

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: Presidential Telcon Files

OA/ID Number: 91113
Folder ID Number: 91113-006

Folder Title:
Presidential Telephone Calls - Memorandum of Conversations 11/5/92 - 1/2/93

Stack:	Row:	Section:	Shelf:	Position:
G	34	3	1	7

Withdrawal/Redaction Sheet

(George Bush Library)

Doc. No. / Type	Subject/Title	Date	Restriction	Classification
01. Telcon	Re: Telcon with King Juan Carlos of Spain on November 5, 1992 [FOIA EXEMPTIONS REDACTED] (2 pp.)	11/5/92	(b)(1)	C
02. Telcon	Re: Telcon Conversation between the President and President de Klerk (2 pp.)	11/8/92	(b)(1)	
03. Telcon	Re: Telcon with Prime Minister Yitzhak Rabin of Israel on November 9, 1992 [FOIA EXEMPTIONS REDACTED] (2 pp.)	11/9/92	(b)(1)	C
04. Telcon	Re: Telephone Conversation with King Fahd of Saudi Arabia [FOIA EXEMPTIONS REDACTED] (2 pp.)	11/10/92	(b)(1)	C
05. Telcon	Re: Meeting with Chaim Herzog, President of Israel [FOIA EXEMPTIONS REDACTED] (6 pp.)	11/16/92	(b)(1)	S
06. Telcon	Re: Telcon with President Rafael Callejas of Honduras on November 24, 1992 (2 pp.)	11/24/92	(b)(1)	✓
07. Telcon	Re: Telcon with Amir Khalifa of Bahrain on November 27, 1992 (1 pp.)	11/27/92	(b)(1)	✓
08. Telcon	Re: Telcon with Prime Minister Brian Mulroney of Canada (2 pp.)	11/28/92	(b)(1)	✓

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Collection:

Record Group: Bush Presidential Records

Office: Scowcroft, Brent, Files

Series: Presidential Correspondence Files

Subseries: Presidential Telcon Files

WHORM Cat.:

File Location: Presidential Telephone Calls - Memorandum of Conversations 11/5/92 - 1/2/93

Pinksheet Number: cap956

OA/ID Number: 91113-006

Date Closed: 2/9/2009

FOIA/Sys Case #: 2009-0275-S

Re-review Case #:

P-2/P-5 Review Case #:

Withdrawal/Redaction Sheet

(George Bush Library)

Doc. No. / Type	Subject/Title	Date	Restriction	Classification
09. Telcon	Re: Telcon with President Boris Yeltsin of Russia on November 30, 1992 (2 pp.)	11/30/92	(b)(1)	SECRET
10. Telcon	Re: Memorandum of Telephone Conversation (3 pp.)	12/1/92	(b)(1)	SECRET
11. Telcon	Re: Somalia (2 pp.)	12/2/92	(b)(1)	SECRET
12a. Telcon	Re: Telcon with Kiichi Miyazawa, Prime Minister of Japan on December 2, 1992 (3 pp.)	12/2/92	(b)(1)	SECRET
12b. Telcon	Re: Telcon with Kiichi Miyazawa, Prime Minister of Japan on December 2, 1992 (1 pp.)	12/2/92	(b)(1)	SECRET
13a. Memo	Bruce O. Riedel of William F. Sittmann Re: Telcon with King Fahd of Saudi Arabia (1 pp.)	12/3/92	(b)(1)	SECRET
13b. Telcon	Re: Telcon with King Fahd of Saudi Arabia on December 3, 1992 [FOIA EXEMPTIONS REDACTED] (3 pp.)	12/3/92	(b)(1)	C
14. Telcon	Re: Telcon with Prime Minister Nawaz Sharif of Pakistan on December 3, 1992 [FOIA restrictions redacted] (2 pp.)	12/3/92	(b)(1)	C
15. Telcon	Re: Telecon with President Francois Mitterrand of France on December 3, 1992 (3 pp.)	12/3/92	(b)(1)	SECRET
16. Telcon	Re: Telcon with Prime Minister Jean-Luc Dehaene of Belgium (2 pp.)	12/3/92	(b)(1)	SECRET

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17. Telcon	Re: Telecon with Prime Minister Giuliano Amato of Italy (2 pp.)	12/3/92	(b)(1)	C
18. Telcon	Re: Telcon with John Major, Prime Minister of United Kingdom on December 3, 1992 (2 pp.)	12/3/92	(b)(1)	
19. Telcon	Re: Telcon with President Mubarak of Egypt on December 3, 1992 (2 pp.)	12/3/92	(b)(1)	C
20. Telcon	Re: Memorandum of Telephone Conversation (2 pp.)	12/3/92	(b)(1)	C
21. Telcon	Re: Memorandum of Telephone Conversation (2 pp.)	12/3/92	(b)(1)	C
22. Telcon	Re: Telecon with Boutros Boutros-Ghali, United Nations Secretary General on December 4, 1992 (2 pp.)	12/4/92	(b)(1)	C
23. Telcon	Re: Telephone Call with President Turgut Ozal of Turkey (2 pp.)	12/5/92	(b)(1)	C
24. Telcon	Re: Memorandum of Telephone Conversation (2 pp.)	12/5/92	(b)(1)	C
25. Telcon	Re: Telcon with President Rafael Calderon of Costa Rica (3 pp.)	12/7/92	(b)(1)	C
26. Telcon	Re: Telephone Conversation with UN Secretary General Boutros Boutros-Ghali (3 pp.)	12/8/92	(b)(1)	C
27. Telcon	Re: Memorandum of Telephone Conversation (3 pp.)	12/17/92	(b)(1)	C

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28. Telcon	Re: Telcon with Quett Masire, President of Botswana on December 17, 1992 (2 pp.)	12/17/92	(b)(1)	✓
29. Telcon	Re: Memorandum of Telephone Conversation with Kim Young-Sam, President-elect of the Republic of Korea, on December 19, 1992 (2 pp.)	12/19/92	(b)(1)	
30. Telcon	Re: Telephone Conversation Between the President and Boris Yeltsin, President of Russia (4 pp.)	12/20/92	(b)(1)	✓
31. Telcon	Re: Telephone Conversation Between the President and Boris Yeltsin, President of Russia (4 pp.)	12/21/92	(b)(1)	✓
32. Telcon	Re: Telcon with Prime Minister Ruud Lubbers of the Netherlands on December 21, 1992 (2 pp.)	12/21/92	(b)(1)	✓
33. Telcon	Re: Telcon with President Kravchuk of Ukraine on December 24th, 1992 (2 pp.)	12/24/92	(b)(1)	✓
34. Telcon	Re: Telcon with Suleyman Demirel, Prime Minister of Turkey on December 24, 1992 (2 pp.)	12/24/92	(b)(1)	✓
35a. Telcon	Re: Telcon with Boris Yeltsin, President of Russia, on December 24th (4 pp.)	12/24/92	(b)(1)	✓
35b. Talking Points	Re: Points To Be Made for Telephone Call with President Boris Yeltsin (2 pp.)	12/24/92	(b)(1)	✓

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Doc. No. / Type	Subject/Title	Date	Restriction	Classification
36. Telcon	Re: Telcon with President Hosni Mubarak of Egypt on January 2, 1993 (2 pp.)	1/2/93	(b)(1)	S

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Collection:

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Series: Presidential Correspondence Files

Subseries: Presidential Telcon Files

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Series: Presidential Correspondence Files
Subseries: Presidential Telcon Files
WHORM Cat.:
File Location: Presidential Telephone Calls - Memorandum of Conversations 11/5/92 - 1/2/93

Document Partially Declassified
(Copy of Document Follows)
By MM on 11/6/2013

Date Closed:	2/9/2009	OA/ID Number:	91113-006
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 #:	09-0740-MR(500)
AR Disposition:		MR Disposition:	Released in Part
AR Disposition Date:		MR Disposition Date:	10/16/2012

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]
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P-5 Release would disclose confidential advice between the President and his advisors, or between such advisors [(a)(5) of the PRA]
P-6 Release would constitute a clearly unwarranted invasion of personal privacy [(a)(6) of the PRA]

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

PRM. Removed as a personal record misfile.

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

(b)(1) National security classified information [(b)(1) of the FOIA]
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(b)(7) Release would disclose information compiled for law enforcement purposes [(b)(7) of the FOIA]
(b)(8) Release would disclose information concerning the regulation of financial institutions [(b)(8) of the FOIA]
(b)(9) Release would disclose geological or geophysical information

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THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

8344



MEMORANDUM OF TELEPHONE CONVERSATION

SUBJECT: Telecon with King Juan Carlos of Spain on
November 5, 1992

PARTICIPANTS: The President
King Juan Carlos
Interpreter: None
Notetaker: Tony Wayne

DECLASSIFIED IN PART
PER E.O. 13526

2009-0740-MR

32 10/16/12

DATE, TIME November 5, 1992, 5:44-5:52 p.m.
AND PLACE: Camp David

The President: Hello, your majesty. (U)

King Juan Carlos: In this difficult moment, one needs friends,
and the Queen and I wanted you to know that you have our
friendship. (U)

The President: Thank you so much. We do need it. We tried to
handle it as best we could, but it has been a very difficult
year. Nevertheless, it has all been very rewarding and making
friends like you was worth all of it. (U)

King Juan Carlos: We wanted to let you know of our friendship,
and I know her majesty wanted to talk to Barbara too. Let me see
if we can find her. (U)

The President: Well, it is wonderful of you to call. I remember
our wonderful dinner with Gorbachev and Felipe. (U)

King Juan Carlos: Yes, I had Gorbachev here this summer. It was
clear that he did not want to leave. (U)

The President: That dinner was so special and it is sweet of you
to call. How are things with you and in Spain? (U)

King Juan Carlos:

(b)(1)

(b)(1)

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Declassify on: OADR

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The President: Yes, but it is best to get it out in public. When will you next be in the states? (U)

King Juan Carlos: I'm not sure, but my son may do a Masters at Georgetown next year. His friends and his cousin have spoken highly of it, and he wants to spend time at the center of American and world politics, in Washington. (U)

The President: Well, I hope he does. He is a fine young man. (U)

King Juan Carlos: Yes, it will be a good lesson for him. What will you be doing to rest? (U)

The President: Barbara and I are going back to Texas for a little rest with your good friend Bob Mossbacher. He did a great job helping on the campaign. (U)

King Juan Carlos: Yes, he's a great man, and the Queen and I are still using that pepper thing we got together. (U)

The President: The pepper-grinder. Yes, we use ours too. Here's Barbara. (U)

Mrs. Bush: You may know that we are up at Camp David and looking for mushrooms. (U)

King Juan Carlos: (Laugh) We wanted to show our sympathy and friendship to you and George. I don't know where the Queen is right now. How are you? (U)

Mrs. Bush: We're fine and, of course, disappointed. But, it will be great for the grand kids. Give her majesty the best. Bye-bye. (U)

King Juan Carlos: Bye-bye Barbara. (U)

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THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

MEMORANDUM OF TELEPHONE CONVERSATION

SUBJECT: Telephone Conversation between the President
and President de Klerk

PARTICIPANTS: The President
President F.W. de Klerk of South Africa
Interpreter: None
Notetaker: John Ordway

DATE, TIME November 8, 1992, 8:06 - 8:10 a.m. EST
AND PLACE: Camp David, Maryland

President de Klerk: Hello, Mr. President.

The President: How are you, President de Klerk?

President de Klerk: It is wonderful to hear your voice.

The President: It is wonderful of you to call.

President de Klerk: I have been thinking constantly of you for the past few days, President Bush. I have sent you a message but I want to say personally that what you have done in your time in office during this historic period in world history will be recorded as a unique contribution.

The President: Thank you very much. It's wonderful of you to call, and it has been a pleasure working with you. It's no fun to lose, but it is good to hear from you and to have you put it in that historical perspective.

President de Klerk: I am a big supporter of democracy, but democracy has one weakness at times, of not always recognizing true worth and achievement. Democracy has dealt you a blow you don't deserve. I know you will go down in history as one of the great presidents of the United States.

The President: It's good to hear that from you, President de Klerk. I have especially admired what you have been doing. How are things going at home in South Africa?

President de Klerk: We have some delays, some due to the complexity of the process and some artificial. But I am hopeful that early in the year multi-party negotiations will resume, and I am confident we will pick up the threads again.

The President: Thank you very much for calling. I hope our paths will cross again. But right now Barbara and I are going back to Texas. I hope to do some travelling, and hope our paths will cross again in the future.

President de Klerk: This is some form of psychological communication. I would love to see you in South Africa. South Africans will open their arms and hearts to you. I would like to extend an official invitation to visit South Africa when you are ready for it, and experience the terrific dynamic of what is going on here, when you are settled.

The President: You're wonderful to extend that invitation. Maybe we will get to do it some day.

Thank you for your call. If there is anything I can do between now and January, just let me know. We're still calling the shots.

President de Klerk: Thank you very much. I would also like to wish you and your family a wonderful Christmas holiday and all the best in the coming year.

-- End of Conversation --

Withdrawal/Redaction Sheet

(George Bush Library)

Document No. and Type	Subject/Title of Document	Date	Restriction	Class.
03. Telcon	Re: Telcon with Prime Minister Yitzhak Rabin of Israel on November 9, 1992 [FOIA EXEMPTIONS REDACTED] (2 pp.)	11/9/92	(b)(1)	C

Collection:

Record Group: Bush Presidential Records
Office: Scowcroft, Brent, Files
Series: Presidential Correspondence Files
Subseries: Presidential Telcon Files
WHORM Cat.:
File Location: Presidential Telephone Calls - Memorandum of Conversations 11/5/92 - 1/2/93

Document Partially Declassified
(Copy of Document Follows)
By MJM on 11/6/2013

Date Closed:	2/9/2009	OA/ID Number:	91113-006
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 #:	09-0740-MR(502)
AR Disposition:		MR Disposition:	Released in Part
AR Disposition Date:		MR Disposition Date:	10/16/2012

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]
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PRM. Removed as a personal record misfile.

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THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON



MEMORANDUM OF TELEPHONE CONVERSATION

SUBJECT: Telcon with Prime Minister Yitzhak Rabin of Israel on November 9, 1992

PARTICIPANTS: The President
Prime Minister Yitzhak Rabin of Israel
Notetaker: Richard N. Haass, NSC

DATE, TIME November 9, 1992; 4:05 - 4:10 p.m.
AND PLACE: The Oval Office

DECLASSIFIED IN PART
PER E.O. 13526
2009-0740-MR
JL 10/16/12

Prime Minister Rabin called the President. (U)

Prime Minister Rabin: Hello, Mr. President. (U)

President Bush: Well, it is nice to hear your voice. (U)

Prime Minister Rabin: Pleasant to hear from you. I didn't want to bother you right after the elections. I felt I had to talk with you and tell you how much I appreciate what you have done for the state of Israel. In time, many things you've done will be seen to have been courageous for Israel's security and its future. My wife and I are grateful to you and Mrs. Bush for Kennebunkport. It was a real pleasure for both of us. (U)

President Bush: Aren't you nice to call. It has been unpleasant for me here. I am sure that Governor Clinton will be working closely with you. We tried hard in promoting peace in the Middle East. It is hard to say anything right now because everyone is so negative. But with time this will change. I really appreciate your call. (U)

Prime Minister Rabin: In the meantime, we will continue with the negotiations. I really appreciate all you have done. (U)

President Bush: I am glad that the talks are going on. I understand you have had some border activities. (U)

Prime Minister Rabin: In a way yes, (b)(1)
guidance of Iran, without Syria trying to stop them, has been active. I will not allow this to interfere with the peace process. (U)

President Bush: That's good. I am sorry you have had this worry. (b)(1)

(b)(1)

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Declassify on: OADR

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2

Prime Minister Rabin:

(b)(1)

(b)(1)

President Bush: Good luck. My sincere thanks for the call.
Love to your wife. (U)

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THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

MEMORANDUM OF TELEPHONE CONVERSATION

SUBJECT: Telephone Conversation with Nelson Mandela,
President of the African National Congress of
South Africa on November 10, 1992

PARTICIPANTS: The President
Nelson Mandela, President of the ANC
Interpreter: None
Notetaker: John Ordway

DATE, TIME November 10, 1992, 10:32 - 10:36am EST
AND PLACE: The Oval Office

The President: Hello. How are you?

