

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: 91115-008

Folder Title:
United Kingdom (Outgoing) 1989 - 1993 [2]

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	White House to Cabinet Office Re: Message to Stephen Hall from Brent Scowcroft (2 pp.)	4/24/91	(b)(1)	S
02. Cable	White House to Cabinet Office Re: Message to Prime Minister Major from President Bush (2 pp.)	5/17/91	(b)(1)	S
03. Cable	White House to Cabinet Office Re: Message to Prime Minister Major from President Bush (2 pp.)	5/21/91	(b)(1)	C
04. Cable	White House to Cabinet Office Re: Message to Prime Minister Major from President Bush (1 pp.)	5/28/91	(b)(1)	C
05. Cable	White House to Cabinet Office Re: Message to Prime Minister Major from President Bush (4 pp.)	7/3/91	(b)(1)	S
06. Cable	White House to Cabinet Office Re: Message to Prime Minister Major from President Bush (3 pp.)	7/11/91	(b)(1)	S

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Subseries: Head of State Message Files
WHORM Cat.:
File Location: United Kingdom (Outgoing) 1989 - 1993 [2]

Pinksheet Number: cap973
OA/ID Number: 91115-008
Date Closed: 2/13/2009
FOIA/Sys Case #: 2009-0275-S
Re-review Case #:
P-2/P-5 Review Case #:

Withdrawal/Redaction Sheet

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Doc. No. / Type	Subject/Title	Date	Restriction	Classification
07. Cable	White House to Cabinet Office Re: Message to Prime Minister Major from President Bush (1 pp.)	7/20/91	(b)(1)	C
08. Cable	White House to Cabinet Office London Re: Message from John Gordon to L.V. Appleyard (1 pp.)	7/27/91	(b)(1)	TS
09. Cable	White House to Cabinet Office Re: Message to Prime Minister Major from President Bush (1 pp.)	9/4/91	(b)(1)	S
10. Cable	White House to Cabinet Office Re: Message to Prime Minister Major from President Bush (2 pp.)	9/20/91	(b)(1)	S
11. Cable	White House to Cabinet Office Re: Message to Stephen Wall from Brent Scowcroft (1 pp.)	10/5/91	(b)(1)	S
12. Cable	White House to Cabinet Office Re: Message from John Gordon to L.V. Appleyard (1 pp.)	10/12/91	(b)(1)	TS
13. Cable	White House to Cabinet Office Re: Message from Brent Scowcroft tp Stephen Wall (2 pp.)	10/14/91	(b)(1)	S
14. Cable	White House to Cabinet Office Re: Message from President Bush to Prime Minister Major (2 pp.)	10/18/91	(b)(1)	C

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15. Cable	White House to Cabinet Office Re: Message to Mr. Stephen Wall from Brent Scowcroft (4 pp.)	10/24/91	(b)(1)	S
16. Cable	White House to Cabinet Office Re: Message to Stephen Wall from Brent Scowcroft (2 pp.)	11/2/91	(b)(1)	S
17. Cable	White House to Cabinet Office Re: Message to Mr. Ken Davies from Mr. Neil O'Leary (1 pp.)	11/6/91	(b)(1)	S
18. Cable	White House to Cabinet Office Re: Message to Prime Minister Major from President Bush (2 pp.)	11/10/91	(b)(1)	S
19. Cable	White House to Cabinet Office Re: Message from President Bush to Prime Minister Major (3 pp.)	1/24/92	(b)(1)	S
20. Cable	White House to Cabinet Office Re: Message from President Bush to Prime Minister Major (3 pp.)	1/29/92	(b)(1)	S
21. Cable	White House to Cabinet Office Re: Message from President Bush to Prime Minister Major (2 pp.)	2/7/92	(b)(1)	S
22. Cable	White House to Cabinet Office Re: Message from President Bush to Prime Minister Major (3 pp.)	2/12/92	(b)(1)	S

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23. Cable	White House to Cabinet Office Re: Message to Mr. Stephen Wall from Brent Scowcroft (2 pp.)	3/4/92	(b)(1)	S
24. Cable	White House to Cabinet Office Re: Coordination Visit (1 pp.)	3/5/92	(b)(1)	C
25. Cable	White House to Cabinet Office Re: Message to Prime Minister Major from President Bush (2 pp.)	3/31/92	(b)(1)	S
26. Cable	White House to Cabinet Office Re: Message to Bob Hope and Alex Hart from Neil O'Leary (1 pp.)	4/1/92	(b)(1)	C
27. Cable	White House to Cabinet Office Re: Message to Prime Minister Major from President Bush (2 pp.)	5/1/92	(b)(1)	C
28. Cable	White House to Cabinet Office Re: Message to Bob Hope from Neil O'Leary (1 pp.)	5/19/92	(b)(1)	C
29. Cable	White House to Cabinet Office Re: Message to Prime Minister Major from President Bush (1 pp.)	5/24/92	(b)(1)	C
30. Cable	White House to Cabinet Office Re: Message from President Bush to Prime Minister Major (1 pp.)	5/31/92	(b)(1)	C

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Doc. No. / Type	Subject/Title	Date	Restriction	Classification
31. Cable	White House to Cabinet Office Re: Message to Prime Minister John Major from President Bush (2 pp.)	6/1/92	(b)(1)	C
32. Cable	White House to Cabinet Office Re: Message to Stephen Wall from Brent Scowcroft (3 pp.)	6/18/92	(b)(1)	C
33. Cable	White House to Cabinet Office Re: Message to Stephen Wall from Brent Scowcroft (3 pp.)	6/25/92	(b)(1)	S
34. Cable	White House to Cabinet Office Re: Message to Prime Minister Major from President Bush (2 pp.)	6/26/92	(b)(1)	C
35. Cable	White House to Cabinet Office Re: Message to Prime Minister Major from President Bush (2 pp.)	8/17/92	(b)(1)	C
36. Cable	White House to Cabinet Office Re: Message to Prime Minister Major from President Bush (1 pp.)	8/18/92	(b)(1)	C
37. Cable	White House to Cabinet Office Re: Message to Prime Minister Major from President Bush (2 pp.)	8/24/92	(b)(1)	S

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38. Cable	White House to Cabinet Office Re: Message from President Bush to Prime Minister Major (2 pp.)	8/25/92	(b)(1)	C
39. Cable	White House to Cabinet Office Re: Message from President Bush to Prime Minister Major (2 pp.)	8/25/92	(b)(1)	C
40. Cable	White House to Cabinet Office Re: Message from President George Bush to Prime Minister John Major (2 pp.)	8/29/92	(b)(1)	C
41. Cable	White House to Cabinet Office Re: Message to Prime Minister John Major from President Bush (1 pp.)	9/6/92	(b)(1)	C
42. Cable	White House to Cabinet Office Re: Message to Prime Minister Major from President George Bush (2 pp.)	9/19/92	(b)(1)	C
43. Cable	White House to Cabinet Office Re: Message from President Bush to Prime Minister Major (2 pp.)	9/24/92	(b)(1)	C
44. Cable	White House to Cabinet Office Re: Message from President George Bush to Prime Minister John Major (1 pp.)	10/9/92	(b)(1)	C

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45. Cable	White House to Cabinet Office Re: Message from President George Bush to Prime Minister John Major (2 pp.)	10/14/92	(b)(1)	C
46. Cable	White House to Cabinet Office Re: Message to Prime Minister Major from President Bush (1 pp.)	10/19/92	(b)(1)	C
47. Cable	White House to Cabinet Office Re: Message to Prime Minister Major from President George Bush (2 pp.)	10/24/92	(b)(1)	C
48. Cable	White House to Cabinet Office Re: Message to Prime Minister Major from President Bush (1 pp.)	11/5/92	(b)(1)	C
49. Cable	White House to Cabinet Office Re: Message from Brent Scowcroft to Stephen Wall (1 pp.)	11/8/92	(b)(1)	C
50. Cable	White House to Cabinet Office Re: Message to Prime Minister Major from President Bush (2 pp.)	11/11/92	(b)(1)	S
51. Cable	White House to Cabinet Office Re: Message to Prime Minister Major from President Bush (1 pp.)	11/21/92	(b)(1)	C

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Doc. No. / Type	Subject/Title	Date	Restriction	Classification
52. Cable	White House to Cabinet Office Re: Message to Prime Minister Major from President Bush (2 pp.)	11/28/92	(b)(1)	✓
53. Cable	White House to Cabinet Office Re: Message to Bob Hope, Alex Hart from Neil O'Leary (1 pp.)	12/18/92	(b)(1)	✓

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(DIST>
RT: GANTT GATES COMM OLEARY SIGLER SIT SCOWCROFT
IT: FILE HOTLINE OUT
(PREC> IMMEDIATE <CLAS> ~~SECRET~~ <OSRI> YEXXWHX <DTG> 241757Z APR 91

(ORIG>FM WHITE HOUSE

(TO>TO CABINET OFFICE

(SUBJ>APPROACH TO IRAQ ON ZAKHU

(TEXT>ZEM

~~SECRET~~ VIA CABO CHANNELS
1000

DECLASSIFIED
PER E.O. 13526

2009-0754-MR
SCS 1/9/12

PLEASE PASS THE FOLLOWING MESSAGE TO STEPHEN WALL FROM BRENT
SCOWCROFT.

BEGIN TEXT:

SUBJECT: APPROACH TO IRAQ ON ZAKHU

STEPHEN:

FOLLOWING UP ON OUR PREVIOUS CONVERSATIONS, I AM SENDING TALKING
POINTS WE PLAN TO PROVIDE TOM PICKERING, IF AT ALL POSSIBLE FOR USE
THIS AFTERNOON OR THIS EVENING WITH THE IRAQI UN PERMREP. I BELIEVE
OUR POTENTIAL FOR REALIZING THE AIM OF GETTING THE IRAQI SECURITY
PERSONNEL OUT OF ZAKHU QUICKLY AND WITHOUT BLOODSHED WOULD BE
ENHANCED APPRECIABLY BY OUR MAKING A JOINT APPROACH TO THE IRAQIS.
(I AM SUGGESTING THE SAME TO PIERRE MOREL.) I WOULD APPRECIATE YOUR
GETTING BACK TO ME AS SOON AS YOU CAN WITH YOUR GOVERNMENT'S
AGREEMENT BEFORE ANY OF US INSTRUCT OUR PEOPLE IN NEW YORK.

ANY THANKS. BRENT

END TEXT:

BEGIN TALKING POINTS

- U.S. AND OTHER POWERS ARE CONDUCTING A STRICTLY HUMANITARIAN
OPERATION IN NORTHERN IRAQ.

- THE CAMP CONSTRUCTION IN THE ZAKHU AREA IS PROGRESSING.

- INITIAL OPERATIONS TO CONSTRUCT THE HUMANITARIAN CAMP HAVE
BROUGHT OUR FORCES INTO CLOSE CONTACT.

- HOWEVER, NO UNTOWARD INCIDENTS HAVE OCCURRED IN THE ZAKHU
AREA. WE NOTE FURTHER THAT IRAQI FORCES ARE GETTING REPOSITIONED TO
PRECLUDE AN UNINTENDED INCIDENT.

- AT THE SAME TIME, A LARGE NUMBER OF IRAQI SECURITY PERSONNEL
HAVE RECENTLY ARRIVED IN ZAKHU.

- THE NET EFFECT HAS BEEN TO CREATE AN ATMOSPHERE OF
DISCOMFORT, UNEASINESS AND INTIMIDATION IN THE LOCAL POPULATION WHICH

HAS DETERRED THE KURDS FROM LEAVING THE HILLS, FRUSTRATING OUR HUMANITARIAN GOALS.

- WE HAVE BOTH AGREED THAT IT IS IMPORTANT TO CREATE CONDITIONS THAT WILL ALLOW THE EARLIEST POSSIBLE TURNOVER OF THESE HUMANITARIAN CAMPS TO APPROPRIATE INTERNATIONAL BODIES.

- MOREOVER, JUST AS IT HAS PROVEN SENSIBLE TO CREATE A BUFFER BETWEEN FORCES CONDUCTING HUMANITARIAN WORK AND YOUR FORCES IN THE AREA, SO ALSO MUST WE INSIST THAT THE RECENTLY INTRODUCED IRAQI SECURITY PERSONNEL BE WITHDRAWN FROM ZAKHU AND ITS ENVIRONS.

- THIS WITHDRAWAL NEEDS TO BE UNDERTAKEN PROMPTLY (NLT 260300Z APR 91) AND COMPLETED NLT 270300Z APR 91 SO THAT WE MAY PROCEED WITH REFUGEE RELOCATION AND RELIEF OF SUFFERING.

- IN THE MEANTIME, EFFECTIVE IMMEDIATELY, THE U.S. AND THE OTHER POWERS PROVIDING FORCES TO CONDUCT THIS HUMANITARIAN MISSION WILL ASSUME RESPONSIBILITY FOR THE SECURITY AND MAINTENANCE OF ORDER IN THE AREA OF ZAKHU SECURITY ZONE.

- AS WE EXPAND THIS SECURITY RESPONSIBILITY IN SUCH A WAY TO ENABLE US TO ACCOMPLISH OUR HUMANITARIAN OBJECTIVE, WE WILL ADVISE ALL IRAQI MILITARY AND SECURITY PERSONNEL THAT THEY WILL BE DENIED ENTRY INTO THE NEW SECURITY AREA WITHOUT PROPER COORDINATION WITH THE ICC. THIS NEW SECURITY AREA IS INTERPRETED TO MEAN AN AREA 30 KM AROUND (REPEAT AROUND) ZAKHU, AS MANDATED BY LTG SHALIKASHVILI 19 APRIL.

- WE EXPECT THIS PROCESS TO BE COMPLETED BY 270300Z APR 91.

- WE URGE PROMPT RESPONSE TO THIS REQUEST. WE NEED TO CONDUCT THIS HUMANITARIAN EFFORT QUICKLY IN ORDER TO SAVE LIVES AND RETURN THE AREA TO NORMALCY AS SOON AS POSSIBLE.

- SHOULD WE ENCOUNTER IRAQI MILITARY OR SECURITY PERSONNEL AFTER 270300Z APR 91 INSIDE THE SECURITY AREA DEMARCATED BY OUR HUMANITARIAN FORCES, WE WILL DISARM AND TAKE THEM INTO CUSTODY AND NOTIFY YOUR LIAISON OFFICER.

- IF AN IRAQI SHOULD EXHIBIT HOSTILE INTENT AGAINST FORCES OR INTERNATIONAL PERSONNEL PARTICIPATING IN THE HUMANITARIAN EFFORT, WE WILL TAKE ALL NECESSARY MEANS TO CONTROL THE SITUATION.

END TALKING POINTS:

DECL: OADR

0147

SECTION: 01 OF 01 <SSN> 0147 <TOR> 910424140911 MSG000293810951

<DIST>
<RT: COMM OLEARY SIGLER SIT
<SIT: HOTLINE_OUT
<PREC> IMMEDIATE <CLAS> ~~SECRET~~

<OSRI> YEXXWHX <DTG> 171443Z MAY 91

<ORIG>FM WHITE HOUSE

<TO>TO CABINET OFFICE

DECLASSIFIED
PER E.O. 13526

2009-0754-MR

SCS 1/9/12

<TEXT>ZEM

~~SECRET~~ EYES ONLY VIA CABINET OFFICE CHANNELS

1999

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

BEGIN TEXT:

DEAR JOHN:

MANY THANKS FOR YOUR MESSAGE OF MAY 2 ON THE SUBJECT OF ARMS
CONTROL IN THE MIDDLE EAST. I AM PLEASED THAT OUR THINKING SEEMS
TO BE DEVELOPING ALONG SIMILAR LINES AND AGREE THAT WE WILL NEED
TO BE PERSISTENT IF WE ARE TO MAKE PROGRESS. YOU ARE RIGHT THAT
THE PROBLEM OF DESTABILIZING ARMS TRANSFERS AND PROLIFERATION OF
MISSILES AND WEAPONS OF MASS DESTRUCTION ARE GLOBAL IN NATURE.
IN LAUNCHING THE INITIATIVE I INTEND TO SAY THIS, WHILE NOTING
THAT WE ARE BEGINNING WITH THE MIDDLE EAST BECAUSE OF TODAY'S
HISTORIC CONFLUENCE OF DANGER AND OPPORTUNITY. AS YOU POINTED
OUT, IN THE FIELDS OF CHEMICAL AND BIOLOGICAL WEAPONS WE WILL BE
DRAWING FROM EXISTING GLOBAL EFFORTS: THE CHEMICAL WEAPONS
CONVENTION AND THE BIOLOGICAL WEAPONS CONVENTION.

IN THE FIELD OF CONVENTIONAL ARMS TRANSFERS, I WELCOME YOUR
PROPOSAL OF A UN REGISTER OF ARMS TRANSFERS AND AGREE THAT IT
COMPLEMENTS SOME OF OUR OWN THINKING ON CONFIDENTIAL EXCHANGES OF
INFORMATION AMONG SUPPLIERS, INCLUDING PRIOR NOTIFICATION OF ARMS
SALES. OUR OFFICIALS SHOULD WORK CLOSELY IN COMBINING OUR
PROPOSALS, ALONG WITH THE OTHER IDEAS YOU MENTIONED, INTO A
COHERENT LONG-TERM APPROACH TO THE PROBLEM OF DESTABILIZING
CONVENTIONAL ARMS TRANSFERS.

YOU RAISE THE QUESTION OF WIDENING THE RANGE OF INTERLOCUTORS
BEYOND THE FIVE PERMANENT MEMBERS OF THE SECURITY COUNCIL. AGAIN
WE ARE ON THE SAME WAVELENGTH. FIRST, IT IS IMPORTANT THAT THESE
INITIAL DISCUSSIONS NOT BE PRESENTED OR VIEWED AS A "PERM-FIVE"
EFFORT, WHICH COULD RAISE THE SPECTER OF GREAT POWER CONDOMINIUM.
SECOND, IT IS VITALLY IMPORTANT TO ENSURE THAT ALL MAJOR
SUPPLIERS ARE INCLUDED IN THE PROCESS. I THEREFORE BELIEVE IT
WOULD BE WISE TO REFER TO THE DEVELOPMENT OF GUIDELINES FOR
RESPONSIBLE EXPORT POLICIES, RATHER THAN TO THE CREATION OF ANY
KIND OF FORMAL SUPPLIERS GROUP. AS YOU SUGGEST, THE ECONOMIC
SUMMIT WILL PROVIDE AN EXCELLENT OPPORTUNITY TO BEGIN TO BRING
IN THE OTHER MAJOR SUPPLIERS WHOSE SUPPORT IS ESSENTIAL TO ANY
SUCCESSFUL SET OF SUPPLIER RESTRAINTS. IN THIS REGARD, WE WILL
WANT TO MAKE CLEAR THAT OUR INITIATIVE ON THE MIDDLE EAST AND
YOUR PLANS AS HOST OF THE SUMMIT FIT WELL AND ARE BEING
CLOSELY COORDINATED.

I APPRECIATE YOUR SUPPORT OF THE INITIATIVE AND FOR YOUR VALUABLE
CONTRIBUTIONS TO ITS CONTENT. WE MUST CONTINUE TO WORK CLOSELY

TOGETHER TO BRING IT TO FRUITION, IN ORDER TO AVOID THE
RECURRENCE OF DESTABILIZING ARMS BUILD-UPS IN AGGRESSIVE STATES,
RATHER THAN BE FACED BY THEIR CONSEQUENCES.

SINCERELY,

GEORGE BUSH

END TEXT

DECL: OADR
0069

SECT>SECTION: 01 OF 01 <SSN> 0069 <TOR> 910517105108 MSG000295786268

(DIST>
SIT: WHSR_DUP
(DIST>
PRT: GATES COMM OLEARY SIGLER SIT SCOWCROFT
SIT: FILE HOTLINE_OUT PRES_MSGS
(PREC> IMMEDIATE <CLAS> ~~CONFIDENTIAL~~ <OSRI> YEXXWHX <DTG> 211525Z MAY 91

(ORIG>FM WHITE HOUSE

(TO>TO CABINET OFFICE

(TEXT>ZEM

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~ VIA CABINET CHANNELS

0000

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

BEGIN TEXT:

DEAR JOHN:

YOUR LETTER OF MAY 17 ON THE DEVELOPMENT OF A EUROPEAN DEFENSE
IDENTITY WAS TIMELY AND WELCOME. I DISCUSSED THIS MATTER WITH
HELMUT IN SOME DETAIL. I WAS SATISFIED BY HIS REPLY AND ALSO BY
WHAT HE SAID IN HIS SPEECH HERE.

AS YOU KNOW, SINCE OUR TALK IN BERMUDA, OUR GOVERNMENTS HAVE BEEN
IN CONTINUAL CONTACT ON THE QUESTION OF HOW TO RECONCILE A
REINVIGORATED ATLANTIC ALLIANCE WITH THE GROWING INTEREST OF OUR
EUROPEAN ALLIES IN FORMING A POLITICAL UNION. DOUGLAS AND JIM HAVE
BEEN WORKING TOGETHER CLOSELY ON THIS, AND WE RECENTLY HELD
THOROUGHGOING CONSULTATIONS BETWEEN OUR SENIOR OFFICIALS. CLEARLY,
WE SEE EYE-TO-EYE ON THE MAIN POINTS.

OWING IN LARGE PART TO THIS DIALOGUE, WE TOGETHER HAVE MADE
PROGRESS LATELY IN CONVINCING OUR ALLIES THAT INCREASED EUROPEAN
COHESION IN THE AREAS OF FOREIGN, SECURITY, AND DEFENSE POLICY MUST
NOT, AND NEED NOT, COME AT THE EXPENSE OF THE ALLIANCE. WE HAVE
OBTAINED VIRTUALLY COMPLETE SUPPORT FOR OUR PROPOSITIONS THAT POLICIES
AFFECTING THE SECURITY AND DEFENSE OF EUROPE MUST BE AGREED IN NATO
AND THAT THE INTEGRITY OF THE COMMAND STRUCTURE MUST BE MAINTAINED.

AT YOUR URGING, WE DID AND WILL CONTINUE TO DO SOME HEAVY LIFTING
WITH THE GERMANS. JIM'S RECENT JOINT STATEMENT WITH HANS-DIETRICH
GENSCHER AND KOHL'S COMMENTS YESTERDAY ARE INDICATIVE OF OUR
PROGRESS, IN THAT GERMANY IS NOW ON RECORD IN EMBRACING PRECISELY
THE PRINCIPLES WE SUGGESTED AND SHARED WITH YOU SOME TIME AGO. I
HOPE I HELPED FURTHER CONVINCE HELMUT THAT EUROPEAN DEFENSE,
HOWEVER COMMON, MUST BE WITHIN THE ALLIANCE AND NOT SEPARATE FROM
IT OR EXCLUSIVE OF US. WE SOUGHT HIS SUPPORT FOR THE STRONGEST
POSSIBLE PRACTICAL LINKAGES BETWEEN A EUROPEAN DEFENSE IDENTITY AND
NATO -- IN EFFECT, A GENERAL ENDORSEMENT OF OUR COMMON APPROACH.

LEAST THERE BE ANY MISUNDERSTANDING BETWEEN US, I WANT TO MAKE CLEAR
THAT WHAT WE SAID IN THE BAKER-GENSCHER PAPER -- AND HAVE BEEN
SAYING FOR SOME TIME NOW -- MEANS WHAT IT SAYS, NO MORE AND NO
LESS. IT IS UP TO OUR EUROPEAN ALLIES TO DECIDE WHETHER TO DEVELOP
COMMON POLICIES. THEY MUST BALANCE THEIR OWN SOVEREIGN INTERESTS
WITH THE PROSPECT OF POLITICAL UNION. FOR THE UNITED STATES TO

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PER E.O. 13526

2009-0754-MR

SCS 1/9/12

OPPOSE WHAT OUR ALLIES, INCLUDING YOU, DECIDE TO ORGANIZE WOULD
SURELY HARM TRANSATLANTIC UNDERSTANDING AND THE VERY ALLIANCE WE
WISH TO PRESERVE.

WE ARE WELL AWARE THAT SOME IN EUROPE MIGHT WISH TO CONSTRUE COMMON
TO MEAN SEPARATE AND INDEPENDENT, WHICH WOULD INDEED BE
DANGEROUS. THIS IS WHY WE HAVE INSISTED THAT DECISIONS BEARING ON
THE SECURITY AND DEFENSE OF EUROPE -- INCLUDING EASTERN EUROPE --
MUST INVOLVE US AND BE TAKEN IN NATO. ANYTHING ELSE WOULD BE AT
ODDS WITH OUR FUNDAMENTAL RESPONSIBILITIES, WHICH IS WHY WE HAVE
BEEN UNEQUIVOCAL ON THIS POINT.

WE WILL CONTINUE THE INTENSIVE ANGLO-AMERICAN DIALOGUE AND
COOPERATION ON THIS QUESTION. FOR OUR PART, WE WILL CONCENTRATE ON
GETTING CONSENSUS IN NATO AND ARE OPTIMISTIC OF DOING SO.
OBVIOUSLY, YOU ARE IN A BETTER POSITION THAN WE TO SHAPE THE
ARRANGEMENTS OUR EUROPEAN ALLIES ADOPT. AT THE END OF THE DAY, WE
MUST COUNT ON YOU AND OTHER LIKE-MINDED ALLIES TO ENSURE THAT
EUROPEAN DECISIONS DO NOT CONTRADICT BUT RATHER CONTRIBUTE TO THE
ALLIANCE AND ITS PRINCIPLES. WE COULD NOT BE MORE CONFIDENT IN
YOU.

SINCERELY,

GEORGE BUSH

END OF TEXT.

