND NEW TRAINING, MANAGEMENT INITIATIVES AND OTHER PROJECTS.

PERHAPS JAPAN AND OTHER INTERESTED NATIONS MIGHT PROVIDE DIFFERENT FORMS OF ASSISTANCE SO THAT, TOGETHER, WE MIGHT ATTACK A WIDE RANGE OF OBJECTIVES. FOR EXAMPLE, ONE NATION MIGHT HELP WORKERS RETRAIN AND ADJUST TO NEW JOBS; ANOTHER MIGHT FOCUS ON IMPROVING THE QUALITY OF THE ENVIRONMENT (PERHAPS AS PART OF THE BROAD WESTERN ENVIRONMENTAL INITIATIVE I SUGGESTED IN MY SPEECH AT MAINZ AT THE END OF MAY). HOW BEST TO MAKE OUR RESPECTIVE ASSISTANCE PROGRAMS COMPLEMENTARY COULD BE ANOTHER MATTER FOR DISCUSSION IN THE CONSORTIUM.

IN ADDITION, I BELIEVE THAT IT IS TIME TO UNDERTAKE A SUSTAINABLE RESCHEDULING OF POLAND'S DEBTS. WE SHOULD BE PREPARED TO RESCHEDULE POLAND'S DEBT EXPEDITIOUSLY IN A GENEROUS AND FLEXIBLE MANNER THAT PERMITS POLAND TO MAKE ITS PAYMENTS AND STILL IMPORT THE ESSENTIALS FOR ECONOMIC RECOVERY. A FIRST STEP SHOULD BE RESCHEDULING IN

ADVANCE OF AN IMF STAND-BY AGREEMENT.

FINALLY, I BELIEVE THAT WE SHOULD INFORM THE WORLD BANK THAT WE SUPPORT BANK APPROVAL OF VIABLE PROJECT LOANS FOR POLAND, AS SOON AS THE NECESSARY REFORMS THERE ARE UNDERWAY. THE BANK STAFF HAS ALREADY PROCESSED TWO LOANS TOTALLING \$325 MILLION, FOR INDUSTRIAL RESTRUCTURING AND FOR AGRICULTURAL DEVELOPMENT, THAT SEEM WORTHY ON THEIR ECONOMIC MERITS.

I LOOK FORWARD TO HEARING YOUR VIEWS CONCERNING THESE INITIATIVES. ALTHOUGH THERE WILL BE OPPORTUNITIES FOR FURTHER DISCUSSION WHEN WE MEET IN PARIS, I WOULD WELCOME ANY COMMENTS YOU MIGHT HAVE BEFORE MY DEPARTURE FOR WARSAW ON JULY 9. I WILL ALSO BE WRITING TO OUR OTHER SUMMIT SEVEN COLLEAGUES.

RIGHT NOW, AND ESPECIALLY IN LIGHT OF WHAT HAS HAPPENED IN CHINA, THERE IS NO GLOBAL ISSUE MORE IMPORTANT IN DETERMINING OUR FUTURE THAN THE OUTCOME OF THE CHANGES NOW UNDERWAY IN EASTERN EUROPE. THE IDEAS THAT I HAVE PROPOSED, ALONG WITH YOUR OWN IDEAS, AND THOSE OF OUR SUMMIT PARTNERS CAN, I BELIEVE, HELP TO SHAPE A NEW REALITY FOR EUROPE -- AND FOR THE WORLD.

SINCERELY,
GEORGE

END TEXT

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#0122

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<TO>TO FOREIGN MINISTRY JAPAN

<TEXT>ZEM

~~SECRET~~ EYES ONLY VIA BATMAN CHANNELS

QQQQ

PLEASE DELIVER THE FOLLOWING MESSAGE TO PRIME MINISTER KAIFU
FROM PRESIDENT BUSH.

BEGIN TEXT:

DEAR TOSHIKI,

I AM WRITING TO SHARE WITH YOU SOME OF MY THOUGHTS ABOUT THE HISTORIC DEVELOPMENTS OF THE PAST FEW WEEKS IN POLAND. THE FORMATION OF A SOLIDARITY-LED GOVERNMENT UNDER PRIME MINISTER MAZOWIECKI, AND THE MANNER IN WHICH THIS DRAMATIC TRANSFORMATION TOOK PLACE, PUTS POLAND AT THE FOREFRONT OF PEACEFUL DEMOCRATIC TRANSITION IN EASTERN EUROPE.

THE EVENTS IN POLAND ARE HISTORIC, WITH THE POTENTIAL TO TRANSFORM AND OVERCOME THE POST-WAR DIVISION OF EUROPE. PRIME MINISTER MAZOWIECKI AND HIS GOVERNMENT HAVE A UNIQUE OPPORTUNITY TO INTRODUCE MEANINGFUL ECONOMIC REFORM, WHICH WILL PAVE THE WAY FOR A MORE PROSPEROUS FUTURE. BUT THAT OPPORTUNITY MAY BE SHORT-LIVED, IF THE POLISH PEOPLE BELIEVE THAT ECONOMIC REFORM SIMPLY MEANS MORE AUSTERITY.

MY ADMINISTRATION HAD A SERIES OF MEETINGS LAST WEEK WITH KEY MINISTERS IN THE NEW POLISH GOVERNMENT AND REVIEWED THE OUTLINES OF THEIR ECONOMIC REFORM PROGRAM. AS THE U.S. DELEGATION NOTED AT LAST WEEK'S MEETING OF THE GROUP OF 24 IN BRUSSELS, IT IS AN AMBITIOUS AND BOLD PLAN, CALLING FOR RADICAL ECONOMIC REFORM AND RAPID MOVEMENT TOWARD AGREEMENT WITH THE IMF. AN INTEGRAL PART OF THE PLAN IS AN URGENT REQUEST FOR WESTERN ECONOMIC ASSISTANCE IN HELPING TO STABILIZE THE POLISH ECONOMY AS REFORMS ARE IMPLEMENTED. IN THE CONTEXT OF AN AGREEMENT WITH THE IMF, THE POLES SEEK, IN ADDITION TO IMF AND WORLD BANK SUPPORT, \$1 BILLION IN STABILIZATION FUNDS FROM THE INDUSTRIALIZED COUNTRIES. OUR OWN CALCULATIONS INDICATE THAT THIS FIGURE IS ABOUT RIGHT.

I WANT TO BE RESPONSIVE TO POLAND'S REQUEST AND TO ENCOURAGE THE WEST'S CONCERTED ACTION TOWARD THAT END. I HAVE DECIDED TO SEEK FROM CONGRESS A \$200 MILLION GRANT FOR STABILIZATION PURPOSES, AS THE U.S. CONTRIBUTION TO THE \$1 BILLION IN WESTERN ASSISTANCE THE POLES HAVE REQUESTED. THIS GRANT WOULD BE CONTINGENT UPON CONCLUSION OF AN IMF AGREEMENT, AND UPON THE RECOMMENDATIONS OF AN EXPERTS' MISSION THAT I PLAN TO SEND TO POLAND SOON. I BELIEVE WESTERN ASSISTANCE FOR THIS PURPOSE SHOULD TAKE THE FORM OF GRANTS RATHER THAN LOANS, WHICH WOULD ONLY ADD TO POLAND'S ENORMOUS EXTERNAL DEBT.

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PER E.O. 13526

2009-0770-MR
11/26/2014 MM

I WILL BE MAKING A FORMAL ANNOUNCEMENT ON OCTOBER 4, BECAUSE I CONSIDER IT IMPORTANT TO ACT QUICKLY SO AS TO HELP SOLIDIFY SUPPORT WITHIN POLAND FOR THE NEW REFORM PROGRAM. MY ANNOUNCEMENT WILL ALSO REAFFIRM THE IMPORTANCE I ATTACH TO WORKING TOGETHER WITH YOU AND OUR ECONOMIC PARTNERS TO STRENGTHEN CONCERTED ACTION IN SUPPORT OF POLAND'S REFORMS.

I HOPE JAPAN WILL MAKE A MAJOR CONTRIBUTION TO THIS \$1 BILLION MULTILATERAL STABILIZATION FUND TO MEET POLAND'S URGENT NEEDS, SINCE THE CONCEPT CAN BE EFFECTIVE ONLY IF IT IS FULLY FUNDED. WE MUST DO ALL WE CAN TO HELP THE POLES SUCCEED WITH A REFORM PLAN THAT HAS IMF APPROVAL. A PROMPT WESTERN COMMITMENT TO PROVIDE THE FULL \$1 BILLION IN GRANTS UPON CONCLUSION OF AN IMF AGREEMENT WOULD BE A STRONG INCENTIVE FOR THE POLES TO PRESS AHEAD WITH THEIR REFORMS AND NEGOTIATIONS WITH THE IMF.

I ALSO PLAN TO SEND A HIGH-LEVEL PRESIDENTIAL MISSION TO POLAND CONSISTING OF ECONOMIC AND TECHNICAL EXPERTS WHO WOULD DISCUSS AND EVALUATE POLISH NEEDS AND PLANS. ON THE BASIS OF THEIR REPORT, AND AFTER CONSULTATION WITH YOU, WITH THE EC COMMISSION, AND WITH OTHER MAJOR DONORS, I WOULD THEN FORMULATE A MORE DETAILED PLAN FOR HOW BEST TO STRUCTURE LONG TERM U.S. ASSISTANCE TO POLAND. THE PLAN WOULD BE DESIGNED PRIMARILY TO STIMULATE POLISH AGRICULTURE AND PRIVATE SECTOR DEVELOPMENT AND HELP TO MAKE POLAND ECONOMICALLY VIABLE AS QUICKLY AS POSSIBLE. I WILL ALSO ASK THIS GROUP TO MAKE ITS FINDINGS AVAILABLE TO THE GROUP OF 24.

IN THAT CONTEXT, I AM VERY GRATIFIED BY THE PROGRESS MADE SINCE THE PARIS ECONOMIC SUMMIT IN DEVELOPING CONCERTED WESTERN ACTION, AND BY THE EC "ACTION PLAN" ANNOUNCED IN BRUSSELS SEPTEMBER 26. AS THE GROUP CONTINUES TO DEVELOP A COMMON GENERAL STRATEGY, IT WILL BE IMPORTANT FOR THE U.S., JAPAN, AND THE OTHER G-7 COUNTRIES TO TAKE AN ACTIVE LEADERSHIP ROLE IN CHARTING ITS AGENDA.

I SHALL BE SHARING SOME OF THESE SAME THOUGHTS WITH OUR OTHER G-7 PARTNERS AND WITH COMMISSION PRESIDENT JACQUES DELORS. I WOULD WELCOME HEARING MORE ABOUT YOUR OWN PLANS WITH RESPECT TO POLAND, AS WELL AS YOUR VIEWS ON OUR COORDINATION EFFORTS, AND I URGE YOU TO JOIN ME IN GIVING POLAND'S NEW GOVERNMENT A CHANCE TO SUCCEED. NOW IS THE TIME FOR ACTION.

WITH WARM REGARDS,

SINCERELY,

GEORGE BUSH

END TEXT

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<ORIG>FM WHITE HOUSE

<TO>TO FOREIGN MINISTRY JAPAN

<TEXT>ZEM

~~SECRET~~ EYES ONLY VIA BATMAN CHANNELS

QQQQ

PLEASE DELIVER THE FOLLOWING MESSAGE FROM PRESIDENT BUSH
TO PRIME MINISTER KAIFU.

-
BEGIN TEXT

-
DEAR TOSHIKI,

-
I WANTED YOU TO KNOW BEFORE IT IS PUBLICLY ANNOUNCED THAT
PRESIDENT GORBACHEV AND I WILL MEET ABOARD U. S. AND SOVIET NAVAL
VESSELS IN THE MEDITERRANEAN ON DECEMBER 2 AND 3 TO REVIEW THE
CURRENT INTERNATIONAL ENVIRONMENT AND TO DISCUSS U. S. -SOVIET
RELATIONS. AS YOU ARE AWARE, THERE WILL BE A FULL-SCALE SUMMIT
IN THE UNITED STATES DURING THE LATE SPRING OR EARLY SUMMER OF
NEXT YEAR. THAT IS SOME TIME DISTANT AND PRESIDENT GORBACHEV AND
I HAVE AGREED THAT AN EARLIER INFORMAL MEETING TO EXCHANGE VIEWS
AT THIS TIME OF RAPID AND HISTORIC CHANGE WOULD BE USEFUL.

-
I DO NOT INTEND A DETAILED NEGOTIATING SESSION DURING THESE
DECEMBER TALKS NOR DO I EXPECT THAT PRESIDENT GORBACHEV AND I
WILL CONCLUDE AGREEMENTS IN THE COURSE OF THIS MEETING ON ANY
ISSUES OF SIGNIFICANCE.

-
AS YOU KNOW, I HAVE NOT HAD AN OPPORTUNITY TO MEET WITH PRESIDENT
GORBACHEV SINCE BECOMING PRESIDENT, AND ALTHOUGH WE HAVE WRITTEN
TO EACH OTHER OFTEN, I WANT AGAIN TO ESTABLISH PERSONAL CONTACT
WITH HIM. I HOPE TO GET A BETTER SENSE OF HOW HE VIEWS THE
DEMAND OF PERESTROIKA AND THE FUTURE COURSE OF EAST-WEST AND
U.S.-SOVIET RELATIONS. I, OF COURSE, LOOK FORWARD TO SHARING MY
IMPRESSIONS WITH YOU UPON MY RETURN.

-
SINCERELY,

-
GEORGE

-
END TEXT

#0331

<SECT>SECTION: 01 OF 01 <SSN> 0331 <TOR> 891031080655 MSG000247133215

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PER E.O. 13526

2009-0770-MR
11/26/2014 MM

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SIT: HOTLINE_OUT
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<TO> TO MINISTRY OF FOREIGN AFFAIRS

<TEXT> ZEM
~~SECRET~~ VIA BATMAN CHANNELS
QQQQ
SECTION 01 OF 02

PLEASE PASS THE FOLLOWING MESSAGE PRIME MINISTER TOSHIKI
KAIFU FROM PRESIDENT BUSH.

BEGIN TEXT:

DEAR TOSHIKI:

I WOULD LIKE TO GIVE YOU A PROMPT REVIEW OF MY DISCUSSIONS WITH
GORBACHEV.