Mr. Mandela: All right. How are you?

The President: All right. We had this election defeat, but things are now looking better. I know the new administration will be looking forward to working with you.

Mr. Mandela: I want to compliment you on the stand you took after the announcement of the electoral results. You emerged as a real patriot and a supporter of democracy by asking everyone to rally behind the new President. It showed a remarkable spirit, and I wanted to phone and compliment you for it. You have emerged as a winner on the more important issues. I really feel that many people have been moved by that stand. I want to thank you for the support you have given us, which is a source of great strength for us. We will always be grateful to you, and to the Republican Party.

If I come to the U.S., I will come to see you.

What I have just expressed is not just my sentiment, but is the sentiment of the National Executive Committee, and of the entire ANC.

The President: I am so pleased that you called. This is so typical of your thoughtfulness. Thank you for what you said about my statement after the election. I said it because I felt that way in my heart.

You have our prayers and support as you try to move your country to democracy.

Mr. Mandela: Thank you for that. Please give my fondest regards to Mrs. Bush, and to Herman Cohen.

The President: Thank you very much. I will certainly do that. You were wonderful to call.

-- End of Conversation --

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Re-review Case #:	Appeal Disposition:
P-2/P-5 Review Case #:	Disposition Date:
AR Case #:	MR Case #: 09-0740-MR(503)
AR Disposition:	MR Disposition: Released in Part
AR Disposition Date:	MR Disposition Date: 10/16/2012

RESTRICTION CODES

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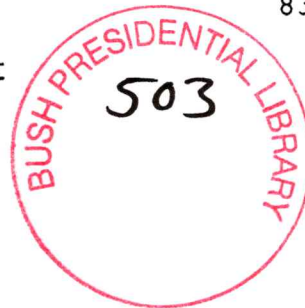
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8357

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON



MEMORANDUM OF TELEPHONE CONVERSATION

SUBJECT: Telephone Conversation with King Fahd of Saudi Arabia

PARTICIPANTS: The President
King Fahd
Interpreter: Prince Bandar
Notetaker: Edmund Hull

DATE, TIME November 10, 1992; 4:09 to 4:17 p.m.
AND PLACE: Residence Office

DECLASSIFIED IN PART
PER E.O. 13526
2009-0740 - MR
SCS 10/16/12

The President: Your majesty. (U)

King Fahd: Yes, sir. (U)

The President: How are you? (U)

King Fahd: How are you? (U)

The President: It is so nice of you to call. Brent Scowcroft told me your Ambassador said you would be calling. It has been a gloomy week here, but I am cheered up by good friends like yourself. (Ø)

King Fahd: I am happy to hear your voice. (Ø)

The President: It is wonderful to hear from friends. Now, Mrs. Bush and I are thinking about the future back in Texas. (Ø)

King Fahd:

(b)(1)

(b)(1)

(b)(1)

(Ø)

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Declassify on: OADR

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~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

(b)(1)

(b)(1)

(S)

The President: It was nothing at all. It was sweet and kind of you to call. I look forward to seeing you whenever you are in the U.S. Even though I am out of public life, I hope to see you wherever you might be in our country, and I hope that you will honor us by a visit to our house in Maine. You are a friend, and I will never forget it. (S)

King Fahd: Thank you. I will be visiting a dearest friend, and we will do that. (S)

The President: Thank you. Now I will finish this job and head back to Texas on January 20. (S)

King Fahd: God be with you. May he grant you happiness and health. (U)

The President: Thank you very much and good bye. (U)

-- End of Conversation --

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THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

MEMORANDUM OF TELEPHONE CONVERSATION

SUBJECT: Telephone Conversation with Frederick Chiluba, President of the Republic of Zambia on November 11, 1992

PARTICIPANTS: The President
Frederick Chiluba, President of Zambia
Interpreter: none
Notetaker: John M. Ordway

DATE, TIME November 11, 1992, 8:37 - 8:39 am EST
AND PLACE: Air Force One

The President: Mr. President, how are you, sir?

President Chiluba: Good morning. Fine, thank you. How are you, sir?

I am in New York for the United Nations General Assembly. I wanted to report to you that I and my country are very indebted to you for everything you have done for us by helping lay a foundation for us.

The President: How good of you to call. I have enjoyed our brief contact. I am confident you will be successful. I wish you the best in your ventures.

How are things going at home?

President Chiluba: We thought things were going well with the drought. We have had a few drops of rain. But now we have had cholera, with about 400 people dead. It is another catastrophe. But with the support of the people we will make headway.

The President: It was thoughtful of you to call. Barbara and I are on our way to Florida for four or five days of vacation.

I want to take this opportunity to wish you all the best for the future. I was nice of you to call.

President Chiluba: You and Mrs. Bush are dear to our heart. We pray for you as you start to serve the world in a different capacity.

The President: Thank you. That's a very generous way to look at it.

If there is anything I can do before January 20 to facilitate things, just let me know. I am very hopeful for what you have been doing, and wish you all the best as you take these steps forward.

President Chiluba: Thank you, and may God surround you every day of your life.

-- End of Conversation --

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

DECLASSIFIED
PER E.O. 13526

2013-0463-MR

4/7/2016

MEMORANDUM OF CONVERSATION

SUBJECT: Meeting with Chaim Herzog, President of Israel

PARTICIPANTS: The President
James A. Baker, III, Chief of Staff
Brent Scowcroft, Assistant to the President
for National Security Affairs
Lawrence Eagleburger, Acting Secretary of State
Edmund Hull, Director for Near East and South Asian Affairs (Notetaker)

Chaim Herzog, President of Israel
Zalman Shoval, Israeli Ambassador to the U.S.
Nisan Limor, Director General of the Presidency
Eitan Ben Tzur, Deputy Director General for North American Affairs, Ministry of Foreign Affairs

DATE, TIME November 16, 1992; 10:00 - 10:40 a.m.
AND PLACE: The Oval Office

Pleasantries were exchanged during a photo op, but no questions were taken. (U)

The President: I am delighted to see you and to have your assessment of the world and the Middle East. (C)

President Herzog: I am happy to be here. Let me first of all express appreciation for your leadership during Desert Storm. I recall that we talked just before you decided to move. I also want to express appreciation for your efforts in the Middle East peace process. It is something that has its ups and downs like the stock market. We have a very good team here and are working with the Arabs. They have their problems. The Syrians are reluctant to accept the guidelines for the process which you articulated in Madrid. With the Jordanians, we have made great headway in drafting an agenda. Then they got scared and tried to make changes, not for substantive reasons, but to satisfy the other Arabs. The Palestinians have the biggest problem of all. They are torn among themselves, and there is no one to lay down the law. Nevertheless there was an interesting vote at Bir Zeit University this week. Two thirds supported (candidates who favor) the peace process. One third supported the Islamic fundamentalists. (C)

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The President: The fundamentalists just want to cut off the peace process? (C)

President Herzog: Yes. But the latest polls show that between two thirds and three fourths of the Palestinians favor the process. They live under a reign of terror. Ten were shot this week; six killed and four wounded. There is also the struggle between Arafat in Tunis and the leadership in the West Bank. The latter understand the rules of the game. They meet with us every day. There is also the internal PLO struggle that reflects a great disenchantment with Arafat's leadership. Still he holds the purse strings and is surrounded by gunmen. (C)

The fundamentalists are the greatest danger all over the Middle East, including Egypt where there is an incident every day. They are also problems in Jordan and Algeria. They are fanatics and are trying to obtain weapons of mass destruction. (C)

Nevertheless, we hope the peace process will move forward. The Palestinians have no alternative. Jim Baker has said it many times. (C)

That is what is happening. In Israel itself, there is a different atmosphere. (C)

The President: You mean leaning forward on peace? (C)

President Herzog: Rabin is determined. No nonsense. He went to the Golan and met with the settlers. He told them concessions were unavoidable. (C)

The President: What was the reaction? (C)

President Herzog: He was attacked. It is part of democracy. (C)

The President: Have we seen any results from the Peres visit to Egypt? (C)

Mr. Hull: Both Peres and Mubarak stressed regional economic development and peace as a prerequisite. (C)

President Herzog: We have a relationship there, too. The other day, for example, I was having a lunch for an Indian delegation. Foreign Minister Peres was called out to take a call from (Egyptian Foreign Minister) Moussa. You have had much to do with these developments, and I made a point of that in my speech to the General Assembly of Jewish Federations. (C)

The President: We are now in a transition period here. I believe the United States will continue to play a role as catalyst. I will be meeting with President-elect Clinton Wednesday, and I will discuss the Middle East peace process at that time. (S)

Mr. Baker: Except for Iraq, the Middle East was not an issue in the campaign. I spoke with former President Carter at an airport last September. He told me he made a point with Mr. Clinton of the importance of continuity in the Middle East and expected it would be the case. (S)

The President: I take it Mr. Shamir was not too happy with me, judging from a comment I saw recently. (S)

President Herzog: You are in good company. (S)

The President: Sometimes you just have to do what you have to do. (S)

President Herzog: There is a revolution going on inside the Likud, too. Netanyahu won out on the vote for the next primary. (S)

Ambassador Shoval: Now the party leader will also automatically be the candidate for the Prime Minister. (S)

President Herzog: Netanyahu is leading in their polls. (S)

The President: When will it be decided? (S)

President Herzog: In March. (S)

Mr. Baker: Misha (Arens) didn't run? (S)

President Herzog: He is staying out of politics and concentrating on making money. He is working with Eisenberg who has factories in southern China. (S)

The President: One can get rich in south China these days. Is Shamir out of public life like Begin? (S)

President Herzog: No, he is not a recluse. I remember a visit by President Carter to Israel when I attempted to get the Camp David participants together for lunch. Begin regretted, but did speak with Carter by telephone. I remember when I became President. He was not pleased by my election and made it a vote of "confidence." Some say it was the beginning of his decline, but Lebanon was the problem. Begin felt the loss of each Israeli boy killed in action. (S)

The President: History will treat him well. How is King Hussein? (S)

President Herzog: Ill. His address on television was most moving. (S)

The President: I take it he indicated he would not be around indefinitely. (S)

President Herzog: He spoke of the Almighty's will, and he looked terrible. You know the first delegation to see Hussein after his return was one of Israeli Arab mayors. They had met with me prior to going, and I sent wishes for a speedy recovery. Later they reported that he cried when he saw them. They received a most moving reception in the streets. (S)

The President: The fundamentalists did not harass them? (S)

President Herzog: No. King Hussein agreed to double the number or Israeli Arabs who can make the pilgrimage and to reconsider the policy of not accepting their Israeli passports. There was also a meeting between a Druze delegation and President Assad. (S)

The President: That is positive. I take it King Hussein has been shifting his line on Saddam Hussein, but it is not clear. Initial reports indicated something strong, but later ones made it sound a little fuzzy. (S)

President Herzog: There has been a major shift on sanctions enforcement. (S)

Mr. Eagleburger: According to our information too. (S)

President Herzog: He has not yet been received in Saudi Arabia although he was received in Cairo by Mubarak. (S)

The President: Bandar did see him in the hospital, but I guess he is not yet welcome in Riyadh. (S)

President Herzog: He will go as soon as he will be received. There are interesting developments with Jordan, but I am sorry to say that they reversed themselves on a negotiating agenda with us when the Palestinians resisted. King Hussein could call the shots on this issue if he wanted. (S)

I also want to thank you for our strategic cooperation and particularly the GPS (global protection system.) (S)

The President: I am not sure how the GPS will be continued in the next administration. They have a different view. (S)

General Scowcroft: They are much more cautious... (S)

The President: ...and much readier to cut. It could affect Israel. (S)

General Scowcroft: It may turn out that they cut the space-based systems more deeply than the ground-based ones. (S)

President Herzog: We consider it terribly important. All of your signals have made clear to the Arabs that there is no alternative to talking. The first big move was Desert Storm. That was historic as was the follow up. While Israel is perceived as being involved in a strategic relationship with the U.S., the Arabs see no alternative. The Arab man-on-the-street wants peace. He is more sensible than his leaders. (S)

The President: How is Arafat's health? (U)

President Herzog: He had some treatment in Amman. You know I am friends with his mother-in-law, Raymonda Tawil. She is very able. (S)

Mr. Hull: Recent reporting suggests Arafat is better. He is travelling again. But he still has trouble concentrating. (S)

President Herzog: He is unhelpful. (S)

The President: Why? (S)

Mr. Baker: He is concerned about losing power to the West Bank leaders. (S)

President Herzog: The West Bank leadership is far superior. We have dinner with them. We saw on television the send-off they got to the negotiating round, and Israeli police were there in the crowd protecting them. (S)

Mr. Baker: I agree as to quality. The West Bankers are far superior to the Tunis crowd. They have acquitted themselves very well despite the terrible tugging within their decision-making process. (S)

President Herzog: It is very difficult for them. They live under a shadow. (S)

Mr. Baker: They are fairly courageous. They are really living in danger. We have had excellent cooperation from the Israelis in protecting the leadership. (S)

President Herzog: Meanwhile, in Syria, the rejectionists remain active. He (Assad) could stop the whole thing, but is not doing anything about it. (S)

Ambassador Shoval: There are ten terrorist groups still based there. (S)

Mr. Baker: Five Palestinian and five others -- PKK, Red Army, etc. (S)

President Herzog: It is his menagerie. He controls them. I recall your (Baker's) comment about the length of meetings with Assad: bladder diplomacy. (S)

Mr. Baker: He will outwait you. He sits there never changing his position. You sit side by side, looking sideways until you get a crick in your neck. (S)

The President: What is your schedule now? (S)

President Herzog: Back to New York then to Israel. Next Monday President Mitterrand will be visiting. (S)

The President: We have our problems with the French, but I enjoy a pleasant personal relationship with him. He has terrible political problems. But, tell him to do something on the GATT. It will help everyone, especially the Third World. (S)

President Herzog: We have a conference the following day on the European market. Maybe I will have a chance to say something there. He is also going to see King Hussein. (S)

The President: Will he go elsewhere? (S)

President Herzog: It seems Israel then Jordan. (S)

The President: Well, it was nice of you to come by, and I am pleased to see you. (S)

President Herzog: I just want to tell you that you have entered history, especially with your stand on the Gulf War. I remember sending you a psychological portrait of Saddam Hussein. (S)

The President: I will have to pull it down and look at it. I assume it had only bad things in it because this guy is awful. (S)

President Herzog: One last question. As President of Israel, I have the responsibility for pardons. I know these are often controversial, but I do it if I think it is right. Jonathan Pollard has now been imprisoned for seven years of solitary confinement and is going crazy. Others have served far less for more serious actions. I do not excuse his actions, but they were not against the U.S., but rather for Israel. If I were you, I would tend toward leniency. (S)

The President: I appreciate your interest and think it is appropriate for you to share your view. (S)

Farewells.