DECLAS: OADR

#0096

<SECT>SECTION: 01 OF 01 <SSN> 0096 <TOR> 910521113016 MSG000296134216

DIST>
RT: COMM OLEARY SIGLER SIT
IT: HOTLINE_OUT PRES_MSGS
PREC> IMMEDIATE <CLAS> ~~CONFIDENTIAL~~ <OSRI> YEXXWHX <DTG> 282203Z MAY 91

ORIG>FM WHITE HOUSE

TO>TO CABINET OFFICE

TEXT>ZEM

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~ VIA CABINET CHANNELS

QQQ

PLEASE PASS THE FOLLOWING MESSAGE TO PRIME MINISTER MAJOR FROM
RESIDENT BUSH.

EGIN TEXT:

EAR JOHN:

HANK YOU FOR YOUR MESSAGE OF MAY 9 ON CHALLENGE INSPECTIONS. I
ULLY AGREE THAT AN EFFECTIVE CHEMICAL WEAPONS CONVENTION MUST BE
ONCLUDED ON AN URGENT BASIS. IT IS THAT CONVICTION WHICH
NDERPINNED THE COMPREHENSIVE INITIATIVE I ANNOUNCED MAY 13
DDRESSING A NUMBER OF ISSUES, INCLUDING SOME RAISED BY YOUR
XPERTS IN THE PAST.

APPRECIATE YOUR WILLINGNESS TO TAKE THE U.S. POSITION AS THE
TARTING POINT IN WORKING TOGETHER ON THE ISSUE OF CHALLENGE
NSPECTIONS. YOU ARE RIGHT TO FOCUS ON VERIFICATION AS AN
MPORTANT ELEMENT OF THE CONVENTION, AND I SUPPORT A STRONG AND
ORTHRIGHT VERIFICATION REGIME. OF COURSE, THE INTRUSIVENESS OF
NSPECTIONS MUST STRIKE A BALANCE BETWEEN THE ABILITY TO MONITOR
N AGREEMENT AND THE RISKS OF COMPROMISE OF SENSITIVE INFORMATION
NTIRELY UNRELATED TO THE PURPOSES OF THE CONVENTION. AS YOU
NOW, WE HAVE MADE SIGNIFICANT CHANGES IN OUR CHALLENGE
NSPECTION POSITION TO ADDRESS YOUR CONCERNS AND THOSE OF OTHER
LLIES ALREADY. WE BELIEVE OUR PRESENT POSITION STRIKES A
AREFUL BALANCE BETWEEN THE COMPETING CONCERNS.

HE KEY ELEMENTS OF OUR RESPECTIVE APPROACHES TO CHALLENGE
NSPECTIONS ARE GENERALLY CONSISTENT, AND I AM CONFIDENT WE CAN
EACH COMPLETE AGREEMENT. TO THIS END, I AM ASKING MY EXPERTS TO
ONTINUE WORKING WITH YOURS TO DEVELOP A REGIME THAT MEETS OUR
OMMON NEEDS OF PROVIDING PROTECTION AGAINST POTENTIAL VIOLATORS
HILE ALSO PROTECTING OUR CONSTITUTIONAL AND SENSITIVE NATIONAL
ECURITY INTERESTS. TOGETHER, WITH OUR WESTERN GROUP ALLIES, I
ELIEVE WE WILL BE ABLE TO WORK OUT THE REMAINING ISSUES THAT
TAND BETWEEN US AND A COMPLETE BAN ON CW.

ITH WARM REGARDS,

INCERELY,

GEORGE BUSH

ND TEXT:

0116

SECT>SECTION: 01 OF 01 <SSN> 0116 <TOR> 910528180554 MSG000296762754

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2009-0754-MR
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<ORIG>FM WHITE HOUSE

<TO>TO CABINET OFFICE

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SECTION 01 OF 02

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

JULY 3, 1991

BEGIN TEXT:

DEAR JOHN:

GIVEN THE IMPORTANCE OF THE MEETING YOU ARE HOSTING WITH PRESIDENT GORBACHEV IN LONDON, I THOUGHT IT WOULD BE USEFUL IF I OUTLINED MY THINKING ABOUT THE OPPORTUNITIES, THE PROBLEMS, AND A POSSIBLY USEFUL WAY TO PROCEED. I HOPE YOU WILL ALSO SHARE YOUR THOUGHTS WITH ME. I AM SENDING SIMILAR LETTERS TO OUR G-7 COLLEAGUES. TO THE EXTENT WE CAN UNDERSTAND EACH OTHER'S VIEWS AND COORDINATE OUR APPROACHES BEFOREHAND, WE INCREASE THE LIKELIHOOD OF A PRODUCTIVE MEETING.

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 TWO PRINCIPLES:

COMMITMENT TO MARKETS. PRESIDENT GORBACHEV MUST DEMONSTRATE AN INMISTAKABLE 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 (SINCE THIS PROCESS IS FAR MORE THAN A SIMPLE TECHNICAL EXERCISE). IT OBVIOUSLY HAS IMPORTANT POLITICAL DIMENSIONS, AND PRESIDENT GORBACHEV WILL BE ESPECIALLY SENSITIVE TO THEM. I WOULD BE INTERESTED IN YOUR THINKING ON HOW WE COULD DO THIS.

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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INAL 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 ALSO BE INTERESTED IN YOUR OWN THINKING ON THESE ISSUES AND
LOOK FORWARD TO EXPLORING THEM FURTHER WITH YOU. IN THE MEANTIME I
WILL ALSO BE COMMUNICATING DIRECTLY WITH GORBACHEV SO THAT HE IS
AWARE OF MY THINKING ON THIS IMPORTANT MATTER. IN CLOSING, I WANT
TO THANK YOU FOR THE SUPERB JOB YOU HAVE DONE IN COORDINATING
PREPARATIONS FOR THIS SUMMIT. I HAVE APPRECIATED YOUR SKILLFUL
HANDLING OF THE GORBACHEV VISIT, WHICH I EXPECT WILL NOW BE A
POSITIVE EVENT, AS WE ALL AGREE IT SHOULD BE. BARBARA AND I ARE
PARTICULARLY LOOKING FORWARD TO DINNER WITH YOU AND NORMA ON THE
FOURTEENTH.

WITH WARM REGARDS,

SINCERELY,

GEORGE BUSH

THE RIGHT HONORABLE
JOHN MAJOR, M.P.
PRIME MINISTER
LONDON

END TEXT

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<SECT>SECTION: 01 OF 02 <SSN> 0010 <TOR> 910703193058 MSG000299878258
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ORIG>FM WHITE HOUSE

TO>TO CABINET OFFICE

TEXT>ZEM

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SECTION 01 OF 02

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

BEGIN TEXT:

DEAR JOHN,

LAST WEEK I SHARED WITH YOU SOME OF MY THINKING ABOUT HOW WE CAN
SUPPORT THE PROCESS OF SOVIET REFORM. IN THIS LETTER I WOULD LIKE
TO RAISE ANOTHER URGENT 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
MALESA, 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
MARKETS AS WIDE AS POSSIBLE TO CENTRAL AND EASTERN EUROPE. THE EC

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MARKET IS OF COURSE CRITICAL, AND I WOULD URGE THE COMMUNITY, IN THE "ASSOCIATION" AGREEMENTS WITH POLAND, HUNGARY, AND CZECHOSLOVAKIA, TO BEGIN IMMEDIATELY EXPANDING QUOTAS ON CENTRAL EUROPEAN TEXTILE AND AGRICULTURAL SHIPMENTS. 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

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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 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. JOHN, I WOULD SUGGEST THAT YOU, AS OUR HOST, WRITE A LETTER ON BEHALF OF THE SEVEN TO PRESIDENTS HAVEL AND JALESA 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.

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
0058

SECTION: 01 OF 02 <SSN> 0057 <TOR> 910711180129 MSG000300564089

SECTION: 02 OF 02 <SSN> 0058 <TOR> 910711180136 MSG000300564096

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<ORIG>FM WHITE HOUSE//ANKARA TURKEY//

<TO>TO CABINET OFFICE LONDON

<TEXT>ZEM
~~CONFIDENTIAL~~ VIA CABINET CHANNELS

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

BEGIN TEXT:

DEAR JOHN:

PURSUANT TO OUR CONVERSATION AT #10 DOWNING STREET WEDNESDAY
EVENING, HERE ARE SOME KEY "SWING VOTE" SENATORS ON CHINA MFN. IF
YOU KNOW ANY OF THEM, A CALL FROM YOU WOULD BE VERY TIMELY AND
HELPFUL. WE ANTICIPATE THAT THE VOTE WILL TAKE PLACE JULY 23.

SENATOR BOB KASTEN	202-224-5323
SENATOR BOB PACKWOOD	202-224-5244
SENATOR JAKE GARN	202-224-5444
SENATOR CHARLES GRASSLEY	202-224-3744
SENATOR JAMES JEFFORDS	202-224-5141
SENATOR TRENT LOTT	202-224-6253
SENATOR STEVE SYMMS	202-224-6142

SINCERELY,

GEORGE

END TEXT.

DECL: OADR
#0096

<SECT>SECTION: 01 OF 01 <SSN> 0096 <TOR> 910720185522 MSG000301344922

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(George Bush Library)

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08. Cable	White House to Cabinet Office London Re: Message from John Gordon to L.V. Appleyard (1 pp.)	7/27/91	(b)(1)	TS

Collection:

Record Group: Bush Presidential Records
Office: Scowcroft, Brent, Collection
Series: Presidential Correspondence Files
Subseries: Head of State Message Files
WHORM Cat.:
File Location: United Kingdom (Outgoing) 1989 - 1993 [2]

Date Closed:	2/13/2009	OA/ID Number:	91115-008
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]

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(b)(8) Release would disclose information concerning the regulation of financial institutions [(b)(8) of the FOIA]
(b)(9) Release would disclose geological or geophysical information

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(TO>TO CABINET OFFICE

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

SEPTEMBER 4, 1991

BEGIN TEXT:

DEAR JOHN,

DURING THE PAST YEAR, LATIN AMERICAN AND CARIBBEAN LEADERS
HAVE RESPONDED ENTHUSIASTICALLY TO THE ENTERPRISE FOR THE
AMERICAS INITIATIVE. A MAJOR GOAL OF THE INITIATIVE HAS BEEN TO
ENABLE COUNTRIES THROUGHOUT THE REGION TO COMPETE MORE
EFFECTIVELY FOR INVESTMENT FROM BOTH HOME AND ABROAD.

AS AN ESSENTIAL ELEMENT OF THE INVESTMENT COMPONENT OF THE
INITIATIVE, THE UNITED STATES PROPOSED THE MULTILATERAL
INVESTMENT FUND, TO BE ADMINISTERED BY THE INTER-AMERICAN
DEVELOPMENT BANK. THE UNITED STATES AND JAPAN HAVE EACH
INDICATED THEIR INTENT TO PROVIDE \$100 MILLION PER YEAR OVER
THE NEXT FIVE YEARS.

THE FUND WOULD SUPPORT LATIN AMERICAN AND THE CARIBBEAN
COUNTRIES IN REFORMING THEIR INVESTMENT REGIMES. THIS SUPPORT
WOULD OFFER TECHNICAL ASSISTANCE AT THE NATIONAL LEVEL, HELP TO
DEVELOP THE SKILLS OF THE WORK FORCE, AND IMPROVE ACCESS TO
CAPITAL FOR SMALL BUSINESS ENTREPRENEURS. I AM CONVINCED THAT
SUCH ASSISTANCE, PROVIDED IN A TIMELY AND RESPONSIVE MANNER, IS
ESSENTIAL DURING THE INTENSIVE REFORM PERIOD AHEAD.

I KNOW YOU ARE IN FULL AGREEMENT WITH OUR OBJECTIVES. THE
MULTILATERAL INVESTMENT FUND OFFERS EACH OF US AN HISTORIC
OPPORTUNITY TO ASSIST THE REGION, HELPING THOSE COUNTRIES
PARTICIPATE MORE FULLY IN THE GLOBAL MARKETPLACE.

I VERY MUCH HOPE I CAN COUNT ON YOU TO COMMIT RESOURCES TO
THE FUND SO THAT IT MAY BEGIN OPERATIONS IN THE VERY NEAR FUTURE.

SINCERELY,

GEORGE

END TEXT
DECL: OADR
0085

(SECT>SECTION: 01 OF 01 <SSN> 0085 <TOR> 910904103112 MSG000305289072

<DIST>
PRT: GATES COMM OLEARY SIGLER SIT SCOWCROFT
BIT: FILE HOTLINE OUT PRES MSGS
<PREC> IMMEDIATE <CLAS> ~~SECRET~~ <OSRI> YEXXWHX <DTG> 202224Z SEP 91

<ORIG>FM WHITE HOUSE

<TO>TO CABINET OFFICE

DECLASSIFIED
PER E.O. 13526

2009-0754-MK
SCS 1/9/12

<TEXT>ZEM

~~SECRET~~ VIA CABINET CHANNELS

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

SEPTEMBER 20, 1991

BEGIN TEXT:

DEAR JOHN:

THANK YOU FOR SHARING WITH ME THE CONCLUSIONS YOU DREW FROM YOUR
VISITS TO MOSCOW, BEIJING, AND HONG KONG. I HAVE ALSO BEEN
REFLECTING ON THE CONTRASTS BETWEEN MOSCOW AND BEIJING. YOU KNOW
THAT I AM COMMITTED TO CONTINUING ENGAGEMENT WITH THE CHINESE, AND I
SHARE YOUR PERSPECTIVE ON THE NEED FOR A PATIENT, BUT INSISTENT
APPROACH WITH RESPECT TO PRC POLICIES CONCERNING HUMAN RIGHTS AND
OTHER AREAS WHERE WE WANT TO SEE BEIJING CHANGE FOR THE BETTER. I
WAS ENCOURAGED BY YOUR ACCOUNT OF LI PENG'S RELATIVELY POSITIVE
RESPONSE TO THE ARMS CONTROLS ISSUES YOU RAISED. WE WILL CONTINUE
TO URGE A FAVORABLE CHINESE RESPONSE TO YOUR ARMS TRANSPARENCY
INITIATIVE AND OTHER KEY PROLIFERATION CONCERNS.

I CONGRATULATE YOU ON YOUR ACCOMPLISHMENTS WITH RESPECT TO HONG
KONG. THE BUOYANT MOOD YOU DESCRIBED SEEMS TO HAVE CARRIED ON
THROUGH THE SEPTEMBER 15 LEGCO ELECTIONS. ALTHOUGH I CAN UNDERSTAND
AND AGREE WITH YOU ON THE NEED FOR HEALTHY SKEPTICISM CONCERNING
BEIJING'S COMMITMENT TO THE SPIRIT OF THE JOINT DECLARATION FOR HONG
KONG, I BELIEVE THE PERSONAL RELATIONSHIP YOU ARE ESTABLISHING WITH
LI PENG AND HIS PERSONAL COMMITMENT TO ABIDE BY THE JOINT
DECLARATION WILL GO A LONG WAY TOWARDS LIMITING CHINESE ABILITY TO
EVADE THEIR OBLIGATIONS.

CONCERNING THE VIETNAMESE BOAT PEOPLE, YOUR POLICY JUDGMENT IS RIGHT
ON THE MARK: IT IS AN INDICTMENT OF VIETNAM THAT THE BOAT PEOPLE
KEEP COMING. OUR FUNDAMENTAL OBJECTIVE MUST REMAIN TO ENCOURAGE
REFORMS IN THAT SOCIETY.

VIETNAM SHOULD KNOW THE AMERICAN POSITION REGARDING YOUR
NEGOTIATIONS ON THE CONCEPT OF INTERNATIONALLY-MANAGED CENTERS ON
TERRITORY PROVIDED BY VIETNAM. WE STATED PUBLICLY IN THE JOINT
U.S.-U.K. PRESS STATEMENT THIS JUNE THAT THE UNITED STATES DOES NOT
OBJECT TO THESE DISCUSSIONS. IN VIEW OF YOUR CONCERNS, HOWEVER, WE
ARE NOW PREPARED TO ADVISE THE VIETNAMESE REPRESENTATIVE IN NEW YORK
THAT OUR PUBLIC STATEMENT OF LAST JUNE STILL HOLDS. WE HOPE YOUR
DISCUSSIONS LEAD TO A RESULT THAT ALSO ADDRESSES OUR CONCERNS.

I UNDERSTAND AND SYMPATHIZE WITH THE DIFFICULTIES YOU FACE IN HONG
KONG. IT IS ONE OF THOSE SITUATIONS THAT DO NOT ALLOW EASY
SOLUTIONS IF WE ARE TO CONTINUE TO SEEK THE MOST HUMANE COURSE OF

ACTION. I WANT OUR GOVERNMENTS TO CONTINUE TO WORK TOGETHER ON THIS
MATTER.

SINCERELY,

GEORGE BUSH

END TEXT.

DECL: OADR
0152

SECT>SECTION: 01 OF 01 <SSN> 0152 <TOR> 910920185518 MSG000306701718

EDIST>
RT: HALL COMM OLEARY SIGLER SIT
IT: HOTLINE_OUT
PREC> IMMEDIATE <CLAS> ~~SECRET~~ <OSRI> YEXXWHX <DTG> 050014Z OCT 91

ORIG>FM WHITE HOUSE
TO>TO CABINET OFFICE

TEXT>ZEM
~~SECRET~~ VIA CABINET CHANNELS
QQQ

PLEASE PASS THE FOLLOWING MESSAGE TO STEPHEN WALL FROM
BRENT SCOWCROFT.

BEGIN TEXT:

DEAR STEPHEN,

I HAVE MET WITH THE VISITORS FROM BONN AND PARIS I MENTIONED TO
YOU THE OTHER DAY. DAVID GOMPERT WILL BE IN LONDON ON TUESDAY,
OCTOBER 8, FOR BILATERAL INTERMINISTERIAL CONSULTATIONS WITH
LEN APPELYARD AND OTHERS. IF IT WOULD BE CONVENIENT FOR YOU, HE
COULD DROP BY YOUR OFFICE BRIEFLY TO TELL YOU WHAT TRANSPIRED.
LITERALLY NO ONE ELSE WOULD KNOW THAT HE WOULD BE BRIEFING YOU.

PLEASE LET ME OR DAVID KNOW IF THAT WOULD WORK OUT. OTHERWISE,
YOU AND I COULD TALK BY PHONE.

SINCERELY, BRENT.

END TEXT.
DECLAS: OADR
0061

<SECT>SECTION: 01 OF 01 <SSN> 0061 <TOR> 911004201951 MSG000307916391

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Withdrawal/Redaction Sheet

(George Bush Library)

Document No. and Type	Subject/Title of Document	Date	Restriction	Class.
12. Cable	White House to Cabinet Office Re: Message from John Gordon to L.V. Appleyard (1 pp.)	10/12/91	(b)(1)	TS

Collection:

Record Group: Bush Presidential Records
Office: Scowcroft, Brent, Collection
Series: Presidential Correspondence Files
Subseries: Head of State Message Files
WHORM Cat.:
File Location: United Kingdom (Outgoing) 1989 - 1993 [2]

Date Closed:	2/13/2009	OA/ID Number:	91115-008
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)]

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

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 (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

DIST>
RT: GANTT GOMPERT COMM OLEARY SIGLER SIT
IT: HOTLINE_OUT
PREC> IMMEDIATE <CLAS> ~~SECRET~~ <OSRI> YEXXWHX <DTG> 141930Z OCT 91
ORIG>FM WHITE HOUSE

TO>TO CABINET OFFICE

TEXT>ZEM

~~SECRET~~ VIA CABINET CHANNELS EYES ONLY
QQQ

PLEASE DELIVER THE FOLLOWING MESSAGE FROM BRENT SCOWCROFT
TO STEPHEN WALL.

BEGIN TEXT:

DEAR STEPHEN:

THANK YOU FOR MESSAGE DTG 111930Z OCT 91.

I AM ENCLOSING FOR YOUR INFORMATION A COPY OF A MESSAGE I HAVE
JUST SENT TO PETER HARTMANN AND HUBERT VEDRINE. YOU WILL SEE
THAT IT PARALLELS THE POSITION YOU WILL HAVE TAKEN ON THE
FRANCO-GERMAN PROPOSAL.

WE ARE FULLY MINDFUL OF FRENCH INTERESTS, THOUGH IT SEEMS TO US
THAT THE GERMANS HAVE BROUGHT THEM SOME DISTANCE TOWARD A STRONG
LINK BETWEEN THE WEU AND NATO. WE WELCOME YOUR EFFORTS TO
PREVENT A RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN THE WEU AND THE UNION THAT
CONTRADICTS IN PRINCIPLE OR IN PRACTICE THE WEU-NATO RELATIONSHIP
WE SEEK. HOWEVER, YOU ARE IN A BETTER POSITION THAN WE TO GET
THAT RIGHT, SINCE IN THE END THE TREATY WILL REQUIRE YOUR
SIGNATURE. AS FOR THE PITFALLS OF CREATING A EUROPEAN CAUCUS
IN NATO, THESE WOULD SEEM TO EXIST TO SOME DEGREE EVEN WITH YOUR
OWN APPROACH. A WAY TO AVOID THE PROBLEM IS TO AGREE THAT THE
WEU WOULD ACT AS A EUROPEAN CAUCUS ONLY ON MATTERS OUTSIDE NATO'S
JURISDICTION -- I.E., "OUT-OF-AREA". BUT WE UNDERSTOOD THAT EVEN
IMAG THOUGHT THIS WAS UNREALISTIC.

NOW THAT THE GERMANS ARE ENERGIZED AND, ALONG WITH THE FRENCH,
SEEKING OUR AGREEMENT, WE HAVE AN OPPORTUNITY -- NOT TO POUR
COLD WATER ON THE IDEA OF A EUROPEAN PILLAR BUT TO GET IT RIGHT.

WE WILL STAY IN CLOSE TOUCH.

BEST REGARDS,

BRENT SCOWCROFT

END TEXT.

BEGIN ENCLOSURE:

DEAR PETER:

I WANTED TO GIVE YOU AN EARLY REACTION TO YOUR PROPOSAL ON A
EUROPEAN DEFENSE IDENTITY, KNOWING THAT THE SUBJECT IS UNDER
ACTIVE DISCUSSION IN EUROPE. WE WILL PROVIDE YOU WITH A MORE
CONSIDERED AND SUBSTANTIAL RESPONSE IN A FEW DAYS.

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AS I SAID WHEN YOU WERE HERE, WE SUPPORT WHAT YOU ARE TRYING TO DO, WE ARE GRATEFUL THAT YOU ARE SEEKING OUR INPUT, AND WE ARE ENCOURAGED THAT YOU ARE WORKING TO ENSURE THAT PROGRESS TOWARD EUROPEAN UNION DOES NOT COME AT THE EXPENSE OF OUR ATLANTIC BONDS. THE KEY, AS WE DISCUSSED WHEN YOU WERE HERE, IS TO BE CLEAR THAT EUROPEAN COMMON DEFENSE WILL REST WITHIN THE WEU, WHICH IN TURN WILL BE A PART OF BOTH THE UNION AND THE ALLIANCE. THIS FORMULA WILL AVOID THE PERCEPTION THAT OUR ALLIES ARE PLANNING FOR THE DEFENSE OF EUROPE WITHOUT US AND SEPARATE FROM NATO. BY UTILIZING THE WEU, ALL OF WHOSE MEMBERS ARE IN BOTH NATO AND THE EC, AND BY BUILDING BALANCED AND STRONG TIES TO BOTH, THE DEFENSE ELEMENT OF THE UNION WILL ALSO BE SQUARELY IN THE ALLIANCE AS WELL.

WITHIN THIS BROAD UNDERSTANDING, OUR MAIN INTERESTS WILL BE TO AVOID A REDUNDANT MILITARY STRUCTURE, TO ENSURE THAT A EUROPEAN CAUCUS WOULD NOT IMPEDE NATO DECISION-MAKING, TO BALANCE THE WEU'S TREATMENT OF NON-EC MEMBERS OF NATO AND NON-NATO MEMBERS OF THE EC, AND TO LINK WEU AND NATO PLANNING STRUCTURES. AS I TOLD YOU, USING NATO PERMREPS ALSO AS WEU PERMREPS IN BRUSSELS IS AN IMPORTANT STEP IN THE RIGHT DIRECTION.

WE WILL GET BACK TO YOU SHORTLY WITH OUR FURTHER THINKING ON THESE AND ANY OTHER QUESTIONS WHICH MIGHT ARISE. I MIGHT POINT OUT THAT WE HAVE HEARD SOME STATEMENTS COMING OUT OF EUROPE TO THE EFFECT THAT THE WEU WILL BE CLOSER TO THE EC THAN TO NATO, OR PART OF THE EC BUT NOT NATO. NEEDLESS TO SAY, SUCH STATEMENTS ONLY MAKE IT MORE DIFFICULT FOR US TO FIND THE RIGHT SOLUTION. BUT AGAIN, BASED ON OUR DISCUSSION, THE SPIRIT AND AIM OF YOUR EFFORT IS CLEAR AND REASSURING, AND WE WILL CONSIDER FURTHER YOUR PROPOSAL IN THAT LIGHT.

FINALLY, I AM SURE YOU APPRECIATE THAT WE CONSIDER THE NATURE OF WEU-EC TIES A MATTER FOR OUR EUROPEAN ALLIES TO DECIDE. OUR CONCERN IS FOR OUR ATLANTIC COMMON DEFENSE AND THE QUALITY OF WEU-NATO TIES. IT WILL BE UP TO YOU TO SATISFY OTHER ALLIES THAT THE WEU-EC RELATIONSHIP YOU PROPOSE WILL NOT RISK DIVERGENCE WITH NATO, EVEN IN THE LONG TERM.

AGAIN, THANK YOU FOR YOUR EFFORTS. I AM SENDING A SIMILAR LETTER TO HUBERT VEDRINE.