AS YOU HAVE SEEN FROM THE PRESS COVERAGE, THE ATMOSPHERE OF THE
SUMMIT WAS VERY POSITIVE. SO WAS THE TENOR OF OUR DISCUSSIONS,
WHICH WERE ANIMATED BUT NOT CONFRONTATIONAL. WE WERE ABLE TO TALK
WITH CANDOR AND OPENNESS. THERE WERE NO BREAKTHROUGHS ON THE
TOUGHEST ISSUES, BUT I FELT WE MADE IMPORTANT PROGRESS TOWARD
NARROWING OUR DIFFERENCES.

ON SATURDAY AT CAMP DAVID, WE HAD AN OPPORTUNITY TO DISCUSS VARIOUS
REGIONAL ISSUES. I RAISED AGAIN THE ISSUE OF THE NORTHERN
TERRITORIES, AS WELL AS THE KOREAN PENINSULA. I CANNOT SAY THAT WE
REACHED ANY AGREEMENT, BUT I DO BELIEVE HE UNDERSTANDS OUR POSITION
BETTER.

WITH REGARD TO GERMAN UNIFICATION, GORBACHEV BEGAN BY ARGUING THAT A
UNITED GERMANY IN NATO WOULD ALTER THE STRATEGIC BALANCE. HE
PROPOSED THAT GERMANY BELONG TO BOTH NATO AND THE WARSAW PACT --
HAVE "TWO ANCHORS," AS HE PUT IT -- AND REFERRED TO A LONG
TRANSITION PERIOD, SEEMINGLY UNDER FOUR POWER SUPERVISION, AN IDEA
HE CAME BACK TO SEVERAL TIMES.

I MADE THE POINT VERY CLEARLY THAT A UNITED GERMANY IS NO THREAT TO
ANYONE, INCLUDING THE SOVIET UNION, AND STRESSED THAT GERMANY HAD
EARNED ITS PLACE IN THE NEW EUROPE AND WOULD HAVE GOOD AND
CONSTRUCTIVE RELATIONS WITH THE SOVIET UNION. I STRESSED THAT I
SUPPORTED CHANCELLOR KOHL'S POSITION THAT A UNITED GERMANY SHOULD
REMAIN A FULL MEMBER OF NATO, INCLUDING PARTICIPATION IN ITS
INTEGRATED MILITARY STRUCTURES, ADDING THAT A UNITED, DEMOCRATIC
GERMANY MUST BE FREE TO CHOOSE ITS ALLIANCE ARRANGEMENTS. GERMAN
SOVEREIGNTY MUST BE COMPLETE AT THE TIME OF UNIFICATION, WITH NO
NEW DISCRIMINATORY CONSTRAINTS ON GERMAN SOVEREIGNTY AND NO
"SINGULARIZATION" OF GERMANY FOR SPECIAL STATUS.

AT ONE POINT, GORBACHEV SEEMED TO AGREE WITH MY POSITION: THAT I
SUPPORT GERMANY'S FULL MEMBERSHIP IN NATO BUT OF COURSE THAT IT WAS
UP TO GERMANY TO DECIDE. BUT THEN HE RETURNED TO THE IDEA OF A
TRANSITION PERIOD. AT OUR PRESS CONFERENCE ON SUNDAY, HOWEVER, HE

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11/26/2014 MM

RAISED NO OBJECTION WHEN I SAID THAT WHILE HE AND I DID NOT AGREE THAT THE UNITED GERMANY SHOULD BE A FULL MEMBER OF NATO, "WE ARE IN FULL AGREEMENT THAT THE MATTER OF ALLIANCE MEMBERSHIP IS -- IN ACCORDANCE WITH THE HELSINKI FINAL ACT -- A MATTER FOR THE GERMANS TO DECIDE." INDEED, WE HAD GIVEN MY PRESS STATEMENT, INCLUDING THAT FORMULATION, TO SOVIET AMBASSADOR BESSMERTNYKH THE NIGHT BEFORE, AND HE CAME BACK BEFORE THE PRESS CONFERENCE TO SAY THE SOVIET SIDE HAD NO OBJECTIONS. WE, OF COURSE, WILL HAVE TO SEE WHETHER THIS REFLECTS REAL FLEXIBILITY IN THE SOVIET POSITION.

HE LEFT THE IMPRESSION THAT HE WAS STILL FEELING HIS WAY AND THAT HIS POSITION MAY NOT YET BE FIXED. FOR EXAMPLE, IN ARGUING AGAINST A UNITED GERMANY IN NATO, HE SEEMED TO BE CONCERNED AS MUCH WITH NATO ITSELF AS WITH GERMANY'S MEMBERSHIP IN IT. HE WAS LOOKING FOR REASSURANCE THAT NATO WOULD CHANGE ITS DOCTRINE AND EVOLVE TO BECOME A MORE POLITICAL ALLIANCE, AND TRYING TO GET A BETTER SENSE OF WHAT THE SOVIET POSITION IN EUROPE WOULD BE AFTER UNIFICATION.

IN SUM, WE REACHED NO AGREEMENT ON GERMANY, BUT WE DID HAVE A GOOD TALK. MY GOVERNMENT WILL HAVE TO KEEP WORKING -- IN THE TWO PLUS FOUR, AND AT THE NATO SUMMIT -- TO PERSUADE MOSCOW THAT A UNITED GERMANY FULLY IN NATO IS NO THREAT TO SOVIET SECURITY. IN THAT REGARD, IT WILL BE CRUCIAL AT THE NATO SUMMIT TO DEMONSTRATE THAT THE ALLIANCE IS CHANGING AND WILL PLAY A MUCH DIFFERENT ROLE IN EUROPE AFTER GERMAN UNIFICATION, AND AFTER SOVIET TROOPS LEAVE EASTERN EUROPE.

ON ARMS CONTROL, WE MADE GOOD PROGRESS, WHICH HAS THE ADDED VIRTUE OF DEMONSTRATING TO THE SOVIET UNION THAT MILITARY TENSIONS IN THE NEW EUROPE CAN BE SUBSTANTIALLY REDUCED. THE JOINT U.S.-SOVIET STATEMENT ON CFE WAS IMPORTANT, AFFIRMING OUR AGREEMENT THAT A CFE TREATY IS AN INDISPENSABLE FOUNDATION FOR THE FUTURE OF EUROPEAN SECURITY AND COMMITTING US TO INTENSIFY THE PACE OF THE VIENNA NEGOTIATIONS AND TO REACH RAPID AGREEMENT ON ALL OUTSTANDING ISSUES. THE BILATERAL AGREEMENT ON CHEMICAL WEAPONS WAS ALSO A MAJOR BREAKTHROUGH, AND OUR JOINT STATEMENT ON STRATEGIC ARMS REDUCTIONS SHOULD GIVE NEW IMPETUS TO THE START NEGOTIATIONS.

ON OTHER SUBJECTS, THERE WERE MANY AGREEMENTS SIGNED, INCLUDING A TRADE AGREEMENT, AND JOINT STATEMENTS ISSUED, SOME OF THEM OF CONSIDERABLE IMPORTANCE TO THE BILATERAL RELATIONSHIP. THEIR ANNOUNCEMENT, PARTICULARLY AT THE SIGNING CEREMONY ON JUNE 1, ALSO TURNED THE ATMOSPHERE OF THE SUMMIT AWAY FROM THE SERIOUS DISCUSSIONS WE HAD AT THE BEGINNING TOWARD A MORE UPBEAT TONE, WHICH MAY DO GORBACHEV SOME GOOD BACK HOME.

WE HAD SOME CANDID DISCUSSIONS ABOUT LITHUANIA AND THE OTHER BALTIC STATES, BUT THE SUBJECT DID NOT BECOME A DOMINANT PUBLIC ISSUE. I LAID OUT MY POSITIONS, SO THAT HE WOULD HAVE NO DOUBTS ABOUT HOW

#0388

ZFM

~~SECRET~~ VIA BATMAN CHANNELS

QQQQ

FINAL SECTION OF 02

IMPORTANT THIS IS TO THE WEST. THERE WAS NO BREAKTHROUGH, BUT I REMAIN HOPEFUL THAT A DIALOGUE WILL GET UNDERWAY SOON BETWEEN MOSCOW AND VILNIUS.

AT CAMP DAVID, WE HAD A THOROUGH REVIEW OF OTHER REGIONAL ISSUES BUT WE MADE NO PARTICULAR PROGRESS.

-
IN A PRIVATE MOMENT AT CAMP DAVID, GORBACHEV ALSO RAISED THE QUESTION OF MAJOR WESTERN ECONOMIC ASSISTANCE TO THE SOVIET UNION AND SAID HE WISHED THE UNITED STATES TO PARTICIPATE IN THE EFFORT. I TOLD HIM THAT I WANTED TO HELP HIM AND HIS REFORMS SUCCEED AND THAT I UNDERSTOOD THE PROBLEMS HE FACES, BUT THAT THERE WERE SERIOUS PROBLEMS HERE THAT I WOULD HAVE TO MANAGE. IN THE FIRST INSTANCE, IT WOULD BE DIFFICULT TO PERSUADE U.S. BANKS TO PROVIDE ASSISTANCE UNTIL AN EFFECTIVE SOVIET ECONOMIC REFORM PROGRAM WAS IN PLACE. MAJOR PROGRESS IN RESOLVING THE GERMAN ISSUE WOULD CREATE A CLIMATE IN THE UNITED STATES THAT COULD HELP ME BUILD SUPPORT FOR ASSISTANCE TO THE SOVIET UNION. VISIBLE PROGRESS IN LITHUANIA AND A CURTAILMENT OF SOVIET AID TO COUNTRIES LIKE CUBA, VIETNAM, AND CAMBODIA WOULD ALSO ANSWER THE ARGUMENT THAT THE U.S. WAS HELPING THE SOVIET UNION WHILE IT WAS AIDING REGIMES THAT UNDERMINE INTERNATIONAL STABILITY. THIS IS A SUBJECT THAT WE SHOULD DISCUSS AT THE ECONOMIC SUMMIT IN HOUSTON.

-
ALL IN ALL, I FOUND GORBACHEV STILL CONFIDENT BUT OBVIOUSLY WEIGHED DOWN WITH ALL HE FACES AT HOME. ON THE SOVIET INTERNATIONAL POSITION, HE SEEMS TO BE GROPING HIS WAY THROUGH THE IMPLICATIONS OF ALL THE CHANGES OF THE PAST YEAR. TO HIS CREDIT, HE IS OPEN-MINDED AND PREPARED TO BE REASSURED BY STEPS THE WESTERN ALLIES MIGHT TAKE TO SHOW THAT THE CHANGES CAN BE MANAGED IN WAYS THAT DO NOT THREATEN SOVIET SECURITY. IN THAT REGARD, I BELIEVE THE SUMMIT HELPED GIVE HIM SOME OF THOSE ASSURANCES. OUR AGREEMENT TO HOLD REGULAR SUMMIT MEETINGS WILL ALSO STRENGTHEN THE SENSE OF PREDICTABILITY IN U.S.-SOVIET RELATIONS.

-
I HOPE THAT THIS BRIEF REVIEW, WHICH WE CAN AMPLIFY AT OTHER LEVELS, WILL BE OF USE. I VERY MUCH LOOK FORWARD TO SEEING YOU IN HOUSTON IN JULY.

-
WITH WARM REGARDS,

-
SINCERELY,

-
GEORGE

-
END TEXT:

#0389

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<TO>TO MINISTRY OF FOREIGN AFFAIRS TOKYO

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~~SECRET~~ VIA BATMAN CHANNELS
QQQQ

SECTION 01 OF 02

PLEASE DELIVER THE FOLLOWING MESSAGE TO PRIME MINISTER
TOSHIKI KAIFU FROM PRESIDENT GEORGE BUSH.

DEAR TOSHIKI:

AS THE DATE OF OUR MEETING IN HOUSTON APPROACHES, I HAVE
BEEN REVIEWING THE AGENDA AND SOME OF THE KEY ISSUES FOR
DISCUSSION.

TWO OF THESE ISSUES -- TRADE AND THE ENVIRONMENT -- NOT ONLY
CONSTITUTE AN IMPORTANT PART OF OUR AGENDA, BUT ALSO CARRY WITH
THEM THE POSSIBILITY OF BECOMING SERIOUSLY DIVISIVE. IT IS
BECAUSE OF THE POTENTIAL OF THESE ISSUES TO BECOME POINTS OF
CONFRONTATION THAT I DECIDED TO TAKE THIS OPPORTUNITY TO WRITE
YOU A PERSONAL NOTE IN THE HOPE, NOT ONLY TO AVOID SERIOUS DISCORD,
BUT TO ACHIEVE SIGNIFICANT SUCCESS ON BOTH SUBJECTS.

AN OPEN WORLD TRADING SYSTEM IS VITAL TO ECONOMIC
PROSPERITY. WE HAVE BENEFITED ENORMOUSLY FROM SUCCESSIVE ROUNDS OF
TRADE NEGOTIATIONS THAT OPENED OUR MARKETS AND ENRICHED OUR
CHOICE OF GOODS AND SERVICES.

FIRST, WE MUST TACKLE OUR DIFFERENCES HEAD-ON AND PROVIDE
THE POLITICAL DIRECTION NEEDED TO ENSURE A SUCCESSFUL CONCLUSION
TO THE URUGUAY ROUND IN DECEMBER. THIS WILL REQUIRE, ABOVE ALL,
AGREEMENT ON RULES GOVERNING TRADE IN AGRICULTURE. REFORM OF THOSE
RULES IS LONG OVERDUE. PRESENT POLICIES ARE COSTLY, CREATE
UNNECESSARY TRADE CONFLICTS, AND HURT DEVELOPING COUNTRIES.
FURTHER, WE WILL NOT GAIN THE ADHERENCE OF DEVELOPING COUNTRIES
TO RULES GOVERNING SERVICES, INVESTMENT AND INTELLECTUAL PROPERTY
UNLESS WE PROVIDE THEM WITH GREATER EXPORT OPPORTUNITIES,
ESPECIALLY FOR THEIR AGRICULTURAL PRODUCTS. THOSE OF US AROUND THE
TABLE IN HOUSTON HOLD THE KEY TO AGRICULTURAL REFORM AND,
THEREFORE, TO THE ROUND ITSELF. AGRICULTURAL REFORM REQUIRES
THAT WE EACH MAKE ADJUSTMENTS IN OUR AGRICULTURAL SUPPORT
PROGRAMS, INCLUDING SUBSTANTIAL REDUCTION IN EXPORT SUBSIDIES,
IMPORT BARRIERS AND INTERNAL SUPPORTS. WE MUST MAKE THEM IN A
WAY THAT PROVIDES FOR AN ACCEPTABLE TRANSITION TO LESS COSTLY AND
LESS DISRUPTIVE PRICES. FAILURE TO MAKE PROGRESS ON AGRICULTURE IN
HOUSTON IN A WAY THAT PROVIDES A PATH TO SUCCESS IN THE URUGUAY
ROUND WOULD BE A SERIOUS SETBACK TO AN OPEN WORLD TRADING SYSTEM.
I BELIEVE WE HAVE A RESPONSIBILITY TO BREAK THE LOGJAM ON THIS
PROBLEM.