-- End of Meeting --

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THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

DECLASSIFIED
PER E.O. 13526
2009-0740-MR
JL 10/16/12

MEMORANDUM OF TELEPHONE CONVERSATION

SUBJECT: Telcon with President Rafael Callejas of Honduras on November 24, 1992 (U)

PARTICIPANTS: The President
Rafael Callejas, President of Honduras
Interpreter: Stephanie Van Reigersberg
Notetaker: John McShane/Charles Gillespie

DATE, TIME November 24, 1992, 9:13 - 9:17am EST
AND PLACE: The Oval Office

The President: Mr. President, how are you? (U)

President Callejas: Fine, Mr. President. How are you? I wanted to call you to express my condolences for your mother. (U)

The President: How very kind of you. We went up yesterday to the funeral. It was really a memorial service. My four boys were there, and my daughter. It was a nice service. And it's very kind of you to call. (U)

President Callejas: I also want to say that you have been a great friend of Honduras. I was personally upset about the November election. (U)

The President: Well, thank you. You sent me a nice letter. I just wrote back to you. I don't know if you've received it yet. I just signed it yesterday. I also passed a special thanks to you through your new Ambassador here. He was just in for a formal credentials ceremony. (U)

President Callejas: We in Latin America will miss you very much. You have been a great President for Latin America -- very open to us and interested in our region. We're worried. We're uncertain about the future. We hope the new President will be as open as you have been. We respect you very much and appreciate what you have done. We are very sorry that it went the way it did in November. (U)

The President: Well, I appreciate that -- it's been a little gloomy around here and, let me tell you, we'll miss it. The best part has been working with leaders like you. (U)

Let me say a little about the new President. We met the other day and talked a little about Central America -- not as much as I wanted because we had so much to talk about. I think he'll be a good President for democracy in this hemisphere. And I'm not

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saying that just to give you false assurances. He's no dummy. He's a smart fellow, and when it comes to your part of the world, I think he'll be good for the region. (Ø)

President Callejas: Mr. President, please express my thanks to Secretary Baker. (U)

The President: I'll tell him. He's not here right now. He'll be back this afternoon. (U)

President Callejas: I hope that next year -- once you get settled -- you can come down to visit us. We have good fishing down here and you are welcome anytime. (U)

The President: I've heard that. Maybe I can come down and knock on your door and have a drink sometime. And let me make an offer. Please come to Houston. We will be moving down there and, I don't want to complicate the new President's life, but you are always welcome to call on us in Houston anytime. We'd love to see you. (U)

President Callejas: Thank you. I look forward to seeing you sometime in Houston. (U)

The President: Good. Thanks for the call. Goodbye. (U)

President Callejas: Goodbye. (U)

--End of Conversation--

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THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

DECLASSIFIED
PER E.O. 13526
2009-0740-MR
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MEMORANDUM OF TELEPHONE CONVERSATION

SUBJECT: Telcon with Amir Khalifa of Bahrain on
November 27, 1992

PARTICIPANTS: The President
Sheikh Al-Khalifa, Amir of Bahrain
Notetaker: Bruce Riedel

DATE, TIME November 27, 1992 at 2:32 - 2:34 p.m.
AND PLACE: Kennebunkport, Maine

President Bush: Hello Your Majesty. (U)

The Amir: Good afternoon Mr. President. (U)

President Bush: I am just calling to see how you are doing, my friend. You've done a great job in Bahrain and you've always been a good friend. (Ø)

The Amir: You've done a lot for us, President Bush. You have always been a friend of Bahrain and helped us. (U)

President Bush: Where are you now? At the hospital in Cleveland? (U)

The Amir: Yes, they told me today that everything is fine. I was sad to hear about the election. History will remember you, Mr. Bush, you accomplished great things. Especially in the Gulf. One day we want to see you in Bahrain. (U)

President Bush: I just wanted to wish you well. The Bush family sends you our best. Some day our paths will cross again, I'm sure. (U)

The Amir: Give my regards to Barbara. (U)

President Bush: I will. We're in Maine on the Atlantic coast. It is cold but clear today. I just wanted to extend my regards to my good friend and wish you well. (Ø)

Goodbyes.

-- End of Conversation --

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THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

MEMORANDUM OF TELEPHONE CONVERSATION

SUBJECT: Telcon with Prime Minister Brian Mulroney
of Canada

PARTICIPANTS: The President
Prime Minister Mulroney
Interpreter: None
Notetaker: Tony Wayne

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PER E.O. 13526
2009-0740-MR
31 10/16/12

DATE, TIME November 28, 1992, 2:00-2:05 p.m.
AND PLACE: Kennebunkport, Maine

The President: Brian? (U)

Prime Minister Mulroney: Hi, George. (U)

The President: How are you? (U)

Prime Minister Mulroney: Happy Thanksgiving to you. (U)

The President: It's good to hear from you. Brent Scowcroft and I were just out on the golf course and now we are sitting down with Barbara for a bowl of soup. (U)

Prime Minister Mulroney: Well, I just got back from taking my son to hockey practice. I'm hoping he'll become a star player and I can retire. (U)

The President: That sounds good. (U)

Prime Minister Mulroney: I just wanted to call to wish you a good Thanksgiving. On Somalia, we are ready to give our support for what you are trying to do in the Security Council. (✓)

The President: Your support is appreciated. We are not trying for any unilateralism as some reports indicated, but we had to do something as the situation there is so bad. Larry (Eagleburger) has been talking with Boutros Ghali, and he agrees that we need to do something. The newspaper reports were out ahead of what we are ready to do, but they were accurate on our thoughts and plans in general. (✓)

Prime Minister Mulroney: We'll be happy to support you with what you try to do in the Security Council. (✓)

The President: That's great. A little bird has told me that you and Mila might be persuaded to come down for a quiet lunch with us. (U)

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Prime Minister Mulroney: Yes, we'd very much like to see you. We have a few things for you and some thoughts that we would like to share with you and Barbara. (U)

The President: Then its a deal. Let's try for January. That will be after the Christmas rush. (U)

Prime Minister Mulroney: Good, we'll be back in touch. (U)

The President: I don't know if your protocol people will let you spend a night in Lincoln's bed, but we'd like to have you. (U)

Prime Minister Mulroney: That sound very good to me. Talk to you soon. (U)

The President: Good to talk to you. Good-bye. (U)

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THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

DECLASSIFIED
PER E.O. 12958,
AS AMENDED

2000-1334-F/1
31 3/27/08

MEMORANDUM OF TELEPHONE CONVERSATION

SUBJECT: Telcon with President Boris Yeltsin of Russia
on November 30, 1992 (U)

PARTICIPANTS: The President
President Boris Yeltsin
Interpreter: Dmitri Zarechnak
Notetaker: Nicholas Burns

DATE, TIME November 30, 1992, 11:19 - 11:36am
AND PLACE: Oval Office

The President: Boris, this is George Bush. How are you? (U)

President Yeltsin: Good evening. I am fine. It is good to hear your voice, and more important prior to the Congress of People's Deputies meeting. (U)

The President: That is why I am calling. I wanted to wish you good luck before your Congress. We are watching with great interest. I understand that this is a difficult time for you and others. I want you to know we stand behind you and the other reformers. That is why I am calling. (Ø)

President Yeltsin: George, thank you very much for your call and your attention and care for us. Well, I feel great tension because the revanchist forces are still trying to make gains. At the same time, we have been meeting large groups of Deputies and other political forces. I had some in today. I have prepared well my address to the Congress which will be a political report. Still, I hope that it will be difficult for them to give us problems. At the same time, I think it will also be difficult for us to combat them. We are for democracy. (Ø)

The President: That's good. I know it is difficult. I am wondering if you feel it would be good for me to issue a written statement today emphasizing our support for you and your reforms. But be frank about whether this would be helpful. What do you think? (Ø)

President Yeltsin: Well, you see, Mr. President, it would probably not make a difference with those revanchist forces who are against reform. And it won't affect those who support us. I had meetings yesterday with many of the democrats and intellectuals. But, at the same time, there is a middle group, a swamp, which will determine the fate of the Congress. For them,

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I think your statement would make a significant difference. That is why I think your statement would be a good idea. (S)

The President: Okay. We will do that. We will put out a statement in support of you and the reforms. I will do it gladly. Good luck. If you ever need to talk, please let me know. (S)

President Yeltsin: Thanks very much, George, for your support. It shows once again that we had and will have good, businesslike and friendly relations. I would like to thank you again for your personal support at this time. (S)

I would like to turn to the Framework Agreement on Global missile reductions. I think that we should sign it together. We should determine the timing and the framework. I think it should go into history with you and me. I understand you might have your own problems but why don't we invite Mr. Clinton to be present at the signing. It doesn't have to be in Washington or Moscow. I have already visited Washington. Maybe we could do it in Alaska. What do you think? (S)

The President: Boris, first, I sent you a letter proposing that we conclude the START II treaty together. So, I have no problems with the suggestion. I want to conclude it. That's the first point. We don't need to go into the details now. But I would like to discuss this with you when you are ready. I'll be ready to talk. (S)

On the place and who attends, let me think about it. I might have difficulties in going to Moscow. It would look funny to the American electorate. But Alaska might be good. Let me think about whether Governor Clinton should be there. We'll coordinate that. He wants a START agreement and wants it signed. It would be a unique thing in American transition history and might be good to do. Let me think about it and get back to you. I will get back to you on all this. (S)

[NOTE: At this point, the line went dead on the U.S. end. The two Presidents did not resume their conversation. However, when the connection was resumed with Moscow, Yeltsin's interpreter told Dmitri Zarechnak, the U.S. interpreter that Yeltsin had made the following response to the President's last statement during the call: (S)

-- He said President Yeltsin agreed with the suggestions made by the President on the Framework agreement. President Yeltsin suggested that the U.S. and Russian Foreign Ministers settle the details. He reiterated that he would be glad to sign the agreement with the President. He once again thanked the President for his support.]

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THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

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PER E.O. 13526
2009-0760-MR
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MEMORANDUM OF TELEPHONE CONVERSATION

SUBJECT: Telcon with President Carlos Menem of Argentina on December 1, 1992 (Ø)

PARTICIPANTS: The President
Carlos Menem, President of Argentina
Interpreter: Patsy Arizu
Notetakers: Robert Morley//Roseanne Hill

DATE, TIME December 1, 1992, 1:17 - 1:31pm EST
AND PLACE: The Oval Office

President Bush: Carlos, como esta?, Carlos? (U)

President Menem: Hola, que tal? (U)

President Bush: I'm doing fine. How are you? You are so nice to call. Everything is fine. I'm getting ready to go back to private life. I will miss you very much. (U)

President Menem: Bueno. George, I'll miss you too. We are meeting as the Rio Group. There are eleven Presidents here, only two missing. The Venezuelan President is not here, for reasons that you can understand, but he is represented by his Foreign Minister. And the President of Peru is not here, for reasons you are also familiar with, because of the closing down of Congress in Peru. (Ø)

We want to thank you for all of your recognition and express our appreciation for the support that your Administration has given our Group during the past four years. For example, the launching of the Enterprise for the Americas Initiative, which we hope will continue with Mr. Clinton in the new Administration, and your support for the Mercosur negotiations. We were also very happy to see the NAFTA agreement go ahead and the promotion and support given to the GATT Round by you and your Administration. This of course is very important to all of us because it permits more liberalized trade. And everything that the U.S. stood for in the Gulf War and your participation in all conflicts in order to bring about peace, and in the Security Council and also within the OAS to bring a peaceful settlement of the conflicts in Haiti and Peru. (Ø)

Our meeting is the sixth meeting of Presidents of the Rio Group, which provides a permanent mechanism of consultation and political cooperation on action to promote peace and democracy in our countries. (Ø)

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George, there is a great appreciation of the United States by us here. All the Presidents send you a warm embrace, and we wish every happiness and success in your future private lives to you, your wife, and your family. I needed to make this contact with you, George, to wish you once again every happiness and also to invite you to come back to Argentina. (Ø)

President Bush: Carlos, first let me tell you how much I appreciate this call and your greeting. I think I'm the one who should be calling you to congratulate not only you as President of Argentina, but all the Presidents of the Rio group in terms of democracy and freedom, and opening up the world to more free trade. I don't know if the other Presidents are listening to this conversation. I hope they are. I remember when you came into office. You talked about a "birth of a new time". We certainly have seen a change in our country and countries south of the border, and I take great pride in working with everybody in that room. You should be very proud of your achievements. (U)

You mentioned Governor Clinton, my successor. I had an opportunity to talk with him about the relationship with all of your countries and their relationships with the United States. I feel that he will want to continue on the same path and promote democracy in South and Central America. And when I look at the list of your guests there, the list of people participating in the summit, I see the names of many friends, people whose friendship I value. So thank you for calling. (Ø)

President Menem: Bueno, George. (U)

President Bush: Bueno, Carlos. You better come to Houston, because I want a little more of you on the tennis court. (U)

President Menem: (Chuckles) Well George, I'd like to say goodbye to you now. The other Presidents have not been listening to this conversation. But when I get back to our meeting, I will transmit our conversation. I want to say goodbye to you. I'm sure we will talk again very often, and want to say how much I appreciate this very warm friendship which I hope will continue. (Ø)

President Bush: It will. I'm very grateful for those kind words. Let me know if I can help in any way. (U)

President Menem: What? I didn't hear all of that. Would you speak a little louder? (U)

President Bush: I just said, I'm very grateful to you. Let me know if there is anything I can do for you. I want to help you in any way I can in office or out of office. (U)

Hey, listen Carlos, one other thing. If you come to Houston, you can see those two horses you gave me. (U)

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President Menem: (Chuckles) Well, George, yes, maybe I'll take you up on that. I'd like to see the horses, maybe bring them something. I know they are well taken care of. Again I wish the very best for you, your wife, your children and grandchildren.
(U)

President Bush: Thank you very much. This call means a lot to me. Adios amigo. (U)

President Menem: Goodby and good luck. (U)

-- End of Conversation --

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THE WHITE HOUSE

8874

WASHINGTON

MEMORANDUM OF TELEPHONE CONVERSATION

SUBJECT: Somalia

PARTICIPANTS: The President
Canadian Prime Minister Brian Mulroney
Interpreter: None
Notetaker: Barry F. Lowenkron, NSC

DATE, TIME December 2, 1992, 4:45-4:54 p.m.
AND PLACE: Oval Office

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PER E.O. 13526
2009-0740-MR
JL 10/16/12

The President: Brian, how are you? (U)

Prime Minister Mulroney: Fine George. Thank you for your note. I'll get back to you on this. (U)

The President: Well, if the dates don't work, just give me a holler. We can do a combination of things. I'd love to have you up to Camp David. Have you ever been there? (U)

Prime Minister Mulroney: No, I haven't. The 16th seems good. (U)

The President: Well, you can fly into Andrews or Hagerstown. We can watch some movies. If you want some of the time to be a bit more formal we can bring up some other people. (Ø)

Prime Minister Mulroney: It sounds great. We're looking forward to it. (U)

The President: Well, Brian, I tell you why I'm calling now. It's about Somalia. I've got some points here and I'd like to go through them. I'm going to be calling other world leaders. I've already spoken to John Major. You're my second call and I wanted to run these by you and John to see if you had any major problems with what I'm suggesting. (Ø)

We want to see if we can put together an international coalition to establish the necessary security environment for the UN to get the food in -- especially in the hardest hit region in the south. We will make a major contribution, but it will not be possible without others participating. I hope that Canada can join us at the beginning of the peacemaking phase and then remain for the peacekeeping effort. You've done so much, but it's critically important if you could redirect your troops to the south where the anarchy is the worst and the people are dying. Our military will be in touch to coordinate on this. (Ø)