BEST REGARDS,

IRENT SCOWCROFT

END ENCLOSURE

DECL: OADR

0086

<SECT>SECTION: 01 OF 01 <SSN> 0086 <TOR> 911014153054 MSG000308763053

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RT: DYKE GANTT COMM OLEARY SIGLER SIT
IT: HOTLINE_OUT
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(ORIG>FM WHITE HOUSE

(TO>TO CABINET OFFICE

(TEXT>ZEM

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~ VIA CABINET CHANNELS EYES ONLY

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

BEGIN TEXT:

DEAR JOHN,

THANK YOU FOR SHARING WITH ME THE RESULTS OF YOUR GOVERNMENT'S
TALKS WITH HANOI ABOUT EXPEDITING THE RETURN OF VIETNAMESE ASYLUM
SEEKERS FROM HONG KONG. THIS IS A DIFFICULT ISSUE FOR BOTH OF
US, AND I APPRECIATE YOUR UNDERSTANDING OF OUR CONTINUED
RELUCTANCE TO SEE PEOPLE FORCED BACK TO VIETNAM UNDER CURRENT
CONDITIONS THERE. I HOPE THE PROMISE OF A NEAR-TERM SETTLEMENT
IN CAMBODIA MAY FINALLY OPEN THE PROCESS OF CHANGE IN VIETNAM AS
WELL.

WE AGREE THAT EACH ONE OF OUR PARTNERS IN THE COMPREHENSIVE PLAN
OF ACTION MUST BE CLEARLY COMMITTED TO ALL ELEMENTS OF THAT PLAN.
THE UNITED STATES HAS ENCOURAGED THE DEVELOPMENT OF
INTERNATIONALLY ACCEPTABLE AND EFFICIENT PROCEDURES FOR SCREENING
REFUGEES AND PROMOTING THE VOLUNTARY REPATRIATION OF THOSE
DETERMINED NOT TO BE REFUGEES. ALSO, DURING THE PAST YEAR, WE
HAVE DOUBLED OUR ORDERLY DEPARTURE PROGRAM FROM VIETNAM AND
RESETTLED MORE THAN 60,000 VIETNAMESE. WE EXPECT TO INCREASE
THIS TOTAL IN THE COMING YEAR TO PROVIDE A REAL ALTERNATIVE TO
ILLEGAL DEPARTURES. WE BELIEVE THESE EFFORTS HAVE CONTRIBUTED
SIGNIFICANTLY TO A DECLINE IN BOAT ARRIVALS ELSEWHERE IN THE
REGION.

I FULLY UNDERSTAND YOUR CASE FOR RETURNING "DOUBLE-BACKERS" WHOSE
NON-REFUGEE STATUS HAS TO BE RE-CONFIRMED. WE HOPE REPATRIATION
OF THE "DOUBLE-BACKERS" AND OTHER DEVELOPMENTS, PARTICULARLY A
SETTLEMENT IN CAMBODIA WILL STIMULATE MORE VOLUNTEERS TO RETURN
HOME. WE ARE ENCOURAGED BY INCREASES IN VOLUNTARY REPATRIATION
FROM HONG KONG OVER THE PAST SEVERAL MONTHS.

WE HAVE EXAMINED YOUR PROPOSAL FOR AN ALTERNATIVE APPROACH TO
PROCESSING NEW ARRIVALS IN HONG KONG AND REPATRIATING NON-
REFUGEES. I AGREE HONG KONG'S PROBLEM CONTINUES TO BE SERIOUS
BUT I FEEL STRONGLY THAT WHATEVER PROCEDURES ARE ADOPTED MUST BE
ACCOMPLISHED WITHOUT RESORT TO FORCIBLE RETURN. WE WILL TRY TO
BE AS COOPERATIVE AS POSSIBLE, WITHIN BOTH THE FRAMEWORK OF THE
COMPREHENSIVE PLAN OF ACTION AND OUR CONTINUED OPPOSITION TO
FORCED REPATRIATION, TO BRING THIS TRAGIC CHAPTER IN INDOCHINESE
HISTORY TO A HUMANE CONCLUSION.

WE ARE CONCERNED THAT ANY PLAN NOT INVOLVE FORCIBLE RETURN AND
THAT IT INCLUDE SAFEGUARDS EQUIVALENT TO THOSE DEVELOPED LAST

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2009-0754-MR
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YEAR FOR THE "NON-OBJECTOR" PROGRAM. SPECIFICALLY, WE WILL LOOK FOR ASSURANCES THAT FULL UNHCR SCREENING AND APPEALS PROCEDURES ARE MAINTAINED, THAT RETURNS ARE ACCOMPLISHED WITH SAFETY AND DIGNITY, AND THAT UNHCR IS ABLE TO MONITOR ADEQUATELY RETURNEES IN VIETNAM.

WE ARE DRAWING NEAR TO A POLITICAL SETTLEMENT IN CAMBODIA, WHICH WILL CLEAR THE WAY FOR A GRADUAL REINTEGRATION OF INDOCHINA INTO THE WORLD COMMUNITY. HOPEFULLY, EXPANDED RELATIONS BETWEEN HANOI AND THE WORLD COMMUNITY AND IMPROVEMENT IN HUMAN RIGHTS INSIDE VIETNAM WILL PROVIDE BETTER CONDITIONS FOR REPATRIATION.

SINCERELY,

GEORGE BUSH

END TEXT.

#0105

<SECT>SECTION: 01 OF 01 <SSN> 0105 <TOR> 911018001204 MSG000309053524

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(ORIG>FM WHITE HOUSE

(TO>TO CABINET OFFICE

(TEXT>ZEM

~~SECRET~~ VIA CABINET CHANNELS

QQQQ

SECTION 01 OF 02

PLEASE DELIVER THE FOLLOWING MESSAGE TO MR. STEPHEN WALL FROM
BRENT SCOWCROFT.

OCTOBER 24, 1991

DEAR STEPHEN:

HERE ARE COPIES OF LETTERS THE PRESIDENT HAS JUST SENT TO
CHANCELLOR KOHL AND PRESIDENT MITTERRAND. SINCE THEY ARE
CONFIDENTIAL LETTERS, I WOULD HOPE YOU WOULD LIMIT ACCESS TO
JUST THE PRIME MINISTER AND DOUGLAS HURD.

OUR HOPE IS THAT THROUGH SUCH A DIRECT CONFIDENTIAL
APPROACH, COMBINED WITH A MORE SUBTLE PUBLIC STANCE, WE CAN
MAKE THE ESSENTIAL POINT THAT THE FRANCO-GERMAN PROPOSAL
MUST NOT BE MEANT TO SUBSTITUTE FOR NATO, EVEN IN THE LONG-RUN
AND THUS STEER THIS THING IN THE DIRECTION THE GERMANS CLAIM
THEY HAD INTENDED: TO CONNECT THE FRENCH MORE TIGHTLY TO THE
ALLIANCE (AS OPPOSED TO THE CURRENT PERCEPTION THAT THE GERMANS
ARE MOVING AWAY FROM THE ALLIANCE).

WARM REGARDS,

BRENT

ATTACHMENT - TEXT OF LETTER FROM PRESIDENT BUSH TO CHANCELLOR
KOHL.

DEAR HELMUT:

I KNOW YOU REMAIN COMMITTED TO YOUR SHARED VIEW THAT NATO
SHOULD BE STRENGTHENED BY THE DEVELOPMENT OF A EUROPEAN
SECURITY IDENTITY. WITH THAT GOAL IN MIND, I APPRECIATE
YOUR EFFORT TO GIVE SHAPE TO THIS IDENTITY AS THE ROME
AND MAASTRICHT SUMMITS APPROACH AND TO ENGAGE THE FRENCH
IN THIS ENDEAVOR. IT WAS IN THIS SPIRIT THAT I READ THE
PROPOSAL THAT YOU AND FRANCOIS MADE TO YOUR EUROPEAN
COMMUNITY COLLEAGUES.

HOWEVER, I AM CONCERNED THAT A PERCEPTION HAS BEEN CREATED
THAT GERMANY MAY BE SHIFTING TOWARD THE VIEW THAT
EUROPEAN MEMBERS OF NATO MUST HAVE THE MEANS TO

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DEFEND THEMSELVES SEPARATE FROM THE ALLIANCE. WHILE THE PROPOSAL YOU HAVE JOINTLY MADE WITH FRANCOIS POINTS TOWARD SOME PRACTICAL LINKS BETWEEN NATO AND THE EUROPEAN PILLAR, BY FAR THE STRONGEST PUBLIC IMPRESSION, AT LEAST IN THE UNITED STATES, CREATED BY THE PROPOSAL IS THAT GERMANY AND FRANCE ARE CALLING FOR A "EUROPEAN ARMY" INDEPENDENT OF NATO -- INDEED, AS A POTENTIAL ALTERNATIVE TO NATO. THIS IMPRESSION RESULTS FROM THE POSTSCRIPT IN THE ATTACHMENT TO YOUR LETTER TO RUDD LUBBERS, IN WHICH YOU CALL FOR A EUROPEAN CORPS TO WHICH OTHER WEU MEMBERS COULD CONTRIBUTE FORCES. TO SAY, AS SOME HAVE THAT THIS IS MERELY A LONG-TERM PROPOSAL ONLY REINFORCES, EVEN IF INADVERTENTLY, THE THOUGHT THAT THIS INDEPENDENT EUROPEAN MILITARY STRUCTURE WILL ONE DAY REPLACE THE ALLIANCE.

IF YOU CONTINUE TO BELIEVE WITH ME THAT THE HISTORY OF THIS CENTURY HAS DEMONSTRATED BEYOND A SHADOW OF DOUBT THAT THE SECURITY OF THE UNITED STATES AND OF EUROPE MUST BE INTIMATELY LINKED, THEN GREAT CARE MUST BE TAKEN TO ASSURE THE CLOSEST OF TIES THROUGH THE NATO ALLIANCE. AMERICA WILL MAINTAIN IN EUROPE THE FORCES NECESSARY TO HONOR OUR COMMITMENT TO THE DEFENSE OF EUROPE. BUT THAT WILL BE POSSIBLE ONLY SO LONG AS EUROPE DESIRES IT. IN THIS CONNECTION, LET ME SAY QUITE FRANKLY THAT SUGGESTIONS OF A EUROPEAN ARMY OUTSIDE OF NATO DO NOT HELP AS WE ATTEMPT TO PERSUADE CONGRESS TO RETAIN A STRONG U.S. MILITARY PRESENCE IN EUROPE. WHILE WE APPRECIATE THE PRIVATE ASSURANCES WE HAVE RECEIVED FROM YOUR ADVISORS, I BELIEVE WE MUST STILL MOVE PROMPTLY TO AVOID DIVISIONS WITHIN THE ALLIANCE OF THE SORT THAT APPEARED AT THE RECENT NPG MEETING. WE NEED TO REAFFIRM THE DECISIONS REACHED AT COPENHAGEN. I MIGHT SUGGEST THAT A GOOD STARTING POINT WOULD BE FOR YOU TO ADDRESS PUBLICLY SOME OF THE QUESTIONS WHICH HAVE BEEN RAISED ABOUT YOUR PROPOSAL AND ITS IMPLICATIONS FOR THE ALLIANCE. PERHAPS YOU MIGHT CLARIFY THAT THE PROPOSED CORPS WOULD NOT TAKE OVER ALLIANCE RESPONSIBILITIES, AND THAT THE GERMAN FORCES CONTRIBUTED TO THE CORPS WOULD BE PART OF NATO'S INTEGRATED MILITARY COMMAND.

I AM NOT SEEKING TO CREATE A PROBLEM WITH OR FOR FRANCOIS. WE WILL CONTINUE TO RESPECT FRANCE'S INDEPENDENT POSITION. BUT I BELIEVE THAT PUBLIC CLARIFICATIONS BY YOU WILL GO A LONG WAY TOWARD CONFIRMING THAT YOUR JOINT PROPOSAL DOES NOT SEEK TO CREATE A SEPARATE MILITARY STRUCTURE FOR THE DEFENSE OF THE EUROPEAN MEMBERS OF NATO, EVEN IN THE LONG RUN. WE HAVE ALSO DISCUSSED WITH YOUR SENIOR OFFICIALS OTHER ASPECTS OF YOUR PROPOSAL ABOUT WHICH WE HAVE SOME CONCERN, ESPECIALLY THE IMBALANCE IN TIES BETWEEN THE WEU AND THE EC ON THE ONE HAND, AND THE WEU AND NATO ON THE OTHER. WE HAVE NO PROBLEM WITH THE CONCEPT OF THE WEU SERVING AS A DEFENSE IDENTITY WITHIN THE EUROPEAN POLITICAL UNION, AS LONG AS IT ALSO SERVES AS THE EUROPEAN PILLAR WITHIN NATO. WE CAN ENSURE THIS RESULT BY SEEING TO IT THAT INSTITUTIONAL RELATIONS AMONG THESE ORGANIZATIONS REFLECT THIS FUNDAMENTAL SYMMETRY. AGAIN, I APPRECIATE YOUR EFFORTS TO WORK WITH FRANCE,

AND STRONGLY FAVOR THE CREATION OF A EUROPEAN SECURITY
IDENTITY WITHIN BOTH THE ALLIANCE AND THE POLITICAL
UNION. INDEED, WE ARE PREPARED TO BEGIN DISCUSSING THE
DETAILS OF THE FRANCO-GERMAN PROPOSAL AND THE OTHER
IDEAS THAT HAVE BEEN OFFERED. THIS IS WHY OUR PUBLIC
STATEMENTS ABOUT YOUR PROPOSAL HAVE NOT BEEN CRITICAL,
AND WE HAVE RESERVED OUR CONCERNS FOR PRIVATE CHANNELS.
#0133

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~~SECRET~~ VIA CABINET CHANNELS

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FINAL SECTION OF 02

BUT I BELIEVE THERE IS AN URGENT NEED FOR YOU TO LAY TO
REST THE PERCEPTION THAT THE FRANCO-GERMAN INITIATIVE
ENVISIONS AN ALTERNATIVE TO NATO.

ATTACHMENT - TEXT OF LETTER FROM PRESIDENT BUSH TO PRESIDENT
MITTERRAND.

DEAR FRANCOIS:

I READ WITH INTEREST THE PROPOSAL YOU AND HELMUT HAVE
MADE CONCERNING EUROPEAN SECURITY STRUCTURE. YOU KNOW THAT
I ALWAYS WELCOME AND PLACE GREAT WEIGHT ON YOUR IDEAS,
INCLUDING THESE.

I AM CONCERNED, HOWEVER, ABOUT REPORTS THAT A POTENTIALLY
SERIOUS DIVISION IN THE ALLIANCE HAS RESULTED FROM THE
CONTROVERSY SURROUNDING THE PURPOSE OF THE FRANCO-GERMAN
FORCE. AS YOU MAY HAVE SEEN, THE
PRESS IS REPORTING YOUR INITIATIVE AS A CALL FOR THE
CREATION OF A "EUROPEAN ARMY" SEPARATE FROM NATO --
INDEED AS A POTENTIAL ALTERNATIVE TO NATO.
UNFORTUNATELY, THIS CONTROVERSY HAS MADE IT MORE
DIFFICULT FOR US TO ENGAGE ON THE VERY IMPORTANT
QUESTIONS OF HOW TO CREATE A EUROPEAN SECURITY IDENTITY
THAT CAN BE BOTH THE DEFENSE ELEMENT OF THE EUROPEAN
UNION AND THE EUROPEAN PILLAR OF THE ALLIANCE -- A
QUESTION WHICH THE MAIN PART OF YOUR INITIATIVE
ADDRESSES.

THE RECENT CONSULTATIONS ON EUROPEAN SECURITY STRUCTURES
BETWEEN OUR GOVERNMENTS BROUGHT OUT A GREAT DEAL OF
CONVERGENCE, WHILE ALSO REVEALING THAT THERE ARE, NOT
SURPRISINGLY, SOME POINTS THAT NEED FURTHER DISCUSSION.
WE CERTAINLY SAW THE POTENTIAL FOR DEVELOPING A PARALLEL
APPROACH, WHICH WOULD HELP SET THE STAGE FOR SUCCESSFUL
SUMMITS AT BOTH ROME AND MAASTRICHT.

WITH THIS IN MIND, AND BECAUSE OF OUR RELATIONSHIP, WE
HAVE AVOIDED PUBLIC CRITICISM ABOUT THE IDEA OF A
EUROPEAN FORCE, EVEN THOUGH WE HAVE SOME SERIOUS
RESERVATIONS ABOUT ANYTHING THAT COULD BE VIEWED AS
INTENDED TO REPLACE OR DUPLICATE NATO. I WOULD ONLY ASK
YOU TO CONSIDER WHETHER THERE IS ANYTHING YOU CAN DO OR
SAY TO CONFIRM THAT IT IS NOT YOUR INTENTION TO OFFER A
SUBSTITUTE FOR THE ALLIANCE, EVEN IN THE LONG RUN.
I FULLY UNDERSTAND AND ACCEPT FRANCE'S INDEPENDENT
POSITION. MY ONLY WISH IS TO PREVENT A FISSURE IN THE

ALLIANCE OVER THE QUESTION OF WHETHER NATO REMAINS
ESSENTIAL FOR THE DEFENSE OF EUROPE.

END TEXT

DECL: OADR
0134

<SECT>SECTION: 01 OF 02 <SSN> 0133 <TOR> 911024114508 MSG000309613508
<SECT>SECTION: 02 OF 02 <SSN> 0134 <TOR> 911024114603 MSG000309613563

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IT: FILE HOTLINE OUT
PREC> IMMEDIATE <CLAS> ~~CONFIDENTIAL~~ <OSRI> YEXXWHX <DTG> 020123Z NOV 91

ORIG>FM WHITE HOUSE

TO>TO CABINET OFFICE

TEXT>ZEM

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~ VIA CABINET CHANNELS

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PLEASE DELIVER THE FOLLOWING MESSAGE TO STEPHEN WALL FROM
BRENT SCOWCROFT.

BEGIN TEXT:

DEAR STEPHEN:

WHEN I MET WITH DAVID GILMORE LAST WEEK, HE AND ROBIN RENWICK
EMPHASIZED THE IMPORTANCE OF WHAT THE PRESIDENT SAYS AT AND AROUND
THE ROME SUMMIT REGARDING THE RELATIONSHIP OF THE ALLIANCE AND A
EUROPEAN DEFENSE IDENTITY. WE MADE THE POINT THAT CLEAR WORDS FROM
THE PRESIDENT WERE NECESSARY BUT NOT SUFFICIENT TO REMOVE DOUBTS
ABOUT WHETHER THE ALLIANCE IS TOGETHER ON THIS FUNDAMENTAL POINT.

WE THEREFORE WANT TO SHARE IN ADVANCE WITH PRIME MINISTER MAJOR,
CHANCELLOR KOHL, PRESIDENT MITTERRAND, PRIME MINISTER ANDREOTTI, AND
MANFRED WOERNER THE LINE THE PRESIDENT WILL TAKE. NEEDLESS TO SAY,
A SIMILAR EXPRESSION FROM THE PRIME MINISTER WOULD BE MOST WELCOME.
WHAT WOULD ALSO HELP WOULD BE FOR THE PRIME MINISTER TO URGE THE
CHANCELLOR, ESPECIALLY, TO MAKE A SIMILAR, EQUALLY CLEAR STATEMENT.
IF MOST OR ALL KEY ALLIED LEADERS SPOKE WITH ONE VOICE ON THE
ESSENTIALS, WE CAN REMOVE THE IMPRESSION OF DISARRAY AND SET A
STRONG POINT OF REFERENCE FOR UPCOMING EUROPEAN DELIBERATIONS.

SINCERELY,

BRENT SCOWCROFT

BEGIN TEXT OF PRESIDENT'S POINTS

-- WE HAVE ALL LEARNED THAT EUROPEAN AND AMERICAN
SECURITY ARE INDIVISIBLE AND THAT THE U.S. MUST
MAINTAIN ITS RESPONSIBILITIES IN EUROPE IN THIS NEW
ERA.

-- BECAUSE IT BINDS EUROPEAN AND AMERICAN SECURITY, THE
ALLIANCE CANNOT BE REPLACED, EVEN IN THE LONG RUN.
THE U.S. AND ITS ALLIES CONSIDER THE ALLIANCE TO BE
THE GUARANTOR OF THEIR SECURITY AND THE KEYSTONE OF
EUROPEAN STABILITY.

-- THE U.S. WELCOMES EUROPEAN EFFORTS TO TAKE ON MORE

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RESPONSIBILITY AND WOULD SUPPORT THE CREATION OF A
EUROPEAN DEFENSE IDENTITY.

- STRENGTHENING THE WEU WOULD BE A STEP IN THE RIGHT
DIRECTION AND COULD LINK THE ALLIANCE WITH THE EC.
- SUCH A EUROPEAN DEFENSE IDENTITY COULD COMPLEMENT AND
STRENGTHEN NATO, RATHER THAN ASSUME NATO
RESPONSIBILITIES OR DIMINISH THE NEED FOR NATO

END TEXT OF PRESIDENT'S POINTS.

END TEXT:

0008

<SECT>SECTION: 01 OF 01 <SSN> 0008 <TOR> 911101203000 MSG000310336200

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PREC> IMMEDIATE <CLAS> ~~CONFIDENTIAL~~ <OSRI> YEXXWHX <DTG> 061659Z NOV 91
ORIG>FM WHITE HOUSE
TO>TO CABINET OFFICE

TEXT>ZEM
~~CONFIDENTIAL~~ VIA CABINET CHANNELS

QQQ
PLEASE DELIVER THE FOLLOWING MESSAGE TO MR. KEN DAVIES FROM MR. NEIL
OLEARY, DIRECTOR, WHITE HOUSE SITUATION ROOM.

NOVEMBER 6, 1991

BEGIN TEXT:

I AM SORRY TO SEE YOU LEAVE, SINCE WE HAVE ACCOMPLISHED SO MUCH
DURING YOUR TENURE WITH THE CABINET OFFICE. MY STAFF AND I WISH
YOU THE BEST IN YOUR RETIREMENT AND SUCCESS IN ALL YOUR FUTURE
ENDEAVORS.

I LOOK FORWARD TO WORKING WITH BOB HOPE AND CONTINUING THE GOOD
WORKING RELATIONSHIP OUR TWO ORGANIZATIONS HAVE DEVELOPED OVER
THE INTERVENING YEARS.

BEST OF LUCK

NEIL O'LEARY

END TEXT

DECL: OADR
00041

SECT>SECTION: 01 OF 01 <SSN> 0041 <TOR> 911106120919 MSG000310738159

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PER E.O. 13526
2009-0754-MR
SCS 1/9/12

(DIST)
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(DIST)
RT: GANTT
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(ORIG) FM WHITE HOUSE

(TO) TO CABINET OFFICE

(TEXT) ZEM

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~ VIA CABINET CHANNELS

1000

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

BEGIN TEXT:

DEAR JOHN:

I HAVE JUST CONCLUDED MY DISCUSSIONS IN THE HAGUE WITH RUUD
LUBBERS AND JACQUES DELORS ON THE URUGUARY ROUND, AND I WANTED
PROMPTLY TO SHARE WITH YOU MY IMPRESSION OF WHERE WE ARE ON THIS
VITALLY IMPORTANT MATTER.

KNOWING THAT THE EC WAS READY TO CONSIDER SOME FLEXIBILITY ON
AGRICULTURE, THANKS TO THE EFFORTS OF YOU AND OTHERS, THE U.S.
HAS MADE RECENT MOVES IN THE AREAS OF INTELLECTUAL PROPERTY
RIGHTS, MARKET ACCESS, AND SERVICES. AS A CONSEQUENCE, THE US
AND THE EC HAVE BEEN ABLE TO NARROW OUR DIFFERENCES IN THESE
AREAS DOWN TO A FEW TOUGH ISSUES WHICH, WITH SOME FURTHER GIVE
AND TAKE, WE SHOULD BE ABLE TO SETTLE. IN FACT, RUUD, JACQUES
AND I EXPLICITLY AGREED THAT IF WE CAN RESOLVE OUR DIFFERENCES IN
AGRICULTURE, WE CAN SURELY RESOLVE -- AND ARE COMMITTED TO
RESOLVE -- THESE OTHER QUESTIONS.

WITH SO MUCH DEPENDING ON AGRICULTURE, I DECIDED THAT THE
MOMENT HAD COME FOR A MAJOR AND CONCRETE U.S. MOVE. I THUS
SHARED WITH RUUD AND JACQUES A PROPOSAL THAT I BELIEVE COULD AND
SHOULD BE ACCEPTABLE TO THE EC, THE U.S. CONGRESS, AND THE OTHER
GATT NATIONS, SPECIFICALLY:

-- REDUCTIONS OF 35, 30, AND 30 PERCENT, RESPECTIVELY, IN
EXPORT SUBSIDIES, MARKET ACCESS BARRIERS, AND INTERNAL SUPPORTS
OVER A FIVE YEAR PERIOD -- USING THE 1986-88 AVERAGE AS THE BASE
PERIOD AND MEASURING EXPORT SUBSIDY REDUCTION IN TONNAGE.

-- CONTINUED REDUCTIONS AFTER FIVE YEARS AT A RATE TO BE
DETERMINED IN A SUBSEQUENT REVIEW.

WHILE THERE ARE SOME OTHER ASPECTS OF OUR OFFER THAT I AM SURE
WILL BE SHARED WITH YOUR GOVERNMENT VIA THE EC, I WANTED YOU
PERSONALLY TO KNOW ABOUT THE MAIN ELEMENTS.