ON THE SECOND DIFFICULT ISSUE, THE ENVIRONMENT, OUR
UNDERSTANDING OF OUR IMPACT ON THE ENVIRONMENT AND OF WAYS TO
PREVENT ITS DEGRADATION IS ADVANCING RAPIDLY, EVEN THOUGH MUCH

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2009-0770-MR
11/26/2014 MM

UNCERTAINTY REMAINS. I WAS EXTREMELY PLEASED BY THE CONSTRUCTIVE DISCUSSION OF THE ENVIRONMENT AT THE ARCH SUMMIT. I KNOW THAT YOU HAVE BEEN ACTIVE ON ENVIRONMENTAL ISSUES DURING THE PAST YEAR. WE, TOO, HAVE ACCOMPLISHED MUCH IN THE UNITED STATES. THIS YEAR ALONE, THE UNITED STATES IS INVESTING APPROXIMATELY ONE BILLION DOLLARS TO GATHER DATA, MONITOR THE CRITICAL PARAMETERS, AND DEVELOP CREDIBLE ANALYTIC MODELS TO IMPROVE THE SITUATION.

WE LEADERS OF THE INDUSTRIALIZED COUNTRIES HAVE AN OBLIGATION NOT ONLY TO A CT TO PROTECT THE ENVIRONMENT, BUT ALSO TO DO SO RESPONSIBLY AND IN THE CONTEXT OF THE BEST SCIENTIFIC EVIDENCE AND BALANCING ECONOMIC AND ENVIRONMENTAL CONCERNS. OUR DISCUSSION AT HOUSTON WILL PROVIDE AN OPPORTUNITY TO SHARE INFORMATION AND INSIGHTS ON OUR RECENT ENVIRONMENTAL ACTIVITIES. MY HOPE IS THAT WE CAN BUILD ON OUR DOMESTIC ACHIEVEMENTS AND ENHANCE INTERNATIONAL COOPERATION. MY PERSONAL VIEW IS THAT WE SHOULD AGREE ON COMPLETING THE FRAMEWORK CONVENTION ON CLIMATE CHANGE BY 1992, BUT DEFER ANY DECISION ON POSSIBLE FOLLOW-ON PROTOCOLS. LET ME REITERATE MY OFFER TO PROVIDE THE VENUE FOR THE FIRST NEGOTIATING SESSION ON THE CONVENTION.

I KNOW THAT SOME WOULD PREFER A MORE AMBITIOUS OBJECTIVE CONCERNING CO2 REDUCTION. HOWEVER, THERE IS AN INSUFFICIENT SCIENTIFIC AND ECONOMIC BASIS FOR US TO MAKE A COMMON COMMITMENT ON THIS ISSUE. IT WOULD SEEM TO MAKE MORE SENSE TO TREAT SOURCES AND SINKS OF ALL GREENHOUSE GASES COMPREHENSIVELY, SO AS TO ALLOW EACH COUNTRY TO PURSUE A FLEXIBLE AND EFFICIENT STRATEGY FOR MAKING ANY REDUCTIONS THAT MAY BE NECESSARY. IN MY VIEW, THE MONTREAL PROTOCOL PROVIDES A GOOD EXAMPLE OF A COOPERATIVE EFFORT THAT, BASED ON SCIENTIFIC CONSENSUS, BALANCES ENVIRONMENTAL AND ECONOMIC GROWTH OBJECTIVES.

AS I MENTIONED IN MY MESSAGE REPORTING ON MY MEETINGS WITH PRESIDENT GORBACHEV, I BELIEVE WE SHOULD DISCUSS THE SOVIET UNION'S REQUEST FOR WESTERN ASSISTANCE AT HOUSTON. I WILL BE BACK IN TOUCH WITH YOU ON THIS SUBJECT.

TOSHIKI, THE PRIVACY OF OUR MEETINGS IN HOUSTON WILL PROVIDE A GOOD OPPORTUNITY FOR CANDID DISCUSSION OF THE TRADE AND ENVIRONMENTAL ISSUES. I BELIEVE A PRINCIPAL VIRTUE OF THESE SUMMITS IS THE OPPORTUNITY FOR US TO ADDRESS TOUGH BUT IMPORTANT ISSUES AND, THROUGH LIVELY DEBATE, ACHIEVE BREAKTHROUGHS THAT ALLOW OUR GOVERNMENTS TO MOVE FORWARD. THIS IS THE BIG CHALLENGE BEFORE US NOW.

I LOOK FORWARD TO SEEING YOU IN HOUSTON.

WARM REGARDS,

GEORGE BUSH

#0200

ZEM

~~SECRET~~ VIA BATMAN CHANNELS

QQQQ

FINAL SECTION OF 02

DECL: OADR

#0201

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<ORIG>FM WHITE HOUSE

<TO>TO MINISTRY OF FOREIGN AFFAIRS

<TEXT>ZEM

~~SECRET~~ VIA BATMAN CHANNELS

QQQQ

PLEASE DELIVER THE FOLLOWING MESSAGE TO PRIME MINISTER
TOSHIKI KAIFU FROM PRESIDENT BUSH.

BEGIN TEXT:

DEAR TOSHIKI:

AS HOST OF OUR RECENT MEETINGS IN HOUSTON, I WANT TO THANK YOU FOR
YOUR MANY CONTRIBUTIONS TO WHAT I BELIEVE WAS AN EXTREMELY
PRODUCTIVE SUMMIT. WE MADE SIGNIFICANT PROGRESS IN A NUMBER OF
AREAS CRITICALLY IMPORTANT TO EACH ONE OF US, AND TO THE WORLD AS A
WHOLE.

OUR DISCUSSION ON PRESIDENT GORBACHEV'S REQUEST FOR WESTERN
ASSISTANCE WAS PARTICULARLY IMPORTANT. AS AGREED IN HOUSTON, I HAVE
SENT PRESIDENT GORBACHEV A LETTER COMMUNICATING OUR DECISIONS.

I UNDERSTAND THAT MICHEL CAMDESSUS HAS ALREADY CONVENED A MEETING
WITH BARBER CONABLE, JACQUES ATTALI AND JEAN-CLAUDE PAYE TO DISCUSS
THE STUDY OF THE SOVIET ECONOMY WITH WHICH THEIR INSTITUTIONS HAVE
BEEN CHARGED. THE HOUSTON COMMUNIQUE PROVIDES THEM WITH CLEAR TERMS
OF REFERENCE: A DETAILED STUDY OF THE SOVIET ECONOMY,
RECOMMENDATIONS FOR ITS REFORM, AND THE ESTABLISHMENT OF CRITERIA
UNDER WHICH WESTERN ECONOMIC ASSISTANCE COULD EFFECTIVELY SUPPORT
THESE REFORMS.

IT WILL BE IMPORTANT FOR OUR REPRESENTATIVES AT THE IMF AND THE
OTHER ORGANIZATIONS TO REMAIN IN CLOSE TOUCH WITH EACH OTHER AS THE
STUDY PROGRESSES. MICHEL CAMDESSUS HAS ASSURED US THAT THE PROJECT
WILL MOVE FORWARD EXPEDITIOUSLY, AND THAT WE WILL RECEIVE THIS
REPORT BY DECEMBER.

I LOOK FORWARD TO CONTINUED CLOSE COOPERATION WITH YOU ON THIS AND
OTHER MATTERS.

WITH WARMEST REGARDS,

SINCERELY,

GEORGE

END TEXT.

#0009

<SECT>SECTION: 01 OF 01 <SSN> 0009 <TOR> 900720130248 MSG000269787768

DECLASSIFIED
PER E.O. 13526

2009-0770-MR
11/26/2014 AM

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<ORIG>FM WHITE HOUSE

<TO>TO MINISTRY OF FOREIGN AFFAIRS

<TEXT>ZEM

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~ VIA BATMAN CHANNELS
QOQQ

PLEASE DELIVER THE FOLLOWING MESSAGE TO PRIME MINISTER KAIFU OF JAPAN FROM PRESIDENT BUSH.

BEGIN TEXT:

DEAR TOSHIKI:

AS YOU KNOW, I WILL BE MEETING WITH PRESIDENT GORBACHEV IN HELSINKI FOR A FULL DAY OF DISCUSSIONS ON SUNDAY, SEPTEMBER 9.

ONE OF MY MAIN OBJECTIVES WILL BE TO SECURE CONTINUING SOVIET SUPPORT FOR THE INTERNATIONAL EFFORT AGAINST SADDAM HUSSEIN. SOVIET POLICY TO DATE HAS BEEN EXTRAORDINARILY HELPFUL, AND THROUGH THESE CONSULTATIONS AND DISCUSSIONS I HOPE TO REINFORCE THE POSITIONS PRESIDENT GORBACHEV HAS ALREADY TAKEN IN THE GULF.

AS WE ARE IN THE MIDST OF THE FIRST POST-COLD WAR CRISIS, IT IS IMPORTANT THAT WE AND THE SOVIET UNION COOPERATE EFFECTIVELY AND BE SEEN TO BE DOING SO. THIS IS CRUCIAL NOT ONLY IN MEETING THE CURRENT CHALLENGE, BUT IN SETTING A TONE AND PATTERN FOR A NEW KIND OF RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN THE SOVIET UNION AND OUR COUNTRIES.

BUT THE MEETING WILL NOT BE ONLY ABOUT THE GULF. WHEN HE WAS IN WASHINGTON IN EARLY JUNE, PRESIDENT GORBACHEV AND I AGREED TO MEET REGULARLY, AND THERE ARE A NUMBER OF ITEMS SPRINGING FROM THE WASHINGTON SUMMIT THAT NEED DISCUSSION.

I PLAN TO USE THIS MEETING TO GIVE ANOTHER PUSH TO OUR ARMS CONTROL AGENDA -- ESPECIALLY IN CFE -- SO THAT WE CAN MOVE FORWARD TO A CSCE SUMMIT IN PARIS IN NOVEMBER. I ALSO INTEND TO DISCUSS BROADLY QUESTIONS INVOLVING EUROPEAN SECURITY AND OTHER REGIONAL ISSUES, POSSIBLY INCLUDING AFGHANISTAN, CAMBODIA, KOREA AND THE NORTHERN TERRITORIES.

THIS MEETING WILL GIVE ME AN OPPORTUNITY TO HEAR PRESIDENT GORBACHEV'S VIEWS OF THE DOMESTIC POLITICAL SITUATION, PARTICULARLY IN LIGHT OF THE DISCUSSIONS OF THE ESTABLISHMENT OF NEW FEDERAL RELATIONS BETWEEN THE REPUBLICS AND THE UNION AND THE CONTINUING ECONOMIC REFORM DEBATE.

CONSULTATIONS SUCH AS THIS ONE ARE IMPORTANT IN KEEPING OUR LINES OPEN TO MOSCOW AND BUILDING ON THE GREATLY IMPROVED EAST-WEST CLIMATE OF THE PAST YEAR. IT IS IMPORTANT THAT WE STAY IN CLOSE TOUCH AMONG OURSELVES, AND I WOULD BE GRATEFUL FOR YOUR THOUGHTS OR ADVICE.

I WILL, OF COURSE, SHARE MY IMPRESSIONS OF THE MEETING WITH YOU AFTER MY RETURN TO WASHINGTON.

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2009-0770-MR
11/26/2014 MM

• SINCERELY,

• GEORGE BUSH

• END TEXT:

• DECL: OADR
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<ORIG>FM WHITE HOUSE

<TO>TO MINISTRY OF FOREIGN AFFAIRS

<TEXT>ZEM

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~ VIA BATMAN CHANNELS
QQQQ

PLEASE PASS THE FOLLOWING MESSAGE TO PRIME MINISTER KAIFU
FROM PRESIDENT BUSH.

BEGIN TEXT:

DEAR TOSHIKI:

WE ARE FAST APPROACHING THE U.N. DEADLINE FOR SADDAM HUSSEIN
TO WITHDRAW TOTALLY FROM KUWAIT. AS PART OF OUR BROADER ECONOMIC
AND POLITICAL STRATEGY, IT IS IMPORTANT THAT WE HAVE IN PLACE
ADEQUATE MEASURES TO DEAL WITH ANY POSSIBLE INTERRUPTION IN OIL
SUPPLIES.

IN THE EVENT OF HOSTILITIES, THERE IS LIKELY TO BE A STRONG
REACTION IN OIL MARKETS, REINFORCED BY THE PROBABILITY OF
TEMPORARY LOSS OF SOME OIL FROM THE GULF. FOR THIS REASON, IT IS
BETTER TO BE VISIBLY PREPARED NOW THAN TO BE FORCED TO REACT
LATER.

SINCE 1974 WE HAVE WORKED HARD TOGETHER IN THE INTERNATIONAL
ENERGY AGENCY (IEA) TO ENSURE OUR ENERGY SECURITY. A DECISION BY
THE IEA BEFORE JANUARY 15 TO TAKE COORDINATED ACTION IN THE EVENT
OF HOSTILITIES WOULD REASSURE THE MARKETS AS WELL AS SEND A CLEAR
MESSAGE TO SADDAM HUSSEIN.

THEREFORE, I HAVE ASKED MY OFFICIALS TO WORK WITH THEIR
COLLEAGUES IN OTHER IEA COUNTRIES TO REACH AGREEMENT ON A PROGRAM
OF COORDINATED ACTION. SUCH A PROGRAM WOULD CALL ON IEA MEMBERS
TO ENSURE AN ADEQUATE SUPPLY OF OIL TO MARKETS. FOR OUR PART,
THE U.S. WOULD BE PREPARED TO MAKE AVAILABLE UP TO 1.5 MILLION
BARRELS A DAY OF OIL FOR ONE MONTH FROM THE STRATEGIC PETROLEUM
RESERVE, IF IT PROVED NECESSARY TO IMPLEMENT THESE EMERGENCY
MEASURES.

I REQUEST THAT JAPAN, AS A HOLDER OF SUBSTANTIAL STRATEGIC
STOCKS, COMMIT TO MAKING AVAILABLE A PROPORTIONATE AMOUNT OF THIS
OIL TO ENSURE COORDINATED ACTION. I AM MAKING A SIMILAR REQUEST
OF HELMUT KOHL. AS THE WORLD'S ECONOMIC LEADERS, OUR THREE
COUNTRIES IN PARTICULAR MUST BE SEEN AS READY TO BEAR OUR SHARE
OF THE BURDEN OF AVOIDING ADDITIONAL ECONOMIC DAMAGE.