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I want you to know that my people tell me that General Baril is doing a great job in New York at the UN. We'll continue to need your support in building an effective command and control structure for the coalition. I'll be sending my ambassador in soon to follow-up with you. Boutros Galhi has been quite supportive. I'll be meeting with my NSC people -- and my key military advisor, Colin Powell on this. We want the forces to go in, help the UN and then get out. We want to make sure that the warlords don't come back to their warlord ways. As we see it, the risk in terms of lives lost is manageable -- these warlords haven't had to face any force, so this is entirely different than the situation in Yugoslavia and in Bosnia. At any rate, our thoughts are that we're not facing a high risk situation. I talked to Bill Clinton today. I told him I want to get in and out by the time he becomes President of the United States. We don't want to have this become a shooting situation. (Ø)

Prime Minister Mulroney: Thanks. What size force are you contemplating? (Ø)

The President: I'll have a better fix on that after I meet with my advisors. A couple of brigades -- maybe up to 20-25,000. Colin gave me this number but we'll pin it down at tomorrow's meeting. (Ø)

Prime Minister Mulroney: What's your timing on this? (U)

The President: We want to go as soon as we're ready -- maybe within a few days. We want all our diplomacy in place first. (Ø)

Prime Minister Mulroney: Yes, under a UN resolution. (Ø)

The President: Butrous-Gahli wanted a UN commander, but with the size of our contribution I said no. He understands all of this. (Ø)

Prime Minister Mulroney: We have about 1,000 or about 750-1,000 Canadians there now for peacekeeping purposes and another 750 on ships who'll be there in a matter of days. I'll meet with my people as well. My inclination is that we'll be very helpful and join in the UN effort to meet your objectives. (Ø)

The President: You've been wonderful. We'll get together with our people and we can talk over the weekend. (Ø)

Prime Minister Mulroney: Great. I tell you, once those warlords see all the muscle they'll pull back. (Ø)

The President: The problem will be if they pull back to the oases only to come back later. I just don't know. But I do hope they'll learn their lesson. (Ø)

Prime Minister Mulroney: We'll be with you. (U)

The President: You're great. I'm looking forward to seeing you. Bye. (U)

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THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

DECLASSIFIED
PER E.O. 13526

2009-0760-MR
31 10/16/12

MEMORANDUM OF TELEPHONE CONVERSATION

SUBJECT: Telecon with Kiichi Miyazawa, Prime Minister
of Japan on December 2, 1992

PARTICIPANTS: The President
Kiichi Miyazawa

Notetaker: Torkel Patterson

DATE, TIME December 2, 1992, 5:57-6:07pm
AND PLACE: White House

The President telephoned Prime Minister Miyazawa concerning
Somalia. (U)

PM Miyazawa: Nice to hear from you. (U)

President: Thank you for the sweet message about my mother. I
am sending a note off to you soon. (U)

PM Miyazawa: I will miss working with you. What happened,
happened, you know. The economy is getting better. (U)

President: Well you are right. By the way, I've been talking
with Governor Clinton. He will be fine to work with. He's a
bright man. He understands the importance of this very important
relationship, which you helped to build. (U)

PM Miyazawa: You are very kind. I'm still going to miss
you. (U)

President: Well, I hope to see you in Texas, please stop
by when you have the chance. (U)

PM Miyazawa: I will George, I will. (U)

President: I have some points that I would like to go through
with you on Somalia if that would be O.K.? (U)

PM Miyazawa: Please go through them. (U)

President: I'm calling about something very important for the
world community:

I wanted to do a real consultation with you and ask for your
support in helping us overcome the tragedy in Somalia. (U)

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The situation in Somalia has reached a crisis point. I am sure the Japanese people have been moved by the pictures on the television. Our people hurt also to see this tragedy. Thousands of Somalis are dying every day. The problem is that international relief agencies are unable to provide the food the people so desperately need. (U)

As the Secretary General pointed out in his report on November 30 to the Security Council, the core issue is security. Despite the UN's best efforts they have been unable to secure local permission to deploy enough troops to do the job. We're dealing with a handful of crazy warlords here. (U)

Now, I'm out in front on this, but I am proposing an international coalition which would, under United Nations auspices, establish the necessary security environment in the hardest hit areas of Somalia. (U)

These peacemaking forces would get the relief operation off the ground and running the way it should. They would then turn over the task of maintaining this newly established secure environment to a regular UN peacekeeping force. (U)

I am prepared to make a significant contribution of troops and military assets. I do not believe this is high risk, but we have to have enough troops to make sure we get the job done right. But this will not be possible without the help of others. (U)

Kiichi, I need your help in three areas: Troops, financial assistance and certainly, support in the Security Council. (Ø)

I know you have political problems with contributing troops, but I'd like you to look at the possibility, perhaps for the peacekeeping phase. We're prepared to take a risk, to go in harm's way; even though it's not too dangerous, some lives may be lost. I would like to urge you to think about what I've asked. (Ø)

And could I ask you to consider serving as a financial sponsor of a poor troop contributor? An impoverished country. (Ø)

The contributions of Japan are so important. (U)

I don't need to bother you with every detail. I will ask our ambassador, Mike Armacost, to follow-up. (U)

PM Miyazawa: Thank you, George. Now on your three points: We do have a problem sending troops, but no problem with your other two points. (Ø)

George, you know that Japan is contributing already \$27 million in 1992, so we are providing financial assistance. Yes, we are willing to provide financial assistance. (U)

Therefore, I am generally in agreement with you. (U)

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President: Good, I am glad to hear that. Just to keep you informed, I'm meeting tomorrow with Dick Cheney, Colin Powell and others on the military aspects of this. We can not let bands of young kids with automatic weapons rip-off food supplies that Japan and others are providing. (U)

Another point is that we are not interested in staying there a long time. I see the peacemaking phase as very short. (U)

PM Miyazawa: I see the point. I want to say, that I appreciate your leadership on this very much, George. We will support you and see that the people are clothed and fed and help to eliminate warlords interference. (U)

President: Once again I am delighted to talk with you. (U)

PM Miyazawa: I can assure you that you have the support of my government. (U)

President: Good. We'll be talking again before I leave the Presidency. (U)

PM Miyazawa: Good luck to you. (U)

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~~2009-07-16~~
2009-0740-MR
JL 10/16/12

MEMORANDUM OF TELEPHONE CONVERSATION

SUBJECT: Telecon with Kiichi Miyazawa, Prime Minister
of Japan on December 2, 1992

PARTICIPANTS: The President
Kiichi Miyazawa

Notetaker: Torkel Patterson

DATE, TIME: December 2, 1992, 5:57-6:07pm
AND PLACE: White House

The President telephoned Prime Minister Miyazawa concerning
Somalia. (U)

PM Miyazawa: Nice to hear from you. (U)

President: Thank you for the sweet message about my mother. I
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PM Miyazawa: I will miss working with you. What happened,
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President: Well you are right. By the way, I've been talking
with Governor Clinton. He will be fine to work with. He's a
bright man. He understands the importance of this very important
relationship, which you helped to build. (U)

PM Miyazawa: You are very kind. I'm still going to miss
you. (U)

President: Well, I hope to see you in Texas, please stop
by when you have the chance. (U)

PM Miyazawa: I will George, I will. (U)

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with you on Somalia if that would be O.K.? (U)

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President: I'm calling about something very important for the
world community:

I wanted to do a real consultation with you and ask for your
support in helping us overcome the tragedy in Somalia. (U)

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NATIONAL SECURITY COUNCIL
WASHINGTON, D.C. 20506

8833

December 3, 1992

ACTION

MEMORANDUM FOR WILLIAM F. SITTMANN

THROUGH: RICHARD N. HAASS *RH*

FROM: BRUCE O. RIEDEL *BR*

SUBJECT: Telcon with King Fahd of Saudi Arabia

Attached at Tab I is the memcon for the President's telephone call to King Fahd of Saudi Arabia on December 3, 1992.

RECOMMENDATION

That you approve the memcon at Tab I for record purposes.

Approve *VA* Disapprove

Attachments

Tab I Memcon

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White House Guidelines

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

By CE NARA, Date 8/12/10

Withdrawal/Redaction Sheet

(George Bush Library)

Document No. and Type	Subject/Title of Document	Date	Restriction	Class.
13b. Telcon	Re: Telcon with King Fahd of Saudi Arabia on December 3, 1992 [FOIA EXEMPTIONS REDACTED] (3 pp.)	12/3/92	(b)(1)	C

Collection:

Record Group: Bush Presidential Records
Office: Scowcroft, Brent, Files
Series: Presidential Correspondence Files
Subseries: Presidential Telcon Files
WHORM Cat.:
File Location: Presidential Telephone Calls - Memorandum of Conversations 11/5/92 - 1/2/93

Document Partially Declassified
(Copy of Document Follows)

By MM on 11/6/2013

Date Closed:	2/9/2009	OA/ID Number:	91113-006
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 #:	09-0740-MR(512.01)
AR Disposition:		MR Disposition:	Released in Part
AR Disposition Date:		MR Disposition Date:	10/16/2012

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)]

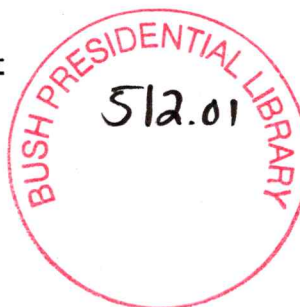
(b)(1) National security classified information [(b)(1) of the FOIA]
(b)(2) Release would disclose internal personnel rules and practices of an agency [(b)(2) of the FOIA]
(b)(3) Release would violate a Federal statute [(b)(3) of the FOIA]
(b)(4) Release would disclose trade secrets or confidential or 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

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8833

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON



MEMORANDUM OF TELEPHONE CONVERSATION

SUBJECT: Telcon with King Fahd of Saudi Arabia on
December 3, 1992

PARTICIPANTS: The President
King Fahd
Interpreter: Gamil Helal
Notetaker: Bruce Riedel, NSC

DATE, TIME December 3, 1992, 7:25 - 7:44 a.m.
AND PLACE: Oval Office

President Bush: Hello Your Majesty. How are you? (U)

King Fahd: I'm well and happy to hear from you again so soon.
(U)

President Bush: I am in good health and pleased to talk to you again. I want to raise the Somalia issue and brief you on our thinking. I want to hear your comments, too. (U)

King Fahd: Mr. President, it will be my pleasure. (U)

President Bush: I'll run through some talking points then. I know your deep concern for this poor Muslim nation that is so close to the Kingdom. The situation there has reached a crisis point. Thousands are dying every day. International relief agencies are unable to provide the food the people so desperately need. (U)

I'm sure you are familiar with the report of the UN Secretary General in which he reported that the core issue is security. Despite the UN's best efforts they have been unable to secure local permission to deploy enough troops to do the job. So what I am attempting to do is to form an international peacemaking force, under the United Nations' auspices, to introduce sufficient forces into Somalia to those areas most hard hit. You are familiar with the problem of the warlords and these teenage kids driving around with machine guns terrorizing everyone. The warlords are brutalizing everyone. They must be brought under control. (U)

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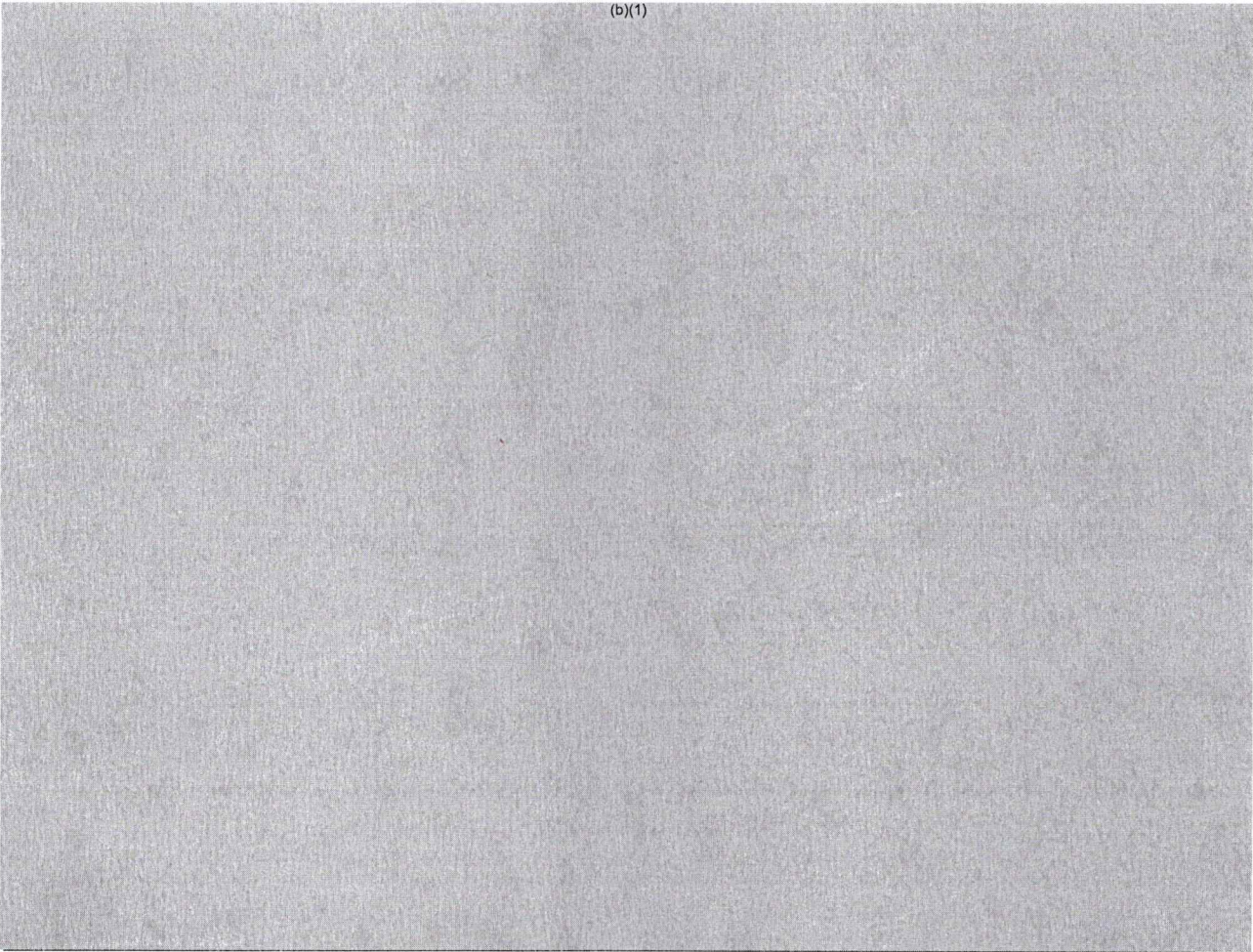
We are talking about peacemaking forces to get the operation running. Then they will turn over the task of security to a regular UN peacekeeping force. We are going to make a major contribution, but we will need help, of course. We can't do it alone. (S)

Some countries will deploy troops to the force but are too poor to pay to help. The Kingdom can help by sponsoring some of these countries' troop contributions. I hope you will do so with the same generosity that the Kingdom has always shown toward humanitarian programs. Of course, we would be honored to have a Saudi contingent -- doesn't need to be large -- with the force. (S)

The UN Security Council will go forward with a resolution soon. I will see my top military advisors today to work out the details of our participation. I am planning on sending a lot of forces to do the job quickly. We think a large force will meet no resistance and the warlords will back down. (S)

That is my message. I will have our Ambassador in the Kingdom fully briefed on all aspects of the situation and he will be in touch with your people. (S)

(b)(1)



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President Bush:

(b)(1)

Thank you for your support. This is a humanitarian project. I am always ready to talk with you, your majesty. (Ø)

King Fahd:

(b)(1)

(b)(1)

I hope I will see you soon. Maybe next year in the United States. (Ø)

Goodbyes.