RUUD AND JACQUES RESPONDED WITH SOME IDEAS ON AGRICULTURE
WHICH SHOW A SINCERE INTENT ON THE PART OF THE EC TO CONCLUDE THE

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SCS 1/9/12

ROUND SUCCESSFULLY, EVEN IF THEY FELL SHORT OF WHAT WE AND, I BELIEVE, THE OTHERS NEED. THUS, WE HAVE AT LEAST NARROWED OUR DIFFERENCES IN AGRICULTURE.

WITH YOUR EFFORTS AND THE WORK WE DID IN THE HAGUE, WE HAVE IMPARTED NEW MOMENTUM TO THE NEGOTIATIONS. THE OUTSTANDING PROBLEMS IN AGRICULTURE AND THE OTHER AREAS CAN BE OVERCOME, BUT ONLY IF WE KEEP UP THE PACE AND PRESSURE WE HAVE ACHIEVED THESE LAST SEVERAL WEEKS AND THERE IS GIVE AND TAKE. AS THE EC CONSIDERS ITS POSITIONS ON THE REMAINING ISSUES, I URGE YOU TO REMAIN FULLY ENGAGED, DESPITE THE MANY OTHER DEMANDS ON YOU. THE WORLD NEEDS YOUR STATESMANSHIP AND WISDOM AT THIS IMPORTANT JUNCTURE. MORE HARD WORK WITH FRANCOIS AND OTHERS MAY BE NEEDED.

THE STAKES ARE VERY HIGH; THE NEXT FEW WEEKS COULD BE CRITICAL. ALL PARTIES WILL NEED TO SHOW FLEXIBILITY IF WE ARE TO SUCCEED.

YOU CAN COUNT ON ME TO PROVIDE THE SAME DEGREE OF PERSONAL ATTENTION ON THE U.S. SIDE AND TO BE GUIDED BY THE SAME SPIRIT I AM URGING UPON YOU. PLEASE DO NOT HESITATE TO COMMUNICATE WITH ME DIRECTLY IF YOU SENSE PROBLEMS ON EITHER SIDE.

SINCERELY,

GEORGE

END TEXT:

DECL: OADR

0060

<SECT>SECTION: 01 OF 01 <SSN> 0060 <TOR> 911110114237 MSG000311082157

(DIST>
SIT: JOHNSONE
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SIT: FILE SIT
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SIT: HOTLINE_OUT
(PREC> IMMEDIATE <CLAS> ~~SECRET~~

<OSRI> YEXXWHX <DTG> 240524Z JAN 92

(ORIG>FM WHITE HOUSE

(TO>TO CABINET OFFICE

(TEXT>ZEM

~~SECRET~~ VIA CABINET CHANNELS

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

BEGIN TEXT:

DEAR JOHN:

WE HAVE WITNESSED THE DISSOLUTION OF THE SOVIET UNION AND
THE TRIUMPH OF POLITICAL FORCES WHICH ARE BOTH DEMOCRATIC
AND EAGER TO SEE THEIR NATIONS BECOME RESPONSIBLE MEMBERS OF
OUR COMMUNITY. WHILE INSTABILITY PERSISTS AND NEW PERILS
COULD ARISE, THE COLLAPSE OF THE MENACING SOVIET EMPIRE IS
COMPLETE. THIS GIVES US THE OPPORTUNITY, AND THE
RESPONSIBILITY, TO TAKE FURTHER SWEEPING ACTIONS TO RID THE
WORLD OF THE HEAVY AND DANGEROUS BURDEN OF THE COLD WAR'S
NUCLEAR CONFRONTATION.

I AM THEREFORE PLANNING TO ANNOUNCE SHORTLY MEASURES TO
TRANSFORM THE CHARACTER OF THE AMERICAN STRATEGIC NUCLEAR
ARSENAL, TO REDUCE ITS SIZE SHARPLY, AND TO CALL UPON OUR
FORMER ADVERSARIES IN THE EAST TO TAKE COMPARABLE STEPS.
THESE DECISIONS WILL SEND ANOTHER STRONG SIGNAL TO THE
PEOPLES OF THE FORMER SOVIET UNION THAT WE MEAN THEM NO HARM
AND THAT WE WELCOME THEM AS FRIENDS NOW THAT THEIR LEADERS
HAVE CHOSEN A RESPONSIBLE ROLE IN WORLD AFFAIRS. BY SHOWING
THAT THE U.S. IS DRAMATICALLY REDUCING ITS OWN ARSENAL AND
CURTAILING MODERNIZATION EFFORTS, I HOPE ALSO TO IMPROVE THE
CLIMATE FOR OUR COLLECTIVE STRATEGY TO CURB THE
PROLIFERATION OF NUCLEAR WEAPONS.

I INTEND TO MAKE THE FOLLOWING CHANGES IN U.S. STRATEGIC
MODERNIZATION PROGRAMS:

-- THE B-2 BOMBER PROGRAM WILL BE TERMINATED. WE WILL
BUILD ONLY THE TWENTY AIRCRAFT FOR WHICH PROCUREMENT
HAS ALREADY BEGUN.

-- PRODUCTION AND DEPLOYMENT OF THE SMALL ICBM WILL BE
CANCELLED.

-- PRODUCTION OF THE W-88 WARHEAD FOR OUR SUBMARINE-BASED

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2009-0755-MR

SLC 1/9/12; 7/19/13

DETERRENT WILL CEASE, THUS LIMITING DEPLOYMENT TO A SMALL FRACTION OF OUR ORIGINAL PLAN.

-- PRODUCTION OF ADDITIONAL SPARE PEACEKEEPER MISSILES WILL BE TERMINATED.

-- PRODUCTION OF THE ADVANCED CRUISE MISSILE WILL BE TERMINATED, LIMITING THE PROGRAM TO A NUMBER WELL UNDER THE ORIGINAL PLAN.

I AM CALLING ON BORIS YELTSIN AND OTHER CIS LEADERS TO CURTAIL MODERNIZATION AND DEPLOYMENT OF NEW STRATEGIC SYSTEMS. BUT THE UNITED STATES WILL TAKE THE STEPS I HAVE INDICATED ABOVE REGARDLESS OF ANY RECIPROCAL STEPS BY RUSSIA AND THE OTHER CIS STATES.

I AM ALSO EAGER TO SEIZE THE OPPORTUNITY TO GO WELL BEYOND START IN ELIMINATING THE DANGERS ASSOCIATED WITH THE MOST DESTABILIZING WEAPONS. I AM THEREFORE OFFERING TO PRESIDENT YELTSIN AND OTHER KEY CIS LEADERS TO ELIMINATE U.S. MIRVED ICBMS AND TO REDUCE BY ABOUT ONE-THIRD THE NUMBER OF WARHEADS ON U.S. SUBMARINES IF THEY AGREE TO ELIMINATE THEIR MIRVED ICBMS. I WOULD ALSO BE PREPARED TO TRANSFER A NUMBER OF OUR STRATEGIC BOMBERS TO A PRIMARILY CONVENTIONAL ROLE. THIS PROPOSAL, IF ACCEPTED, WOULD RESULT IN THE ELIMINATION OF THE MOST DESTABILIZING STRATEGIC WEAPONS, WHILE ALSO BRINGING AGGREGATE WARHEAD NUMBERS FAR BELOW THE CEILINGS PROVIDED FOR IN THE START TREATY. WE WOULD EACH BE LEFT WITH SUBSTANTIALLY SMALLER, LESS THREATENING, AND MORE SURVIVABLE DETERRENT FORCES.

I AM SENSITIVE TO THE FACT THAT WHILE THESE MEASURES AND PROPOSALS WILL BE WELL-RECEIVED AROUND THE WORLD THEY MAY ALSO RAISE QUESTIONS ABOUT YOUR NUCLEAR FORCES. IN THAT WE ARE NOT PROPOSING A NEW ROUND OF FORMAL NEGOTIATIONS OR STRATEGIC WEAPONS, PRESSURES ON YOU TO JOIN IN SHOULD BE MANAGEABLE. MOREOVER, WE WILL NOT HESITATE TO POINT OUT THAT THE U.S. AND THE CIS WILL CONTINUE TO HAVE ARSENALS SIGNIFICANTLY GREATER THAN THAT WHICH YOU HAVE OR ENVISAGE. WE WILL CONTINUE TO SAY THAT WE SUPPORT BRITISH AND FRENCH POLICIES TO MAINTAIN ADEQUATE, MODERN DETERRENT FORCES, AND WE WILL SAY NOTHING TO SUGGEST THAT WE THINK YOUR FORCES OR PLANS SHOULD BE REDUCED.

NEEDLESS TO SAY, I AM TAKING THESE STEPS BECAUSE I BELIEVE THEY ARE BOTH JUSTIFIED BY AND WILL CONTRIBUTE FURTHER TO THE IMPROVEMENT IN GLOBAL SECURITY. THE SECURITY OF THE ALLIANCE AND OF EUROPE AS A WHOLE CAN BENEFIT GREATLY FROM THE NEW SITUATION WE ARE CREATING.

EVEN WITH REDUCED LEVELS AND CURTAILED MODERNIZATION PROGRAMS, THE UNITED STATES WILL RETAIN MORE THAN AMPLE CAPABILITIES TO CONTINUE TO EXTEND CREDIBLE DETERRENCE TO ITS NATO ALLIES. THE AMERICAN STRATEGIC COMMITMENT WILL BE AS STRONG AS EVER.

I DO NOT KNOW WHAT RESPONSE WE WILL GET FROM BORIS YELTSIN AND THE OTHERS. BUT I AM HOPEFUL. I WOULD LIKE TO KEEP THIS ENTIRE MATTER CONFIDENTIAL UNTIL MY STATE-OF-THE-UNION SPEECH ON TUESDAY, JANUARY 28, AND I ASK YOU TO SHARE THE

INFORMATION WITH NO ONE. ONCE I MAKE THESE PLANS AND PROPOSALS PUBLIC IN THAT ADDRESS, I WOULD WARMLY WELCOME YOUR SUPPORT, AS WELL AS YOUR OWN EFFORTS PRIVATELY OR PUBLICLY TO URGE PRESIDENT YELTSIN TO RECIPROCATE. YOUR INFLUENCE WITH HIM COULD BE MOST HELPFUL.

IF YOU HAVE ANY QUESTIONS OR THOUGHTS ABOUT WHAT I HAVE OUTLINED HERE, PLEASE COMMUNICATE WITH ME DIRECTLY.

SINCERELY,

GEORGE BUSH

END TEXT

0153

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(ORIG) FM WHITE HOUSE
(TO) TO CABINET OFFICE

(TEXT) ZEM
~~SECRET~~ VIA CABINET CHANNELS
QQQQ

SECTION 01 OF 02
PLEASE DELIVER THE FOLLOWING MESSAGE FROM PRESIDENT BUSH
TO PRIME MINISTER JOHN MAJOR

BEGIN TEXT:

DEAR JOHN:

I WANT TO KEEP YOU ABREAST OF THE LATEST DEVELOPMENTS ON THE
STRATEGIC ARMS INITIATIVE WHICH I DESCRIBED TO YOU IN MY
RECENT LETTER AND WHICH I ANNOUNCED IN MY STATE OF THE UNION
ADDRESS. PRESIDENT YELTSIN HAS SENT ME A RESPONSE IN WHICH
HE HAS SPECIFIED THE FOLLOWING UNILATERAL NUCLEAR REDUCTIONS
THAT RUSSIA WILL TAKE IN RESPONSE TO THOSE ON WHICH I HAVE
DECIDED:

- PRODUCTION OF THE BEAR AND BLACKJACK HEAVY BOMBERS WILL
BE TERMINATED.
- PRODUCTION OF LONG-RANGE ALCMS OF EXISTING TYPES WILL
BE TERMINATED.
- PRODUCTION OF LONG-RANGE NUCLEAR SLCMS OF EXISTING
TYPES WILL BE TERMINATED, AND NEW TYPES OF SUCH
MISSILES WILL NOT BE DEVELOPED.
- EXERCISES INVOLVING MORE THAN 30 HEAVY BOMBERS WILL NO
LONGER BE CONDUCTED.
- THE NUMBER OF SSBNs DEPLOYED AT SEA WILL BE HALVED AND
THEN REDUCED FURTHER.
- PRODUCTION OF GROUND-LAUNCHED TACTICAL MISSILE NUCLEAR
WARHEADS, NUCLEAR ARTILLERY SHELLS AND NUCLEAR MINES
WILL BE HALTED. AS ALREADY PROMISED, THESE WEAPONS
WILL BE ELIMINATED.
- THE ELIMINATION OF ONE-THIRD OF SEA-LAUNCHED TACTICAL
NUCLEAR WEAPONS AND ONE-HALF OF AIR-DEFENSE NUCLEAR
WEAPONS IS PROCEEDING.
- AIR-LAUNCHED TACTICAL NUCLEAR MUNITIONS SHALL BE
REDUCED BY ONE-HALF.

YELTSIN ALSO HAS PLEDGED THAT, WITHIN A THREE-YEAR PERIOD,
RUSSIA WILL TAKE OFF COMBAT ALERT THE NUMBER OF STRATEGIC
OFFENSIVE ARMS SCHEDULED FOR ELIMINATION UNDER THE START
TREATY. HE PROPOSES THAT THE STRATEGIC OFFENSIVE ARMS

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2009-0775-MR
6/26/2014 MM

REMAINING AFTER REDUCTIONS SHOULD NOT BE TRAINED ON AMERICAN AND RUSSIAN TARGETS.

IN ADDITION TO THESE STEPS, YELTSIN IS PROPOSING THAT THE U.S. AND RUSSIA ELIMINATE NOT JUST LAND-BASED MIRVED ICBMS BUT ALL MIRVED SEA-LAUNCHED BALLISTIC MISSILES AS WELL. HE SUGGESTS NOT DEPLOYING SSBN'S TO SEA. HE ALSO PROPOSES ULTIMATE STRATEGIC FORCES OF 2000-2500 WARHEADS ON EACH SIDE. IN THAT CONTEXT, HE URGES THAT CHINA, THE UK AND FRANCE JOIN THE NUCLEAR DISARMAMENT PROCESS, CLAIMING THAT U.S. AND RUSSIAN EFFORTS WOULD BE INCOMPLETE AND INADEQUATE WITHOUT LIMITING THE NUCLEAR FORCES OF THESE THREE COUNTRIES. HE MAKES CLEAR HIS BELIEF THAT THESE COUNTRIES SHOULD NOT BE ALLOWED TO BUILD THEIR FORCES UNCONSTRAINED BY ARMS CONTROL, A SITUATION WHICH COULD, IN HIS WORDS, DESTABILIZE THE INTERNATIONAL SITUATION EVEN AS EARLY AS IN THE NEXT FEW YEARS."

YELTSIN'S RESPONSE HAS MANY POSITIVE FEATURES, BUT COULD CAUSE US PROBLEMS IN SOME AREAS. WE WILL BE STUDYING ALL THE ELEMENTS OF HIS RESPONSE CAREFULLY. FOR THE PRESENT LET ME COMMENT ON TWO SPECIFIC IDEAS OF PARTICULAR CONCERN: ELIMINATING MIRVED SLBMS AND INCLUDING THIRD COUNTRY SYSTEMS IN ARMS NEGOTIATIONS.

THE FOCUS OF MY INITIATIVE OF SEPTEMBER 27, 1991, WAS ON THE ELIMINATION OF THE MOST DESTABILIZING NUCLEAR SYSTEMS -- MIRVED ICBMS. IN RESPONSE TO THE ISSUE OF EQUITY IN REDUCTIONS, MY CURRENT INITIATIVE INCLUDES STEPS TO REDUCE FURTHER OUR SEA-BASED FORCE. I CANCELLED PRODUCTION OF THE HIGH-YIELD ACCURATE W-88 WARHEAD AND OFFERED TO REDUCE THE NUMBER OF U.S. SLBM WARHEADS BY ABOUT ONE-THIRD IF RUSSIA AGREES TO ELIMINATION OF MIRVED ICBMS ON BOTH SIDES. HOWEVER, DESPITE THE VASTLY IMPROVED CLIMATE AND REVOLUTIONARY CHANGES, A HALLMARK OF OUR COMMON DEFENSE WILL CONTINUE TO REST ON NUCLEAR DETERRENCE, WHICH MUST REMAIN CREDIBLE, SECURE AND STABLE. U.S. MIRVED SLBMS MEET THOSE CRITERIA, AND WE CANNOT AGREE TO ELIMINATE THEM, NOR CAN WE AGREE TO CONFINED THEM TO PORT.

MY SECOND CONCERN HAS TO DO WITH INCLUSION OF THIRD COUNTRY SYSTEMS IN THE NEGOTIATIONS. EVEN UNDER THE BEST OF CIRCUMSTANCES, THE DEACTIVATION AND DESTRUCTION OF U.S. AND RUSSIAN NUCLEAR WEAPONS OF THE NUMBERS NOW ENVISIONED WILL TAKE MANY YEARS TO ACHIEVE. MOREOVER, I DO NOT WANT TO SEE THE HISTORIC OPPORTUNITY FOR DRASTICALLY REDUCING THE NUCLEAR ARSENALS OF THE U.S. AND RUSSIA SLOWED IN ANY WAY BY INTRODUCING THIRD COUNTRY SYSTEMS INTO NEGOTIATIONS.

DO NOT KNOW WHEN PRESIDENT YELTSIN WILL BE ANNOUNCING HIS INITIATIVE, ALTHOUGH I IMAGINE IT WILL BE SOON. I WILL BE IN CLOSE CONSULTATIONS WITH YOU ON HOW WE GO ABOUT IMPLEMENTING THESE INITIATIVES AS WELL AS FRAMING NEXT STEPS.

WANT TO REITERATE THAT WE WILL NOT TAKE ANY STEPS THAT WILL CHALLENGE YOUR LONG-STANDING POLICY ON YOUR STRATEGIC FORCES, NOR UNDERCUT OUR BILATERAL NUCLEAR COOPERATION. WE INTEND TO TAKE THE FOLLOWING LINE IN RESPONSE TO ANY PUBLIC INQUIRIES ABOUT INCLUSION OF YOUR SYSTEMS IN NUCLEAR ARMS

REDUCTIONS:

"THE UNITED STATES SUPPORTS THE MAINTENANCE OF
EFFECTIVE NUCLEAR DETERRENT FORCES BY ITS ALLIES FRANCE
AND THE UNITED KINGDOM. THESE FORCES HAVE CONTRIBUTED
TO STABILITY FOR DECADES. WHILE ANY QUESTION REGARDING
THE POSSIBILITY OF LIMITS ON THESE FORCES IS FOR OUR

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~~SECRET~~ VIA CABINET CHANNELS

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FINAL SECTION OF 02

TWO ALLIES TO ADDRESS, FOR ITS PART THE UNITED STATES
DOES NOT BELIEVE IT IS NECESSARY TO INVOLVE THIRD
PARTIES IN ORDER TO PROCEED WITH THE FURTHER REDUCTIONS
UNDER DISCUSSION AS A RESULT OF THE PRESIDENT'S LATEST
INITIATIVE."

THE CONCERNS I RAISED NOTWITHSTANDING, WE ARE ON A THRESHOLD
OF MAKING DRAMATIC PROGRESS IN REDUCING AND TRANSFORMING OUR
NUCLEAR ARSENALS TO LEVELS THAT COULD NOT HAVE BEEN
ENVISIONED. MINDFUL OF SECURITY OF OUR ALLIES AND FRIENDS,
WE INTEND TO SEIZE EVERY OPPORTUNITY TO SECURE THE NEW ERA
OF RELATIONS THAT HAS DAWNED.

SINCERELY,

GEORGE BUSH

END TEXT

DECL: OADR

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<SECT>SECTION: 01 OF 02 <SSN> 0023 <TOR> 920128221416 MSG000317945656
<SECT>SECTION: 02 OF 02 <SSN> 0024 <TOR> 920128221937 MSG000317945977

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(ORIG>FM WHITE HOUSE

(TO>TO CABINET OFFICE

(TEXT>ZEM

~~SECRET~~ VIA CABINET CHANNELS

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PLEASE DELIVER THE FOLLOWING MESSAGE FROM PRESIDENT BUSH
TO PRIME MINISTER JOHN MAJOR

DEAR JOHN:

I WAS HAPPY TO SEE YOU IN NEW YORK. WE HAD A GOOD
DISCUSSION ON SOME OF THE ITEMS ON OUR AGENDA, BUT OUR TIME
WAS, OF COURSE, ALL TOO SHORT. I WANT TO SHARE SOME
IMPRESSIONS OF MY CAMP DAVID MEETING WITH BORIS YELTSIN.

THIS WAS MY THIRD MEETING WITH YELTSIN SINCE JUNE.
YELTSIN'S DEMEANOR AND HIS PRESENTATION TRACKED CLOSELY WITH
THE DISCUSSION YOU HAD WITH HIM IN LONDON. HE WAS IN GOOD
HEALTH AND SPIRITS. HE WAS ALSO QUITE IMPRESSIVE. HE SPOKE
CLEARLY AND INTELLIGENTLY ON A RANGE OF COMPLEX ISSUES
WITHOUT NOTES OR REFERENCE TO HIS ADVISORS. A CENTRAL THEME
THROUGHOUT YELTSIN'S PRESENTATION WAS THAT THE UNITED STATES
AND RUSSIA WERE NO LONGER ADVERSARIES AND INDEED SHOULD NOW
BE PARTNERS. HE MADE THIS POINT EMPHATICALLY, EVEN
INSISTING THAT WE MAKE IT CLEAR IN OUR JOINT STATEMENT.

YELTSIN DESCRIBED THE BASIS FOR HIS ECONOMIC REFORM EFFORTS
AND THE CRITICAL CHALLENGE OF SHEPHERDING RUSSIA THROUGH THE
WINTER, BUT HE DID NOT DWELL ON ECONOMIC ISSUES. HIS DEPUTY
PREMIER, YEGOR GAYDAR, MET SEPARATELY WITH TREASURY
SECRETARY BRADY TO DISCUSS THE DETAILS OF THEIR ECONOMIC
PLANS. MY PEOPLE FOUND GAYDAR TO BE SERIOUS AND ON TOP OF
THE REFORM EFFORT. WHILE GAYDAR DISCUSSED THE POSSIBILITY
OF A WESTERN-FINANCED STABILIZATION FUND, HE DID NOT PRESS
IT. OUR SIDE CAME AWAY FROM THE MEETING WITH A MUCH BETTER
UNDERSTANDING OF RUSSIA'S REFORM PROGRAM. WE ADVISED GAYDAR
TO WORK VERY CLOSELY WITH THE IMF AND THE WORLD BANK IN THE
MONTHS AHEAD, AND WE ASSURED HIM WE SUPPORT EARLY RUSSIAN
MEMBERSHIP IN BOTH THOSE INSTITUTIONS.

YELTSIN STRESSED THAT RUSSIA IS SHORT ABOUT 25 MILLION
METRIC TONS OF FOOD AND WONDERED IF RUSSIA COULD NOT RECEIVE
MORE ASSISTANCE FROM WHAT HE SAID WAS 20 MILLION METRIC TONS
IN EC FOOD SURPLUS STOCKS.

YELTSIN SPENT A GREAT DEAL OF TIME WITH ME ON MILITARY AND
NUCLEAR ISSUES. HE PROPOSED A RANGE OF JOINT PROJECTS IN
SUCH AREAS AS THE STORAGE OF URANIUM AND PLUTONIUM,
SCIENTIFIC RESEARCH PROJECTS TO ALLEVIATE THE DANGER OF A
BRAIN DRAIN OF RUSSIAN SCIENTISTS, THE DISABLING AND
DESTRUCTION OF NUCLEAR WEAPONS, SPACE RESEARCH AND THE

DECLASSIFIED
PER E.O. 12958,
AS AMENDED

2000-1334-F/2
03/27/2008 MM

CREATION OF A GLOBAL DEFENSE SYSTEM COMPARABLE BUT NOT IDENTICAL TO SDI. WE LISTENED CAREFULLY TO THESE PROPOSALS AND SAID WE WOULD PROVIDE CONSIDERED RESPONSES DURING JIM BAKER'S TRIP TO RUSSIA NEXT WEEK.

YELTSIN WAS PARTICULARLY REASSURING IN DESCRIBING THE AGREED SYSTEM FOR COMMAND AND CONTROL OF NUCLEAR WEAPONS AND THE TIMETABLE FOR WITHDRAWAL AND DISMANTLING OF THOSE WEAPONS FROM THE THREE OTHER FORMER REPUBLICS WHICH HAVE NUCLEAR WEAPONS. YELTSIN WAS ALSO QUITE ADAMANT THAT HE WOULD WORK HARD TO ASSURE THAT THOSE THREE REPUBLICS ALL SIGN ON TO THE NON-PROLIFERATION TREATY AS NON-NUCLEAR STATES. HE SAID HE EXPECTED KAZAKSTAN TO AGREE TO THIS BY THE FEBRUARY 14 MEETING OF CIS LEADERS IN MINSK. YELTSIN ALSO MADE CLEAR THAT DESPITE CURRENT PROBLEMS, HE WOULD NOT ALLOW SERIOUS CONFLICTS TO DEVELOP BETWEEN THE UKRAINE AND RUSSIA. HE SAID RUSSIA WOULD BE FLEXIBLE AND HAD NO IMPERIAL DESIGNS.

WE ALSO REVIEWED IN GENERAL OUR RESPECTIVE STRATEGIC NUCLEAR INITIATIVES. WE AGREED TO BEGIN SERIOUS TALKS ON THEM DURING JIM BAKER'S UPCOMING VISIT TO MOSCOW. LET ME SAY, AGAIN, THAT WE WILL DO NOTHING TO UNDERCUT YOUR TRIDENT PROGRAM NOR OUR CLOSE COOPERATION ON NUCLEAR ISSUES. THE ISSUE OF YOUR NUCLEAR FORCES DID NOT ARISE IN MY TALKS WITH YELTSIN.