MY REPRESENTATIVES TO THE IEA GOVERNING BOARD WILL BE IN
TOUCH WITH YOUR REPRESENTATIVES. I URGE YOU TO DIRECT YOUR
OFFICIALS TO CONCLUDE IEA PREPARATIONS BY THE END OF THIS WEEK.

THE MAJOR OIL PRODUCERS RESPONDED QUICKLY TO OUR REQUESTS

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2009-0770-MR
11/26/2014 MM

FOR ADDITIONAL OIL PRODUCTION AFTER AUGUST 2. IN THE EVENT OF
HOSTILITIES, THEY HAVE STRESSED THE NEED FOR QUICK ACTION BY THE
IEA COUNTRIES TO HELP CALM THE MARKET.

I SHARE THESE CONCERNS AND AM CONFIDENT THAT YOU DO TOO. AN
IEA-WIDE COORDINATED ACTION TO COUNTER A POTENTIAL SUPPLY
DISRUPTION WILL COMPLEMENT OUR MILITARY AND DIPLOMATIC EFFORTS TO
ENSURE FULL IRAQI COMPLIANCE WITH U.N. RESOLUTIONS.

I AM CONFIDENT THAT WE CAN COUNT ON JAPAN TO DO ITS PART TO
BOLSTER INTERNATIONAL ENERGY SECURITY AND WESTERN SOLIDARITY IN
THE FACE OF SADDAM HUSSEIN'S AGGRESSIVE AND UNPRECEDENTED
CHALLENGE TO THE RULE OF LAW AND THE NEW WORLD ORDER. AS THE TWO
LARGEST ECONOMIES IN THE WORLD, JAPAN AND THE UNITED STATES MUST
JOIN TOGETHER, UNDER OUR GLOBAL PARTNERSHIP, TO TAKE THE PRUDENT
STEPS OUTLINED ABOVE TO MINIMIZE POTENTIAL DAMAGE TO OUR OWN
ECONOMIES AND TO THE INTERNATIONAL ECONOMIC SYSTEM.

SINCERELY,

GEORGE BUSH

END TEXT:

DECL: OADR
#0114

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<ORIG> FM WHITE HOUSE

<TO> TO MINISTRY OF FOREIGN AFFAIRS

<TEXT> ZEM

~~SECRET~~ VIA BATMAN CHANNELS

QQQQ

PLEASE DELIVER THE FOLLOWING MESSAGE TO PRIME MINISTER KAIFU
FROM PRESIDENT BUSH.

22 MARCH, 1991

BEGIN TEXT:

DEAR TOSHIKI,

WHILE IN MOSCOW ON MARCH 14-16, SECRETARY BAKER RECEIVED A
NEW SOVIET PROPOSAL THEY ARGUE SHOULD BE SUFFICIENT TO
RESOLVE THE IMPASSE OVER THEIR FAILURE FULLY TO IMPLEMENT
THE CFE TREATY. HE IS COMMUNICATING THE DETAILS TO YOUR
FOREIGN MINISTER AND HIS OTHER ALLIED COUNTERPARTS.

AS YOU KNOW, THE SOVIET GOVERNMENT IS NOW ATTEMPTING TO
REVISE ITS CFE OBLIGATIONS ON THE AMOUNT OF EQUIPMENT TO BE
REDUCED, AND THE WAY IT IS TO BE REDUCED. WHILE WE ARE
ENCOURAGED THAT THE SOVIETS ARE SEIZED WITH THIS ISSUE AND
SEEM EAGER TO SEE IT RESOLVED, THEIR OFFER IS NOT
ACCEPTABLE FOR THE SAME BASIC REASON THAT THEIR INITIAL
STANCE IS UNACCEPTABLE: OBLIGATIONS ENTERED INTO IN GOOD
FAITH MUST BE HONORED AND CANNOT BE REOPENED WHENEVER A
PARTY CHOOSES.

ALL OF US MADE COMPROMISES IN THE NEGOTIATION OF THIS
TREATY AND ACCEPTED RESPONSIBILITY FOR THE DECISION TO SIGN
IT. STILL, ELEMENTS IN THE SOVIET GOVERNMENT WISH TO
COMPEL THE OTHER 21 SIGNATORIES OF THE TREATY TO
RENEGOTIATE ITS TERMS AFTER THE FACT. IF WE ACCEPT THIS
TACTIC, WE WILL DO MORE THAN UNDERMINE THE CFE TREATY. WE
WILL ENDANGER THE PROSPECTS FOR PROGRESS IN ARMS CONTROL
ACROSS THE BOARD BY WEAKENING THE BASIS FOR NEGOTIATIONS,
AND UNDERMINING THE EXPECTATION THAT BARGAINING IN GOOD
FAITH WILL LEAD TO A DEFINITE, BINDING CONCLUSION.

I HAVE ALREADY OUTLINED MY CONCERNS ON THIS SUBJECT TO
PRESIDENT GORBACHEV. THE CFE TREATY IS TERRIBLY IMPORTANT
AND WE MUST DO EVERYTHING POSSIBLE TO SEE IT RATIFIED AND
IMPLEMENTED. WE SEEK A PRACTICAL SOLUTION, WITH DUE
RESPECT FOR THE DIGNITY OF ALL INVOLVED. WE ARE READY TO
EXPLORE VARIOUS POSSIBILITIES, SO LONG AS THEY PRESERVE THE
INTEGRITY OF THE AGREEMENT. SPECIFICALLY, I AM PREPARED TO
WORK FOR A SOLUTION THAT COMPLIES WITH THE FOLLOWING
PRINCIPLES: FIRST, TOTAL SOVIET HOLDINGS OF TANKS,
ARTILLERY, AND ARMORED COMBAT VEHICLES IN THE CFE ZONE
(REGARDLESS OF THE BRANCH OF THE MILITARY SERVICE TO WHICH
THEY MAY BE ASSIGNED) CANNOT EXCEED THE LIMITS SPECIFIED IN

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2009-0770-JMR
11/26/2014 JMM

THE TREATY. SECOND, ANY SUCH EQUIPMENT IN EXCESS OF THESE LIMITS WILL HAVE TO BE DESTROYED OR CONVERTED USING AGREED PROCEDURES. THIRD, THE SOLUTION WILL HAVE TO BE CONSISTENT WITH THE OTHER TERMS OF THE CFE TREATY (INCLUDING LIMITS ON EQUIPMENT HELD IN ACTIVE UNITS AND CEILINGS ON EQUIPMENT IN SPECIFIED ZONES) SO THAT IT WILL NOT BE NECESSARY TO RENEGOTIATE ITS TERMS. I INTEND TO CONVEY THIS POSITION TO PRESIDENT GORBACHEV. I HOPE YOU WILL BE ABLE TO TAKE A PARALLEL APPROACH IN YOUR COMMUNICATIONS WITH HIM.

ALLIED SOLIDARITY HAS HELPED PRODUCE SOME MOVEMENT FROM MOSCOW. TO GIVE THE SOVIETS ANY REASON TO THINK WE CAN BE DIVIDED OR WEAKENED ON THIS MATTER WOULD SET BACK THE PROSPECTS FOR SUCCESSFUL RESOLUTION OF THE ISSUE. TOGETHER WE CAN CONTINUE TO SHOW THE SOVIET LEADERSHIP OUR FIRM RESOLVE TO STAND BY THE AGREEMENT WE SIGNED IN PARIS.

SINCERELY,

GEORGE BUSH

#0017

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<OSRI> YEXXWHX <DTG> 032310Z JUL 91

<ORIG>FM WHITE HOUSE

<TO>TO INISTRY OF FOREIGN AFFAIRS

<TEXT>ZEM

~~SECRET~~ VIA BATMAN CHANNELS

QQQQ

SECTION 01 OF 02

PLEASE DELIVER THE FOLLOWING MESSAGE TO PRIME MINISTER KAIFU
FROM PRESIDENT BUSH.

JULY 3, 1991

BEGIN TEXT:

DEAR TOSHIKI:

THANK YOU VERY MUCH FOR YOUR LETTER LAST WEEK PROVIDING YOUR VIEWS ON HOW WE SHOULD APPROACH OUR MEETING WITH MIKHAIL GORBACHEV AT THE LONDON ECONOMIC SUMMIT. TO THE EXTENT WE CAN UNDERSTAND EACH OTHER'S VIEWS AND COORDINATE OUR APPROACHES BEFOREHAND, WE INCREASE THE LIKELIHOOD OF A PRODUCTIVE MEETING. IN THAT SPIRIT, I WANT TO OUTLINE FOR YOU MY THINKING ABOUT THE OPPORTUNITIES, THE PROBLEMS, AND A POSSIBLY USEFUL WAY TO PROCEED WITH PRESIDENT GORBACHEV. AS YOU WILL SEE, OUR VIEWS BASICALLY COINCIDE. I AM SENDING A SIMILAR LETTER TO OUR OTHER SUMMIT COLLEAGUES.

I KNOW YOU AND I SHARE THE GOAL OF SUPPORTING PRESIDENT GORBACHEV AND THE CAUSE OF REFORM IN THE SOVIET UNION. OUR MEETINGS IN LONDON PROVIDE US WITH A NEW OPPORTUNITY TO DEMONSTRATE THAT SUPPORT AND ENHANCE THE PROSPECTS FOR ACHIEVING AN ECONOMIC AND POLITICAL TRANSFORMATION OF THE USSR.

CLEARLY THIS IS A CRITICAL MOMENT IN SOVIET HISTORY, AND IN THE WEST'S RELATIONSHIP WITH THE USSR. MIKHAIL GORBACHEV TOOK OVER A TOTALITARIAN SYSTEM IN A HOSTILE RELATIONSHIP WITH THE WEST. IN A MERE SIX YEARS HE HAS TRANSFORMED HIS RELATIONSHIP WITH THE WEST AND BROKEN OPEN THE TOTALITARIAN SYSTEM. BY THEMSELVES, THESE ARE EXTRAORDINARY, INDEED REVOLUTIONARY, ACHIEVEMENTS. BUT HIS EFFORTS TO ADDRESS HIS ECONOMIC PROBLEMS HAVE FALLEN FAR SHORT OF WHAT IS NEEDED, THE RESULT BEING AN INCREASINGLY ALARMING ECONOMIC CRISIS.

NOW PRESIDENT GORBACHEV MAY BE READY TO CONTEMPLATE THE RADICAL MEASURES NECESSARY TO ADDRESS HIS PROBLEMS, AND HE IS COMING TO LONDON TO LAY OUT HIS APPROACH. IF PRESIDENT GORBACHEV IS IRREVOCABLY COMMITTED TO CREDIBLE ECONOMIC AND DEMOCRATIC REFORMS, AND CAN SUCCESSFULLY IMPLEMENT THEM, WE SHOULD HELP HIM IN WAYS THAT MAKE SENSE. I AM NOT THINKING HERE OF ANYTHING AS UNREALISTIC AS THE "GRAND BARGAIN" SOME TALK OF, NOR DO I BELIEVE WE SHOULD USE OUR TIME IN LONDON TO TRY TO ORGANIZE FINANCIAL ASSISTANCE FOR THE USSR. RATHER, OUR FOCUS SHOULD BE ON ESTABLISHING A PROCESS THAT WILL SUPPORT SOVIET EFFORTS TO HELP THEMSELVES OUT OF THE ECONOMIC MORASS THEY ARE NOW IN.

IN OUR APPROACH TO THE REFORM PROCESS, I PROPOSE WE BE GUIDED BY

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2009-0770-MR
11/26/2014 MM

TWO PRINCIPLES:

- COMMITMENT TO MARKETS. PRESIDENT GORBACHEV MUST DEMONSTRATE AN UNMISTAKABLE POLITICAL COMMITMENT TO MARKET REFORMS AND BEGIN TO IMPLEMENT THEM. OTHERWISE THERE IS LITTLE WE CAN OR SHOULD DO TO HELP, AND WE SHOULD HONESTLY TELL HIM THAT. WHATEVER ECONOMIC REFORM PROGRAM IS IMPLEMENTED, THE ROAD TO ECONOMIC IMPROVEMENT IN THE USSR WILL BE LONG AND DIFFICULT. BUT WE DO MIKHAIL GORBACHEV NO FAVORS BY BEING "UNDERSTANDING" ABOUT UNWORKABLE ECONOMIC PROGRAMS THAT PROLONG THE CRISIS.

- SOVIET SELF-HELP. RIGHT NOW OUR PRIORITY, AND GORBACHEV'S, SHOULD BE TO MOBILIZE SOVIET RESOURCES IN SUPPORT OF THE MOVE TO A MARKET-BASED ECONOMY. THE SOVIET UNION IS A WEALTHY COUNTRY IN TERMS OF RESOURCES AND SKILLED PEOPLE. IT IS THOSE RESOURCES, AND SOVIET POLITICAL WILL, THAT WILL DETERMINE THE FATE OF REFORM. THE WEST CAN HELP, PARTICULARLY BY PROVIDING EXPERTISE, BILATERALLY AND THROUGH INTERNATIONAL INSTITUTIONS. HOWEVER THE DECISIVE FACTOR WILL NOT BE OUR HELP, BUT WHAT HELMUT KOHL SO APTLY CALLS SOVIET "SELF-HELP."

IF WE DETERMINE IN LONDON THAT GORBACHEV HAS FINALLY AND IRREVOCABLY COMMITTED TO MARKETS, THEN WE SHOULD BE PREPARED TO WORK CLOSELY WITH HIM BY ESTABLISHING A SUPPORTIVE PROCESS. I BELIEVE THAT A KEY ELEMENT OF OUR EFFORTS SHOULD BE "SPECIAL ASSOCIATE" STATUS IN THE IMF AND THE WORLD BANK. THAT WILL GIVE SOVIET POLICY MAKERS ACCESS TO THE HIGHLY RESPECTED FINANCIAL AND ECONOMIC EXPERTISE OF THESE INSTITUTIONS WHICH THEY COULD USE IN DRAWING UP A DETAILED, OPERATIONAL, PROGRAM FOR MOVING TO A MARKET ECONOMY. IN ADDITION, A PROGRAM DEVISED WITH EXTENSIVE AND ONGOING IMF AND WORLD BANK ADVICE, AS WELL AS THAT OF OTHER INTERNATIONAL INSTITUTIONS, WOULD PROVIDE CONFIDENCE IN THE INTERNATIONAL COMMUNITY THAT THE USSR HAS EMBARKED ON THE PATH OF SERIOUS MARKET REFORM.