-- End of Conversation --

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Withdrawal/Redaction Sheet

(George Bush Library)

Document No. and Type	Subject/Title of Document	Date	Restriction	Class.
14. Telcon	Re: Telcon with Prime Minister Nawaz Sharif of Pakistan on December 3, 1992 [FOIA restrictions redacted] (2 pp.)	12/3/92	(b)(1)	C

Collection:

Record Group: Bush Presidential Records
Office: Scowcroft, Brent, Files
Series: Presidential Correspondence Files
Subseries: Presidential Telcon Files

WHORM Cat.:

File Location: Presidential Telephone Calls - Memorandum of Conversations 11/5/92 - 1/2/93

Document Partially Declassified
(Copy of Document Follows)
 By MM on 8/23/2023

Date Closed: 2/9/2009	OA/ID Number: 91113-006
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 #: 2014-0582-MR(501)
AR Disposition:	MR Disposition: Released in Part
AR Disposition Date:	MR Disposition Date: 8/1/2016

RESTRICTION CODES

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

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

Deed of Gift Restrictions

- C(1) Closed by Executive Order 13526, governing access to national security information
- C(2) Closed by statute or by the agency which originated the information
- C(3) Closed in accordance with restrictions contained in donor's deed of gift [formerly listed as only C]
- PRM. Removed as a personal record misfile

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

- P-2 Relating to the appointment to Federal office [(a)(2) of the PRA]
- P-5 Release would disclose confidential advice between the President and his advisors, or between such advisors [(a)(5) of the PRA]

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THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON



MEMORANDUM OF TELEPHONE CONVERSATION

SUBJECT: Telcon with Prime Minister Nawaz Sharif of
Pakistan on December 3, 1992.

PARTICIPANTS: The President
Prime Minister Sharif
Notetaker: Bruce Riedel, NSC

DATE, TIME December 3, 1992; 7:54 - 7:59 a.m.
AND PLACE: The Oval Office

President Bush: Mr. Prime Minister, how are you? (U)

Prime Minister Sharif: Very well thank you. (U)

President Bush: Sorry, we had a little phone trouble there. I
did not mean to detain you. (U)

Prime Minister Sharif: No problem. (U)

President Bush: I want to speak to you, given your leadership
role in Somalia, about what we are doing there now. Let me run
through some talking points with you. First, we salute your
efforts there to date. You were the first to send forces to help
somalia and we appreciate that. It is clear now, however, that
others must join you to accomplish the task. (Ø)

As you know from the press we are ready to play a large role now.
The Secretary General pointed out on 30 November the core issue
is security. We are seeking now to form an international
coalition, under the UN's auspices, to create a peacemaking force
in the hardest hit areas. Thugs and warlords are terrorizing
Somalis and the relief agencies. (Ø)

The peacemaking forces will get the relief process off the
ground. This will be a short term issue. U.S. forces will not
be there for a long time, since I think all would agree that
would be counterproductive. A regular UN peacekeeping force
would follow. (Ø)

The U.S. contribution will be substantial. I will met with my
top defense people today to determine exactly how large. (Ø)

Pakistan has been the first to help Somalia. We would like to
ask you to increase your force contribution both for the

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peacemaking and the peacekeeping force. I don't know if you can help, but if you can it will be a great move. (Ø)

On timing, we are in close contact with Boutros Ghali. We want the Security Council to act soon. Again, we are appreciative of the role you have played. We salute you. (Ø)

Prime Minister Sharif: Thank you, Mr. President, for your kind remarks about our role. We have done our duty as we saw it. Will the new force be under the UN umbrella? (U)

President Bush: Yes, under a UN umbrella. We will command our forces, and we will coordinate closely with other elements. (Ø)

Prime Minister Sharif: We will be very happy to raise the size of our contingent. We were already in the process of doing so. I received your letter today on this issue and we will help. (Ø)

President Bush: That is wonderful news. We will keep our Ambassador fully briefed so that you can be in close touch with us. I appreciate your leadership. (U)

Prime Minister Sharif: Thank you for taking the trouble to call me. We will be very happy to cooperate with you on this. I only want to say we wish you a very happy career after you leave office this January. I hope the United States can continue to play a role in easing tensions between India and Pakistan. There is a serious human rights problem in Kashmir. (U)

President Bush: (U)

Prime Minister Sharif: Thank you. Let me extend an invitation to you to visit Pakistan in 1993. (U)

President Bush: Thank you. I hope we can work on these issues. I have warm feelings for Pakistan. (U)

Goodbyes.

-- End of Conversation --

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THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

DECLASSIFIED
PER E.O. 13526
2009-0740-MK
JL 10/16/12

MEMORANDUM OF TELEPHONE CONVERSATION

SUBJECT: Telecon with President Francois Mitterrand
of France on December 3, 1992

PARTICIPANTS: The President
President Francois Mitterrand
Interpreter: None
Notetaker: Tony Wayne

DATE, TIME December 3, 1992, 8:14-8:23 a.m.
AND PLACE: The Oval Office

The President: Francois, Comment allez-vous? (U)

President Mitterrand: Fine, George. I'm happy to hear your voice. I am hoping that we will be able to talk often in the future. (U)

The President: Yes, but you know I will only be employed for another forty-six days. (U)

President Mitterrand: We'll, it is not only work that will bring us together. (U)

The President: You're right. I might even make a little suggestion in that regard. I'd like to have you come to Camp David, perhaps for a week-end in early January. We could have a relaxing talk. (C)

President Mitterrand: Yes, let's talk about that, let's look at the possibilities. (C)

The President: Good, I'll ask General Scowcroft to follow-up with your people on the possibility and the details. It will be very nice if it works out. We could spend some time talking informally as friends. Now, may I take a moment to talk about Somalia? (C)

President Mitterrand: Yes, by all means. That is the subject of the day. (U)

The President: Now that Boutros Ghali has provided his views to the Security Council, it is time to act. As I said in my November 28 message, the situation in Somalia has reached a crisis point. The core issue is security, as the Secretary General pointed out in his report to the Security Council. Despite the UN's best efforts they have been unable to secure local permission to deploy enough troops to do the job.

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The United States is proposing to form an international coalition under UN auspices to establish a peacemaking force. This would be a peacemaking force, not a peacekeeping force. It is needed to bring the warlords under control -- we don't expect that to be hard -- and to get the relief operation off the ground and running the way it should. They would then turn over the task of maintaining this newly established secure environment to a regular UN peacekeeping force. We are willing to make a major contribution to this effort. I can't say how much that will be yet. We are having a big meeting today with Secretary Cheney, Colin Powell and others to decide that. I want to underline here, Francois, that we are very conscious of the contribution which France is currently making to UN peacekeeping around the world. But I hope that you will actively support this concept and work with us to make it a reality. As always, France's leadership will be vital. We can leave this for you to think about, or I'd be happy to hear your immediate reaction. (Ø)

President Mitterrand: I can answer you right away. Certainly there are some inconvenient points to this, but there are also duties. We are ready to send an expeditionary corps together with the American troops. (Ø)

The President: That is great. That is as clear and good an answer as I could have expected. (Ø)

President Mitterrand: I am not sure of the numbers or of how we would work this out, but I am thinking of perhaps 2000 troops. Of course, we haven't reviewed this in detail. (Ø)

The President: That would be a significant and wonderful contribution. It doesn't surprise me, but it pleases me very much. (Ø)

President Mitterrand: Now you have our answer. Our assistants and aides must now work out the details. They are not all easy to solve. (Ø)

The President: Yes, they should be in touch. We must also make our decision today on the size of our contribution, and we will be in contact. (Ø)

President Mitterrand: We must also decide on a timetable and avoid becoming bogged down. (Ø)

The President: I agree fully. We want the peacemaking forces out fast. I do not want to bog our new president down with a military force in place. We think this can happen quickly. (Ø)

President Mitterrand: Yes, I have the same reaction as you. The U.S. effort is important, and we are happy to join this effort. (Ø)

The President: We will be in touch on this and on the possible visit. I hope it works out. (Ø)

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President Mitterrand: Please give my best to Barbara. I look forward to seeing you both. I have the highest regard for you. From time-to-time we saw things differently, but I always thought that your decisions were done perfectly. (U)

The President: Thank you. You're a joy to work with. (U)

President Mitterrand: See you soon. (U)

The President: Good bye, my friend. (U)

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THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

DECLASSIFIED
PER E.O. 13526
2009-0740-MR
31 10/16/12

MEMORANDUM OF TELEPHONE CONVERSATION

SUBJECT: Telcon with Prime Minister Jean-Luc Dehaene of Belgium

PARTICIPANTS: The President
Prime Minister Jean-Luc Dehaene
Interpreter: None
Notetaker: Tony Wayne

DATE, TIME: December 3, 1992, 8:38-8:45 a.m.
AND PLACE: The Oval Office

The President: Mr. Prime Minister? (U)

Prime Minister Dehaene: Yes, Mr. President. (U)

The President: I was calling to discuss Somalia with you and to ask for your support in helping us overcome the tragedy there. Belgium has played a critical role in every crisis we have faced during your tenure on the Security Council and has made invaluable contributions to peacekeeping in Africa. So we start with a salute to Belgium. Do you need a translator? Am I speaking too fast? (U)

Prime Minister Dehaene: No problem. (U)

The President: In our view, the situation in Somalia has reached a crisis point. You and we know the horrible suffering. We all see it nightly on TV. Thousands of Somalis are dying every day, but international relief agencies are unable to provide the food the people so desperately need. The core issue is security, as the Secretary General pointed out in his report to the Security Council. Despite the UN's best efforts they have been unable to win local permission to deploy enough troops to do the job. As I am sure you are aware, the United States is proposing to form an international coalition under UN auspices to establish a peacemaking force. These peacemaking forces would get the relief operation off the ground and running the way it should. Then in a short period of time, they would then turn over the task of maintaining this newly established secure environment to a regular UN peacekeeping force. We are planning to make a major contribution. We are having a meeting this afternoon to receive the recommendations of our generals and the Secretary of Defense. But it will be a significant contribution. I hope Belgium will join us to support this plan in the Security Council and in moving boldly to enact it. I hope you will agree to assign the

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troops which you had already committed to Somalia to serve in the peacemaking force and then to stay on in the peacekeeping force.

(C)

Prime Minister Dehaene: I share your concerns. As you know, we had already agreed to send a force to serve with the UN in Somalia, but until now, it could not go because the UN was unable to reach agreement with the forces on the ground. So on the one hand, we will certainly support you at the UN. We need to bring order there and address the hunger. On the other hand, since we have already agreed to send a force as part of the UN effort, it will be important that the UN framework be clear. We will certainly be part of the UN peacekeeping. But I have to go back to my Council of Ministers to get approval for participation in the peacemaking effort. I will recommend that we participate in both forces. One point that I need to address is to assure that the EC will finance this. My first contacts suggest that this will be possible. So while I must confirm this, it looks like we will support you on the resolution and that our forces will participate. (C)

The President: I certainly understand your need to have the Council of Ministers approve your participation. Our Ambassador will be available at anytime for questions. And anytime you need to talk to me, I'm available -- this is our top priority right now. Our top defense people will also be available, if you have any questions. Again, I salute you. Belgium has been out front on this. (C)

Prime Minister Dehaene: I'll talk to the Council tomorrow, and then we can clarify our role and go forward with the details. (C)

The President: Very good. Many thanks, sir. Good bye for now.
(U)

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THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

MEMORANDUM OF TELEPHONE CONVERSATION

SUBJECT: Telecon with Prime Minister Giuliano Amato
of Italy

PARTICIPANTS: The President
Prime Minister Amato
Interpreter: None
Notetaker: Tony Wayne

DECLASSIFIED
PER E.O. 13526
2009-0740-MR
SCS 10/16/12

DATE, TIME December 3, 1992, 8:58-9:03 a.m.
AND PLACE: The Oval Office

The President: Hello, how are you? (U)

Prime Minister Amato: Fine and you. (U)

The President: Just fine. It is nice to talk to you. I am
calling to discuss Somalia. (U)

Prime Minister Amato: That is a great responsibility which you
have taken on to lead this effort, but I think it is the right
thing to do. (U)

The President: I wanted to share with you our thinking and ask
for your support in helping us overcome the tragedy in Somalia.
I know that Italy has special ties to Somalia and has been
working to find a solution. In our view, the situation in
Somalia has reached a crisis point. Thousands of Somalis are
dying every day. International relief agencies are simply unable
to provide the food the people so desperately need. The core
issue is security. The Secretary General made this point clear
in his report to the Security Council. Despite the UN's best
efforts they have been unable to deploy enough troops to do the
job. So the United States is proposing that we build an
international coalition under UN auspices to create a peacemaking
force which can establish the necessary security environment.
This would be a swift action and would overcome the opposition of
the warlords. These peacemaking forces would get the relief
operation off the ground and running. They would then turn over
the task of keeping the peace to a regular UN peacekeeping force.
So we are going to decide today about the numbers we might
provide. But we have already decided to make a major
contribution. I hope Italy can join us. (U)

Prime Minister Amato: I think Italy is ready to join. We have
our historic ties to Somalia, and we were already ready to join
the UN force. So we will be glad to join under a UN flag or

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under a U.S. command. The only problem is to decide how many we can send, and that will take a little time. Already this morning, we decided to send our people to the Pentagon to see what the needs were and the timetables. (Ø)

The President: I am so glad you are willing to participate. They will be quite willing to talk to your people at the Pentagon. We will keep your ambassador here informed, and let's stay in touch. (Ø)

Prime Minister Amato: Yes, the world could not just stand by and let what is going on in Somalia continue. (U)

The President: I cannot tell you the numbers yet for our forces. But I want to go in fast and with enough force to assure that the warlords won't stop the food delivery. Also, thank you for your kind messages of last month and for all of your support. (Ø)

Prime Minister Amato: Good bye for now. (Ø)

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THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

MEMORANDUM OF TELEPHONE CONVERSATION

SUBJECT: Telcon with John Major, Prime Minister of
United Kingdom on December 3, 1992

PARTICIPANTS: The President
John Major, Prime Minister
Notetaker: Michael Sheehan

DATE, TIME December 3, 1992, 9:30-9:45am EST
AND PLACE: The Oval Office

The President telephoned Prime Minister Major concerning the present situation in Somalia. (U)

The President: Hello, How are you? I've got Larry and Brent here and I'd like to talk about Somalia. Boutros Ghali has been very supportive. Larry had a good talk with him. We have reached a crisis point. The PVOs and the UN simply cannot get the job done. The core issue is security, and the Secretary General agrees. Our goal is to create an international coalition, under UN auspices, to create a secure environment. The objective is simple: we want to accomplish the mission and get out, not to destroy every weapon in the country. We want to get the coalition going and turn it over to a UN peacekeeping operation. This is a departure from the normal UN peacekeeping role. But it is not high risk and it must be done. It will be a short-lived operation. I met with Powell and Cheney on this and we are discussing the timing. We will make a significant contribution and we will need others to support it. This is not a frantic appeal. We will need others to get involved, we know you are constrained. You are my first call on the subject and I'll be calling others shortly. (U)

PM Major: I am wholly supportive. I think it is the right decision. I hope it is low risk and of short duration. Not as in the case of Yugoslavia. We are very concerned about the situation in Bosnia, Macedonia and Kosova. I am embarrassed that we might not be able to make a contribution. The Defense Secretary is not optimistic. But we are wholly supportive and we will do what we can. (U)