SINCERELY,

GEORGE BUSH

0067

SECTION: 01 OF 01 <SSN> 0067 <TOR> 920206193638 MSG000318713798

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(RT: GANTT COMM OLEARY SIGLER SIT HOWE SCOWCROFT
(IT: HOTLINE_OUT FILE
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(ORIG>FM WHITE HOUSE

(TO>TO CABINET OFFICE

(TEXT>ZEM

~~SECRET~~ VIA CABINET CHANNELS

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SECTION 01 OF 02

PLEASE DELIVER THE FOLLOWING MESSAGE FROM PRESIDENT BUSH TO
PRIME MINISTER JOHN MAJOR

BEGIN TEXT:

DEAR JOHN:

I AM WRITING TO YOU ON A MATTER OF GREAT POTENTIAL VALUE FOR
THE SECURITY OF OUR NATIONS, OUR ALLIANCE, 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 UNDERMINING THE CREDIBILITY OF LONG
STANDING DETERRENT FORCES. ONE OF THE CORNERSTONES OF THIS
COOPERATIVE EFFORT COULD BE THE ALLIANCE, WITH ITS PROVEN
PRINCIPLE OF INDIVISIBLE SECURITY AND SUCCESSFUL PRACTICE OF
STRATEGIC COOPERATION. OUR PRINCIPAL PARTNER COULD BE
RUSSIA ITSELF, THANKS TO THE OPENING PRESIDENT YELTSIN HAS
NOW OFFERED.

AS WE REPORTED TO YOU LAST WEEK, AT CAMP DAVID, 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 POTENTIAL FOR 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

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PER E.O. 13526
2000-0233-F/3
SLC 3/14/11

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 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 WOULD BE MADE AVAILABLE TO OUR ALLIES.

LET ME REITERATE TO YOU THAT WE WILL TAKE NO ACTION WHICH WOULD UNDERMINE THE CREDIBILITY OF YOUR STRATEGIC DETERRENT FORCE.

ALL OF THIS IS STILL EXPLORATORY, THOUGH THE OPPORTUNITY TO PLAN FIRST STEPS IS VERY REAL, THANKS TO THE NEW POSITIVE ATTITUDE IN MOSCOW. BECAUSE WE SEE ALLIED COOPERATION AS A KEY ELEMENT, AND BECAUSE OUR SECURITY TRULY IS AS INDIVISIBLE TODAY AS IT HAS BEEN FOR OVER FORTY YEARS, WE WANT TO PROCEED ON THIS PATH TOGETHER WITH OUR ALLIANCE PARTNERS. WE WILL THEREFORE, OF COURSE, KEEP YOU FULLY INFORMED OF WHAT JIM LEARNS AND CAN ACCOMPLISH IN MOSCOW REGARDING THIS CONCEPT. I SUGGEST WE AND OTHER ALLIES BEGIN SYSTEMATICALLY TO DISCUSS THE POSSIBILITIES, THE IMPLICATIONS, AND I HOPE A COMMON PLAN. WITH RUSSIA AS A PARTNER IN THIS ENDEAVOR, WE CAN EXERCISE LEADERSHIP AMONG A WIDER COMMUNITY OF TRUSTED FRIENDS.

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 THE ALLIANCE'S POLITICAL AND TECHNOLOGICAL SUCCESS.

WE ARE PLANNING EARLY CONSULTATIONS IN THE ALLIANCE,

0085

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~~SECRET~~ VIA CABINET CHANNELS

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FINAL SECTION OF 02

BEGINNING WITH THE MEETING OF THE NORTH ATLANTIC COUNCIL
SCHEDULED FOR FEBRUARY 18. I WOULD NATURALLY WELCOME YOUR
PERSONAL THOUGHTS AND QUESTIONS AT ANY TIME.

SINCERELY,

GEORGE BUSH

END TEXT

0086

<SECT>SECTION: 01 OF 02 <SSN> 0085 <TOR> 920211222749 MSG000319156069

<SECT>SECTION: 02 OF 02 <SSN> 0086 <TOR> 920211223012 MSG000319156212

EDIST>
RT: WESTWING
EDIST>
RT: COMM OLEARY SIGLER SIT
IT: HOTLINE_OUT
PREC> IMMEDIATE <CLAS> ~~SECRET~~ <OSRI> YEXXWHX <DTG> 042046Z MAR 92

ORIG>FM WHITE HOUSE

TO>TO CABINET OFFICE

TEXT>ZEM

~~SECRET~~ VIA CABINET CHANNELS
QQQ

DECLASSIFIED
PER E.O. 13526

2009-0755-MR
SCS 1/9/12

PLEASE DELIVER THE FOLLOWING MESSAGE TO MR. STEPHEN WALL
FROM BRENT SCOWCROFT, ASSISTANT TO THE PRESIDENT FOR NATIONAL
SECURITY AFFAIRS.

EGIN TEXT:

EAR STEPHEN,

AM SURE YOU SHARE OUR CONCERN ABOUT THE UPCOMING REFERENDUM IN
SOUTH AFRICA. THIS IS A REAL TURNING POINT FOR SOUTH AFRICA, AND
PRESIDENT DE KLERK COULD FACE A TOUGH CHALLENGE IN THIS CRUCIAL
VOTE. WE OF COURSE DO NOT WANT TO INTERFERE IN INTERNAL AFFAIRS
- AND WE CERTAINLY DO NOT WANT THE CONSERVATIVE PARTY TO USE US
AS AN ELECTION ISSUE. BUT WE DO WANT TO MAKE OUR PRO-NEGOTIATION
POSITION CLEAR AND, BY IMPLICATION, BE SUPPORTIVE OF DE KLERK.

WE HAVE BEEN CONSIDERING A FEW OPTIONS ON THIS INCLUDING THE
POSSIBILITY OF A JOINT (OR IF MORE ADVANTAGEOUS, PARALLEL)
STATEMENTS ALONG THE FOLLOWING LINES:

- THE U.S. AND THE U.K. HAVE CONSISTENTLY SUPPORTED THE SEARCH
FOR A PEACEFUL AGREEMENT THAT WOULD LEAD TO A NON-RACIAL,
DEMOCRATIC SOUTH AFRICA.
- SOUTH AFRICA HAS SEEN REMARKABLE CHANGES AND HAS MADE GREAT
PROGRESS IN THE PAST TWO YEARS. WE SUPPORT THE CONTINUATION
OF THIS PROGRESS WHICH IS AIMED AT A NEW CONSTITUTION
THROUGH NEGOTIATION.
- THE CONVENTION FOR A DEMOCRATIC SOUTH AFRICA (CODESA)
PROCESS NOW HOLDS A GREAT DEAL OF HOPE FOR SOUTH AFRICA TO
ACHIEVE A NEGOTIATED SOLUTION AND BECOME RE-INTEGRATED INTO
THE INTERNATIONAL COMMUNITY.
- WE ALSO SUPPORT STRONG ECONOMIC GROWTH THAT WILL BE REQUIRED
TO SUSTAIN THE NEGOTIATING PROCESS AND MEET THE NEEDS OF ALL
SOUTH AFRICANS.

PLEASE LET ME KNOW YOUR THOUGHTS.

SINCERELY,

BRENT SCOWCROFT

ND TEXT

ECL: OADR

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SECT>SECTION: 01 OF 01 <SSN> 0014 <TOR> 920304160339 MSG000321033819

<DIST>
>RT: COMM OLEARY SIGLER SIT
>IT: HOTLINE_OUT
<PREC> IMMEDIATE <CLAS> ~~CONFIDENTIAL~~ <OSRI> YEXXWHX <DTG> 051931Z MAR 92

<ORIG>FM WHITE HOUSE

<TO>TO CABINET OFFICE

<SUBJ> COORDINATION VISIT

<TEXT>ZEM
~~CONFIDENTIAL~~ VIA CABINET CHANNELS
1000
TO BOB HOPE, CABINET OFFICE, TELECOMMUNICATIONS SECRETARIAT
FROM NEIL O'LEARY, DIRECTOR, WHITE HOUSE SITUATION ROOM.

SUBJECT: COORDINATION VISIT

THE WHITE HOUSE COMMUNICATIONS AGENCY IS SCHEDULED TO SEE
YOU ON THURSDAY, 26 MARCH TO SERVICE THE CABO CIRCUIT. I
WANTED TO TALK WITH YOU ON SOME ITEMS OF MUTUAL INTEREST
BEFORE THEY ARRIVED, IN PARTICULAR, THE CHANGE IN
PROCEDURES, STATUS OF FOUR WHITE HOUSE SUPPORTED STU-II'S
(1 X OLD CABO CIRCUIT, 2 X COMTER CIRCUITS AND 1 X SIR
ROBIN BUTLER) AND YOUR THOUGHTS ON ADDING A SECURE
FACSIMILE TO THE CABO CIRCUIT.

I WILL BE IN EUROPE THE WEEK OF 23 MARCH AND WOULD LIKE TO
MEET WITH YOU OR MEMBERS OF YOUR STAFF. MY SCHEDULE IS FREE
FOR MONDAY OR TUESDAY 23/24 MARCH AND I WOULD BE PLEASED TO
MEET WITH YOU IF YOUR SCHEDULE PERMITS.

REGARDS.

O'LEARY

END TEXT

DECL: OADR
#0025

<SECT>SECTION: 01 OF 01 <SSN> 0025 <TOR> 920305144001 MSG000321115200

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PER E.O. 13526
2009-0755-MR
SCS 4/26/13

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(PREC> IMMEDIATE <CLAS> ~~SECRET~~ <OSRI> YEXXWHX <DTG> 310244Z MAR 92
(ORIG>FM WHITE HOUSE

(TO>TO CABINET OFFICE

(TEXT>ZEM
~~SECRET~~ VIA CABINET CHANNELS
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PER E.O. 13526

2009-0765-MR
SCS 1/19/12

THE FOLLOWING TEXT IS CLASSIFIED ~~SECRET~~ FOR TRANSMISSION
PURPOSES. THE ACTUAL CLASSIFICATION IS ~~CONFIDENTIAL~~.

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

BEGIN TEXT

DEAR JOHN:

I WANT TO LET YOU KNOW THAT I WILL MEET WITH THE CONGRESSIONAL
LEADERSHIP ON APRIL 1 TO OUTLINE OUR NEW EFFORT TO EXPAND AMERICAN
ASSISTANCE TO RUSSIA AND THE OTHER CIS STATES, AND WILL MAKE A
PUBLIC STATEMENT ON THIS ISSUE THE SAME DAY. I AM WRITING
SIMULTANEOUSLY TODAY TO HELMUT KOHL AND WILL BE COMMUNICATING WITH
OUR OTHER PARTNERS BEFORE THIS NEWS BECOMES PUBLIC.

I PLAN TO MAKE FOUR MAJOR POINTS IN THE MEETING WITH CONGRESSIONAL
LEADERS AND IN MY STATEMENT.

FIRST, I PLAN TO MAKE A STRONG ARGUMENT THAT IT IS IN AMERICA'S
NATIONAL INTEREST TO ENGAGE ITSELF FULLY IN ASSISTING YELTSIN AND
THE OTHER REFORMERS WITH FINANCIAL AND TECHNICAL ASSISTANCE, AND
CONTINUED HUMANITARIAN FOOD AID. I WILL SAY THAT THIS EFFORT
SHOULD HAVE BIPARTISAN SUPPORT AND THAT I AM PREPARED TO WORK
CLOSELY WITH THE CONGRESS TO MAKE IT HAPPEN. AS YOU KNOW, YELTSIN
HAS ASKED FOR A STRONG MESSAGE OF SUPPORT FROM US ALL BEFORE HIS
APRIL 6 CONGRESS OF PEOPLE'S DEPUTIES MEETING. THIS WILL BE MY
ATTEMPT TO HELP HIM.

SECOND, I WILL DECLARE U.S. SUPPORT FOR A \$6 BILLION CURRENCY
STABILIZATION FUND ALONG THE LINES AGREED UPON BY G-7 DEPUTIES.
I WILL ALSO SAY THE U.S. WILL WORK WITH ITS ALLIES TO DEVELOP A
SEPARATE \$18 BILLION PROGRAM TO PROVIDE ADDITIONAL FINANCIAL
SUPPORT FOR RUSSIA IN 1992 THROUGH THE IMF, WORLD BANK AND EBRD.
I HAVE SUGGESTED TO HELMUT KOHL THAT HE TAKE THE LEAD IN PULLING
TOGETHER THESE G-7 INITIATIVES. I HAVE ENCOURAGED HIM TO MAKE A
STATEMENT OF SUPPORT FOR THEM THIS WEEK, AND SUGGEST YOU MIGHT ALSO
WANT TO CONSIDER ADDING YOUR WEIGHT TO THIS EFFORT.

THIRD, I WILL PRESENT TO THE CONGRESS A NEW AND COMPREHENSIVE BILL,
THE SUPPORT FOR FREEDOM ACT, THAT WILL GIVE ME AUTHORITY TO ACT
VIGOROUSLY TO EXTEND U.S. SUPPORT TO RUSSIA AND THE OTHER STATES.
ONE OF THE MAJOR FEATURES OF THE BILL WOULD: AUTHORIZE A \$12
BILLION U.S. REPLENISHMENT OF THE IMF, GIVE ME AUTHORITY TO HAVE
THE U.S. PARTICIPATE IN THE STABILIZATION FUND AND OTHER FINANCIAL

PROGRAMS; REPEAL COLD WAR LEGISLATION THAT CURRENTLY IMPEDES U.S. TRADE WITH THE FORMER USSR; BROADEN USE OF THE \$500 MILLION APPROPRIATED BY CONGRESS LAST YEAR FOR DISMANTLING AND DESTRUCTION OF NUCLEAR WEAPONS TO INCLUDE DEFENSE CONVERSION, DEMILITARIZATION AND NUCLEAR POWER SAFETY; AND ESTABLISH A MAJOR EXCHANGE PROGRAM BETWEEN THE U.S. AND THE COMMONWEALTH STATES.

FOURTH, I WILL ALSO ANNOUNCE THAT THE U.S. WILL EXTEND AN ADDITIONAL \$1.1 BILLION IN CREDIT GUARANTEES FOR THE PURCHASE OF U.S. AGRICULTURAL PRODUCTS. THIS WILL MEET ALL OF YELTSIN'S REQUEST FOR \$600 MILLION TO COVER THE PERIOD MAY-JULY OF THIS YEAR, AND WILL EXTEND \$500 MILLION FOR OTHER CIS STATES (OF WHICH UKRAINE WILL RECEIVE \$200 MILLION).

THIS IS NOT THE EASIEST TIME FOR ANY OF US TO BE LAUNCHING A MAJOR NEW ASSISTANCE PROGRAM, BUT I HOPE THESE INITIATIVES WILL HELP PAVE THE WAY FOR A COMMON G-7 EFFORT TO HELP YELTSIN AND HIS REFORMS. I WOULD OF COURSE WELCOME ANY IDEAS YOU HAVE TOWARD THAT END.

THE EMPHASIS I HAVE PUT ON WORKING THROUGH THE INTERNATIONAL FINANCIAL INSTITUTIONS AND IN SUPPORTING A STABILIZATION FUND REFLECT OUR PAST CONVERSATIONS. CONCERTED WESTERN EFFORTS IN REACHING OUT TO PRESIDENT YELTSIN AND IN SUPPORTING REFORM EFFORTS THROUGHOUT THE CIS ARE DUE IN NO SMALL MEASURE TO YOUR STEWARDSHIP OF THE G-7 LAST YEAR AS WELL AS YOUR CONTINUED AND ACTIVE ROLE IN RESPONDING TO THE HISTORIC OPPORTUNITIES WE FACE TODAY.

WITH WARM REGARDS,

SINCERELY,

GEORGE BUSH

END TEXT

DECL: OADR

#0138

<SECT>SECTION: 01 OF 01 <SSN> 0138 <TOR> 920330223818 MSG000323303898

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PRT: COMM OLEARY SIGLER SIT
SIT: HOTLINE_OUT
(PREC> IMMEDIATE (CLAS> ~~CONFIDENTIAL~~ (OSRI> YEXXWHX (DTG> 011811Z APR 92
(ORIG>FM WHITE HOUSE
(TO>TO CABINET OFFICE

(TEXT>ZEM
~~CONFIDENTIAL~~ VIA CABINET CHANNELS
JGQQ

PLEASE DELIVER THE FOLLOWING MESSAGE TO BOB HOPE AND ALEX HART
FROM NEIL O'LEARY, DIRECTOR, WHITE HOUSE SITUATION ROOM.

BEGIN TEXT:

I THINK OUR DISCUSSIONS LAST WEEK PROVED BENEFICIAL AND HOPE ALL
WENT WELL DURING MESSRS BLACKFORD AND STAUFFER'S VISIT.

MY DISCUSSIONS WITH WHITE HOUSE COMMUNICATIONS PERSONNEL CONFIRM
WE CAN NOT MAINTAIN THE OLDER STU-II EQUIPMENT AND WE WOULD LIKE
TO RETRIEVE THE FOUR WHITE HOUSE STU-II'S CURRENTLY ASSIGNED TO
THE CABINET OFFICE. WE WILL WAIT UNTIL YOUR STU-IIB ARRIVES AND
SWAP-OUT ALL FOUR AT THE SAME TIME. I WILL INFORM THE EMBASSY
(BILL BIES 408-3008) SO HE IS PREPARED TO RECEIVE THE OLD
EQUIPMENT.

THANKS AGAIN FOR MAKING TIME FOR OUR DISCUSSIONS. I HOPE I CAN
RETURN THE FAVOR IN THE NEAR FUTURE.

END TEXT

DECL: OADR
0146

(SECT>SECTION: 01 OF 01 (SSN> 0146 (TOR> 920401165757 MSG000323456277

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PER E.O. 13526

2009-0755-MR
SCS 4/26/13

DIST>
IT: STACHEWICZ
DIST>
RT: GANTT HILL COMM OLEARY SIGLER SIT HOWE SCOWCROFT
IT: HOTLINE_OUT FILE
PREC> IMMEDIATE <CLAS> ~~CONFIDENTIAL~~ <OSRI> YEXXWHX <DTG> 012352Z MAY 92

ORIG>FM WHITE HOUSE

TO>TO CABINET OFFICE

TEXT>ZEM

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~ VIA CABINET CHANNELS

QQQ

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

MAY 1, 1992

BEGIN TEXT:

DEAR JOHN:

THANK YOU FOR YOUR LETTER OF APRIL 17 REGARDING MY APRIL 22 MEETING
WITH JACQUES DELORS AND ANIBAL CAVACO SILVA. I FULLY AGREE THAT WE
MUST BRIDGE SOON THE GAPS BETWEEN THE EUROPEAN COMMUNITY AND THE
UNITED STATES ON THE URUGUAY ROUND.

I APPRECIATE YOUR EFFORTS TO URGE JACQUES DELORS TO BE FLEXIBLE AND
TO SEEK RAPID AGREEMENT. AS I AM SURE JACQUES WILL TELL YOU, ON
APRIL 22 BOTH SIDES SHOWED A DESIRE TO FIND SOLUTIONS AND TO
PROVIDE POLITICAL IMPETUS FOR PROGRESS, ALTHOUGH NO BREAKTHROUGHS
WERE ACHIEVED. I MADE CLEAR THAT I WOULD NOT BE DETERRED OR SLOWED
FROM MY EFFORTS TO CONCLUDE THE ROUND BY THE UPCOMING U.S.
ELECTIONS AND THAT I SOUGHT AGREEMENT AS SOON AS POSSIBLE. WE
DISCUSSED THE KEY AGRICULTURAL ISSUES, INCLUDING EXPORT SUBSIDIES
AND EC CONCERNS ABOUT CEREAL SUBSTITUTES WHICH YOU HIGHLIGHTED IN
YOUR LETTER. BOTH THE EC AND THE UNITED STATES SHARED NEW IDEAS
WHICH REQUIRE FURTHER DISCUSSION. I BELIEVE THE NEXT ROUND WILL BE
AT THE MINISTERIAL LEVEL, AND JIM BAKER AGREED TO TRY TO TAKE PART
IF THE MEETING WERE HELD IN WASHINGTON.

I APPRECIATE YOUR COMMITMENT TO WORK FOR A SETTLEMENT. YOUR HELP
WILL BE ESPECIALLY VITAL ON MARKET ACCESS. A URUGUAY ROUND
AGREEMENT ON AGRICULTURE MUST BE BASED ON COMPREHENSIVE
TARIFFICATION. IF THE EC SEEKS TO EXEMPT BANANAS AS THE COMMISSION
HAS PROPOSED, THE JAPANESE WILL WANT TO EXEMPT RICE, THE CANADIANS
WILL WANT TO EXEMPT DAIRY, ETC. OUR PEANUT AND DAIRY FARMERS WOULD
EXPECT TO BE EXCLUDED ALSO. THIS WOULD RESULT IN AN UNRAVELING OF
AN IMPORTANT PART OF THE DUNKEL TEXT ON WHICH I THOUGHT WE WERE
AGREED AND COULD DOOM THE ROUND. I KNOW THIS IS A DIFFICULT ISSUE
FOR THE UK AND SOME OTHERS GIVEN COMMITMENTS TO FORMER COLONIES. I
WOULD VERY MUCH APPRECIATE YOUR EFFORTS TO FIND A SOLUTION TO THE
EC'S BANANA DILEMMA WHICH PRESERVES TARIFFICATION.

HELMUT KOHL ALSO WROTE ME BEFORE THE APRIL 22 DISCUSSIONS. I AM
WRITING HIM BACK WITH EMPHASIS ON THE LINK BETWEEN FINDING A GATT
SOLUTION ON AGRICULTURE, ESPECIALLY REGARDING SUBSIDIZED WHEAT
EXPORTS, AND THE EC'S DEBATE ON REDUCING INTERNAL PRICES. WE ARE

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2009-0755-MR
SCS 1/9/12

TOLD THAT IF THE COMMUNITY CAN AGREE ON REDUCING WHEAT PRICES AS THE COMMISSION HAS SUGGESTED IT WILL SIGNIFICANTLY SOFTEN FRENCH OPPOSITION TO THE VOLUME REDUCTIONS WHICH DUNKEL PROPOSED FOR SUBSIDIZED EXPORTS. AGREEMENT ON REDUCED INTERNAL EC PRICES WOULD ALSO HELP ADDRESS CONCERNS ABOUT CEREAL SUBSTITUTES. I WILL BE ASKING HELMUT TO SUPPORT AN EARLY AGREEMENT AMONG MEMBER STATES TO THE PRICE CUTS WHICH THE COMMISSION HAS RECOMMENDED. IF YOU ARE IN CONTACT WITH HIM OR OTHERS ON THIS TOPIC, I HOPE YOU WILL ALSO URGE SUPPORT FOR SUCH PRICE REDUCTIONS.

ANOTHER IMPORTANT ISSUE WHICH REQUIRES IMMEDIATE ATTENTION IS THE U.S.-EC DISAGREEMENT ON OILSEEDS. AS YOU MAY KNOW, WE NOW HAVE TWO GATT FINDINGS IN OUR FAVOR, AND GIVEN THE LACK OF A CONSTRUCTIVE RESPONSE BY THE EC, WE HAVE LITTLE CHOICE BUT TO TAKE ACTION. STILL, I HOPE WE CAN RESOLVE THIS ISSUE QUICKLY.

I LOOK FORWARD TO HEARING YOUR THOUGHTS AT ANY TIME. WE MUST STAY IN THE CLOSEST CONTACT.

SINCERELY,

GEORGE BUSH

END TEXT

DECL: OADR
0095

SECTION: 01 OF 01 <SSN> 0095 <TOR> 920501203247 MSG000326061167

(DIST>
RT: COMM OLEARY SIGLER SIT
IT: HOTLINE_OUT
(PREC> IMMEDIATE <CLAS> ~~CONFIDENTIAL~~ <OSRI> YEXXWHX <DTG> 192220Z MAY 92
(ORIG>FM WHITE HOUSE
(TO>TO CABINET OFFICE
(TEXT>ZEM
~~CONFIDENTIAL~~ VIA CABINET CHANNELS
IQQQ
PLEASE PASS THE FOLLOWING MESSAGE TO BOB HOPE,
TELECOMMUNICATIONS SECRETARIAT, FROM WHITE HOUSE SITUATION
ROOM DIRECTOR NEIL O'LEARY.
BEGIN TEXT
BOB, IT WOULD BE A PLEASURE TO SUPPORT PRIME MINISTER MAJOR
DURING HIS JUNE VISIT TO WASHINGTON. I HAVE ALERTED OUR SECURE
VOICE OPERATOR--SAME ARRANGEMENTS AS LAST TIME. BEST REGARDS.
END TEXT
DECL: OADR
#0005
<SECT>SECTION: 01 OF 01 <SSN> 0005 <TOR> 920519183150 MSG000327609109

DECLASSIFIED
PER E.O. 13526

2009-0755-MR
SCS 4/26/13

<DIST>
PRT: GANTT COMM OLEARY SIGLER SIT HOWE SCOWCROFT
SIT: GOMPERT HOTLINE_OUT FILE
<PREC> IMMEDIATE <CLAS> ~~CONFIDENTIAL~~ <OSRI> YEXXWHX <DTG> 241647Z MAY 92

<ORIG>FM WHITE HOUSE

<TO>TO CABINET OFFICE

<TEXT>ZEM

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~ VIA CABINET CHANNELS

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

BEGIN TEXT

24 MAY 92

DEAR JOHN,

I DID NOT WANT YOU TO THINK THAT YOUR STALWART POSITION ON THE
FRIENDLY FIRE CONTROVERSY HAS GONE UNNOTICED OR UNAPPRECIATED
HERE. YOU HAVE MY PERSONAL THANKS FOR YOUR PRINCIPLED STAND IN
THE FACE OF THE PUBLIC CONTROVERSY BROUGHT ON BY THE RECENT
CORONER'S INQUEST VERDICT.