WHILE THE EXPERTISE OF THE FUND AND THE BANK WILL BE CRITICAL TO THE SUCCESS OF THIS ENTERPRISE, IT ALSO IS IMPORTANT THAT THE SUMMIT LEADERS RETAIN A CLOSE AND CONTINUING INTEREST IN THE EFFORT. IT OBVIOUSLY HAS IMPORTANT POLITICAL DIMENSIONS, AND PRESIDENT GORBACHEV WILL BE ESPECIALLY SENSITIVE TO THEM.

IN ADDITION TO PROVIDING THE SOVIETS WITH TECHNICAL ASSISTANCE IN DRAWING UP AN INTERNATIONALLY CREDIBLE REFORM PROGRAM, WE SHOULD ALSO PURSUE INITIATIVES WHICH WILL MAKE THE ROAD TO A MARKET-BASED ECONOMY EASIER AND QUICKER THAN IT MIGHT OTHERWISE BE. THERE IS A GOOD DEAL THAT CAN BE DONE TO SUPPORT REFORMS WITHOUT COMMITTING TO FINANCIAL AID. JIM BAKER HAS ALREADY OUTLINED SOME OF THE KEY COMPONENTS OF OUR APPROACH IN HIS RECENT BERLIN SPEECH. FOR EXAMPLE, WE COULD PROPOSE TO:

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FINAL SECTION OF 02

- WORK WITH THE SOVIETS TO PRIVATIZE THE FOOD DISTRIBUTION SYSTEM, WHICH WILL HAVE OBVIOUS PAYOFFS FOR THE POPULATION AT LARGE. ASSISTANCE IN THIS AREA COULD GIVE PRESIDENT GORBACHEV SOME OF THE QUICK RESULTS HE NEEDS TO SUSTAIN SUPPORT FOR THE REFORM PROCESS.

- CONFER WITH SOVIET OFFICIALS AT ALL LEVELS ON DEVISING STRATEGIES TO ATTRACT INVESTMENT IN SOVIET ENERGY DEVELOPMENT. PROGRESS IN THIS SECTOR COULD HELP THE SOVIETS EARN HARD CURRENCY, WHILE ALSO DEVELOPING PROPERTY AND CONTRACT RIGHTS, AND CREATING A PRACTICAL PAYOFF FOR CENTER-REPUBLICAN COOPERATION.

- BEGIN AN EFFORT TO SUPPORT THE SOVIETS IN RESTRUCTURING, CONSOLIDATING, AND CONVERTING THEIR DEFENSE PLANTS TO CIVILIAN USES, SOMETHING CLEARLY IN OUR INTEREST AS WELL AS THEIRS.

- ASIDE FROM THIS FOCUS ON KEY SECTORS, WE CAN OFFER TECHNICAL ASSISTANCE DESIGNED TO SUPPORT THE CREATION OF MARKETS. IN THESE EFFORTS WE WILL BE COOPERATING WITH SOVIET GOVERNMENTS AT ALL LEVELS -- CENTRAL, REPUBLICAN, LOCAL -- AND WITH NON-GOVERNMENTAL ORGANIZATIONS. WE CAN ALSO TAKE STEPS TO IMPROVE TRADE RELATIONS.

- THIS MEETING WITH PRESIDENT GORBACHEV COULD PROVE AN IMPORTANT MILESTONE IN THE INTEGRATION OF THE USSR INTO THE GLOBAL SYSTEM. BUT THE MOST IMPORTANT, AND MOST DIFFICULT, TASK WILL BE TO CONVINCE GORBACHEV OF OUR GENUINE SUPPORT FOR WHAT HE IS DOING, WHILE AT THE SAME TIME BEING QUITE FRANK WITH HIM TO THE POINT OF TELLING HIM WHAT HE DOES NOT WANT TO HEAR.

- MIKHAIL GORBACHEV MUST UNDERSTAND THE POLITICAL CONTEXT IN WHICH WE ALL OPERATE. THE SOVIET GOVERNMENT STILL DEVOTES AT LEAST ONE-FIFTH, AND PROBABLY MORE, OF ITS GNP TO DEFENSE; OFFERS FINANCIAL SUPPORT TO REGIMES SUCH AS THAT IN CUBA AND AFGHANISTAN; REFUSES TO EXTEND "NEW THINKING" TO THE ASIA-PACIFIC REGION; AND ALLOWS TENSIONS TO CONTINUE IN THE BALTICS. AS LONG AS THESE POLICIES CONTINUE, MIKHAIL GORBACHEV'S REFORMS WILL BE CRIPPLED, AS WILL HIS EFFORTS TO GARNER SUPPORT FROM ALL OF US.

- PRESIDENT GORBACHEV MAY RAISE THE ISSUE OF DEBT RESTRUCTURING IN LONDON. I FEAR THAT IT WOULD SERVE NEITHER HIS NOR OUR INTERESTS. RESCHEDULING WOULD GREATLY LIMIT THE SOVIET UNION'S FUTURE ACCESS TO EXTERNAL CREDIT. MOREOVER, I WORRY THAT A FORMAL RESCHEDULING WOULD PLAY INTO THE HANDS OF THOSE IN THE USSR WHO OPPOSE REFORM, AND WHO WILL ARGUE THAT GORBACHEV HAS BANKRUPTED THE COUNTRY.

- IF GORBACHEV IS COMMITTED TO REFORM, IF HE HAS A CONSENSUS IN THE POLITICAL SYSTEM ON THAT POINT, AND IF THERE IS EVIDENCE THAT HE WILL FOLLOW THROUGH, WE SHOULD RESPOND ACCORDINGLY, TAKING THINGS ONE STEP AT A TIME. WE SHOULD NOT ACT IN HASTE, NOR SHOULD WE BE PRESSURED INTO THROWING MONEY AT A PROBLEM BECAUSE OF SOME ARTIFICIAL SENSE OF URGENCY. AT THIS POINT WE CAN OFFER STRONG SUPPORT WITHOUT LARGE-SCALE FINANCIAL ASSISTANCE, BY FOCUSING ON A PROCESS THAT WILL HELP THE SOVIETS BRING THEIR OWN CONSIDERABLE RESOURCES TO BEAR IN SOLVING THEIR PROBLEMS.

- WE MUST ALSO NOT LOSE SIGHT OF THE URGENT NEED TO PROVIDE ASSISTANCE TO THE EMERGING EAST EUROPEAN MARKET DEMOCRACIES. EAST EUROPEAN SOCIETIES HAVE ALREADY MADE THAT CHOICE, AND THEY ARE STRUGGLING NOW UNDER A TREMENDOUS BURDEN AS THEIR EXPORT MARKETS COLLAPSE. WE MUST DO OUR UTMOST TO SUPPORT DEMOCRACY AND THE TRANSITION TO MARKETS IN EASTERN EUROPE. THAT IS ONE OF THE REASONS WHY I AM SO STRONGLY OPPOSED TO THE PROPOSAL TO LIFT THE EBRD CAP ON LENDING TO THE USSR, FOR TO DO THAT COULD TAKE MONEY OUT OF THE POCKETS OF EAST EUROPEANS, WHICH MAKES NO SENSE AT THE MOMENT. I HAVE A NUMBER OF IDEAS ON HOW WE CAN ENSURE THAT WE

STRENGTHEN OUR SUPPORT FOR THE EMERGING DEMOCRACIES OF EASTERN
EUROPE, AND I WILL BE SENDING A SEPARATE LETTER ON THAT IN A FEW
DAYS.

I WOULD BE INTERESTED IN YOUR OWN THINKING ON THESE ISSUES AND LOOK
FORWARD TO EXPLORING THEM FURTHER WITH YOU AT KENNEBUNKPORT. IN
THE MEANTIME I WILL ALSO BE COMMUNICATING DIRECTLY WITH GORBACHEV
SO THAT HE IS AWARE OF MY THINKING ON THIS IMPORTANT MATTER.

WITH WARM REGARDS,

SINCERELY,

GEORGE BUSH

HIS EXCELLENCY
TOSHIKI KAIFU
PRIME MINISTER OF JAPAN
TOKYO

END TEXT

DECL: OADR
#0009

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<OSRI> YEXXWHX <DTG> 112120Z JUL 91

<ORIG> FM WHITE HOUSE

<TO> TO MINISTRY OF FOREIGN AFFAIRS

<TEXT> ZEM

~~SECRET~~ VIA BATMAN CHANNELS

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SECTION 01 OF 02

PLEASE PASS THE FOLLOWING MESSAGE TO PRIME MINISTER KAIFU
FROM PRESIDENT BUSH.

BEGIN TEXT:

DEAR TOSHIKI,

IT WAS A PLEASURE TO WELCOME YOU TO KENNEBUNKPORT AND TO DISCUSS
ISSUES AT SOME LENGTH. I WANT TO FOLLOW UP ON A MATTER THAT IS AN
HIGH PRIORITY FOR ALL OF US: SUPPORT FOR THE NEW DEMOCRACIES IN
CENTRAL AND EASTERN EUROPE. I BELIEVE WE ALL AGREE THAT IT WOULD BE
A GREAT MISTAKE IF, IN TRYING TO SUPPORT SOVIET REFORM, WE DIVERTED
ATTENTION AND RESOURCES FROM THE COUNTRIES OF CENTRAL AND EASTERN
EUROPE WHICH HAVE ALREADY EMBARKED ON COURAGEOUS REFORM PROGRAMS.
THE COMING MONTHS WILL BE CRITICAL FOR THESE NEW DEMOCRACIES, AND IT
IS IMPORTANT THAT WE EXPRESS AT LONDON OUR CONTINUING COMMITMENT TO
THEIR SUCCESS.

AS THESE COUNTRIES CONTINUE THEIR TRANSITIONS, WESTERN SUPPORT WILL
NEED TO FOCUS MORE ON A STRATEGY OF EXPANDED TRADE AND INVESTMENT.
THROUGH OUR ONGOING SUPPORT FOR ECONOMIC STABILIZATION AND TECHNICAL
ASSISTANCE PROGRAMS, WE ARE HELPING THESE COUNTRIES ACQUIRE THE
TOOLS NEEDED TO COMPETE IN THE WORLD ECONOMY. WHAT THEY NEED NOW IS
THE OPPORTUNITY. THEIR SUCCESS ULTIMATELY WILL DEPEND ON GREATLY
INCREASED TRADE AND PRIVATE INVESTMENT. THIS REQUIRES BETTER ACCESS
TO OUR MARKETS, SO THAT THESE COUNTRIES CAN INCREASE THEIR EXPORT
EARNINGS IN THE NEAR TERM AND ATTRACT THE INVESTMENT THEY WILL NEED
FOR ECONOMIC GROWTH IN THE YEARS AHEAD. THESE WERE THE PRIORITIES
CONVEYED TO VICE PRESIDENT QUAYLE IN HIS RECENT VISIT TO THE REGION
AND ECHOED IN THE LETTER WE RECEIVED FROM PRESIDENT HAVEL, PRESIDENT
WALESZA, AND PRIME MINISTER ANTALL.

I WILL SOON BE ANNOUNCING A PACKAGE OF CONCRETE MEASURES TO OPEN THE
U.S. MARKET MORE WIDELY TO CENTRAL AND EASTERN EUROPEAN GOODS,
INCLUDING IN POLITICALLY DIFFICULT AREAS LIKE TEXTILES, STEEL, AND
AGRICULTURE. AS PART OF MY TRADE ENHANCEMENT INITIATIVE, I
DISPATCHED A TEAM OF EXPERTS TO THE REGION IN MAY TO IDENTIFY
OBSTACLES TO THE REGION'S EXPORT EXPANSION AND TO RECOMMEND
SOLUTIONS. I HAVE ACCEPTED ALL THEIR RECOMMENDATIONS, AND IN SOME
CASES HAVE INSTRUCTED OUR TRADE NEGOTIATORS TO GO BEYOND THEM.
ADDITIONALLY, WE WILL INITIATE A NEW SPECIAL REVIEW UNDER THE U.S.
DUTY-FREE GENERALIZED SYSTEM OF PREFERENCES IN ORDER TO MAXIMIZE THE
REGION'S ACCESS THROUGH THE GSP PROGRAM.

I HOPE ALL THE G-7 COUNTRIES WILL COMMIT THEMSELVES TO OPENING THEIR

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PER E.O. 13526

2009-0770-MR
11/26/2014 MM

MARKETS AS WIDE AS POSSIBLE TO CENTRAL AND EASTERN EUROPE. AT LONDON, I SUGGEST THAT WE INCLUDE IN OUR DECLARATION A SPECIFIC COMMITMENT TO PROVIDE IMPROVED MARKET ACCESS, INCLUDING IN AREAS LIKE TEXTILES AND AGRICULTURE, WHERE CENTRAL AND EASTERN EUROPEAN COUNTRIES CAN BE COMPETITIVE RIGHT AWAY. THESE EFFORTS, WHICH I HOPE WE CAN AGREE TO UNDERTAKE IMMEDIATELY, SHOULD BE FOLLOWED BY AGREEMENT ON A SUBSTANTIAL, MARKET-OPENING URUGUAY ROUND PACKAGE. WE MIGHT ALSO AGREE TO WORK WITH THESE COUNTRIES TO HELP THEM EXPAND THEIR TRADE WITH THE WEST, BY OFFERING NEW TECHNICAL ASSISTANCE IN SUCH AREAS AS MARKETING, DISTRIBUTION, AND SALES.

FOR OUR PART, WE WILL BE INCREASINGLY TARGETING U.S. GRANT ASSISTANCE TOWARD HELPING THE CENTRAL AND EASTERN EUROPEAN ECONOMIES ENHANCE TRADE, ATTRACT INVESTMENT, AND DEVELOP THEIR PRIVATE SECTORS. FOR EXAMPLE, WE WILL LAY GREATER STRESS ON OUR ENTERPRISE FUNDS, WHICH WE HAVE FOUND EFFECTIVE IN DELIVERING INVESTMENT CAPITAL PROMPTLY AND WHERE IT IS NEEDED MOST. AT THE SAME TIME, OF COURSE, WE WILL CONTINUE TO SUPPLY HUMANITARIAN ASSISTANCE WHERE IT IS NEEDED AND, AS REFORM ADVANCES IN BULGARIA AND OTHER COUNTRIES, WILL PROVIDE BROAD-BASED ASSISTANCE PROGRAMS ALONG THE LINES OF WHAT WE ARE DOING ALREADY WITH POLAND, HUNGARY, AND CZECHOSLOVAKIA.