The President: We understand your restrictions. (U)

PM Major: Northern Ireland really nails us down. We have 17,000 troops there now. (U)

The President: Yes, we understand. Thank you for your support and good bye. (U)

PM Major: Good bye. (U)

-- End of Conversation --

Withdrawal/Redaction Sheet

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Document No. and Type	Subject/Title of Document	Date	Restriction	Class.
19. Telcon	Re: Telcon with President Mubarak of Egypt on December 3, 1992 (2 pp.)	12/3/92	(b)(1)	C

Collection:

Record Group: Bush Presidential Records
Office: Scowcroft, Brent, Files
Series: Presidential Correspondence Files
Subseries: Presidential Telcon Files
WHORM Cat.:
File Location: Presidential Telephone Calls - Memorandum of Conversations 11/5/92 - 1/2/93

Document Partially Declassified
(Copy of Document Follows)
 By SCS (NLGB) on 2/16/12

Date Closed: 2/9/2009	OA/ID Number: 91113-006
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 #: 2010-0009-MR 609.02
AR Disposition:	MR Disposition: Released in Part
AR Disposition Date:	MR Disposition Date: 6/10/2010

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]
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 P-4 Release would disclose trade secrets or confidential commercial or financial information [(a)(4) of the PRA]
 P-5 Release would disclose confidential advice between the President and his advisors, or between such advisors [(a)(5) of the PRA]
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 (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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MEMORANDUM OF TELEPHONE CONVERSATION

SUBJECT: Telcon with President Mubarak of Egypt on
December 3, 1992

PARTICIPANTS: The President
President Hosni Mubarak
Notetaker: Bruce Riedel

DATE, TIME: December 3, 1992; 10:30 - 10:35 a.m.
AND PLACE: The Oval Office

President Bush: Hello Hosni. I am calling you on Somalia, but first I want to hear how you are and how your family is. How are you? (U)

President Mubarak: They are all well. Your sister will be here in a few days, this weekend. (U)

President Bush: She is very excited about visiting Egypt. I hope she will see Susan. Let me turn to Somalia and read to you some talking points. The Secretary General has noted that the core of the issue is security. The UN has not been able to deploy enough forces to provide security in the country. (C)

What we are suggesting is a large U.S. contribution to a peacemaking force to provide security for the relief operation. After a short time, they will be replaced by a regular UN peacekeeping force. The peacemaking force will take control away from the warlords and gangs who are terrorizing the Somali people and the relief workers. We will make a large contribution of armor, of armed force. We will decide today at a meeting of the defense leadership how large the force will be. I'm seeing Dick Cheney and General Powell today on this. (C)

Clearly we will need help. I've been on the phone today to many of your neighbors. Egypt played a key role in the Gulf and can do much this time as well. We must show we care about the survival of blacks and Muslims in Africa. (C)

We want you in both the peacemaking and the peacekeeping forces. It will all be under the UN's auspices. The Security Council is meeting now on this. My idea is to move fast with a lot of power. Of course, some may get killed. Nonetheless, we think it is a low risk operation. After the peacekeeping force is on the ground, the United States will leave the area. (C)

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President Mubarak: The peacekeeping idea is fine with us but I need to consult with my experts and the parliament on the peacemaking concept. I will talk with my colleagues in Cairo. In principle, I agree to help with everything but I need to do some consultations. By Saturday or Sunday I'll let you know. (S)

President Bush: I think that is fine. You should consult. By the way, Jim Baker is here with me now and sends his regards. He saw Usama yesterday. (S)

President Mubarak: Give him my best. We miss him in Cairo. I'll consult with the people here on the peacemaking operation (b) (1) (S)

President Bush: I appreciate your efforts. Tell your experts it will be a low risk operation and a multinational operation. Some other countries are already on board, Belgium and Italy. We won't be alone. If there is any shooting, we will have others there with us but we are ready to do a large part now. (S)

President Mubarak: I will explain it very carefully. At a maximum, by Sunday or Monday, we will let you know. (S)

President Bush: Okay. Will you be coming to the United States this next year? (S)

President Mubarak: In February or March perhaps. I will look for you. (S)

President Bush: Well, we will be in Texas by then, but we can get together for dinner and some fun. (U)

Goodbyes.

-- End of Conversation --

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THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

MEMORANDUM OF TELEPHONE CONVERSATION

SUBJECT: Telcon with King Hassan of Morocco on
December 3, 1992 (C)

PARTICIPANTS: The President
King Hassan
Interpreter: Stephanie Van Reigersberg
Notetaker: Bruce Riedel, NSC

DATE, TIME: December 3, 1992; 11:05 - 11:09 a.m.
AND PLACE: The Oval Office

President Bush: Hello, Your Majesty. This is George Bush. (U)

King Hassan: How are you? (U)

President Bush: Tres bien. (U)

King Hassan: Please again accept my sympathy on the passing of
your mother. (U)

President Bush: Your message meant a great deal to me. You are
very kind. I am calling you on Somalia. Let me run through a
few talking points. First, the situation is at a crisis point.
Thousands are dying. The relief agencies can not get enough in
to feed the people. As the Secretary General pointed out on
November 30, the core issue is security. The UN cannot get local
permission to bring in enough troops. (C)

King Hassan: I am fully in accord with your initiative to send
troops in under a single command. (C)

President Bush: That is good. We want to send a peacemaking
force in -- under UN auspices -- to restore order. A regular UN
peacekeeping force will follow to keep order. My request is for
additional troop contributions. I hope Morocco can help with
both the peacemaking and the peacekeeping force. Also, I trust
we can get your help in the Security Council. (C)

King Hassan: What you propose is a courageous gesture. Morocco
and I are entirely prepared to participate. (C)

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President Bush: We will be in close touch then. We will determine the size of our force in a few hours. The UN will decide in a few days. I am glad to have your help -- help from a friend the United States can always count on. (U)

King Hassan: Friends are only there to serve their friends. (U)

President Bush: Thanks. (U)

King Hassan: Let us maintain our contact through the UN missions. (U)

President Bush: I will tell our Ambassador. (U)

King Hassan: Best to Barbara. I hope you will vacation in Morocco. (U)

President Bush: Thank you. (U)

Goodbyes.

-- End of Conversation --

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THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

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PER E.O. 13526
2009-0737-MR
32 6/1/11

MEMORANDUM OF TELEPHONE CONVERSATION

SUBJECT: Telcon with Violeta Chamorro of Nicaragua on
December 3, 1992 (Ø)

PARTICIPANTS: The President
President Chamorro of Nicaragua
Interpreter: Stephanie Van Reigersberg
Notetakers: John McShane/Roseanne Hill

DATE, TIME December 3, 1992, 3:54 - 4:04pm EST
AND PLACE: Oval Office

The President: Hello, Violeta. How are you? (U)

President Chamorro: Good Don George, how are you? (U)

The President: Muy bien. Listen, I'm calling you on this money. We're releasing \$54 million that's been withheld. We're trying to arrange it so the bulk of the money will be of an early spendout nature. As you know, its difficult to do that. We support your efforts to strengthen the economy and democracy, and we hope this aid will help you with your economic reform program. The aid hold, as I've told you before, never reflected any lack of confidence in you personally. (Ø)

Our difficulty has been these property problems and the killings. We need more progress on resolving the property situation and in investigating these killings in order to do what I want to do before I leave office. The assassination of your friend, the businessman, was terrible. I know he was your friend. I hope this can be resolved quickly. So anyway, I salute you for what you're trying to do. I hope you can do more and that something can be done with those people who are making things difficult for you. But at least there is some good news here with this release of funds. (Ø)

President Chamorro: Yes George. Thank you very much. Thank you so much George. It was such a coincidence that I got the good news last night at 8:30 - just the right time. As we say in Nicaragua, the bank was at the bottom of the barrel. It was a very dangerous time. We had nothing more to give the people. So the news of the \$54 million was very welcome. There was a true danger to our democracy. (Ø)

I understand very well that you have nothing against me. We have been good friends and will continue to be. You and Barbara and I. Just call me at my home any time. I would always be happy to hear from you. (Ø)

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I know that the disbursement was difficult for you. It had to go through many agencies. So I want to thank you and tell you that we are working very hard on the property issue. With regard to the property we had good news yesterday on the case relating to the North American-Nicaraguan boxer, Alexis Arguello, who you were kind enough to invite when I was on my visit. (Ø)

On the murder of Sequeira we are making progress, working with the Spanish police, and we hope to have it resolved quickly. We want good news on this soon. I hope by the time you leave everything will be cleaned up. (Ø)

President Bush. That's good going. I'm off running to a meeting. Barbara and I are planning to return to Houston. We send much love and best wishes to you for a wonderful Christmas. Let's keep working on these problems and see if we can't make more progress before I leave here. (Ø)

President Chamorro: Yes George, my best to you and your family for a merry Christmas. I got your letter yesterday. The one dated the 16th of November. Once again you remembered to ask about Marco. He is doing great. He will be home the 18th of this month. Send me your phone number in Houston, so we can stay in touch. My best to you. (Ø)

President Bush. We'll do it. Good luck and good bye my friend.
(U)

-- End of Conversation --

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THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

DECLASSIFIED
PER E.O. 13526
2009-0737-MR
JL 6/1/11

MEMORANDUM OF TELEPHONE CONVERSATION

SUBJECT: Telecon with Boutros Boutros-Ghali, United Nations Secretary General on December 4, 1992

PARTICIPANTS: The President
Boutros Boutros-Ghali United Nations Secretary General
Interpreter: None
Notetaker: Nancy Bearg Dyke

DATE, TIME: December 4, 1992, 12:05 - 12:14pm EST
AND PLACE: The Oval Office

The President telephoned United Nations Secretary General Boutros Boutros-Ghali concerning the situation in Somalia. (X)

The President: Boutros, how are you? (U)

UNSYG Boutros-Ghali: Fine, how are you? (U)

The President: I am fine, and so proud of you and your leadership. I have just concluded a meeting with our Congress, and they are enthusiastic over the UN action and resolution. I will be talking to the American people in just a few minutes, at 12:30, to spell out what we intend to do. I want to thank you. (U)

UNSYG Boutros-Ghali: No, I want to thank you very much. This is the first time collective action will be taken on purely humanitarian grounds. I have been often to Somalia. It is the poorest. They don't have oil, only famine. I have been there. They have nothing. This is important for the future of international relations. I want to thank you because I have been trying to mobilize attention to Somalia for the last several months without great success. We are thankful and we have just finished a meeting with our military staff. They pointed out that we cannot concentrate all efforts on the south. The area in the north to Berbera near Djibouti deserves the same attention as the south. (X)

The President: We are aware of the problems in the north. Colin Powell addressed those in our meeting. The initial effort will be in the south, but we will not forget and we will help all areas. I will get some criticism, I know. We do not mean it to be open-ended. We are working hard with your people to get peacekeeping in behind the peacemaking. We are going to move very soon, and I am going to announce the warning order to Secretary Cheney now. Landings will be with considerable force.

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I am sending you a letter of appreciation and spelling out our objectives. (U)

UNSYG Boutros-Ghali: Thank you very much. I have received good news from Addis Ababa. My representative had a good meeting, and we hope to begin a conference of reconciliation January 1 in Addis Ababa. (U)

The President: Good. Anything like that is very good. I was asked about restoring order to the country, and I said that is not our mission. It is in your hands. I really just called to thank you. We will do our job with compassion. There will not be a U.S. lasting involvement. Larry (Eagleburger) came back with appreciation for the wonderful conversation he had with you. And, it took guts for you to express support so strongly. We are working together. Secretary Cheney just came in; General Powell was here earlier. Brent Scowcroft is here. Brent will be in touch if needed. He is available, as are Cheney, Powell, and Eagleburger, and I am available any time. (U)

UNSYG Boutros-Ghali: Thank you very much. (U)

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THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

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2009-0737-MR
JL 6/1/11

MEMORANDUM OF TELEPHONE CONVERSATION

SUBJECT: Telephone Call with President Turgut Ozal of Turkey

PARTICIPANTS: The President
President Ozal
Interpreter: None
Notetaker: Jane E. Holl

DATE, TIME: December 5, 1992, 6:47-7:03am
AND PLACE: White House

The President: Hello, Turgut. How are you? (U)

President Ozal: I am fine, George, thank you. I am just going to Cairo to see Mubarak. I want to tell you that I was delighted when I heard about your decision on Somalia. We will also contribute to your efforts. We will go to Parliament. I talked to the Prime Minister. We are inclined to send troops under your command. (Ø)

The President: That's wonderful. What size force will you be sending? (Ø)

President Ozal: We have not made any firm decisions. First the Parliament will decide. (Ø)

The President: Well, if they're not ready now we can use the troops for peace-keeping, if not peace-making. (Ø)

President Ozal: Listen George, I have some recent news from Bosnia. The massacres and rapes have reached terrifying levels. The whole world is looking to your leadership again. I share your view about the U.S. catalytic role. The massacre in Bosnia will lead to demonstrations in the Moslem world, including in Turkey. We cannot wait until ending. (Ø)

The challenges in the Gulf couldn't be over estimated -- I am of the same mind regarding Serbia. There will not be much need for U.S. ground troops. Turkey is ready to help contribute, with others. Also the arms embargo must be lifted, George. They have opened roads against the Serbs, but couldn't take action because there was no ammunition. Your action now will help prevent the spillover of conflict and you will also help the new administration. (Ø)

You must act to stop the barbarism. It will only help the fundamentalists if this goes on. (Ø)

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The President: We're against that. (U)

President Ozal: The Serbs are not so strong. Only air power will be sufficient to knock out their air force and heavy weapons. (Ø)

The President: I agree with you that we have to do something. What disturbs me is, in terms of U.S. military on the ground, our military doesn't see a formula short of Desert Storm to get the job done. Second, we have a resolution on the no-fly zone and that's being violated. We're concerned about what to do there. There's discussion about lifting the arms embargo -- the matter is being reviewed, but I've made no decision yet. (Ø)

We're clear about the humanitarian case. I'm trying not to saddle the Clinton administration with major new commitments. Somalia was so appalling -- we think some of our young men may be killed. I hope we are wrong. Bosnia is different -- the terrain and so forth. (Ø)

I'm glad you called. I agree about the fundamentalist threat. I don't want the U.S. seen as uninterested when Muslims are being ethnically cleansed. (Ø)

President Ozal: This situation is like Afghanistan. But there is no Russia power. Only Serbian power, but it's not as big. You only would need to use limited air power -- like Afghanistan. (Ø)

The President: We're very tired of Milosevic and we're worried about the conflict spreading. Turgut, this has been a helpful telephone call. I'll share it with all of my advisers -- Scowcroft, Baker, Eagleburger -- I appreciate your words of support on Somalia. (Ø)

President Ozal: Only limited air power. No ground troops -- air power will solve the problem. (Ø)

The President: But how would you respond to the argument -- wouldn't the British and French troops be attacked? (Ø)

President Ozal: No. I think the Serbs know that if they go further, they would lose. Your air power would be sufficient to stop them and give support to the Bosnians. Then we can send people in to train them and we can give them ammunition. (Ø)

The President: I respect your judgement. (U)

President Ozal: I will be coming at the end of January to the United States. I hope to see you in Houston. (Ø)

The President: Yes, we certainly will see each other. But we'll get on these issues right away. Thank you again for your call.
(U)

-- End of Conversation --

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MEMORANDUM OF TELEPHONE CONVERSATION

SUBJECT: Telcon with Prime Minister Rabin of Israel on
December 5, 1992 (Ø)

PARTICIPANTS: The President
Prime Minister Yitzak Rabin
Notetaker: Richard Haass, NSC