WITH DEEP APPRECIATION.

SINCERELY,
GEORGE BUSH

END TEXT

00045

<SECT>SECTION: 01 OF 01 <SSN> 0045 <TOR> 920524131243 MSG000328021963

DECLASSIFIED
PER E.O. 13526
2009-0755-MR
SCS 1/9/12

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PRT: HILL COMM OLEARY SIGLER SIT HOWE SCOWCROFT SITTMANN
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(PREC> IMMEDIATE <CLAS> ~~CONFIDENTIAL~~ <OSRI> YEXXWHX <DTG> 310108Z MAY 92

(ORIG>FM WHITE HOUSE

(TO>TO CABINET OFFICE LONDON

DECLASSIFIED
PER E.O. 13526

2009-0755-MR

SCS 1/9/12

(TEXT>ZEM

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~ VIA CABINET CHANNELS

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

BEGIN TEXT:

DEAR JOHN:

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

0076

(SECT>SECTION: 01 OF 01 <SSN> 0076 <TOR> 920530212643 MSG000328570003

(DIST>
RT: GANTT COMM OLEARY SIGLER SIT HOWE HUTCHINGS SCOWCROFT
IT: HOTLINE_OUT FILE
(PREC> IMMEDIATE (CLAS> ~~CONFIDENTIAL~~ (OSRI> YEXXWHX (DTG> 012357Z JUN 92

(ORIG>FM WHITE HOUSE
(TO>TO CABINET OFFICE

DECLASSIFIED
PER E.O. 13526
2009-0755-MR
SCS 1/9/12

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~~CONFIDENTIAL~~ VIA CABINET CHANNELS
IQQQ

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

BEGIN TEXT:

DEAR JOHN,

I WANTED TO GIVE YOU A BRIEF READ-OUT OF THE MAY 27 U.S.-EC
MINISTERIAL MEETING ON THE URUGUAY ROUND AND OUR SENSE OF WHERE
THINGS STAND BEFORE WE GET TOGETHER ON JUNE 6-7. JIM BAKER TOLD ME
THAT HE TALKED WITH YOU AND DOUGLAS HURD ABOUT THE BANANA ISSUE AND
THE ROUND WHEN HE WAS IN LONDON. HE AND CARLA HILLS RAISED OUR
CONCERNS WITH FRANS ANDRIESSEN AND URGED THE COMMISSION TO FIND
SOLUTIONS CONSISTENT WITH THE DUNKEL TEXT.

THE MAY 27 TALKS MADE SOME HEADWAY. THOUGH WE HAD HOPED THAT THE
EC WOULD HAVE BROUGHT DEFINITIVE PROPOSALS FOLLOWING AGREEMENT ON
CAP REFORM, BOTH SIDES TOOK A CONSTRUCTIVE APPROACH. WE OFFERED
SUGGESTIONS AIMED AT MEETING EC NEEDS. FRANS ANDRIESSEN TOOK THESE
IDEAS BACK FOR FURTHER CONSIDERATION.

JIM BAKER THINKS WE COULD BE WITHIN REACH OF AGREEMENT ON
AGRICULTURE. THE KEY WILL BE FOR THE EC TO SHOW THE KIND OF
FLEXIBILITY ON THE MATTER OF UTMOST IMPORTANCE TO ITS TRADING
PARTNERS -- EXPORT SUBSIDIES -- THAT WE HAVE SHOWN ON THE HIGHEST
EC PRIORITIES.

SINCE WE ARE GETTING CLOSE THERE WILL BE A NATURAL TENDENCY FOR
EXPERTS ON BOTH SIDES TO TRY TO EXTRACT MAXIMUM ADVANTAGE. YOU, I
AND THE OTHERS WITH POLITICAL RESPONSIBILITY MUST DEMONSTRATE THE
STATESMANSHIP NEEDED TO BRIDGE THE REMAINING GAPS. I KNOW THAT
JACQUES IS TRYING TO COME UP WITH SOLUTIONS, THOUGH HE IS PULLED IN
MANY DIRECTIONS BY THE PARTICULAR INTERESTS OF THE MEMBER STATES.
YOUR SUPPORT FOR HIM AND FOR THE DEAL WHICH EMERGES WILL BE
CRUCIAL. THAT WILL BE PARTICULARLY IMPORTANT FOR HIM (AND FOR US)
AS YOU ASSUME THE COUNCIL PRESIDENCY IN JULY. I KNOW THAT YOU CAN
MAKE A BIG DIFFERENCE IN MOVING THIS TO A SUCCESSFUL CONCLUSION.

I THINK WE SHOULD CONTINUE TO PRESS FOR RESOLUTION OF U.S.-EC
DIFFERENCES ON THE ROUND BEFORE MUNICH, SINCE WE WILL OTHERWISE
NEED TO DEVOTE OURSELVES TO THIS VITAL ISSUE AT THE EXPENSE OF THE
OTHER ITEMS ON OUR SUMMIT AGENDA. AFTER LAST WEEK'S U.S.-EC
DISCUSSIONS, I AM SOMEWHAT MORE OPTIMISTIC. BUT IT WILL TAKE A
FINAL STRONG POLITICAL PUSH. YOUR LEADERSHIP AND SUPPORT FOR AN
EARLY U.S.-EC AGREEMENT WILL BE ESSENTIAL. I LOOK FORWARD TO
DISCUSSING THESE ISSUES WITH YOU AT CAMP DAVID.

WITH MY PERSONAL BEST WISHES,

SINCERELY,

GEORGE BUSH

END TEXT

DECLAS: OADR

0089

:SECT>SECTION: 01 OF 01 <SSN> 0089 <TOR> 920601201627 MSG000328738587

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IT: HOTLINE_OUT FILE
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PER E.O. 13526
2009-0755-MR
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~~CONFIDENTIAL~~ VIA CABINET CHANNELS
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PLEASE DELIVER THE FOLLOWING MESSAGE TO STEPHEN WALL FROM
RENT SCOWCROFT.

BEGIN TEXT:

FOLLOWING ARE TEXTS OF THE U.S.-RUSSIAN JOINT UNDERSTANDING ON
STRATEGIC ARMS REDUCTIONS AND JOINT STATEMENT ON A GLOBAL
PROTECTION SYSTEM. THE TEXTS WILL BE SIGNED AND MADE PUBLIC
LATE THIS AFTERNOON.

JOINT UNDERSTANDING

THE PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED STATES AND THE PRESIDENT OF
THE RUSSIAN FEDERATION AGREED TO SUBSTANTIAL FURTHER REDUCTIONS
IN STRATEGIC OFFENSIVE ARMS. SPECIFICALLY, THE TWO SIDES HAVE
AGREED UPON AND WILL PROMPTLY CONCLUDE A TREATY WITH THE
FOLLOWING PROVISIONS:

WITHIN THE SEVEN-YEAR PERIOD FOLLOWING ENTRY INTO
FORCE OF THE START TREATY, THEY WILL REDUCE THEIR
STRATEGIC FORCES TO NO MORE THAN:

AN OVERALL TOTAL NUMBER OF WARHEADS FOR EACH
BETWEEN 3800 AND 4250 (AS EACH NATION SHALL
DETERMINE) OR SUCH LOWER NUMBER AS EACH NATION
SHALL DECIDE.

1200 MIRVED ICBM WARHEADS.

650 HEAVY ICBM WARHEADS.

2160 SLBM WARHEADS.

BY THE YEAR 2003 (OR BY THE END OF THE YEAR 2000 IF
THE UNITED STATES CAN CONTRIBUTE TO THE FINANCING OF
THE DESTRUCTION OR ELIMINATION OF STRATEGIC
OFFENSIVE ARMS IN RUSSIA), THEY WILL:

REDUCE THE OVERALL TOTAL TO NO MORE THAN A
NUMBER OF WARHEADS FOR EACH BETWEEN 3000 AND
3500 (AS EACH NATION SHALL DETERMINE) OR SUCH
LOWER NUMBER AS EACH NATION SHALL DECIDE.

ELIMINATE ALL MIRVED ICBMS.

REDUCE SLBM WARHEADS TO NO MORE THAN 1750.

FOR THE PURPOSE OF CALCULATING THE OVERALL TOTALS

DESCRIBED ABOVE:

THE NUMBER OF WARHEADS COUNTED FOR HEAVEY BOMBERS WITH NUCLEAR ROLES WILL BE THE NUMBER OF NUCLEAR WEAPONS THEY ARE ACTUALLY EQUIPPED TO CARRY.

UNDER AGREED PROCEDURES, HEAVY BOMBERS NOT TO EXCEED 100 THAT WERE NEVER EQUIPPED FOR LONG-RANGE NUCLEAR ALCMS AND THAT ARE REORIENTED TO CONVENTIONAL ROLES WILL NOT COUNT AGAINST THE OVERALL TOTAL ESTABLISHED BY THIS AGREEMENT.

SUCH HEAVY BOMBERS WILL BE BASED SEPARATELY FROM HEAVY BOMBERS WILL BE NUCLEAR ROLES.

NO NUCLEAR WEAPONS WILL BE LOCATED AT BASES FOR HEAVY BOMBERS WITH CONVENTIONAL ROLES.

SUCH AIRCRAFT AND CREWS WILL NOT TRAIN OR EXERCISE FOR NUCLEAR MISSIONS.

CURRENT INSPECTION PROCEDURES ALREADY AGREED IN THE START TREATY WILL HELP AFFIRM THAT THESE BOMBERS HAVE CONVENTIONAL ROLES. NO NEW VERIFICATION PROCEDURES ARE REQUIRED.

EXCEPT AS OTHERWISE AGREED, THESE BOMBERS WILL REMAIN SUBJECT TO THE PROVISIONS OF THE START TREATY, INCLUDING THE INSPECTION PROVISIONS.

THE REDUCTIONS REQUIRED BY THIS AGREEMENT WILL BE CARRIED OUT BY ELIMINATING MISSILE LAUNCHERS AND HEAVY BOMBERS USING START PROCEDURES, AND, IN ACCORDANCE WITH THE PLANS OF THE TWO SIDES, BY REDUCING THE NUMBER OF WARHEADS ON EXISITNG BALLISTIC MISSILES OTHER THAN THE SS-18. EXCEPT AS OTHERWISE AGREED, BALLISTIC MISSILE WARHEADS WILL BE CALCULATED ACCORDING TO START COUNTING RULES.

THE TWO PRESIDENTS DIRECTED THAT THIS AGREEMENT BE PROMPTLY RECORDED IN A BRIEF TREATY DOCUMENT WHICH THEY WILL SIGN AND SUBMIT FOR RATIFICATION IN THEIR RESPECTIVE COUNTRIES. BECAUSE THIS NEW AGREEMENT IS SEPARATE FROM BUT BUILDS UPON THE START TREATY, THEY CONTINUE TO URGE THAT THE START TREATY BE RATIFIED AND IMPLEMENTED AS SOON AS POSSIBLE.

US/RUSSIAN JOINT STATEMENT ON A GLOBAL PROTECTION SYSTEM

THE PRESIDENTS CONTINUED THEIR DISCUSSION OF THE POTENTIAL BENEFITS OF A GLOBAL PROTECTION SYSTEM (GPS) AGAINST BALLISTIC MISSILES, AGREEING THAT IT IS IMPORTANT TO EXPLORE THE ROLE FOR DEFENSES IN PROTECTING AGAINST LIMITED BALLISTIC MISSILE ATTACKS. THE TWO PRESIDENTS AGREED THAT THEIR TWO NATIONS SHOULD WORK TOGETHER WITH ALLIES AND OTHER INTERESTED STATES IN DEVELOPING A CONCEPT FOR SUCH A SYSTEM AS PART OF AN OVERALL STRATEGY REGARDING THE PROLIFERATION OF BALLISTIC MISSILES AND WEAPONS OF MASS DESTRUCTION. SUCH COOPERATION WOULD BE A TANGIBLE EXPRESSION OF THE NEW RELATIONSHIP THAT EXISTS BETWEEN RUSSIA AND THE UNITED STATES AND WOULD INVOLVE THEM IN AN IMPORTANT UNDERTAKING WITH OTHER NATIONS OF THE WORLD COMMUNITY.

THE TWO PRESIDENTS AGREED IT IS NECESSARY TO START WORK
WITHOUT DELAY TO DEVELOP THE CONCEPT OF THE GPS. FOR THIS
PURPOSE THEY AGREED TO ESTABLISH A HIGH-LEVEL GROUP TO EXPLORE
ON A PRIORITY BASIS THE FOLLOWING PRACTICAL STEPS:

THE POTENTIAL FOR SHARING OF EARLY WARNING INFORMATION
THROUGH THE ESTABLISHMENT OF AN EARLY WARNING CENTER.

THE POTENTIAL FOR COOPERATION WITH PARTICIPATING
STATES IN DEVELOPING BALLISTIC MISSILE DEFENSE
CAPABILITIES AND TECHNOLOGIES.

THE DEVELOPMENT OF A LEGAL BASIS FOR COOPERATION,
INCLUDING NEW TREATIES AND AGREEMENTS AND POSSIBLE
CHANGES TO EXISTING TREATIES AND AGREEMENTS NECESSARY
TO IMPLEMENT A GLOBAL PROTECTION SYSTEM.

END TEXT
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<SECT>SECTION: 01 OF 01 <SSN> 0019 <TOR> 920617221450 MSG000330128090

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RT: COMM OLEARY SIGLER SIT
IT: GORDON HOTLINE OUT KOCH
PREC> IMMEDIATE <CLAS> ~~SECRET~~ <OSRI> YEXXWHX <DTG> 251631Z JUN 92

ORIG>FM WHITE HOUSE

TO>TO CABINET OFFICE

TEXT>ZEM

~~SECRET~~ VIA CABINET CHANNELS

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PLEASE DELIVER THE FOLLOWING MESSAGE TO STEPHEN WALL FROM
BRENT SCOWCROFT.

BEGIN TEXT:

DEAR STEPHEN:

FOLLOWING UP ON THE CAMP DAVID DISCUSSIONS BETWEEN THE PRIME
MINISTER AND THE PRESIDENT ON NUCLEAR TESTING, I WANTED TO SHARE
WITH YOU WHERE WE ARE HEADING ON THIS ISSUE. WHILE REJECTING
CONGRESSIONAL CALLS FOR A MORATORIUM ON TESTING, THE PRESIDENT HAS
DECIDED THAT WE SHOULD MODIFY OUR EXISTING POLICY.

A DRAFT STATEMENT OF OUR NEW POLICY IS ATTACHED. AS YOU WILL SEE,
WE INTEND TO ANNOUNCE THAT THE PURPOSE OF U.S. TESTS OF OUR WEAPONS
WILL HENCEFORTH BE FOR SAFETY AND FORCE RELIABILITY. SINCE THAT
LIMITATION APPLIES ONLY TO TESTS OF U.S. WEAPONS, IT WOULD NOT
AFFECT UK TESTS. WE ALSO INTEND TO ANNOUNCE THAT WE WILL LIMIT THE
NUMBER AND YIELD OF OUR NUCLEAR TESTS TO THE MINIMUM NECESSARY, AND
DO NOT ANTICIPATE MORE THAN SIX TESTS PER YEARS OR MORE THAN THREE
OVER 35 KILOTONS. THOSE NUMBERS ACCORD WITH CURRENT PLANS, AND WILL
FULLY PROTECT YOUR TESTING REQUIREMENTS.

WE NEED TO ISSUE OUR NEW POLICY STATEMENT QUICKLY. I WOULD
APPRECIATE YOUR VIEWS AS SOON AS POSSIBLE.

JUNE 1992

DRAFT POLICY STATEMENT ON NUCLEAR TESTING

-- WE HAVE WITNESSED AND PARTICIPATED IN DRAMATIC
CHANGES IN THE INTERNATIONAL SECURITY ENVIRONMENT
OVER THE PAST SEVERAL YEARS WHICH ARE LEADING TO
MONUMENTAL CHANGES IN THE SIZE AND COMPOSITION OF THE
NUCLEAR FORCES OF THE UNITED STATES AND THE FORMER
SOVIET UNION. THE START TREATY, THE PRESIDENT'S
NUCLEAR INITIATIVE OF LAST SEPTEMBER, AND THE JUNE
17, 1992 JOINT UNDERSTANDING ON FURTHER STRATEGIC
NUCLEAR REDUCTIONS WILL LOWER THE NUMBER OF OUR
NUCLEAR FORCES TO LESS THAN ONE-THIRD THE 1990 LEVEL.

-- DESPITE THESE REDUCTIONS, NUCLEAR WEAPONS AND NUCLEAR
DETERRENCE WILL CONTINUE TO BE AN IMPORTANT ELEMENT
OF U.S. NATIONAL SECURITY STRATEGY. AS LONG AS THIS
IS THE CASE, THE U.S. MUST CONDUCT A SMALL NUMBER OF
NUCLEAR WEAPONS TESTS TO ENSURE THE SAFETY AND

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4/17/2014 MM

CREDIBILITY OF OUR FORCES.

- TESTING IS ESSENTIAL TO MONITOR, IMPROVE AND MAINTAIN THE SAFETY OF THE STOCKPILE. NUCLEAR TESTING IS REQUIRED TO INTRODUCE RECOMMENDED MODERN SAFETY FEATURES IN ALL EXISTING WEAPON TYPES AND TO MAINTAIN CONFIDENCE IN THE PERFORMANCE OF THE MODIFIED WEAPONS. IN ADDITION, THERE WILL BE A CONTINUING REQUIREMENT FOR TESTING TO ENSURE THAT THE WEAPONS IN THE STOCKPILE REMAIN SAFE
- AS THE SIZE OF THE STOCKPILE AND NUMBER OF WEAPONS TYPES DECREASES, IT IS ALSO INCREASINGLY IMPORTANT TO ENSURE THAT REMAINING WEAPONS MEET THEIR PERFORMANCE SPECIFICATIONS, AND THAT OUR FORCES ARE CAPABLE OF FUNCTIONING DESPITE EXPOSURE TO NUCLEAR EFFECTS. NUCLEAR TESTING REMAINS CRITICAL TO EVALUATING AND MAINTAINING THE RELIABILITY OF OUR FORCES.
- THE UNITED STATES HAS ALREADY SIGNIFICANTLY REDUCED THE NUMBER OF NUCLEAR TESTS IT CONDUCTS. WE NOW CONDUCT ONLY ABOUT ONE-THIRD AS MANY TESTS AS WE DID IN THE EARLY 1980S, AND ABOUT ONE-QUARTER THE AVERAGE LEVEL OF THE 1970S.
- TO REFLECT THE CHANGES IN THE INTERNATIONAL SECURITY ENVIRONMENT AND IN THE SIZE AND NATURE OF OUR NUCLEAR DETERRENT, THE PRESIDENT HAS DECIDED TO MODIFY U.S. TESTING POLICY:
- THE PURPOSE OF ALL U.S. UNDERGROUND NUCLEAR TESTING OF ITS WEAPONS IS TO EVALUATE AND IMPROVE THE SAFETY OF OUR MUCH SMALLER NUCLEAR DETERRENT AND TO MAINTAIN THE RELIABILITY OF U.S. FORCES.
- THE UNITED STATES WILL CONDUCT ONLY THE MINIMUM NUMBER OF NUCLEAR TESTS NECESSARY FOR THOSE PURPOSES. WE DO NOT ANTICIPATE MORE THAN SIX TESTS PER YEAR OVER THE NEXT FIVE YEARS.
- THE UNITED STATES WILL LIMIT THE YIELD OF NUCLEAR TESTS TO THE MINIMUM NECESSARY. WE DO NOT ANTICIPATE MORE THAN THREE TESTS PER YEAR IN EXCESS OF 35 KILOTONS; WE EXPECT THAT NUMBER TO DECREASE OVER TIME.
- THESE U.S. STEPS FULFILL THE U.S. COMMITMENT TO A "STEP-BY-STEP" APPROACH TO NUCLEAR TESTING LIMITS. WHEN THAT APPROACH WAS DEVELOPED IN 1986, IT ENVISAGED A LONG PROCESS OF INCREMENTAL CHANGES. THE NEW INTERNATIONAL ENVIRONMENT HAS ALLOWED US INSTEAD TO IMPLEMENT RAPIDLY MAJOR CHANGES IN U.S. POLICY AND PRACTICE REGARDING THE NUMBER, PURPOSE AND YIELD OF OUR TESTS. FURTHER LIMITS NOW WOULD BE INCONSISTENT WITH THE NEED TO MAINTAIN A SAFE AND RELIABLE DETERRENT.

END TEXT:

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<SECT>SECTION: 01 OF 01 <SSN> 0011 <TOR> 920625123326 MSG000330784406

(DIST>
PRT: COMM OLEARY SIGLER SIT HOWE SCOWCROFT
SIT: GOMPERT HOTLINE_OUT FILE HUTCHINGS
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(ORIG>FM WHITE HOUSE

(TO>TO CABINET OFFICE

(TEXT>ZEM

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~ VIA CABINET CHANNELS
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PER E.O. 13526

2009-0755-MR
SCS 1/9/18

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

BEGIN TEXT:

DEAR JOHN,

ON ROUTE TO MUNICH, I WILL BE STOPPING BRIEFLY IN WARSAW, WHERE I
WILL JOIN PRESIDENT WALESA 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.

ON 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.

AS THE BRITISH AND CANADIAN CONTRIBUTIONS TO THE FUND WERE ALSO IN
THE FORM OF GRANTS, I PARTICULARLY HOPE THAT YOU CAN JOIN ME IN
THIS COMMITMENT. WITH YOUR AGREEMENT, I WILL SAY SO PUBLICLY WHILE
IN WARSAW. THIS WOULD ALSO HELP IN MUNICH, WHERE WE THREE CAN WORK
ON THE OTHERS.

IN ANY CASE, I SUGGEST THAT WE DISCUSS THE MATTER FURTHER IN
MUNICH, ALONG WITH ANY IDEAS YOU HAVE FOR WAYS WE CAN SUPPORT
POLAND AND THE OTHER NEW DEMOCRACIES. AS YOU HAVE BEEN THERE SO

RECENTLY, I WOULD ALSO WELCOME ANY OTHER THOUGHTS YOU HAVE ON HOW
WE MIGHT HELP POLAND FIND ITS WAY BACK TO THE REFORM PATH.

WITH WARM REGARDS,

SINCERELY,

GEORGE BUSH

END TEXT:

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<SECT>SECTION: 01 OF 01 <SSN> 0018 <TOR> 920626185508 MSG000330393708

(DIST)
RT: COMM OLEARY SIGLER SIT
IT: BARTH GOMPERT HOTLINE_OUT
(PREC) IMMEDIATE <CLAS> ~~CONFIDENTIAL~~ <OSRI> YEXXWHX <DTG> 171442Z AUG 92
(ORIG) FM WHITE HOUSE
(TO) TO CABINET OFFICE

(TEXT) ZEM
~~CONFIDENTIAL~~ VIA CABINET CHANNELS
QQQQ

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

BEGIN TEXT:

DEAR JOHN,

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.

THE UNITED STATES IS PREPARED TO RESUME NEGOTIATIONS ON KEY
OUTSTANDING ISSUES AT ANY TIME. I RECOGNIZE THAT CONCERNS ABOUT
APPROVAL OF THE MAASTRICHT TREATY HAVE PREOCCUPIED MANY IN EUROPE.
BUT I BELIEVE THAT WE MUST MOVE BOLDLY IF WE ARE TO REACH AGREEMENT
BY THE END OF THE YEAR. WHILE WE CONTINUE TO WORK ON AGRICULTURE,
WE MUST ALSO MOVE FORWARD ON SERVICES AND MARKET ACCESS.

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AS AMENDED
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06/12/2009 JAM

I ASSURE YOU THAT I AM PERSONALLY COMMITTED TO DO ALL THAT I CAN
TO COMPLETE THE URUGUAY ROUND NEGOTIATIONS THIS YEAR. I WOULD
WELCOME ANY THOUGHTS THAT YOU MAY HAVE ON HOW WE CAN WORK TOGETHER
TO REACH THAT OBJECTIVE.

SINCERELY,

GEORGE BUSH

END TEXT.

DECL: OADR

0052

<SECT>SECTION: 01 OF 01 <SSN> 0052 <TOR> 920817115627 MSG000335361387

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ORIG>FM WHITE HOUSE
TO>TO CABINET OFFICE

TEXT>ZEM
~~CONFIDENTIAL~~ VIA CABINET CHANNELS
IQQQ
PLEASE PASS THE FOLLOWING MESSAGE TO PRIME MINISTER MAJOR
FROM PRESIDENT BUSH.

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
0059

SECT>SECTION: 01 OF 01 <SSN> 0059 <TOR> 920818181351 MSG000335470731

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2009-0755-MR
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IT: HOTLINE_OUT FILE
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(ORIG>FM WHITE HOUSE

(TO>TO CABINET OFFICE

(TEXT>ZEM

~~SECRET~~ VIA CABINET CHANNELS

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

BEGIN TEXT:

DEAR JOHN,

THANK YOU FOR YOUR LETTER REPORTING THE RESULTS OF YOUR
AUGUST 18 CABINET DISCUSSION ON PROVIDING HUMANITARIAN
ASSISTANCE IN BOSNIA-HERCEGOVINA. I SHARE YOUR CONCERNS
AND YOUR SENSE OF URGENCY. INDEED, I AM HOPEFUL THAT THE
LONDON CONFERENCE WHICH YOU WILL HOST THIS WEEK WILL
PROMOTE EFFECTIVE ACTION ON SEVERAL RELATED FRONTS: STOPPING
THE KILLING; DEMONSTRATING STRONG INTERNATIONAL RESOLVE TO
PREVENT FORCIBLE CREATION OF A "GREATER SERBIA"; SETTING IN
MOTION A RENEWED DIPLOMATIC PROCESS GROUNDED FIRMLY IN CSCE
PRINCIPLES; BUILDING A SOLID COALITION UNDER UN AUSPICES FOR
DELIVERY OF HUMANITARIAN RELIEF, BY FORCE IF NECESSARY, AND
FOR ACCESS TO DETENTION CAMPS; MOBILIZING INTERNATIONAL
SUPPORT FOR THE PRESSING NEEDS OF REFUGEES AS WINTER APPROACHES;
AND PREVENTING SPILLOVER INTO AREAS NOT YET DIRECTLY AFFECTED
BY THE FIGHTING.