THERE IS ANOTHER AREA, AFFECTING ALL THE COUNTRIES OF THE REGION, THAT I BELIEVE WE SHOULD DISCUSS IN LONDON: THE COLLAPSE OF THE SOVIET MARKET FOR CENTRAL AND EASTERN EUROPEAN PRODUCTS. LET ME SUGGEST THREE SPECIFIC STEPS THAT WE MIGHT CONSIDER. FIRST, WE SHOULD DO ALL WE CAN TO ENSURE THAT OUR AGRICULTURAL EXPORT SUBSIDIES DO NOT DISPLACE CENTRAL AND EASTERN EUROPEAN SHIPMENTS TO THE SOVIET UNION AND OTHER MARKETS. AS PART OF THIS EFFORT, THE U.S. WILL HOLD PERIODIC REVIEWS WITH THESE COUNTRIES OF THEIR EXPORT PATTERNS INTO SUBSIDIZED MARKETS, AND WE WILL SEEK IMPORTER ASSURANCES THAT U.S. EXPORTS WILL NOT BE AT THE EXPENSE OF CENTRAL AND EASTERN EUROPEAN TRADE. I WOULD ENCOURAGE YOU TO IMPLEMENT SIMILAR STEPS. SECOND, WE SHOULD URGE THE SOVIET UNION TO REMOVE ADMINISTRATIVE OBSTACLES PROHIBITING SOVIET ENTERPRISES FROM ENGAGING IN BARTER TRADE. TO AVOID SIMPLY PERPETUATING AN INEFFICIENT REGIONAL TRADING PATTERN, WE SHOULD ALSO OFFER TECHNICAL ASSISTANCE TO PROMOTE THE RAPID DEVELOPMENT OF MARKET-BASED TRADE RELATIONS IN THE REGION. THIRD, I PROPOSE THAT OUR GOVERNMENTS EXPLORE WAYS TO HELP THE CENTRAL AND EASTERN EUROPEAN COUNTRIES CREATE EXPORT AND INVESTMENT PROMOTION PROGRAMS, INCLUDING EXPORT FINANCE PROGRAMS WHICH MEET OECD GUIDELINES, SO THAT THEY CAN HAVE A

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~~SECRET~~ VIA BATMAN CHANNELS

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FINAL SECTION OF 02

FAIR CHANCE OF COMPETING IN THE SOVIET AND OTHER MARKETS.

TAKEN TOGETHER, THESE NEW EFFORTS WOULD BE AN APPROPRIATE REAFFIRMATION OF THE COMMITMENT THE G-7 FIRST MADE AT THE SUMMIT OF THE ARCH TWO YEARS AGO. I SUGGEST THAT WE ASK JOHN MAJOR, AS OUR HOST, TO WRITE A LETTER ON BEHALF OF THE SEVEN TO PRESIDENTS HAVEL AND WALESIA AND PRIME MINISTER ANTALL, CONVEYING OUR STRONG SUPPORT AND DETAILING STEPS WE HAVE AGREED TO TAKE. WE MIGHT INDIVIDUALLY COMMUNICATE THE SUBSTANCE OF THAT MESSAGE TO OTHER EAST EUROPEAN LEADERS, PARTICULARLY PRESIDENT ZHELEV.

I LOOK FORWARD TO DISCUSSING THESE ISSUES WITH YOU IN LONDON AND TO HEARING YOUR IDEAS ON HOW WE CAN STRENGTHEN SUPPORT FOR EUROPE'S NEW

DEMOCRACIES.

•
WITH BEST REGARDS,

•
END TEXT:

•
SINCERELY,

•
GEORGE BUSH

#0054

<SECT>SECTION: 01 OF 02 <SSN> 0053 <TOR> 910711174644 MSG000300563203

<SECT>SECTION: 02 OF 02 <SSN> 0054 <TOR> 910711174730 MSG000300563250

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<ORIG> FM WHITE HOUSE

<TO> TO MINISTRY OF FOREIGN AFFAIRS

<TEXT> ZEM
~~CONFIDENTIAL~~ VIA BATMAN CHANNELS
GGGG
PLEASE PASS THE FOLLOWING MESSAGE TO PRIME MINISTER KIICHI MIYAZAWA
FROM PRESIDENT BUSH.
-
NOVEMBER 8, 1991
-
BEGIN TEXT:
-
-
DEAR KIICHI,
-
I AM SO SORRY ABOUT HAVING HAD TO DELAY THE TRIP. I DO WANT TO
RESCHEDULE IT AT A TIME CONVENIENT TO YOU.
-
FROM OUR STANDPOINT, IT CANNOT BE BEFORE THE LAST WEEK IN DECEMBER
OR EARLY IN JANUARY.
-
WITH THAT IN MIND, THOUGH THERE ARE NO MATTERS OF AN EMERGENCY
NATURE TO DISCUSS, I WOULD LOVE TO HAVE YOU COME TO VISIT BARBARA
AND ME AT CAMP DAVID IN THE INTERIM. IF THIS HAS ANY APPEAL, I
WOULD SUGGEST ANY OF THE FOLLOWING DATES:
-
ARRIVE CAMP DAVID FRIDAY, NOVEMBER 15TH, IN THE AFTERNOON, SPEND
FRIDAY NIGHT, WITH A MEETING SATURDAY MORNING. LEAVE CAMP DAVID
AFTER LUNCH NOVEMBER 16TH.
-
ALSO CONVENIENT FOR ME WOULD BE EITHER NOVEMBER 22ND AND 23RD, OR
NOVEMBER 29TH AND 30TH.
-
I FORESEE A VERY INFORMAL GET-TOGETHER WITH VERY LIMITED STAFF
PARTICIPATION.
-
PLEASE FEEL NO PRESSURE ON THIS, BUT I JUST WANT YOU TO KNOW THE
WELCOME MAT WILL BE OUT IF YOU DECIDE TO COME.
-
SINCERELY,
-
GEORGE BUSH
-
-
END TEXT.
DECLAS: OADR
#0049
<SECT> SECTION: 01 OF 01 <SSN> 0049 <TOR> 911108050845 MSG000310885725

DECLASSIFIED
PER E.O. 13526
2009-0770-MR
11/26/2014 MM

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PRT: GANTT COMM OLEARY SIGLER SIT HOWE SCOWCROFT

SIT: HOTLINE_OUT FILE

<PREC> IMMEDIATE <CLAS> ~~SECRET~~

<OSRI> YEXXWHX <DTG> 120421Z FEB 92

<ORIG>FM WHITE HOUSE

<TO>TO MINISTRY OF FOREIGN AFFAIRS

<TEXT>ZEM

~~SECRET~~ VIA BATMAN CHANNELS

QQQQ

PLEASE DELIVER THE FOLLOWING MESSAGE FROM PRESIDENT BUSH TO
PRIME MINISTER MIYAZAWA

.
BEGIN TEXT

.
DEAR KIICHI:

.
I AM WRITING TO YOU ON A MATTER OF GREAT POTENTIAL VALUE FOR
THE SECURITY OF OUR FRIENDS AND ALLIES, AND EVEN THE WORLD.
I AM ALSO SENDING SIMILAR LETTERS TO OTHER KEY ALLIES. AS A
RESULT OF THE FRESH THINKING OF THE NEW RUSSIAN LEADERSHIP,
WE MAY HAVE THE OPPORTUNITY TO BEGIN CREATING A COOPERATIVE
INTERNATIONAL REGIME FOR PROTECTION AGAINST LIMITED
BALLISTIC MISSILE ATTACKS. SUCH A REGIME WOULD ENABLE US TO
DEFEND AGAINST A RANGE OF NEW BALLISTIC MISSILE THREATS
WITHOUT AFFECTING THE CREDIBILITY OF LONG STANDING
DETERRENT FORCES. ONE OF THE CORNERSTONES OF THIS
COOPERATIVE EFFORT COULD BE THE PARTICIPATION OF OUR
TRADITIONAL ALLIES. OUR PRINCIPAL PARTNER COULD BE RUSSIA
ITSELF, THANKS TO THE OPENING PRESIDENT YELTSIN HAS NOW
OFFERED.

.
PRESIDENT YELTSIN INDICATED CLEAR INTEREST IN A COOPERATIVE
APPROACH TO GLOBAL MISSILE DEFENSE. JIM BAKER IS ON HIS WAY
BACK TO RUSSIA AND OTHER NEW INDEPENDENT STATES TO PURSUE
OUR COMMON AGENDA, INCLUDING THE REDUCTION AND CONTROL OF
NUCLEAR WEAPONS, EMERGENCY ASSISTANCE, AND OUR READINESS TO
BRING THESE SOCIETIES INTO OUR COMMUNITY OF INSTITUTIONS AND
VALUES. IN MOSCOW, JIM WILL ALSO EXPLORE THE IDEA THAT WAS
RAISED AT CAMP DAVID AND IF POSSIBLE SEIZE THIS OPPORTUNITY
TO BEGIN LAYING THE GROUNDWORK FOR A COOPERATIVE
INTERNATIONAL APPROACH.

.
AMERICAN OFFICIALS AND EXPERTS HAVE BRIEFED THEIR ALLIED
COUNTERPARTS OVER THE PAST YEAR ABOUT THE TECHNICAL
POTENTIAL OF WHAT WE CALL GPALS (GLOBAL PROTECTION AGAINST
LIMITED STRIKES). NOW I WANT TO EXPLAIN TO YOU PERSONALLY
WHY I BELIEVE THIS IS SUCH AN IMPORTANT OPPORTUNITY.

.
THE GOAL OF EFFECTIVE DEFENSE AGAINST LIMITED BALLISTIC
MISSILE ATTACKS HAS BECOME BOTH MORE COMPELLING AND MORE
FEASIBLE. DESPITE OUR CONTINUING EFFORTS TO IMPEDE
PROLIFERATION, WE ARE EXPERIENCING A STEADY SPREAD OF THE
TECHNOLOGY OF BOTH BALLISTIC MISSILES AND DEVICES OF MASS
DESTRUCTION AND TERROR. THE MOST VIVID EXAMPLE OF THIS
PERIL IS IRAQ -- BEFORE, DURING, AND SINCE THE GULF WAR.
BUT THE NUMBER OF CASES WHERE DANGEROUS REGIMES MIGHT COME
TO POSSESS DANGEROUS WEAPONS IS GROWING. WE CANNOT LEAVE

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PER E.O. 13526

2000-0233-F/3

03/14/2011 MM

OUR SOCIETIES EXPOSED TO THREATS WE CANNOT BE SURE OF
DETERRING.

AT THE SAME TIME, TWO DEVELOPMENTS HAVE MADE IT POSSIBLE TO
CREATE THE MEANS OF PROTECTION, AND TO DO SO ON A
COOPERATIVE INTERNATIONAL BASIS. WE HAVE BEEN MAKING
SIGNIFICANT PROGRESS ON THE TECHNOLOGIES NEEDED FOR DEFENSE
AGAINST LIMITED BALLISTIC MISSILE STRIKES. AS YOU ARE
AWARE, THE UNITED STATES INTENDS TO DEPLOY LIMITED DEFENSES
AGAINST BALLISTIC MISSILES. NOW, PRESIDENT YELTSIN HAS
BROUGHT A NEW RUSSIAN PERSPECTIVE: A CONCERN, LIKE OURS,
ABOUT THE DANGERS CAUSED BY PROLIFERATION, COMBINED WITH A
READINESS TO DO SOMETHING ABOUT IT IN COOPERATION WITH US.

THE IDEA WE NOW WOULD PROPOSE TO EXPLORE WITH OUR ALLIES,
WITH RUSSIA, AND POSSIBLY WITH OTHER FRIENDLY NATIONS, IS A
STAGED APPROACH TO A COOPERATIVE INTERNATIONAL REGIME, IN
WHICH A SHARED EARLY WARNING SYSTEM WOULD BE CREATED, THE
POSSIBLE EXCHANGE OF TECHNOLOGIES AMONG PARTICIPATING
COUNTRIES WOULD BE PURSUED, AND THE PARTICIPANTS WOULD
DEVELOP A CONCEPT FOR A GLOBAL BALLISTIC MISSILE EARLY
WARNING AND PROTECTION REGIME. IN ADDITION, THE UNITED
STATES IS READY TO DISCUSS HOW, AND THROUGH WHAT FORMS OF
COOPERATION, AMERICAN EARLY WARNING AND DEFENSIVE
CAPABILITIES COULD BE MADE AVAILABLE TO OUR ALLIES.

ALL OF THIS IS STILL EXPLORATORY, THOUGH THE OPPORTUNITY TO
PLAN FIRST STEPS IS VERY REAL, THANKS TO THE NEW POSITIVE
ATTITUDE IN MOSCOW. WE WILL OF COURSE KEEP YOU FULLY
INFORMED OF WHAT JIM LEARNS AND CAN ACCOMPLISH IN MOSCOW
REGARDING THIS CONCEPT.

I THINK THIS IDEA HOLDS GREAT PROMISE. WE WILL NEED TO WORK
TOGETHER AT EVERY POINT. I HAVE ASKED JIM BAKER AND DICK
CHENEY TO DEVELOP AND OFFER TO THEIR ALLIED COUNTERPARTS A
PLAN FOR EARLY CONSULTATION AND LONG-TERM COOPERATION. LET
ME ASK YOU IN RETURN TO ENCOURAGE YOUR MINISTERS AND STAFFS
TO BEGIN TO EMBARK WITH US ON THE CONSIDERATION OF WHAT
COULD PROVE TO BE ONE OF THE MOST IMPORTANT DIVIDENDS OF OUR
COMMON POLITICAL AND TECHNOLOGICAL SUCCESS.

SINCERELY,

GEORGE BUSH

END TEXT

#0097

<SECT>SECTION: 01 OF 01 <SSN> 0097 <TOR> 920211235607 MSG000319161367

<DIST>
PRT: HILL COMM OLEARY SIGLER SIT HOWE SCOWCROFT SITTMANN
SIT: DEAL GANTT HOTLINE_OUT FILE PAAL
<PREC> IMMEDIATE <CLAS> ~~CONFIDENTIAL~~ <OSRI> YEXXWHX <DTG> 310111Z MAY 92

<ORIG>FM WHITE HOUSE

<TO>TO MINISTRY OF FOREIGN AFFAIRS

<TEXT>ZEM

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~ VIA BATMAN CHANNELS

QQQQ

PLEASE DELIVER THE FOLLOWING MESSAGE FROM PRESIDENT BUSH TO
PRIME MINISTER MIYAZAWA.