DATE, TIME December 5, 1992; 1:42 - 1:47 p.m.
AND PLACE: Camp David

Prime Minister Rabin requested the phone call. (Ø)

The President: Hello. How are you sir? (U)

Prime Minister Rabin: Fine, Mr. President. I'm trying hard to do what is expected of me. Jack Stein just visited and brought me your note, which I appreciated very much. (Ø)

The President: How nice of you to call, and how nice of you to see Jack Stein. He is a good friend. (U)

Prime Minister Rabin: I agree. In addition, I'd like to compliment you on your decision to send U.S. forces to Somalia. I saw your statement to the American people. It took real courage. People speak of the international community, but the key is the United States. Nothing is done unless the U.S. takes the lead. I will say tomorrow in our cabinet meeting that I talked with you and congratulated you. (Ø)

The President: That is so thoughtful. I really appreciate it. We are getting good support. There is some nitpicking, such as from my friends at The New York Times. But we are on the right track. This is not high risk I believe, even though it will be high cost. I worried about whether to do this, though. (Ø)

Prime Minister Rabin: I take your open invitation to visit when I come to visit; I would like to visit with you in Texas. (Ø)

The President: That would be great. I think it will go well between you and our new President. He and I have our differences, but not about the Middle East. I think you'll find him enjoyable to work with. I am confident that you will. (Ø)

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Prime Minister Rabin: I hope so. I plan to be coming to the United States in mid-March, and I will try to see you then. (C)

The President: I look forward to it. Happy holidays. (U)

Prime Minister Rabin: Thank you. (U)

-- End of Conversation --

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8887

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

DECLASSIFIED
PER E.O. 13526

2009-0737-MK
31 6/1/11

MEMORANDUM OF TELEPHONE CONVERSATION

SUBJECT: Telcon with President Rafael Calderon of
Costa Rica

PARTICIPANTS: The President
President Rafael Calderon of Costa Rica
Interpreter: Barbara Phillips
Notetaker: John F. McShane/Roseanne Hill

DATE, TIME: December 7, 1992, 11:36 - 11:50am EST
AND PLACE: The Oval Office

The President: Rafael. Is that you? (U)

President Calderon: George? (U)

The President: Is this the President? (U)

President Calderon: Yes sir, it's a great pleasure to hear you.
(U)

The President: My golly, I'm glad to talk to you. I'm calling
you to follow up on your letter. I know that you want to talk
about the situation with the property claims. I'm calling about
the outstanding cases and all of that. (Ø)

President Calderon: Thank you very much Mr. President. Thank
you very much for calling me. This is the first time I've called
you in four years, but this is a question of great gravity. (Ø)

President Bush. I've been wanting to talk to you. You've been a
good friend, and I want to be as helpful as I can. Our problem
is that these darn cases have gone on for so long. But I'd like
to hear you explain these cases to me. (Ø)

President Calderon: For many years, Mr. President, these cases
have been outstanding. No government has been able to do
anything about them. Knowing how much you are concerned about
this issue, the first thing I did was establish a commission to
look at these seven cases involving American citizens. Of the
seven cases, already three are in an arbitration process
consented to by both the U.S. citizens and the Costa Rican
parties. Of another three, one of them has already been resolved
and the expropriation lifted. Another is in the courts, and in
the third case, we have put \$1 million into an account for the
heirs of the person involved. Only one case has been left
pending. This one has not seen any progress, but I personally
received the citizen involved in this case last Friday and I
personally will direct the followup to that case. (Ø)

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In view of this situation, I believe that it was reasonable that the United States withheld the \$10 million in assistance until we made progress toward the resolution of these cases. However, now I believe that it is excessive and unfair that, after all that we have done to modernize our economic structures and to open our economy, you would prevent us from receiving the loans from the World Bank and the IDB. (C)

The President: Let me say this to explain my situation. The only real difficulty, and it's a real one for me, is the Gonzalez Amendment. That Amendment instructs our representatives at the international financial institutions to vote against any loan for a country that has expropriated property from U.S. citizens. So let me ask our people, given what you've told me about the cases, to see if we can get an exemption from this Gonzalez Amendment. (C)

We salute you for what you've done on the economic reforms -- trade liberalization, privatization, and all of that. My only problem is a technical one on the issue of expropriations. So let me go back now and talk to my people to see if there is a way on these cases you mention to let us proceed -- any way that may be helpful to you. (C)

I know that Treasury hoped you would be able to hold back on going forward on the loans until these matters are resolved. But let me go back now after this talk and see if there is flexibility on this question, a question that is very important to you. (C)

President Calderon: Mr. President, I will thank you for anything you can do. The courts in Costa Rica are courts that are trusted internationally and are products of a solid democracy of 100 years. In this last case that we were talking about, the land has been made into an ecological park. The owners have not let us assess the property, and this, of course, is a problem. We need an assessment to resolve the case. But they have used Costa Rican law to hinder the process. (C)

And one more detail, I wanted to tell you in that in spite of all, I have done my best to look at all of the cases and I have all of the details of this situation. I have even accepted offers from the U.S. citizens. I will commit to you that I will do everything I can personally to look after the resolution of these expropriations. (C)

The President: That's very important. Rafael, let me go back and see what we can do. Thanks for your clarification. I want you to understand one thing. Please understand that I have certain constraints on me under this Gonzalez amendment. (C)

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President Calderon: Thank you very much, Mr. President. (U)

The President: We'll take a look. I hope you and your wonderful family have a happy Christmas. If you ever get to Texas...(Interrupted by Calderon) (U)

President Calderon: Thank you. Please say hello to Barbara and I wish you a merry Christmas. (U)

The President: I'll do it. We're going to Houston soon and I hope you can come to Houston to see us. (U)

President Calderon: Thank you. I expect to see you in Houston soon. And now that you won't be so busy, please come to Costa Rica to fish for sailfish. (U)

The President: There's a good offer. I'll get my hat on and get started. (U)

President Calderon: Thank you very much, Mr. President. (U)

President Bush: Thank you very much sir. Good bye. (U)

-- End of Conversation --

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THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

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PER E.O. 13526

2009-0737-MR
32 6/1/11

MEMORANDUM OF TELEPHONE CONVERSATION

SUBJECT: Telephone Conversation with UN Secretary
General Boutros Boutros-Ghali

PARTICIPANTS: The President
Boutros Boutros-Ghali
Interpreter: None
Notetaker: John M. Ordway

DATE, TIME: December 8, 1992, 12:22 - 12:29 p.m.
AND PLACE: The Oval Office

The President: Boutros, is that you? How are you, sir? (U)

UNSYG Boutros-Ghali: Very good, thank you, Mr. President. (U)

The President: I just wanted to call you and thank you again for your work to get through the resolution on Somalia. I also wanted to report on a call I just had about two hours ago with Robert Oakley. Do you know him? (Ø)

UNSYG Boutros-Ghali: Yes, Mr. President, I do. I spent about two hours with him. He is having good cooperation with Ambassador Kittani in Addis Ababa and in Mogadishu. (Ø)

The President: It is important to get that good cooperation. Ismat Kittani and I go back a long way. You have a good man there. (Ø)

I wanted to get in touch with you because of the phone call with Oakley. He was quite upbeat on the press, on the NGOs, and on cooperation from the warlords with him and Kittani, and with each other. (Ø)

I just wanted to share this with you, because I am sure that you worry about the situation, like I do. (Ø)

UNSYG Boutros-Ghali: Thank you very much, Mr. President. It is very important. You will go down in history as the initiator of the first humanitarian intervention in history. This is very important for the world community, and for the United Nations. I am getting lots of letters from presidents and foreign ministers. I just got one from the foreign minister of Namibia, from Mauritania, from President Gouled of Djibouti. I have lots of messages thanking the UN for the work we are doing there. (Ø)

I am sure this will be a success. It will be important for Africa, and for the international community. (U)

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The President: We'll keep you informed. We have quite a big force going in there. I don't want any of them to be killed. I hope there will be no confrontations. We are not going in for a fight, but hope there will be understanding in the world community if we do what we have to do to protect the mission. They are going in a very open way. I worry that a hopped-up kid with one of these Toyotas may shoot at the Marines, and there will be consequences. (Ø)

UNSYG Boutros-Ghali: Disarming of the gangs, and of the heavy weapons, will be important. If you can give some compensation for the weapons, it might help. As long as they have arms, we will not have peace. (Ø)

The President: I agree it is important. But we have not made it part of our mission statement. The world may turn on us if we don't do what we said we would do. We need peacekeepers coming in quickly behind us. (Ø)

UNSYG Boutros-Ghali: I agree. (U)

The second idea concerns concentrating the effort on the south. You know, we have the same situation in the north in Berbera and Hargeysa. The situation there is worse than the south. We have not even been able to get in. I mentioned this to the military team that came to brief me, which agreed that the second step must reach the north. (Ø)

The President: We have talked to your people and will keep this under consideration for whatever steps are needed. (Ø)

Will you be around for the holidays, or are you going home? (U)

UNSYG Boutros-Ghali: No, I am going to Somalia at the beginning of the year and will have a conference in Addis Ababa with the Somali leaders. I want to show the division of labor, with the UN doing the humanitarian and reconciliation aspects. I hope to be in Addis Ababa at the beginning of the year to see if we can have a preparatory meeting. (Ø)

The President: Will this be under OAU auspices? (Ø)

UNSYG Boutros-Ghali: No, it will be a UN meeting, but in cooperation with the OAU and other organizations. (Ø)

The President: We have an interest in keeping Africans on board. We have a lot of African-Americans here. But I was also concerned that the Africans would understand what we are doing in Somalia. (Ø)

UNSYG Boutros-Ghali: No, Mr. President, you have a lot of support. You have Nigeria, Egypt, Morocco, Senegal -- you have real support from African countries. (Ø)

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I also hope to be in Geneva in January to look at the Bosnian situation. I want to make sure that we don't give the impression that we are ignoring the situation there. (P)

The President: I'd like to talk to you about Bosnia at some point. (P)

-- End of Conversation --

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THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

DECLASSIFIED
PER E.O. 13526
2009-0737-MR
B 6/1/11

MEMORANDUM OF TELEPHONE CONVERSATION

SUBJECT: Telcon with President Carlos Salinas of Mexico and Prime Minister Brian Mulroney of Canada (C)

PARTICIPANTS: The President
President Salinas
Prime Minister Mulroney
Interpreter: None
Notetakers: Robert Morley/Roseanne Hill

DATE, TIME December 17, 1992, 9:14 - 9:21 EST
AND PLACE: The Oval Office

Prime Minister Mulroney: Hello, Carlos, how are you? This is Brian. (U)

President Salinas: I'm fine. (U)

Prime Minister Mulroney: Up here in Canada, we are doing a television series on Mexico. The series is very good. Everyone is learning a lot about your country. (U)

President Salinas: Really? I didn't know that. (U)

The President: (Coming on the line) Hello, Brian and Carlos, are you on there? How are you? And Merry Christmas to you both. This is just a hurray call. I'm very excited about what we have achieved together. I will be putting my signature on this document this afternoon, but wondered if you had any last minute thoughts? (U)

President Salinas: You are very kind. This is a very important time for us. I wanted to thank you for your courage and determination to finish this agreement. Without you, we would never have succeeded. (U)

The President: You both have been courageous as well. It rests with your diplomacy to see it gets through now. I know you have been in touch with Bill Clinton, Carlos, and I have too. I think he will want to move right along with this. I hope there won't be any new demands or sticking points with the new Congress. U.S.-Mexican relations are very good now, and I don't want anything to happen that would embarrass either of us. It is my fervent hope everything will go well. I think Clinton will look on the agreement positively, and support it. (C)

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Prime Minister Mulroney: Well, George and Carlos, from everything we have heard, I think all the difficulties can be accommodated in the framework of the agreement and any problems can be worked out. We think this agreement will be viewed as a great benchmark of the decade. George, your stewardship and determination made it all possible. The NAFTA is the most significant trade agreement ever negotiated, and we owe it all to you. I also want to say, Carlos, that Canada is delighted that Mexico will be joining in the very special relationship that has always existed between Canada and the United States. I congratulate both of you. (Ø)

The President: Thank you. And how are things at your end, Carlos? Okay? (U)

President Salinas: Everything looks fine. The latest poll shows 65% of the Mexican population favor the agreement. The rest were not against it, but wanted more information about it. Our population knows it will be good for our children, for our future generations. (U)

The President: I think it's good. We are going to the OAS to sign the agreement. It will be a good setting to talk about the NAFTA and the importance we place on our relations south of the border. Sometimes we take it for granted. I will give a little talk about our relations and sign the agreement there. (Ø)

Prime Minister Mulroney: I'm going to the House of Commons at 11:00 today and signing there. We will bring in the leaders who have been involved in free trade since 1985. I'll make a statement and sign the agreement at 11:15 this morning. (Ø)

President Salinas: We will do it at 1:30. That is Mexico time, which is one hour earlier than Washington. So I will be signing the agreement at the same time that you do, George. I'm bringing in all the governors, members of congress, cabinet officials, and other dignitaries. It will be a very important event here shown live on national TV. (U)

The President: I understand I have a spy there, my son Jeb. His wife is here. Carlos, I don't know if you remember his wife is Mexican. She keeps up with her Mexican heritage for her children. It is a very personal thing for her. (Ø)

Prime Minister Mulroney: I'll do it before you because I am seeing John Major this afternoon. He is here on a visit. (U)

The President: That's right. If you know of any questions that he will want to raise with me, let me know. We'll be meeting tomorrow. (Ø)

Prime Minister Mulroney: I will call you for sure. Two things I'll always remember -- your statement on the NAFTA agreement and the 1992 World Series. (U)

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The President: Oh yes, Carlos, he's talking about the Toronto Blue Jays winning the World Series and rubbing my nose in it. I guess we'll never stop getting flack about that. I'm so pleased to talk to you both again, especially at Christmas time. (U)

Prime Minister Mulroney: Thank you. All the best to you for the holidays. (U)

President Salinas: Thank you and my best to you and your family. In Mexico you will always be welcome. (U)

The President: I wish you the same. I will be talking to you both again, but for now, have a happy holiday season. (U)

Prime Minister Mulroney: Good by. (U)

President Salinas: Good by. (U)

-- End of Conversation --

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THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

DECLASSIFIED
PER E.O. 13526
2009-0737-MR
B 6/1/11

MEMORANDUM OF TELEPHONE CONVERSATION

SUBJECT: Telcon with Quett Masire, President of Botswana on December 17, 1992

PARTICIPANTS: The President
Quett Masire, President of Botswana
Interpreter: None
Notetaker: John M. Ordway

DATE, TIME: December 17, 1992, 11:51 - 11:55am EST
AND PLACE: The Oval Office

The President: This is George Bush. Can you hear me? (U)

President Masire: Yes, I can hear you, Mr. President. Quett Masire here. (U)

The President: I'm sorry to interrupt your evening. I just wanted to thank you for what you're doing. We're so pleased with your strong support. The support of Africa is vital to the coalition. I salute you. The commitment coming from you as a strong democracy is particularly important. (Ø)

President Masire: Mr. President, it is we that should thank you. You have been great in coming to help Africa in our hour of need. We feel it is only proper that Africa should help those helping Africa help itself. (Ø)

The President: It is very important to be shoulder to shoulder on this mission. We want to establish a secure environment and turn it over to the peacekeeping force. It could be a risk if the U.S. tried to be a colonial power there. We are very sensitive to this. We want to fulfil our role and then withdraw, not expand our mission. We are getting lots of support from peacekeepers. (Ø)

President Masire: No, it could not by any sense of the imagination be looked at as an expansion. It has been a shame that humanity stood by as Somalia sank into a quagmire. I am very glad you have taken the lead, and that there is a generous response. (Ø)

The President: I appreciate that, sir. I hope you have a happy New Year. I will not be around during the next year, at least in this capacity. (U)

I was in Botswana once, a long time ago when I was ambassador to the UN. (U)

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President Masire: That's right. (U)

The President: Maybe I could possible visit sometime in the new year. (U)

President Masire: Please come. You have a standing invitation. (U)

I have to thank you and congratulate you for fighting so gallantly and bowing out so honorably. (U)

The President: Why thank you for your kinds words. Barbara and I are trying to do that. I am pleased that you noticed. (U)

President Masire: That has been a shot in the arm for democracy the world over. (U)

The President: You are very nice to put it into that perspective. (U)

President Masire: Thank you and Merry Christmas and a very happy New Year. (U)

The President: Merry Christmas to you, too. (U)

-- End of Conversation --

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THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

MEMORANDUM OF TELEPHONE CONVERSATION

SUBJECT: Memorandum of Telephone Conversation with
Kim Young-Sam, President-elect of the
Republic of Korea, on December 19, 1992

PARTICIPANTS: The President
Kim Young-Sam, President-elect
Interpreter: Tong Kim
Notetaker: Torkel Patterson

DATE, TIME December 19, 1992, 6:30 - 6:37pm
AND PLACE: Camp David

The President telephoned President elect Kim Young-Sam to congratulate him on his election victory in the Republic of Korea.