ON THE SPECIFIC QUESTION OF ESCORTING HUMANITARIAN CONVOYS, I
COMMEND YOUR DECISION IN PRINCIPLE TO MAKE AVAILABLE GROUND
FORCES TO THE UN. I KNOW HOW DIFFICULT A DECISION THAT IS.
FOR OUR PART, WE ARE READY TO MAKE A MATERIAL CONTRIBUTION.
OUR PEOPLE CAN WORK WITH YOURS TO DETERMINE WHAT SPECIFIC
CONTRIBUTION IN THE AREAS OF COMMUNICATIONS AND LOGISTICS
MIGHT BE MOST USEFUL. AS YOU KNOW, WE HAVE OFFERED AN AMERICAN
MILITARY ELEMENT TO HELP COORDINATE CONVOYS. WE ARE READY TO
PROVIDE U-2 AND OTHER RECONNAISSANCE AS THE SITUATION PERMITS
AND REQUIREMENTS DICTATE. WE ARE PREPARED TO CONTRIBUTE OFFICERS
AND MEN TO ANY NATO HEADQUARTERS ARRANGEMENT WHICH MIGHT BE
NEEDED TO ASSIST IN THE RELIEF OPERATION. FINALLY, AS I HAVE
STATED PUBLICLY, THE UNITED STATES IS PREPARED TO EMPLOY ITS
AIR AND NAVAL ASSETS, SHOULD THAT BE NECESSARY TO ENSURE
DELIVERY OF HUMANITARIAN ASSISTANCE IN BOSNIA-HERCEGOVINA.

IN THIS REGARD, I FULLY AGREE THAT OUR OFFICIALS SHOULD CONTINUE
TO WORK TOGETHER TO DISCUSS FURTHER DETAILS OF A COOPERATIVE
EFFORT. I UNDERSTAND THAT THE TRILATERAL US-UK-FRANCE TALKS IN
NEW YORK ON AUGUST 20 MADE GOOD PROGRESS IN REFINING A COMMON
CONCEPT.

LIKE YOU, WE FEEL STRONGLY THAT AN ENHANCED HUMANITARIAN
OPERATION IN BOSNIA MUST BE ORGANIZED UNDER UN AUSPICES. IT
MUST BE SEEN AS A WAY TO SUPPLEMENT UNPROFOR -- NOT REPLACE IT.

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I AM CONCERNED ABOUT ONE BECOMING A SUBSTITUTE FOR THE OTHER.
THAT IS ALL THE MORE REASON WHY WE MUST REMAIN IN CLOSE TOUCH
WITH BOUTROS GHALI AS WE MOVE AHEAD. WE WILL ALSO NEED TO
CONTINUE TO COORDINATE WITH YOUR EUROPEAN COLLEAGUES, PARTICULARLY
THE FRENCH, ITALIANS, AND DUTCH, AS WELL AS WITH THE RUSSIANS.

LARRY EAGLESBURGER WILL BE REPRESENTING THE UNITED STATES AT THE
LONDON CONFERENCE, AND HE IS PREPARED TO DISCUSS THESE ISSUES
WITH YOU IN FURTHER DETAIL. I APPLAUD YOUR INITIATIVE AND YOUR
COMMITMENT TO TACKLING THE EXTRAORDINARILY DIFFICULT -- AND
IMPORTANT -- CHALLENGES THAT ALL OF US FACE IN THE BALKANS. YOU
CAN COUNT ON OUR SUPPORT.

SINCERELY,

GEORGE

END TEXT

0078

<SECT>SECTION: 01 OF 01 <SSN> 0078 <TOR> 920824190827 MSG000335992107

(DIST>
PRT: COMM OLEARY SIGLER SIT
SIT: BARTH HOTLINE_OUT PRES_MSGS WAYNE
(PREC> IMMEDIATE <CLAS> ~~CONFIDENTIAL~~ <OSRI> YEXXWHX <DTG> 252215Z AUG 92

(ORIG>FM WHITE HOUSE

(TO>TO CABINET OFFICE

(TEXT>ZEM

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~ VIA CABINET CHANNELS

1000

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

BEGIN TEXT:

DEAR JOHN,

I WANT TO UNDERLINE HOW MUCH I APPRECIATE YOUR EFFORTS AT MUNICH TO
BREAK THE URUGUAY ROUND FREE AND YOUR CONTINUED COMMITMENT TO
CONCLUDING THE ROUND THIS YEAR. I FULLY SHARE YOUR OBJECTIVE AND
BELIEVE WE CAN STILL REACH U.S.-EC AGREEMENT THIS FALL, GIVEN THE
PROPER HIGH LEVEL PUSH. I WANT TO WORK CLOSELY WITH YOU TO MAKE
THAT HAPPEN.

I AM VERY PLEASED THAT OUR OFFICIALS ARE DISCUSSING HOW WE CAN MOVE
THINGS FORWARD IN THE WEEKS AHEAD. WHILE RESOLUTION OF OUR
DIFFERENCES ON AGRICULTURE MAY HAVE TO WAIT UNTIL AFTER THE FRENCH
REFERENDUM, WE AGREE WITH YOUR ASSESSMENT THAT WE NEED TO CONTINUE
NEGOTIATIONS IN THE INTERIM ON OTHER KEY ISSUES IF WE ARE TO
CONCLUDE THE ROUND THIS YEAR. EC AND U.S. NEGOTIATORS SHOULD
CONTINUE WORKING TO CLOSE OUT DIFFERENCES ON MARKET ACCESS AND
SERVICES AND WHERE APPROPRIATE ACT TOGETHER TO ENCOURAGE THIRD
PARTIES TO MOVE FORWARD ON SERVICES. I ALSO AGREE THAT THE U.S.
AND THE EC SHOULD MAKE A SPECIAL EFFORT TO FORGE A COMMON APPROACH
ON FINANCIAL SERVICES WHERE OUR INTERESTS AND OBJECTIVES ARE SO
SIMILAR. I HAVE ASKED NICK BRADY TO WORK WITH NORMAN LAMONT TO SEE
HOW WE CAN RE-INVIGORATE THIS AREA.

AS YOU MAY REMEMBER, WE MADE A SOMEWHAT SIMILAR EFFORT LATE LAST
YEAR AT RUUD LUBBERS' REQUEST. HE ASKED US TO BE FLEXIBLE ON SOME
NON-AGRICULTURAL ISSUES OF CONCERN TO THE EC AS A MEANS OF PAVING
THE WAY FOR EC CONCESSIONS ON AGRICULTURE. WE ACTED ON THIS
REQUEST, AND TO BE FRANK, SOME OF OUR CONCESSIONS WERE INCORPORATED
IN THE DUNKEL TEXT WHILE ITEMS OF CONCERN TO US WERE NOT ADDRESSED.
I WANT YOU TO BE AWARE OF THIS HISTORY IN THE EVENT OTHERS CLAIM
THAT WE ARE NOT SHOWING ADEQUATE FLEXIBILITY.

WE ARE READY TO RESUME SERIOUS NEGOTIATIONS WITH THE EC AT ANY TIME
AND IRRESPECTIVE OF OUR POLITICAL CALENDAR. IN THIS CONNECTION, I
WOULD APPRECIATE YOUR VIEWS ON HOW WE CAN INCREASE THE LIKELIHOOD
THAT JACQUES DELORS WILL ENERGETICALLY RE-ENGAGE THE COMMISSION ON
AGRICULTURE AFTER THE FRENCH VOTE. ONLY IF HE IS READY TO SUPPORT
CONSTRUCTIVE NEGOTIATIONS CAN WE HOPE TO BRING THIS EFFORT TO
FRUITION. I AM VERY MUCH COUNTING ON YOUR ADVICE ON HOW WE SHOULD
PROCEED AND YOUR LEADERSHIP IN MAKING PROGRESS POSSIBLE. I
UNDERSTAND CARLA HILLS WILL BE IN LONDON NEXT WEEK FOR DISCUSSIONS
ON THE ROUND. I AM LOOKING FORWARD TO SEEING YOU HERE FOR THE
U.S.-EC PRESIDENTIAL MEETING, IF NOT BEFORE. I HOPE YOU WILL HAVE

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TIME TO SEE HER. MANY THANKS FOR YOUR WILLINGNESS TO TAKE ON THIS
TOUGH ISSUE.

WITH MY PERSONAL BEST WISHES, SINCERELY,

GEORGE BUSH

END TEXT

0083

SECTION: 01 OF 01 <SSN> 0083 <TOR> 920825182137 MSG000336075696

(DIST)
SIT: MCENROE
(DIST)
RT: SDO
(DIST)
RT: SDO
(DIST)
RT: COMM OLEARY SIGLER SIT
SIT: HOTLINE_OUT PRES_MSGS WAYNE
(PREC) IMMEDIATE (CLAS) ~~CONFIDENTIAL~~ (OSRI) YEXXWHX (DTG) 252317Z AUG 92

(ORIG) FM WHITE HOUSE

(TO) TO CABINET OFFICE

(TEXT) ZEM

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~ VIA CABINET CHANNELS

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

BEGIN TEXT:

DEAR JOHN,

I WANT TO UNDERLINE HOW MUCH I APPRECIATE YOUR EFFORTS AT MUNICH TO
BREAK THE URUGUAY ROUND FREE AND YOUR CONTINUED COMMITMENT TO
CONCLUDING THE ROUND THIS YEAR. I FULLY SHARE YOUR OBJECTIVE AND
BELIEVE WE CAN STILL REACH U.S.-EC AGREEMENT THIS FALL, GIVEN THE
PROPER HIGH LEVEL PUSH. I WANT TO WORK CLOSELY WITH YOU TO MAKE
THAT HAPPEN.

I AM VERY PLEASED THAT OUR OFFICIALS ARE DISCUSSING HOW WE CAN MOVE
THINGS FORWARD IN THE WEEKS AHEAD. WHILE RESOLUTION OF OUR
DIFFERENCES ON AGRICULTURE MAY HAVE TO WAIT UNTIL AFTER THE FRENCH
REFERENDUM, WE AGREE WITH YOUR ASSESSMENT THAT WE NEED TO CONTINUE
NEGOTIATIONS IN THE INTERIM ON OTHER KEY ISSUES IF WE ARE TO
CONCLUDE THE ROUND THIS YEAR. EC AND U.S. NEGOTIATORS SHOULD
CONTINUE WORKING TO CLOSE OUT DIFFERENCES ON MARKET ACCESS AND
SERVICES AND WHERE APPROPRIATE ACT TOGETHER TO ENCOURAGE THIRD
PARTIES TO MOVE FORWARD ON SERVICES. I ALSO AGREE THAT THE U.S.
AND THE EC SHOULD MAKE A SPECIAL EFFORT TO FORGE A COMMON APPROACH
ON FINANCIAL SERVICES WHERE OUR INTERESTS AND OBJECTIVES ARE SO
SIMILAR. I HAVE ASKED NICK BRADY TO WORK WITH NORMAN LAMONT TO SEE
HOW WE CAN RE-INVIGORATE THIS AREA.

AS YOU MAY REMEMBER, WE MADE A SOMEWHAT SIMILAR EFFORT LATE LAST
YEAR AT RUUD LUBBERS' REQUEST. HE ASKED US TO BE FLEXIBLE ON SOME
NON-AGRICULTURAL ISSUES OF CONCERN TO THE EC AS A MEANS OF PAVING
THE WAY FOR EC CONCESSIONS ON AGRICULTURE. WE ACTED ON THIS
REQUEST, AND TO BE FRANK, SOME OF OUR CONCESSIONS WERE INCORPORATED
IN THE DUNKEL TEXT WHILE ITEMS OF CONCERN TO US WERE NOT ADDRESSED.
I WANT YOU TO BE AWARE OF THIS HISTORY IN THE EVENT OTHERS CLAIM
THAT WE ARE NOT SHOWING ADEQUATE FLEXIBILITY.

WE ARE READY TO RESUME SERIOUS NEGOTIATIONS WITH THE EC AT ANY TIME
AND IRRESPECTIVE OF OUR POLITICAL CALENDAR. IN THIS CONNECTION, I
WOULD APPRECIATE YOUR VIEWS ON HOW WE CAN INCREASE THE LIKELIHOOD
THAT JACQUES DELORS WILL ENERGETICALLY RE-ENGAGE THE COMMISSION ON
AGRICULTURE AFTER THE FRENCH VOTE. ONLY IF HE IS READY TO SUPPORT

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CONSTRUCTIVE NEGOTIATIONS CAN WE HOPE TO BRING THIS EFFORT TO
FRUITION. I AM VERY MUCH COUNTING ON YOUR ADVICE ON HOW WE SHOULD
PROCEED AND YOUR LEADERSHIP IN MAKING PROGRESS POSSIBLE. I
UNDERSTAND CARLA HILLS WILL BE IN LONDON NEXT WEEK FOR DISCUSSIONS
ON THE ROUND. I HOPE YOU WILL HAVE TIME TO SEE HER. I AM LOOKING
FORWARD TO SEEING YOU HERE FOR THE U.S.-EC PRESIDENTIAL MEETING,
IF NOT BEFORE. MANY THANKS FOR YOUR WILLINGNESS TO TAKE ON THIS
TOUGH ISSUE.

WITH MY PERSONAL BEST WISHES, SINCERELY,

GEORGE BUSH

END TEXT

0084

<SECT>SECTION: 01 OF 01 <SSN> 0084 <TOR> 920825192101 MSG000336079261

(DIST>
RT: HOWE
IT: FILE
(DIST>
RT: GANTT COMM OLEARY SIGLER SIT HOWE SCOWCROFT
IT: HOTLINE_OUT FILE PRES_MSGS
(PREC> IMMEDIATE <CLAS> ~~CONFIDENTIAL~~ <OSRI> YEXXWHX <DTG> 292100Z AUG 92

(ORIG>FM WHITE HOUSE

(TO>TO CABINET OFFICE

(TEXT>ZEM

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~ VIA CABINET CHANNELS

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PLEASE PASS THE FOLLOWING MESSAGE FROM PRESIDENT GEORGE BUSH TO
PRIME MINISTER JOHN MAJOR.

BEGIN TEXT:

DEAR JOHN,

LARRY EAGLEBURGER BRIEFED ME ON THE RESULTS OF THE LONDON
CONFERENCE AND ON THE ABSOLUTELY SUPERB JOB YOU DID IN DIRECTING
THE CONFERENCE TO SUCCESS. LARRY EXPLAINED WHAT A DIFFICULT TASK
YOU FACED IN MANAGING ESPECIALLY THE YUGOSLAV PARTIES, BUT IT IS
CLEAR THAT THE RESULTS ARE THE VERY BEST WE COULD HAVE EXPECTED TO
EMERGE. I AM VERY GRATEFUL FOR YOUR LEADERSHIP IN DEALING WITH
THIS TRAGIC SITUATION AND I LOOK FORWARD TO WORKING CLOSELY WITH
YOU IN BUILDING ON THE DECISIONS AND COMMITMENTS MADE IN LONDON.

I ALSO WANT TO UNDERLINE MY SPECIAL APPRECIATION FOR THE KIND
REMARKS WHICH YOU MADE ON MY BEHALF IN YOUR INTERVIEW WITH CBS. I
BELIEVE YOUR COMMENTS WILL HAVE A SIGNIFICANT IMPACT HERE AND
THANK YOU FOR SHARING THE TRANSCRIPT IN ADVANCE.

BRENT SCOWCROFT BRIEFED ME ON SARAH HOGG'S DISCUSSIONS HERE ON THE
URUGUAY ROUND. AS SHE HEARD FROM BRENT, CARLA HILLS AND OTHERS, WE
ARE READY AND EAGER TO MOVE FORWARD IN OUR DISCUSSIONS WITH THE EC.
MS. HOGG MENTIONED THAT SOME IN EUROPE ARE ARGUING THAT WE WANT TO
HOLD OFF UNTIL AFTER OUR ELECTIONS -- NOTHING COULD BE FURTHER FROM
THE TRUTH. A U.S.-EC DEAL ON AGRICULTURE WOULD BE OF IMMENSE
BENEFIT. WE ARE PREPARED FOR NEGOTIATIONS AS SOON AS POSSIBLE AND
AS INTENSELY AS NEEDED TO ACHIEVE A BREAKTHROUGH THIS FALL. IN
THIS VEIN, I WAS HEARTENED TO RECEIVE A MESSAGE FROM HELMUT KOHL ON
THURSDAY SUGGESTING THAT THE U.S.-EC TALKS SHOULD RESUME AS QUICKLY
AS POSSIBLE, ALBEIT DISCREETLY, AND THAT WE SHOULD WORK FOR A
POLITICAL BREAKTHROUGH BY THE END OF SEPTEMBER OR THE BEGINNING OF
OCTOBER. HE SAID HE WOULD BE IN TOUCH WITH YOU AS WELL AS WITH
JACQUES DELORS AND FRANCOIS MITTERRAND TO PURSUE THIS. I AM ALL
FOR IT. AS I WROTE THE OTHER DAY, I LOOK FORWARD TO YOUR THOUGHTS
ON HOW WE MOVE AHEAD AND APPRECIATE YOUR WILLINGNESS TO MAKE THIS A
PRIORITY.

I WAS VERY PLEASED THAT THE SAUDIS AGREED TO ACCEPT YOUR PLANES AND
THAT BRITISH TORNADOS WERE FLYING WITH US ON THE FIRST DAY OF
OPERATIONS FOR THE NO-FLY ZONE. WE SHOULD STAY IN CLOSE CONTACT ON
THIS SITUATION, PARTICULARLY SHOULD SADDAM TAKE ACTION ON THE
GROUND IN VIOLATION OF SECURITY COUNCIL RESOLUTION 688.

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I LOOK FORWARD TO SEEING YOU LATER THIS YEAR AND TO OUR NEXT CHANCE
TO TALK. AGAIN, THANKS FOR THE KIND REMARKS TO CBS. WITH MY
PERSONAL BEST WISHES,

SINCERELY,

GEORGE BUSH

END TEXT

0124

<SECT>SECTION: 01 OF 01 <SSN> 0124 <TOR> 920829175513 MSG000336419713

(DIST>
SIT: MCENROE
(DIST>
PRT: GANTT COMM OLEARY SIGLER SIT
SIT: HOTLINE_OUT PRES_MSGS
(PREC> IMMEDIATE <CLAS> ~~CONFIDENTIAL~~ <OSRI> YEXXWHX <DTG> 061549Z SEP 92

(ORIG>FM WHITE HOUSE

(TO>TO CABINET OFFICE

(TEXT>ZEM
~~CONFIDENTIAL~~ VIA CABINET CHANNELS
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PLEASE DELIVER THE FOLLOWING MESSAGE TO PRIME MINISTER
JOHN MAJOR FROM PRESIDENT BUSH.

BEGIN TEXT:

DEAR JOHN,

CARLA HILLS GAVE ME A FULL BRIEF ON YOUR SEPTEMBER 2 DISCUSSION.
I AM VERY PLEASED THAT YOU WILL BE SWINGING INTO ACTION. I AM
ACTING ON YOUR SUGGESTION THAT I WRITE JACQUES DELORS INDICATING
OUR DESIRE TO MOVE FORWARD WITH U.S.-EC NEGOTIATIONS ON THE ROUND
SOON AFTER THE FRENCH REFERENDUM. AS EC COUNCIL PRESIDENT, I
WOULD URGE YOU TO JOIN JACQUES IN RESUMING THE NEGOTIATIONS AND
PROVIDING THE LEADERSHIP THAT WILL BE SO VITAL IN REACHING
AGREEMENT.

IN RESPONDING TO HELMUT KOHL'S MESSAGE MENTIONED ON 29 AUG, I
FULLY ENDORSED HIS OBJECTIVE OF A U.S.-EC BREAKTHROUGH BY THE
END OF SEPTEMBER OR EARLY OCTOBER. ON FINANCIAL SERVICES,
WICK BRADY WILL BE IN TOUCH WITH NORMAN LAMONT. THEY MIGHT BE
ABLE TO USE G-7 DISCUSSIONS AT THE UPCOMING IMF WORLD BANK
MEETING TO MOVE THE FINANCIAL SERVICES NEGOTIATIONS ALONG. I
TRUST THAT THIS WILL HELP SHOW THAT AGRICULTURE IS NOT THE ONLY
AREA IN WHICH PROGRESS IS BEING SOUGHT.

I LOOK FORWARD TO HEARING THE RESULTS OF YOUR DISCUSSION WITH
DELORS. MANY THANKS AGAIN FOR YOUR EFFORTS ON THIS CRUCIAL
ISSUE.

SINCERELY,

GEORGE BUSH

END TEXT

DECL: OADR
#0151

<SECT>SECTION: 01 OF 01 <SSN> 0151 <TOR> 920906120419 MSG000337089859

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2009-0756-MR
12/22/2014 MM

Withdrawal/Redaction Sheet

(George Bush Library)

Document No. and Type	Subject/Title of Document	Date	Restriction	Class.
42. Cable	White House to Cabinet Office Re: Message to Prime Minister Major from President George Bush (2 pp.)	9/19/92	(b)(1)	C

Collection:

Record Group: Bush Presidential Records
Office: Scowcroft, Brent, Collection
Series: Presidential Correspondence Files
Subseries: Head of State Message Files
WHORM Cat.:
File Location: United Kingdom (Outgoing) 1989 - 1993 [2]

Date Closed:	2/13/2009	OA/ID Number:	91115-008
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

Withdrawal/Redaction Sheet

(George Bush Library)

Document No. and Type	Subject/Title of Document	Date	Restriction	Class.
43. Cable	White House to Cabinet Office Re: Message from President Bush to Prime Minister Major (2 pp.)	9/24/92	(b)(1)	C

Collection:

Record Group: Bush Presidential Records
Office: Scowcroft, Brent, Collection
Series: Presidential Correspondence Files
Subseries: Head of State Message Files
WHORM Cat.:
File Location: United Kingdom (Outgoing) 1989 - 1993 [2]

Date Closed:	2/13/2009	OA/ID Number:	91115-008
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

<PREC> IMMEDIATE <CLAS> ~~CONFIDENTIAL~~ <OSRI> YEXXWHX <DTG> 091257Z OCT 92

<ORIG> FM WHITE HOUSE

<TO> TO CABINET OFFICE

<TEXT> ZEM

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~ VIA CABINET CHANNELS

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

BEGIN TEXT:

DEAR JOHN,

THANK YOU FOR YOUR MESSAGE OF OCTOBER 6. AS USUAL, WE ARE
THINKING ALONG THE SAME LINES. I WANT TO UNDERLINE THAT I HAVE
ASKED MY MINISTERS TO MAKE AN ALL OUT EFFORT TO REACH AGREEMENT
WITH THEIR COMMISSION COUNTERPARTS THIS WEEKEND IN BRUSSELS.
THIS IS OUR OPPORTUNITY, AND WE SHOULD STRIVE FOR A BREAKTHROUGH.
CARLA HILLS AND ED MADIGAN HAVE MY FULL SUPPORT IN SEEKING TO
REACH A FAIR AND BALANCED AGREEMENT. YOU HAVE MY DEEP
APPRECIATION FOR YOUR RECENT EFFORTS WITH DELORS, MITTERRAND AND
OTHERS -- ALL THE MORE SO SINCE I KNOW HOW CHALLENGING AND FULL
YOUR AGENDA IS THESE DAYS. I WAS ALSO HEARTENED BY THE POSITIVE
APPROACH TO THE ROUND APPARENTLY AGREED AT THIS WEEK'S EC
MINISTERIAL MEETING IN LUXEMBOURG. WORKING TOGETHER WE CAN BRING
THIS VITAL EFFORT TO FRUITION WITH U.S. - EC AGREEMENT IN THE DAYS
AHEAD. IN ORDER FOR YOU TO HAVE A TIMELY BRIEFING ON THE RESULTS
OF THIS WEEKEND'S TALKS FROM OUR PERSPECTIVE, I HAVE ASKED CARLA
HILLS TO TRAVEL TO LONDON. I HOPE YOU WILL BE ABLE TO SEE HER.
IF YOUR SCHEDULE DOES NOT PERMIT THAT, SHE CAN PROVIDE A DETAILED
READ-OUT TO YOUR STAFF AND APPROPRIATE MINISTERS. LET'S KEEP IN
CLOSE CONTACT.

WITH WARMEST PERSONAL REGARDS,
SINCERELY,

GEORGE BUSH

END TEXT

0131

<SECT> SECTION: 01 OF 01 <SSN> 0131 <TOR> 921009093536 MSG000339932136

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2009-0756-MR
12/22/2014 MM

PREC> IMMEDIATE <CLAS> ~~CONFIDENTIAL~~ <OSRI> YEXXWHX <DTG> 141705Z OCT 92

ORIG>FM WHITE HOUSE

TO>TO CABINET OFFICE

TEXT>ZEM

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~ VIA CABINET CHANNELS

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PER E.O. 13526

2009-0756-MR
12/22/2014 MM

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

BEGIN TEXT:

DEAR JOHN,

AS WE DISCUSSED EARLIER TODAY, I WANTED TO SHARE IN MORE DETAIL MY
PERSONAL ASSESSMENT OF WHERE WE STAND ON THE URUGUAY ROUND.