BEGIN TEXT:

DEAR KIICHI:

ON MONDAY, I PLAN TO ANNOUNCE A MAJOR NEW FOREST
INITIATIVE TO PROMOTE FOREST CONSERVATION AND SUSTAINABLE USE.
AS A FIRST STEP, I PROPOSE THAT WE IN THE DEVELOPED WORLD DOUBLE
OUR CURRENT COMMITMENT TO INTERNATIONAL FOREST CONSERVATION
PROGRAMS FROM \$1.35 BILLION TO \$2.7 BILLION ANNUALLY. THE ADDED
RESOURCES COULD BE INVESTED THROUGH EXISTING BILATERAL AND
MULTILATERAL MECHANISMS AND PROGRAMS, INCLUDING THE WORLD BANK'S
GLOBAL ENVIRONMENT FACILITY. OVER THE NEXT DECADE, THIS WILL AMOUNT
TO A SIZEABLE INVESTMENT AND PUT US ON THE PATH TOWARD OUR ULTIMATE
GOAL OF HALTING THE LOSS OF THE WORLD'S FORESTS. WE ARE PREPARED TO
MEET OUR SHARE OF THE \$2.7 BILLION TOTAL, AND I PLAN TO ANNOUNCE ON
MONDAY OUR FIRST INSTALLMENT OF AN ADDITIONAL \$150 MILLION FOR
INTERNATIONAL FOREST ASSISTANCE.

AS IMPORTANT AS MONEY IS, THE KEY TO OUR INITIATIVE IS ITS
FLEXIBLE APPROACH: IT RELIES ON COOPERATIVE ARRANGEMENTS THAT
RESPECT SOVEREIGNTY, ENSURE THAT RESOURCES ARE DEVOTED TO THE MOST
EFFECTIVE AND EFFICIENT PROGRAMS, AND FOSTER REAL PARTNERSHIPS
BETWEEN INTERESTED COUNTRIES.

I HOPE THAT BY STRESSING THIS FLEXIBLE APPROACH, AND BY MAKING A
SIGNIFICANT FINANCIAL COMMITMENT, WE CAN GIVE NEW IMPETUS TO OUR
EFFORT TO REACH AN INTERNATIONAL AGREEMENT ON A STRONG STATEMENT OF
PRINCIPLES ON FORESTS LEADING TO A FORESTS CONVENTION. TO ENSURE
THAT WE MAINTAIN MOMENTUM FROM THIS INITIATIVE AND OUR WORK IN RIO,
I ALSO PROPOSE TO CONVENE A "FORESTS PARTNERSHIPS FORUM" TOWARDS
THE END OF THIS YEAR TO BRING TOGETHER POTENTIAL INVESTORS AND
RECIPIENTS AND TO SHARE IDEAS ON FOREST CONSERVATION OPPORTUNITIES.

I HOPE THAT YOU CAN SUPPORT OUR INITIATIVE IN CONCEPT AND THAT
WE CAN WORK ON THIS FURTHER OVER THE NEXT COUPLE OF WEEKS. LAUNCHING
A COMMON EFFORT AT RIO ON THIS ISSUE WOULD GIVE THE SUMMIT A BIG
BOOST.

SINCERELY,

GEORGE BUSH

END TEXT

#0080

<SECT>SECTION: 01 OF 01 <SSN> 0080 <TOR> 920530213647 MSG000328570607

DECLASSIFIED
PER E.O. 13526

2009-0770-MR
11/26/2014 MM

<DIST>

PRT: COMM OLEARY SIGLER SIT HOWE SCOWCROFT

SIT: GOMPERT HOTLINE_OUT FILE HUTCHINGS

<PREC> IMMEDIATE <CLAS> ~~CONFIDENTIAL~~ <OSRI> YEXXWHX <DTG> 262105Z JUN 92

<ORIG>FM WHITE HOUSE

<TO>TO MINISTRY OF FOREIGN AFFAIRS

<TEXT>ZEM

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~ VIA BATMAN CHANNELS

QQQQ

PLEASE PASS THE FOLLOWING MESSAGE TO PRIME MINISTER MIYAZAWA FROM PRESIDENT BUSH.

BEGIN TEXT:

DEAR KIICHI,

SHORTLY AFTER OUR MEETING IN WASHINGTON, I WILL BE STOPPING BRIEFLY IN WARSAW, WHERE I WILL JOIN PRESIDENT WALESIA IN CEREMONIES MARKING THE RETURN OF THE REMAINS OF THE DISTINGUISHED POLISH STATESMAN IGNACY JAN PADEREWSKI. BUT MY MAIN REASON FOR GOING IS TO REAFFIRM OUR SUPPORT FOR POLAND, DESPITE ITS PRESENT DIFFICULTIES, AND URGE THE POLES TO GET BACK ON TRACK WITH ECONOMIC REFORM. THEY NEED A POSITIVE SIGNAL RIGHT NOW, SO A NEW POLISH GOVERNMENT CAN REBUILD PUBLIC SUPPORT FOR A SOUND ECONOMIC PROGRAM THAT GAINS THE SUPPORT OF THE IMF.

IN THAT REGARD, THE POLES HAVE APPROACHED US ABOUT THE POSSIBILITY OF CONVERTING THE \$1 BILLION STABILIZATION FUND TO NEW USES ONCE ITS INITIAL PURPOSE OF STABILIZING THE POLISH ZLOTY IS FULFILLED. OUR VIEW, WHICH I BELIEVE THE POLES FULLY ACCEPT, IS THAT THE FUND SHOULD BE LIQUIDATED ONLY AFTER POLAND HAS RETURNED SECURELY TO COMPLIANCE WITH THE IMF ON AN AGREED ECONOMIC PROGRAM AND AGREEMENT BY THE CONTRIBUTORS. AT THE SAME TIME, A POSITIVE SIGNAL FROM THE G-7 ABOUT THIS IDEA AS A FUTURE PROSPECT MIGHT GIVE THE POLES AN ADDED INCENTIVE TO RETURN TO THE REFORM TRACK.

WHILE THERE, I PLAN TO SAY THAT THE U.S. IS PREPARED TO CONVERT ITS \$200 MILLION GRANT SHARE OF THE FUND TO NEW PRODUCTIVE USES ONCE POLAND RETURNS TO IMF COMPLIANCE AND THE FUND'S CONTRIBUTORS AGREE IT CAN SAFELY BE LIQUIDATED. I WILL ALSO SUGGEST THAT OTHER PARTICIPANTS IN THE FUND CONSIDER MAKING AVAILABLE THEIR PRESENT CONTRIBUTIONS (WHETHER GRANTS, LOANS, OR LINES OF CREDIT) ON TERMS AND FOR PURPOSES TO BE WORKED OUT BETWEEN EACH GOVERNMENT AND POLAND.

I KNOW THAT OUR SITUATIONS ARE DIFFERENT AND THAT IT MAY BE HARDER FOR YOU TO MAKE THIS COMMITMENT BECAUSE YOUR CONTRIBUTION WAS NOT IN THE FORM OF A CASH GRANT. BUT BECAUSE THE NEEDS ARE SO URGENT IN POLAND AND THE STAKES SO HIGH, I WOULD ASK YOU TO CONSIDER CONTINUING YOUR PRESENT COMMITMENT FOR NEW PURPOSES (AND POTENTIALLY FOR ANOTHER PERIOD OF LIMITED DURATION, DEPENDING ON WHAT YOU MIGHT EVENTUALLY AGREE WITH THE POLES).

IN ANY CASE, I SUGGEST THAT WE DISCUSS THE MATTER FURTHER WHEN YOU COME TO WASHINGTON, ALONG WITH ANY IDEAS YOU HAVE FOR WAYS WE CAN

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2012-0288-MR
9/25/2014 MM

SUPPORT POLAND AND THE OTHER NEW DEMOCRACIES. I WOULD ALSO WELCOME ANY ADVICE YOU MAY HAVE REGARDING MY TRIP TO WARSAW, PARTICULARLY AS TO HOW WE CAN HELP POLAND FIND ITS WAY BACK TO THE REFORM PATH.

■
WITH WARM REGARDS,

■
SINCERELY,

■
GEORGE BUSH

■
END TEXT:

#0014

<SECT>SECTION: 01 OF 01 <SSN> 0014 <TOR> 920626174156 MSG000330889316

<DIST>

PRT: COMM OLEARY SIGLER SIT

SIT: BARTH HOTLINE OUT PAAL

<PREC> IMMEDIATE <CLAS> ~~CONFIDENTIAL~~ <OSRI> YEXXWHX <DTG> 171436Z AUG 92

<ORIG>FM WHITE HOUSE

<TO>TO MINISTRY OF FOREIGN AFFAIRS

<TEXT>ZEM

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~ VIA BATMAN CHANNELS

QQQQ

PLEASE PASS THE FOLLOWING MESSAGE TO PRIME MINISTER MIYAZAWA
FROM PRESIDENT BUSH.

BEGIN TEXT:

DEAR KIICHI,

ON AUGUST 12, THE UNITED STATES COMPLETED NEGOTIATIONS WITH MEXICO AND CANADA ON A NORTH AMERICAN FREE TRADE AGREEMENT (NAFTA). THIS MAJOR NEW TRADE LIBERALIZING INITIATIVE WILL PHASE OUT BARRIERS TO TRADE IN GOODS AND SERVICES, ELIMINATE RESTRICTIONS ON INVESTMENT, AND STRENGTHEN THE PROTECTION OF INTELLECTUAL PROPERTY RIGHTS IN ALL THREE COUNTRIES.

THE OBJECTIVE OF THE NAFTA NEGOTIATIONS FROM THE START HAS BEEN TO OPEN MARKETS AND EXPAND REGIONAL TRADE -- AND NOT TO ERECT NEW BARRIERS TO NON-PARTICIPANTS. WE REMAIN COMMITTED TO AN OPEN INTERNATIONAL TRADING SYSTEM AND WANT TO SEE THAT SYSTEM STRENGTHENED AND IMPROVED IN THE URUGUAY ROUND.

IN THE COURSE OF OUR FOURTEEN MONTHS OF NEGOTIATIONS, THE THREE SIDES ADDRESSED A VARIETY OF COMPLEX AND POLITICALLY SENSITIVE ISSUES INVOLVING AGRICULTURE, FINANCIAL SERVICES, INTELLECTUAL PROPERTY RIGHTS, ENERGY AND THE ENVIRONMENT. WE WERE ABLE TO REACH PRACTICAL COMPROMISES THAT ACCOMMODATED THE CONCERNS OF EACH OF THE COUNTRIES. AS A RESULT, WE NOW HAVE A BALANCED AGREEMENT WHICH BENEFITS ALL THREE COUNTRIES, AND WE ARE CONFIDENT THAT IT IS FULLY CONSISTENT WITH GATT CRITERIA FOR FREE TRADE AREAS. INDEED, WE SEE NAFTA AND A NEW GATT AGREEMENT AS COMPLEMENTARY.

AT THE MUNICH SUMMIT, WE ALL AGREED ON THE IMPORTANCE OF THE URUGUAY ROUND FOR THE FUTURE OF THE WORLD ECONOMY AND EXPRESSED SUPPORT FOR AN EARLY CONCLUSION TO THE NEGOTIATIONS. EXPERIENCE WITH THE NAFTA NEGOTIATIONS GIVES ME RENEWED CONFIDENCE IN THE POSSIBILITY OF OVERCOMING THE REMAINING OBSTACLES TO A SUCCESSFUL URUGUAY ROUND, PROVIDED WE ALL SHOW THE SAME POLITICAL WILL. WE HAVE NARROWED OUR DIFFERENCES TO A RELATIVELY SMALL NUMBER OF ISSUES. IF WE APPROACH THESE DIFFERENCES CONSTRUCTIVELY AND WITH DETERMINATION, I AM CONFIDENT THAT ALL THE PARTIES CAN FIND AGREEABLE SOLUTIONS.

I ASSURE YOU THAT I AM PERSONALLY COMMITTED TO DO ALL THAT I CAN TO COMPLETE THE URUGUAY ROUND NEGOTIATIONS THIS YEAR. THE UNITED STATES IS PREPARED TO RESUME FURTHER NEGOTIATIONS ON KEY OUTSTANDING ISSUES AT ANY TIME. STRONG JAPANESE SUPPORT FOR A SUCCESSFUL CONCLUSION COULD BE VERY HELPFUL AT THIS POINT, PARTICULARLY IN BREAKING THE DEADLOCK ON AGRICULTURE AND FINANCIAL SERVICES.

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2009-0770-MR

11/26/2014 MM

■
KIICHI, LET ME ALSO ASSURE YOU THAT, AS WE PLEDGED IN THE
TOKYO PLAN OF ACTION, WE WILL SUPPORT A FULL REVIEW OF NAFTA BY
THE GATT. IN THE MEANTIME, I WOULD WELCOME ANY THOUGHTS THAT YOU
MAY HAVE ON HOW WE CAN WORK TOGETHER TO REACH FINAL AGREEMENT ON
A GLOBAL TRADE LIBERALIZATION THAT IS OF GREAT IMPORTANCE TO BOTH
OUR COUNTRIES.

■
SINCERELY,

■
GEORGE BUSH

■
END TEXT:
DECL: OADR
#0049

<SECT>SECTION: 01 OF 01 <SSN> 0049 <TOR> 920817112424 MSG000335359464

<DIST>
PRT: COMM OLEARY SIGLER SIT
SIT: HOTLINE_OUT
<PREC> IMMEDIATE <CLAS> ~~CONFIDENTIAL~~ <OSRI> YEXXWHX <DTG> 191620Z AUG 92

<ORIG>FM WHITE HOUSE

<TO>TO MINISTRY OF FOREIGN AFFAIRS

<TEXT>ZEM
~~CONFIDENTIAL~~ VIA BATMAN CHANNELS
QQQQ

THE PRESIDENT HAS ASKED THAT THE FOLLOWING MESSAGE TO PRIME
MINISTER MAJOR BE SHARED WITH PRIME MINISTER MIYAZAWA.

•
BEGIN TEXT:

•
DEAR JOHN:

•
THANK YOU FOR YOUR MESSAGE REGARDING THE ECONOMIC SUMMIT. I
AGREE THAT, THANKS TO HELMUT'S EFFORTS, OUR MEETING IN MUNICH WAS
MORE INFORMAL. YET I SHARE FULLY YOUR FRUSTRATION THAT THE
ECONOMIC SUMMIT HAS DRIFTED FAR FROM ITS ORIGINS OF AN INFORMAL
GATHERING TO DISCUSS KEY ISSUES OF CONCERN TO HEADS. I AM AN
ENTHUSIASTIC SUPPORTER OF YOUR SUGGESTIONS FOR REFORMING THE
PROCESS.

WITH THE HOPE THAT WE CAN SOON ADOPT CHANGES SUCH AS THOSE
YOU SUGGEST, I AM COPYING THIS MESSAGE TO OUR COLLEAGUES.

•
SINCERELY,

•
GEORGE BUSH

•
END TEXT.
DECL: OADR
#0006

<SECT>SECTION: 01 OF 01 <SSN> 0006 <TOR> 920819125742 MSG000335537862

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2009-0762-MR
SCS 11/21/11

Withdrawal/Redaction Sheet

(George Bush Library)

Document No. and Type	Subject/Title of Document	Date	Restriction	Class.
18. Cable	Re: Message to Prime Minister Miyazawa from President George Bush (1 pp.)	9/11/92	(b)(1)	S

Collection:

Record Group: Bush Presidential Records
Office: Scowcroft, Brent, Files
Series: Presidential Correspondence Files
Subseries: Head of State Message Files
WHORM Cat.:
File Location: Japan (Outgoing) 1989 - 1993

Date Closed: 2/12/2009	OA/ID Number: 91115-002
FOIA/SYS Case #: 2009-0275-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]
 P-6 Release would constitute a clearly unwarranted invasion of personal privacy [(a)(6) of the PRA]

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

PRM. Removed as a personal record misfile.

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

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

<ORIG>FM WHITE HOUSE

<TO>TO MINISTRY OF FOREIGN AFFAIRS

<TEXT>ZEM

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~ VIA BATMAN CHANNELS

QQQQ

PLEASE DELIVER THE FOLLOWING MESSAGE FROM PRESIDENT BUSH
TO PRIME MINISTER MIYAZAWA

BEGIN TEXT:

DEAR KIICHI:

I AM WRITING TO FOLLOW UP ON OUR RECENT EXCHANGE OF LETTERS ON
TRADE. WE BOTH AGREE THAT A SUCCESSFUL CONCLUSION OF THE URUGUAY
ROUND IS OF VITAL IMPORTANCE FOR STRENGTHENING AN OPEN
INTERNATIONAL TRADING SYSTEM AND PROMOTING GLOBAL ECONOMIC GROWTH.
I WAS PLEASED TO HEAR THAT JAPAN IS STILL DEVOTED TO REACHING AN
AGREEMENT BY THE END OF THE YEAR.

NOW THAT THE FRENCH REFERENDUM ON THE MAASTRICHT TREATY IS OVER, WE
HAVE AN OPPORTUNITY TO PRESS AHEAD AND RESOLVE THE REMAINING
OUTSTANDING ISSUES IN THE GATT NEGOTIATIONS. IN OUR ASSESSMENT,
COUNTRIES ARE NOT FAR APART ON MANY OF THESE ISSUES. BUT THE TIME
AVAILABLE IS SHORT TO MAKE PROGRESS. I AM CONFIDENT THAT WE CAN
OVERCOME THE REMAINING OBSTACLES IF ALL G-7 COUNTRIES DEMONSTRATE
THE POLITICAL WILL TO DO SO. AT MUNICH, WE PLEDGED TO CONCLUDE THE
URUGUAY ROUND THIS YEAR. WE OWE IT TO OUR PEOPLE TO MAKE GOOD ON
THAT PLEDGE.

I BELIEVE THAT WE NEED TO MOVE IN PARALLEL TO ADDRESS THE AREAS
WHERE THERE ARE SIGNIFICANT DIFFERENCES -- AGRICULTURE, MARKET
ACCESS AND SERVICES. AT MY INSTRUCTION, SECRETARY BRADY INITIATED
DISCUSSIONS WITH G-7 FINANCE MINISTERS IN WASHINGTON THIS WEEK
AIMED AT DEVELOPING A COMMON POSITION ON FINANCIAL SERVICES. UNDER
SECRETARY MULFORD HAS INVITED HIS G-7 COUNTERPARTS TO A MEETING IN
WASHINGTON SEPTEMBER 30 FOR FURTHER TALKS. I HOPE THAT JAPAN WILL
ACTIVELY SUPPORT REACHING A G-7 CONSENSUS ON THIS IMPORTANT SECTOR
AND WILL ITSELF MAKE SIGNIFICANT IMPROVEMENTS IN ITS OFFERS ON
BANKING, SECURITIES AND INSURANCE.

I HAVE WRITTEN TO JACQUES DELORS OFFERING TO SEND AMBASSADOR HILLS
AND SECRETARY MADIGAN TO BRUSSELS TO RESUME NEGOTIATIONS WITH THE
EC NEXT WEEK. THEY WILL REVIEW THE ENTIRE RANGE OF OUTSTANDING
ISSUES, WITH SPECIAL ATTENTION TO AGRICULTURE WHERE WE STILL HAVE
SOME DIFFERENCES. IT IS IMPORTANT THAT JAPAN BE PREPARED TO
ANNOUNCE ITS WILLINGNESS TO ACCEPT TARIFFICATION OF AGRICULTURAL
IMPORTS AS PART OF A FAIR AND BALANCED GATT AGREEMENT. IN THIS
WAY, THE EC CANNOT CLAIM THAT OTHER G-7 MEMBERS ARE ALSO TO BLAME
FOR THE CONTINUING AGRICULTURE DEADLOCK.

JAPAN CAN ALSO HELP BY PLAYING AN ACTIVE AND CONSTRUCTIVE ROLE IN
THE DISCUSSIONS ON MARKET ACCESS AND SERVICES TO BE HELD IN GENEVA
OCTOBER 5-16. THESE MEETINGS WOULD PROVIDE THE OPPORTUNITY FOR A
FURTHER EXCHANGE OF VIEWS REGARDING TARIFF CONCESSIONS ON NON-
AGRICULTURAL PRODUCTS, WHICH I NOTE FROM YOUR LETTER IS OF KEEN

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2009-0770-MR
11/26/2014 MM

INTEREST TO JAPAN. I UNDERSTAND THAT AMBASSADOR HILLS HAS HAD DETAILED EXCHANGES WITH MINISTER WATANABE ON THIS SUBJECT. OUR BILATERAL DIALOGUE NEEDS TO CONTINUE WITH THE GOAL OF REACHING AGREEMENT ON MEANINGFUL COMMITMENTS FOR LIBERALIZING MARKET ACCESS.

THE URUGUAY ROUND NEGOTIATIONS ARE AT A CRITICAL STAGE. I BELIEVE THAT WE ARE WITHIN REACH OF A COMPREHENSIVE AGREEMENT THAT WILL LAY THE GROUNDWORK FOR A DRAMATIC INCREASE IN WORLD TRADE IN THE DECADES AHEAD. THE UNITED STATES IS PREPARED TO NEGOTIATE AS INTENSELY AS NEEDED AND REGARDLESS OF OUR POLITICAL CALENDAR. I ASK FOR YOUR PERSONAL INVOLVEMENT IN ENSURING THAT JAPAN GIVES THE STRONGEST POSSIBLE SUPPORT TO BRINGING THE NEGOTIATIONS TO A RAPID AND SUCCESSFUL CONCLUSION.

SINCERELY,

GEORGE BUSH

END TEXT

#0067

<SECT>SECTION: 01 OF 01 <SSN> 0067 <TOR> 920924212359 MSG000338678639

<ORIG>FM WHITE HOUSE

<TO>TO MINISTRY OF FOREIGN AFFAIRS

<TEXT>ZEM

~~SECRET~~ VIA BATMAN CHANNELS

QQQQ

PLEASE DELIVER THE FOLLOWING MESSAGE TO PRIME MINISTER MIYAZAWA,
FROM PRESIDENT RUSH.

BEGIN TEXT:

DEAR KIICHI:

AS WE ARE ALL AWARE, THE COLLAPSE OF THE SOVIET UNION IN 1991 AND THE EMERGENCE OF A DEMOCRATIC RUSSIA DURING THE PAST YEAR HAVE HAD PROFOUND AND POSITIVE IMPLICATIONS FOR THE SECURITY OF ALL OF OUR COUNTRIES. WE AGREED IN MUNICH THAT THE SUCCESS OF REFORM IN RUSSIA IS AMONG OUR MOST IMPORTANT OBJECTIVES FOR THE REMAINDER OF THIS DECADE AND INTO THE TWENTY-FIRST CENTURY, AND THAT WE SHOULD DO EVERYTHING POSSIBLE TO HELP THOSE REFORM EFFORTS SUCCEED. AFTER HAVING SPOKEN WITH BORIS YELTSIN TWICE DURING THE LAST TEN DAYS ABOUT THE SITUATION IN RUSSIA, I BELIEVE WE MUST ALL NOW UNITE TO SUPPORT YELTSIN AND THE FORCES OF REFORM IN THE WEEKS AHEAD.

BORIS YELTSIN TOLD ME THAT THE CONGRESS OF PEOPLE'S DEPUTIES SESSION ON DECEMBER 1 IS AN ATTEMPT BY THOSE WHO LOST POWER LAST YEAR TO GAIN IT BACK AND TO ALTER THE COURSE OF REFORM IN RUSSIA. HE ASKED SPECIFICALLY THAT THE UNITED STATES AND OTHER WESTERN COUNTRIES FIND A WAY TO DEMONSTRATE PUBLICLY AND TANGIBLY OUR SUPPORT FOR YEGOR GAYDAR'S ECONOMIC REFORMS BEFORE THE CONGRESS BEGINS ON DECEMBER 1.

I INTEND TO MAKE IT VERY CLEAR DURING THE NEXT FEW WEEKS TO ALL CONCERNED THAT THE UNITED STATES SUPPORTS UNEQUIVOCALLY THE REFORM GOVERNMENT IN MOSCOW. I BELIEVE IT WILL ALSO BE CRITICALLY IMPORTANT FOR ALL OF US TO EXPRESS THIS SUPPORT IN CONCRETE TERMS. THE BEST WAY FOR US TO DO SO NOW IS TO HONOR THE COMMITMENT WE MADE TO PRESIDENT YELTSIN AT MUNICH TO CONCLUDE A PARIS CLUB DEBT RESCHEDULING FOR RUSSIA. I THINK IT IS VITALLY IMPORTANT THAT WE DO SO IMMEDIATELY. THIS WOULD PROVIDE, BEFORE THE CONGRESS CONVENES, A STRONG SIGNAL OF SUPPORT FOR PRESIDENT YELTSIN'S EFFORTS TO MOVE TOWARD A MARKET ECONOMY.

I BELIEVE G-7 FINANCE MINISTERS ARE MAKING SOME PROGRESS TOWARD A RESCHEDULING. TWO MAJOR ELEMENTS, HOWEVER, MUST STILL BE RESOLVED. FIRST, WE MUST AGREE ON A LEGAL FRAMEWORK FOR RESCHEDULING THAT ACCOMMODATES THE INTERESTS OF BOTH RUSSIA AND UKRAINE. BUT LET ME NOTE THAT I BELIEVE IT'S COUNTERPRODUCTIVE FOR US TO ENGAGE IN THE DEBATE BETWEEN RUSSIA AND UKRAINE ON OWNERSHIP OF FOREIGN ASSETS. THERE ARE VERY FEW LIQUID ASSETS THAT WOULD ASSIST THE DEBT PAYMENT PROBLEM. THE WEST NEEDS UKRAINE'S SUPPORT FOR START AND NPT RATIFICATION. CHOOSING SIDES IN THE DEBATE OVER ASSETS COULD SERIOUSLY UNDERMINE OUR DEALINGS ON THESE ISSUES WITH UKRAINE. I ATTACH GREAT IMPORTANCE TO THE VISIT THIS WEEK TO KIEV BY THE

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2009-0770-MR

11/26/2014 MM

CHAIRMAN OF THE PARIS CLUB, MR. JEAN-CLAUDE TRICHET, TO MEET WITH REPRESENTATIVES OF RUSSIA AND UKRAINE, BUT I THINK WE ALSO NEED TO BE OPEN MINDED AND CREATIVE ABOUT APPROACHES THAT ALLOW DEBT RESCHEDULING TO GO FORWARD WITHOUT WAITING FOR THE DIFFERENCES BETWEEN RUSSIA AND UKRAINE TO BE FINALLY RESOLVED.

SECOND, THERE ARE DIFFERENCES AMONG US ON THE TERMS OF THE RESCHEDULING. WE HAVE PROMISED PRESIDENT YELTSIN THAT THE RESCHEDULING SHOULD PROVIDE REAL AND MEANINGFUL BREATHING SPACE TO MANAGE RUSSIA'S DEBT OBLIGATIONS. WE MUST BE SUFFICIENTLY GENEROUS TO PERMIT RUSSIA TO HONOR ITS COMMITMENTS, TRULY CONSISTENT WITH A REALISTIC ASSESSMENT OF ITS CAPACITY TO REPAY, AND TO FINANCE ITS BALANCE OF PAYMENTS IN 1993. I UNDERSTAND THAT THIS IS NOT AN EASY STEP FOR YOUR COUNTRY OR MINE, BUT I SEE NO ALTERNATIVE TO A VERY GENEROUS RESCHEDULING.

AT THIS CRITICAL TIME FOR PRESIDENT YELTSIN AND THE REFORM PROCESS IN RUSSIA, I BELIEVE VERY STRONGLY THAT WE MUST FOCUS ON THE URGENT ACTIONS WE NEED TO TAKE TO ACHIEVE THE LONG-TERM BENEFITS TO THE WEST OF A CONTINUATION OF THE REFORM PROCESS IN RUSSIA. SHOULD REFORM BE DEFEATED, THE RESULT WOULD JEOPARDIZE MANY OF THE HISTORIC GAINS WE HAVE ACHIEVED DUE TO THE COLLAPSE OF THE SOVIET UNION. WE MUST THEREFORE WORK TOGETHER TO DO EVERYTHING POSSIBLE TO SUPPORT THE YELTSIN GOVERNMENT DURING THE MONTH AHEAD. I SUGGEST THAT EACH OF US INSTRUCT OUR RESPECTIVE FINANCE MINISTERS TO COMPLETE THE RESCHEDULING BY DECEMBER 1.

WITH MY PERSONAL BEST WISHES,

SINCERELY,

GEORGE BUSH

END TEXT

DECL: OARD

#0104

<SECT>SECTION: 01 OF 01 <SSN> 0104 <TOR> 921110211408 MSG000342738848