WE HAVE COME VERY FAR OVER THE PAST YEAR, AND WE ARE
EXTRAORDINARILY CLOSE TO A SUBSTANTIAL U.S.-EC AGREEMENT. THIS
BRINGS US TO A DECISIVE MOMENT. IF WE CAN CONFIRM THE AGREEMENT AT
HAND ON THE URUGUAY ROUND AND OILSEEDS, WE WILL BE ON THE PATH TO
RENEWING THE WORLD TRADING SYSTEM, RESTORING MARKET CONFIDENCE,
AND FUELING ECONOMIC RECOVERY. IF WE ARE NOT ABLE TO MUSTER THE
POLITICAL WILL FOR AGREEMENT ON THESE TWO ISSUES, WE FACE THE
SPECTER OF A SPIRALING TRADE WAR AT THE VERY TIME WHEN THE FUTURE OF
THE INTERNATIONAL TRADING SYSTEM IS CALLED INTO QUESTION.

LET ME REVIEW WHAT THE U.S. HAS DONE TO PRODUCE AN AGREEMENT. THE EC
TOLD US THAT IT NEEDED PROGRESS IN OTHER AREAS TO JUSTIFY COMPROMISE
IN AGRICULTURE. ACCORDINGLY, WE HAVE SHOWN FLEXIBILITY, AND AS A
RESULT WE HAVE NARROWED U.S.-EC DIFFERENCES IN ALL AREAS, INCLUDING
FINANCIAL SERVICES, WHERE OUR POSITION IS NOW THE SAME AS THAT OF
THE EC.

IN AGRICULTURE, THE EC TOLD US THAT PROTECTING CAP REFORM WAS
ESSENTIAL, SO WE MADE A MOST FORTHCOMING OFFER ON INTERNAL
SUPPORTS. OUR NEGOTIATORS HAVE NOW FOUND A FORMULA THAT MEETS EC
CONCERNS. EVEN ON THE QUESTION OF EXPORT SUBSIDIES, WHICH IS THE
HIGHEST U.S. PRIORITY, THE EC SAID IT COULD NOT ACCEPT THE DUNKEL
TEXT FOR POLITICAL REASONS. AND SO, WE HAVE OFFERED TWO OPTIONS: ONE
WHICH OFFERS THE EC FLEXIBILITY WITHIN AGREED COMMODITY GROUPS AT
24% VOLUME REDUCTIONS AND ANOTHER WHICH OFFERS A SIMPLE 22% IN
VOLUME REDUCTIONS.

THE OILSEEDS DISPUTE WAS DISCUSSED THOROUGHLY IN BRUSSELS WITHOUT
AGREEMENT. BUT AGAIN, IN AN EFFORT TO BRIDGE OUR DIFFERENCES, CARLA
HILLS AND ED MADIGAN MADE SUGGESTIONS THAT WOULD ENABLE US TO
ACCEPT THE EC'S OILSEEDS PROPOSAL BY MODIFYING IT TO ADDRESS OUR
CONCERNS ON A MINIMUM LAND SET-ASIDE AND AN EFFECTIVE ENFORCEMENT
MECHANISM. AS I WROTE YOU EARLIER, I BELIEVE WE CAN SETTLE THE
OILSEEDS DISPUTE IF WE CAN SETTLE OUR URUGUAY ROUND DIFFERENCES,
AND WE HAVE MADE A MOST FORTHCOMING OFFER TO THAT END.

I PROMISED YOU AN ENERGETIC AND FORTHCOMING U.S. EFFORT -- I BELIEVE

WE HAVE DELIVERED ON THAT PROMISE. IN DOING SO, WE HAVE STRETCHED AS FAR AS POSSIBLE TO MEET THE EC'S CONCERNS. THE NEGOTIATORS HAVE DONE ALL THEY CAN. WHAT WE NEED IS POLITICAL WILL. THERE WILL BE THOSE IN EUROPE WHO STILL ARGUE THAT WE SHOULD DELAY DESPITE THESE ATTRACTIVE U.S. OFFERS, BUT I MUST TELL YOU THAT DELAY COULD WELL MEAN LOSING AN HISTORIC OPPORTUNITY. WE ARE TOO CLOSE NOT TO SEIZE THIS OPPORTUNITY, WHATEVER OUR DOMESTIC POLITICS.

I KNOW THIS FRIDAY'S SUMMIT IN BIRMINGHAM IS VERY IMPORTANT FOR YOU AND FOR THE EUROPEAN COMMUNITY. BUT IT SEEMS TO ME THAT WHAT IS AT STAKE IS NOT ONLY HOW THE EUROPEAN NATIONS WILL ORGANIZE, BUT WHETHER THEY CAN ACT RESPONSIBLY AS A COMMUNITY. I AM CONVINCED THAT ACCEPTANCE OF OUR COMPROMISE PROPOSALS WILL DEMONSTRATE THAT CAPABILITY. I SINCERELY HOPE THAT YOU AND YOUR COLLEAGUES CAN FIND SOME WAY IN BIRMINGHAM TO AUTHORIZE THE EC'S NEGOTIATORS TO SIGNAL ACCEPTANCE OF THE UNDERSTANDINGS WHICH ARE NOW ON THE TABLE AND TO WORK WITH US IN GENEVA ON THIS BASIS TO CONCLUDE THE ROUND.

I AM COUNTING ON YOUR LEADERSHIP AND SKILL TO BRING ABOUT THIS VITALLY IMPORTANT AGREEMENT. ALSO AS WE DISCUSSED, I LOOK FORWARD TO YOUR THOUGHTS ABOUT WHAT WE MIGHT SAY PUBLICLY CONCERNING THE ROUND TO ENCOURAGE THE OUTCOME YOU AND I SEEK.

WITH MY PERSONAL BEST WISHES,

SINCERELY,

GEORGE BUSH

END TEXT

DECL: OADR

#0160

<SECT>SECTION: 01 OF 01 <SSN> 0160 <TOR> 921014135418 MSG000340379657

:PREC> IMMEDIATE <CLAS> ~~CONFIDENTIAL~~ <OSRI> YEXXWHX <DTG> 192100Z OCT 92

:ORIG>FM WHITE HOUSE

:TO>TO CABINET OFFICE

:TEXT>ZEM

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~ VIA CABINET CHANNELS

0000

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

BEGIN TEXT:

DEAR JOHN:

ANDY CARD, MY SECRETARY OF TRANSPORTATION, MET RECENTLY WITH
JOHN MACGREGOR TO REVIEW AVIATION ISSUES. AS ANDY INDICATED, WE
WOULD LIKE TO FIND A WAY TO APPROVE THE PROPOSED INVESTMENT BY
BRITISH AIR IN USAIR. HOWEVER, AS BA'S PROPOSAL WOULD CHANGE
DRAMATICALLY THE STRUCTURE OF INTERNATIONAL AVIATION, IT WOULD BE
VERY DIFFICULT TO APPROVE WITHOUT A TRUE LIBERALIZATION OF OUR
BILATERAL AVIATION MARKET.

TOMORROW OUR OFFICIALS RESUME NEGOTIATIONS ON OUR AIR SERVICES
AGREEMENT. MY OFFICIALS ARE PREPARED TO DISCUSS A DETAILED
"OPEN SKIES" PROPOSAL. THEY ARE PREPARED ALSO TO NEGOTIATE FOR A
RAPID CONCLUSION OF A NEW AGREEMENT. I BELIEVE WE HAVE THE
OPPORTUNITY NOW TO SECURE A TRULY LIBERAL REGIME THAT WOULD BENEFIT
OUR TWO COUNTRIES AND SET A STANDARD FOR OTHER COUNTRIES AS WELL.

WITH THE PROPER POLITICAL WILL ON BOTH SIDES, WE SHOULD BE ABLE TO
CONCLUDE TWO PRECEDENT SETTING CASES SHORTLY: AN "OPEN SKIES"
AGREEMENT BETWEEN OUR TWO COUNTRIES AND BA'S INVESTMENT IN USAIR.
BECAUSE OF THE IMPORTANCE I ATTACH TO THESE ISSUES, I HAVE
ASKED ANDY CARD TO MEET WITH JOHN MACGREGOR THIS WEEK IN LONDON. I
WOULD BE GRATEFUL FOR YOUR PERSONAL REVIEW OF THESE ISSUES.

SINCERELY,
GEORGE BUSH

END TEXT

#0011

<SECT>SECTION: 01 OF 01 <SSN> 0011 <TOR> 921019172933 MSG000340824573

DECLASSIFIED
PER E.O. 13526

2009-0756-MR
12/22/2014 MM

<PREC> IMMEDIATE <CLAS> ~~CONFIDENTIAL~~ <OSRI> YEXXWHX <DTG> 240416Z OCT 92

<ORIG>FM WHITE HOUSE

<TO>TO CABINET OFFICE

<TEXT>ZEM

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~ VIA CABINET CHANNELS

1000

DECLASSIFIED
PER E.O. 13526

2009-0756-MR
12/22/2014 MM

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

BEGIN TEXT:

DEAR JOHN,

LET ME UNDERLINE HOW MUCH I APPRECIATE YOUR MESSAGE OF OCTOBER 22
AND YOUR INITIATIVE TO ENGAGE HELMUT KOHL ON THE URUGUAY ROUND AND
ON OILSEEDS AT THIS CRITICAL JUNCTURE. WE ARE INDEED VERY DISTURBED
BY THE COMMISSION'S PULL BACK FROM PREVIOUS POSITIONS ON
REBALANCING, TARIFFICATION, EXPORT SUBSIDIES AND OTHER ISSUES IN
THIS WEEK'S TALKS. IN ADDITION, THE EC NEGOTIATORS SHOWED NO
ABILITY TO SOLVE OTHER OUTSTANDING PROBLEMS. IN THE END, THE GAPS
ON KEY ISSUES WIDENED. I WAS EQUALLY DISHEARTENED TO HEAR REPORTS
THAT GERMANY'S POSITION HAD CONTRIBUTED TO THIS HARDENING OF THE
EC'S POSITIONS. AS A RESULT, I AM FACED WITH SOME DIFFICULT
DECISIONS ABOUT HOW TO RESPOND, IN THE FIRST INSTANCE ON OILSEEDS.
YOUR INITIATIVE IS THUS ESPECIALLY WELCOME, AND I SINCERELY HOPE IT
BEARS FRUIT IN THE NEGOTIATIONS.

FOR ALL THE REASONS WHICH YOU AND I HAVE DISCUSSED, THE UNITED
STATES WILL CONTINUE TO WORK FOR A URUGUAY ROUND AGREEMENT. BUT AS
YOU KNOW, THIS WEEK'S TALKS SUGGESTED STRONGLY THAT THE EC WAS
NEITHER WILLING NOR ABLE NOW TO BRIDGE THE EXISTING GAPS. ON
OILSEEDS, WE HAVE BEEN EXTREMELY PATIENT, DESPITE TWO GATT FINDINGS
IN OUR FAVOR AND STRONG DOMESTIC PROTESTS. IN RESPONSE TO A
PERSONAL APPEAL LAST MAY BY JACQUES DELORS, I AGREED TO DELAY ACTION
IN ORDER TO ALLOW THE EC TO DEVELOP AND OFFER A PROPOSAL TO RESOLVE
THE OILSEEDS PROBLEM. YOUR GOVERNMENT AND OTHERS ALSO URGED US TO
EXHAUST ALL EFFORTS FOR A NEGOTIATED SOLUTION, AND WE HEEDED YOUR
ADVICE. AFTER MONTHS OF NEGOTIATIONS AND NO PROGRESS OR COMMISSION
FLEXIBILITY IN THE LATEST TALKS, THERE IS LITTLE OPTION BUT TO TAKE
GATT-CONSISTENT ACTION ON OILSEEDS. BUT GIVEN YOUR VIEW THAT THERE
IS STILL A REALISTIC CHANCE OF A SETTLEMENT, I HAVE INSTRUCTED THAT
WE DELAY ANY ANNOUNCEMENT OF ADDITIONAL STEPS UNTIL THE NOVEMBER 4
GATT COUNCIL MEETING. IF NO SOLUTION HAS BEEN FOUND BY THAT DATE,
HOWEVER, WE WILL ACT.

JOHN, PLEASE NOTE THAT I CHOSE THE GATT COUNCIL MEETING DATE
SPECIFICALLY TO AVOID ANY CHARGES OF ELECTORAL MANEUVERING. I WANT
TO RESOLVE THIS ISSUE AND THE ROUND FOR THE GOOD OF THE UNITED
STATES, EUROPE AND ALL OF OUR TRADING PARTNERS.

AT MY REQUEST, ED MADIGAN FRIDAY CONVEYED OUR POSITION ON OILSEEDS
IN DETAIL TO RAY MACSHARRY AND OFFERED TO RESUME DISCUSSIONS ON THE
URUGUAY ROUND ISSUES AND OILSEEDS ON THE BASIS OF THE OCTOBER 11-12
U.S.-EC TALKS. MACSHARRY IS CONSULTING WITH HIS COLLEAGUES BEFORE
PROVIDING A DEFINITIVE RESPONSE.

YOU KNOW HOW SINCERELY I HOPE THAT WE CAN SUCCEED. I APPRECIATE
YOUR HELP, ESPECIALLY AS I KNOW THE CHALLENGING ISSUES YOU HAVE ON
YOUR AGENDA THESE DAYS.

WITH MY PERSONAL BEST WISHES,

SINCERELY,

GEORGE BUSH

END TEXT

#0025

<SECT>SECTION: 01 OF 01 <SSN> 0025 <TOR> 921024001619 MSG000341194579

<PREC> IMMEDIATE <CLAS> ~~CONFIDENTIAL~~ <OSRI> YEXXWHX <DTG> 051415Z NOV 92

<ORIG> FM WHITE HOUSE

<TO> TO CABINET OFFICE

<TEXT> ZEM

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~ VIA CABINET CHANNELS
1999

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

BEGIN TEXT:

TEXT OF HANDWRITTEN MESSAGE FOLLOWS:

BOARD AIR FORCE ONE
NOVEMBER 4, 1992

DEAR JOHN:

WE'RE RETURNING TO WASHINGTON FROM TEXAS. I HAVE JUST READ
THAT WONDERFUL MESSAGE FROM YOU; AND I CAN'T BEGIN TO TELL YOU
HOW MUCH IT MEANS TO ME AND TO BARBARA.

MY WINNING WAS JUST NOT IN THE CARDS -- THE ECONOMY GOT US
AND SO DID CLINTON'S MESSAGE OF "CHANGE."

AS WE DISCUSSED ON THE PHONE IT HAS INDEED BEEN A NASTY, UGLY
YEAR -- OUR PRESS HITTING ME HARD IN VERY PERSONAL DEGRADING
WAYS.

BUT I HAVE THE INNER PEACE THAT COMES FROM KNOWING I DID MY
BEST AND FOUGHT MY HARDEST, YES -- BUT THE REAL PEACE INSIDE
COMES FROM YOUR CABLE WITH THOSE VERY GENEROUS WORDS ABOUT WHAT
I'VE TRIED TO DO.

YOU'RE A GOOD MAN, JOHN MAJOR, AND YOU HAVE LIFTED UP THIS FRIEND
OF YOURS ACROSS THE ATLANTIC. I WILL NEVER EVER FORGET THAT.
OUR LOVE TO YOUR NORMA, OUR NORMA.

GEORGE

ORIGINAL WILL FOLLOW.

END TEXT

DECL: OADR

0074

<SECT> SECTION: 01 OF 01 <SSN> 0074 <TOR> 921105094100 MSG000342265259

DECLASSIFIED
PER E.O. 13526
2009-0756-MR
12/22/2014 MM

:PREC> IMMEDIATE <CLAS> ~~CONFIDENTIAL~~ <OSRI> YEXXWHX <DTG> 081605Z NOV 92

:ORIG>FM WHITE HOUSE

:TO>TO CABINET OFFICE

:TEXT>ZEM

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~ VIA CABINET CHANNELS
:QQQ

PLEASE DELIVER THE FOLLOWING MESSAGE FROM BRENT SCOWCROFT
TO STEPHEN WALL.

BEGIN TEXT:

DEAR STEPHEN:

YOU AND THE PRIME MINISTER HAVE BEEN BOTH THOUGHTFUL AND
GENEROUS IN YOUR COMMENTS OVER THE PAST DIFFICULT DAYS AND I
WANT YOU TO KNOW HOW DEEPLY I APPRECIATE IT.

WHILE THE PAIN IS SEVERE, IT STEMS PRIMARILY FROM KNOWING
WE WILL NOT BE ABLE TO CARRY FORWARD TO COMPLETION THE TASKS WE
HAVE BEGUN, NOR TO CONTINUE WORKING WITH YOU BOTH IN THE MOST
PRODUCTIVE AND AGREEABLE RELATIONSHIP I CAN IMAGINE. KNOWING
WHAT WE COULD HAVE ACCOMPLISHED TOGETHER OCCASIONS A GREAT
SENSE OF LOSS.

NEVERTHELESS, I AM PROUD OF WHAT WE HAVE DONE THUS FAR IN
A WORLD OF GREAT CHANGE AND TURBULENCE, AND I AM MORE THAN
WILLING TO AWAIT THE JUDGMENT OF HISTORY ON OUR PERFORMANCE. I
SHALL FOREEVER BE GRATEFUL FOR THE OPPORTUNITY TO BE AT THE
SIDE OF MY GREAT PRESIDENT AS HE PLAYED HIS HISTORIC ROLE AND
TO HAVE BEEN ABLE TO WORK WITH SUCH STEADFAST, DEDICATED AND
CONSIDERATE FRIENDS AS YOU HAVE BEEN.

YOUR THOUGHTFUL SUPPORT IN OUR TIME OF TROUBLES UNDERSCORES
HOW MUCH WE SHALL MISS THAT PARTNERSHIP.

WARM REGARDS,

BRENT

END TEXT

#0089

<SECT>SECTION: 01 OF 01 <SSN> 0089 <TOR> 921108111639 MSG000342530199

DECLASSIFIED
PER E.O. 13526
2010-0655-MR
SCS 3/18/11

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

<OSRI> YEXXWHX <DTG> 110304Z NOV 92

<ORIG>FM WHITE HOUSE

<TO>TO CABINET OFFICE

<TEXT>ZEM

~~SECRET~~ VIA CABINET CHANNELS

1QQQ

DECLASSIFIED
PER E.O. 13526

2009-0756-MA
12/22/2014 MM

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

BEGIN TEXT:

DEAR JOHN:

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
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
BEST 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: OADR

0106

<SECT>SECTION: 01 OF 01 <SSN> 0106 <TOR> 921110221546 MSG000342742546

<PREC> IMMEDIATE <CLAS> ~~CONFIDENTIAL~~ <OSRI> YEXXWHX <DTG> 210052Z NOV 92

<ORIG>FM WHITE HOUSE

<TO>TO CABINET OFFICE

<TEXT>ZEM

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~ VIA CABINET CHANNELS

0000

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

THE FOLLOWING IS A TEXT OF A HANDWRITTEN NOTE. ORIGINAL WILL FOLLOW.

BEGIN TEXT:

DEAR JOHN:

I SAW YOUR KIND COMMENTS MADE AT THE LORD MAYOR'S BANQUET ON
NOVEMBER 16TH.

YOU ARE A LOYAL FRIEND -- A TRUE AND GENEROUS FRIEND.

YESTERDAY BILL CLINTON TOLD ME OF HIS TALK WITH YOU ON THE
PHONE. HE SAID, "YOU KNOW I ALREADY HAVE GREAT RESPECT FOR JOHN
MAJOR, FOR IN OUR PHONE CONVERSATION HE TOLD ME UP FRONT OF HIS
WONDERFUL PERSONAL RELATIONSHIP WITH YOU -- I RESPECT THAT."

NICE WORDS BY OUR NEW PRESIDENT. NOW MANY THANKS AGAIN FROM
AN OLD PRESIDENT. LOVE TO NORMA.

/S/ GEORGE

END TEXT

DECL: OADR

00002

<SECT>SECTION: 01 OF 01 <SSN> 0002 <TOR> 921120202222 MSG000343599742

DECLASSIFIED
PER E.O. 13526

2009-0756-MR
12/22/2014 MM

PREC> IMMEDIATE <CLAS> ~~CONFIDENTIAL~~ <OSRI> YEXXWHX <DTG> 280438Z NOV 92

ORIG>FM WHITE HOUSE

TO>TO CABINET OFFICE

TEXT>ZEM

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~ VIA CABINET CHANNELS

QQQ

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

BEGIN TEXT:

DEAR JOHN,

SINCE ACTING SECRETARY EAGLEBURGER WROTE TO HIS COLLEAGUES ON
NOVEMBER 26, MY GOVERNMENT HAS BEEN IN CLOSE CONTACT WITH THE
UNITED NATIONS REGARDING THE TRAGEDY UNFOLDING IN SOMALIA. AS
YOU NO DOUBT HAVE LEARNED, UN SECRETARY GENERAL BOUTROS
BOUTROS-GHALI IS GIVING CAREFUL THOUGHT TO HOW THE UN AND ITS
MEMBER STATES CAN BEST AMELIORATE THE SUFFERING OF THE SOMALI
PEOPLE. WE UNDERSTAND THAT THE SECRETARY GENERAL PLANS TO
OUTLINE TO THE SECURITY COUNCIL AS EARLY AS MONDAY, NOVEMBER 30
POSSIBLE OPTIONS FOR FURTHER UN ACTION IN SOMALIA.

AS THE ACTING SECRETARY MADE CLEAR IN HIS PREVIOUS LETTER, THE
U.S. VIEWS THE SITUATION IN SOMALIA AS EXTRAORDINARILY
COMPELLING. THE U.S. STANDS READY TO MAKE A MAJOR
CONTRIBUTION, INCLUDING THE PROVISION OF U.S. MILITARY FORCES,
TO AN EFFORT THAT WILL ENSURE THE DELIVERY OF FOOD AND
ESSENTIAL HUMANITARIAN SERVICES IN THE CRITICAL AREA OF
STARVATION IN SOUTH-CENTRAL SOMALIA. WE LOOK FORWARD TO
COOPERATING WITH YOU IN THIS EFFORT. YOUR LEADERSHIP WOULD
MAKE A VITAL CONTRIBUTION.

WE VIEW THE COOPERATIVE EFFORT AS OF RELATIVELY SHORT
DURATION. IT WOULD LEAD TO A MORE SECURE ENVIRONMENT IN
WHICH A TRADITIONAL UN PEACEKEEPING FORCE COULD SAFEGUARD THE
RELIEF EFFORT AND HELP THE SOMALIS RECONSTRUCT THEIR OWN CIVIL
ADMINISTRATION.

BEFORE DISCUSSING NEXT STEPS IN DETAIL, HOWEVER, I BELIEVE THAT
WE SHOULD AWAIT THE SECRETARY GENERAL'S VIEWS. I WILL BE IN
TOUCH WITH YOU AS SOON AS WE HAVE REVIEWED THE SECRETARY
GENERAL'S RECOMMENDATIONS.

SINCERELY,

GEORGE BUSH

END TEXT

DECL: OADR

DECLASSIFIED
PER E.O. 13526

2009-0756-MR
12/22/2014 MM

0011

<SECT>SECTION: 01 OF 01 <SSN> 0011 <TOR> 921128010113 MSG000344221273

PREC> IMMEDIATE <CLAS> ~~CONFIDENTIAL~~ <OSRI> YEXXWHX <DTG> 181858Z DEC 92

ORIG>FM WHITE HOUSE

TO>TO CABINET OFFICE

TEXT>ZEM

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~ VIA CABINET CHANNELS
QQQ

PLEASE DELIVER THE FOLLOWING MESSAGE TO BOB HOPE AND ALEX HART,
TELECOMMUNICATIONS SECRETARIAT, FROM NEIL O'LEARY, DIRECTOR, WHITE
HOUSE SITUATION ROOM.
BEGIN TEXT:

I THINK THERE MAY BE SOME DISCONNECT WITH OUR STAFFS ON THE RETURN
OF OUR STU-II'S AND THE INSTALLATION OF YOUR NEWLY ACQUIRED
STU-IIB'S.

A RECENT CABLE FROM CHRIS HEATON (021500Z DEC 92) TO ED BLACKFORD
(WHITE HOUSE COMMUNICATIONS AGENCY) REQUESTED WHITE HOUSE CONTACT
NUMBERS FOR YOUR NEW STU-IIB'S. THIS SEEMS TO RUN COUNTER TO OUR
UNDERSTANDING THAT THE STU-II COMTER LINK WOULD BE DISSOLVED WHEN
YOU RECEIVED YOUR STU-IIB'S.

WHEN ALEX AND I DISCUSSED THE SITUATION LAST MARCH, I EXPLAINED WE
COULD NOT MAINTAIN THE STU-II'S AND THAT WE VIEWED THE WHITE HOUSE
SECURE PHONES INSTALLED IN OCTOBER 1990 AS THE SINGLE VOICE LINK
BETWEEN THE UNITED STATES AND THE UNITED KINGDOM. I'M NOT SURE WHAT
HAS HAPPENED, BUT I HOPE WE CAN GET THIS MATTER STRAIGHTENED OUT TO
OUR MUTUAL SATISFACTION.

MORE IMPORTANTLY, WE HERE IN THE WHITE HOUSE WISH YOU AND YOUR STAFF
MERRY CHRISTMAS AND A HAPPY NEW YEAR.

REGARDS,

NEIL O'LEARY

END TEXT

RECL: OADR

0056

SECTION: 01 OF 01 <SSN> 0056 <TOR> 921218144313 MSG000345998593

DECLASSIFIED
PER E.O. 13526

2009-0756-MR
MM 4/30/2015