The President: This is George Bush calling to congratulate you on your victory in Friday's election.

Kim Young-Sam: Mr. President, I would like to extend my appreciation to you for sending me a congratulatory cable and for calling me now by telephone.

The President: You worked closely with me and President Roh to promote peace and security in Northeast Asia. My only regret is that I won't be able to meet you in person so that we could carry on this important work. But I wanted to send you my best wishes.

Kim Young-Sam: Thank you very much Mr. President. The U.S. and ROK continue to contribute to mutual prosperity and the institutionalization of peace in Northeast Asia. I think the two countries, on the basis of partnership, should continue to develop close relations. I will strive to emphasize in two fields, security and economics. I will do my best to lead into the future.

The President: I just wanted to wish you well. I think you'll get on fine with Governor Clinton. I wish you the very best for a happy new year.

Kim Young-Sam: I am certain that I will be able to work with Governor Clinton. I will do my best to further develop the bilateral relationship. I am sorry that you are leaving office soon. I am sorry not to see you as President. I want to express

my appreciation to you for all that you have done to develop good bilateral relations and to promote friendship with the Korean people. I want to extend my hopes for your good future. Please pass along my best regards to the First Lady and have a merry Christmas and a happy new year.

The President: Good luck and good-by.

Kim Young-Sam: Thank you for your call.

--End of conversation--

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

MEMORANDUM OF TELEPHONE CONVERSATION

SUBJECT: Telephone Conversation Between the President
and Boris Yeltsin, President of Russia

PARTICIPANTS: The President
Boris Yeltsin
Interpreter: Dimitri Zarechnak
Notetaker: Nicholas Burns

DATE, TIME December 20, 1992, 8:06-8:38am
AND PLACE: Camp David

The President: Boris, this is George Bush. How are you doing?
(U)

President Yeltsin: Good day, George. (U)

The President: Good day. It is nice to hear from you. (U)

President Yeltsin: I just came from China. I would like to talk
about the signature of the treaty. (U)

The President: Good, good. (U)

President Yeltsin: George, maybe you can fly to Vladivostok.
Otherwise it would appear that I have been to the U.S. three
times during the past year. (S)

The President: Here's another thought, Boris. Once the treaty
is agreed to, what would you think of Geneva? I might go to
Somalia and Geneva is an international place and it might be
good. (S)

President Yeltsin: You want to sign the treaty in Geneva? (S)

The President: Yes, or maybe in the southwestern part of Russia
after Somalia. (S)

President Yeltsin: Well, what day in Geneva? I was thinking of
January 2. But if we meet in Geneva on January 2, I won't be
able to meet Clinton. (S)

The President: That is a problem. Has he agreed to meet with
you? (S)

The President: I am not clear on that. But suppose we signed
the treaty in Geneva and you flew to the southern part of the
U.S.--to Florida or Arkansas. How would that be? (S)

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(S) 3/27/2008
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President Yeltsin: But I think Clinton will not fly there. (S)

The President: I think it would be easy for him to fly to Florida or the east coast. That's where he is all the time. (S)

President Yeltsin: Florida is not too far from Arkansas, correct? (U)

The President: It is very close. I would think it would be easy for him. Other places are Georgia, Jacksonville, Florida. I would think he would accommodate your desires since it would be easier for him. (S)

President Yeltsin: I want the treaty signed in one city, but not the three of us to be in one city. I want to see Clinton to see if he supports the treaty and how he will implement it. (S)

The President: That is why I said Geneva or a city in Russia like Yalta. We would come there, then you could come to the east coast. (S)

President Yeltsin: It appears to me that I will be making a third visit to the U.S. This will prompt a negative response here. While I was President, the U.S. President did not come to Russia. (S)

The President: Boris, if I fly to Yalta, it would be a visit to Russia. Then you could go to a east coast city to see Clinton. (S)

President Yeltsin: Yalta? Yalta is in Ukraine. (S)

The President: Well, what about a Russian town near there? (S)

President Yeltsin: George, how about Vladivostok? I'll fly to Vladivostok. It would be easier for me. Afterwards, I could fly to the west coast to meet Clinton. (S)

The President: Look, that is not an outrageous request. But I am thinking of the length of my trip. I'll think about it. The big thing is that we need to get agreement on the issues to assure a deal on the missiles. (S)

President Yeltsin: The treaty has been agreed upon with you and Clinton. And Kozyrev told me that the experts have also agreed. (S)

The President: That is not my understanding. The big problem is the SS-18s. We need to get the experts to see if we can have an agreement. General Scowcroft is with me and he does not believe we have an agreement on the SS-18 silos. (S)

President Yeltsin: No. They told me there had been complete agreement on the SS-18s. As for the SS-19s, the point of question is the 120 missiles. I believe we have an agreement.

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It may take both of us to put the finishing touch on the treaty at our meeting. (S)

The President: You have made a proposal to us on the SS-18s. We still have differences. We will stand behind our proposal in the letter. I will talk to Larry Eagleburger, and you should talk to Kozyrev. They must work out the details lest we be unable to sign the treaty at the last minute. (S)

President Yeltsin: No. We have an agreement on the figures. Kozyrev told me that everything is agreed to. All the SS-18s will be destroyed and we will have only 120 remaining SS-19s. George, let us agree on the venue and timing and we will induce our people to get an agreement. I would suggest Sochi, a southern Russian town. We have a beautiful facility there. (S)

The President: What town, Boris? (S)

President Yeltsin: Sochi. It is close to Yalta and is a Russian city. It is the place where Russia and Ukraine came to their important agreement. (S)

The President: It sounds very good since we will be coming from Somalia. We can agree on January 2 as the best date. My other suggestion is that tomorrow I will meet with our experts and get back to you or Kozyrev on the details. I still believe that we haven't agreed on the SS-18s. (S)

President Yeltsin: I agree to January 2 or 3. You can fly here on January 2 and we can sign on January 3. (S)

The President: That's agreeable. But I still need to get the details done on the treaty. (S)

President Yeltsin: Okay. When should Kozyrev get in touch with Eagleburger on the figures? He said he agreed on the figures with Scowcroft. (S)

The President: We will have Eagleburger call him tomorrow. (S)

President Yeltsin: Then, both of them, Eagleburger and Kozyrev will reach final agreement on the figures. Then we can talk again tomorrow. We'll make an agreement. (S)

The President: Well, that sounds good. The only other decision you need to make is on Governor Clinton. You can contact him yourself or I can tell him of the change in your plans. It is up to you if I tell him or you do. (S)

President Yeltsin: Yes, I believe that I will talk separately to Clinton for a meeting on the east coast or in Florida. But if we sign the treaty in Sochi, fine, that would be a good thing. (S)

The President: Good. We want to do it. It is a good thing that the next U.S.-Russian treaty will be signed on Russian territory. That is agreeable to me. (S)

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President Yeltsin: Good, George. Tomorrow, I will get Kozyrev in touch with Eagleburger. I will call you tomorrow evening. We'll reach a final agreement. (S)

The President: Good. I don't want to appear obstinate but the only remaining real problem is the SS-18s. Let's hope they can work out the details. (S)

President Yeltsin: Okay. Agreed. So we will talk tomorrow while Kozyrev and Eagleburger work out the details. (S)

The President: That sounds good. Let me go over the points we agree on now. The translation has been a little hard to hear. (S)

First, I will fly to Sochi on January 2 to sign the treaty on January 3. (S)

Second, Eagleburger and Kozyrev will talk tomorrow to finalize details on the SS-18. We hope that will be accomplished tomorrow. If necessary, you and I can talk tomorrow evening. (S)

Third, We will not contact Clinton. You will do that. But if you want me to, I can tell him of your east coast visit. But I will not talk to him until I hear from you. (S)

President Yeltsin: I am agreeable to everything you have said. (S)

The President: Okay. Well, listen, have a great Christmas and New Year. (S)

President Yeltsin: Thank you. I would like to give you my best and Merry Christmas. I realize that we will now sign the treaty before January 20. (S)

The President: Will Naina be in Sochi? (S)

President Yeltsin: Are you flying over with Barbara? (S)

The President: We would if Naina would be there. If Naina does not come, Barbara almost certainly would not come. (S)

President Yeltsin: Yes, Naina will fly to Sochi by all means. (S)

The President: Then Barbara Bush will be there too.

President Yeltsin: Very good. Give our best to Barbara. We will talk on the phone tomorrow and clarify all the figures. Merry Christmas to you, George. Good-bye.

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THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

MEMORANDUM OF TELEPHONE CONVERSATION

SUBJECT: Telephone Conversation Between the President
and Boris Yeltsin, President of Russia

PARTICIPANTS: The President
Boris Yeltsin
Interpreter: Dimitri Zarechnak
Notetaker: Nicholas Burns

DATE, TIME: December 21, 1992, 1:12-1:59hrs
AND PLACE: White House

The President: Boris, this is George Bush--back again! (U)

President Yeltsin: Good day, George. (U)

The President: Boris, I am calling because I have now had an opportunity to consider your last letter, and referring to yesterday's phone call, would like to go over a couple of points. Yesterday, I told you there were some points on which we were not agreed. So, today I had a meeting with my top officials. I believe we are very close to agreement on the major issues which would in turn clear the way for final agreement on the precise text of the agreement. And I am prepared to send my experts to meet with yours in Geneva as early as tomorrow if we have a common understanding on these matters. Then they can work out the details. (S)

So what I would like to do now is to spell out the specifics. First, that all SS-18 missiles be destroyed, both deployed and non-deployed--that would include the SS-18 missiles in Kazakhstan as well as Russia. The second point would be that all SS-18 silos be destroyed in accordance with START procedures except for a specified number which would be converted in a manner that would preclude the possibility of their later reuse for heavy ICBMs. We understand from you that you need only to keep a small number of these silos, and I think you used the word "a few tens". I need to know what you think that number is. And I think we ought to settle on something, you know, that is less than 50. Boris, do you want to comment on that point, or do you prefer that I finish? (S)

(Note: At this point, the line went dead. The call was resumed some minutes later.)

The President: Boris, we're back again. (U)

President Yeltsin: Yes, I can hear you well, George. (U)

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The President: Let me ask how far we got in what I was telling you. (U)

President Yeltsin: The last thing I heard was that you suggested we leave 50 silos for conversion. (S)

The President: Yes, settling on a number not less than 50. Let me finish my briefing here. (S)

President Yeltsin: Yes, I agree. (S)

The President: As you stated in an earlier letter, our governments would have to agree on the procedures for destroying the SS-18 missiles and converting the SS-18 silos, including inspection and verification procedures. I think we are agreed on that point. My next point relates to the SS-19s. I think we are in agreement on the retention and downloading of not more than 120 SS-19 missiles in the existing SS-19 silos. Then my last point is that we have met your concerns with heavy bombers with the language that Eagleburger offered in Stockholm in which we accepted several of your proposals. However, you must understand that the U.S. must be able to reorient some of the heavy bombers that have never been equipped for long-range nuclear ALCMS--air launched cruise missiles. As you know, such B-1s do not count as ALCM carriers in the START treaty. Now, I need to know that you find our bomber proposals acceptable. (S)

And look, we need to agree on these major points. And if we are agreed, we can turn this over to the experts to refine the details. And if you are ready to proceed on this basis, I believe our experts should be able to agree quickly on the treaty document. Then, of course, the way would be cleared for the meeting you and I talked about yesterday. So, I would love to have your comments on all this. (S)

President Yeltsin: I understand what you said and would begin with your comments from the end--with the heavy bombers. Our proposal is the following: the U.S. would have the right to reorient the heavy bombers to non-nuclear carriers, then back to the category of nuclear, but to do this only one time and, of course, with appropriate verification. If you agree, then we can go on to the category of SS-18s. (S)

If you agree, then our military insists that of the 154 silos remaining from SALT I, they be converted and be noted from space and by on-site means. So, of the silos that are 39 meters, they would be filled with concrete so that 26 meters were left. So, thirteen meters would be filled with concrete. They couldn't hold heavy missiles, only one warhead in accordance with our agreement. So, if the U.S. is prepared for heavy bombers to be converted only once, and verified by common inspection, then we would want to have not 50, but 75 would be destroyed under SALT I. With regard to verification, we agree that there should be all types--on-site, silos and from space and any other kind so that we can see that the silos have truly been converted. (S)

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The President: Good. (U)

President Yeltsin: With regard to the SS-19 silos, our proposal leaves 120 and makes it a single warhead rather than five. We would leave just one and assure the silos cannot be used for other purposes. This is what I wanted to say. (S)

The President: Well, Boris.... (U)

President Yeltsin: The main thing, George, is that we are very close. Our positions are practically the same. The main thing is this connection to our framework agreement and that it can be defended in our parliaments. Today I had a meeting with a lot of consultants and serious debates with our military people. (S)

The President: Let me clarify one thing. Is it correct that you want to keep, to convert, 75 SS-18 silos? (S)

President Yeltsin: If you agree to our proposal on the conversion of heavy bombers only once. (S)

The President: I think it sounds okay. I worry a little on the details. Can I send a confirming letter so there is no misunderstanding? We will send our experts over to meet with yours. We will send them tomorrow. (S)

President Yeltsin: Kozyrev and Eagleburger have already reached agreement on heavy bombers converted only once. This being so, I was able to convince the military to convert only half of the SS-18 silos but not all--that is, 75. And I think on the SS-19s that it is a good understanding that there will be 120 of them and they will be single warhead missiles. I also want to say that in destroying the SS-18s, we will also destroy the silos. The only thing left is the base foundation. (S)

The President: Let the detail people work that out. It sounds like we are in agreement. I'll send the letter tonight. Eagleburger will talk to Kozyrev. And our experts will meet with yours tomorrow. (S)

President Yeltsin: Yes, should our experts fly to Geneva tomorrow? (S)

The President: Yes, Eagleburger and Kozyrev can work it out. The experts should meet as soon as possible and if it is tomorrow, that is good. I will tell them to go to Geneva. Let Eagleburger and Kozyrev work out the details. (S)

President Yeltsin: I will tell Kozyrev about the conversation. He can talk with Eagleburger and the experts can meet. I will expect to receive your letter today or tomorrow. I will tell my people to show it to me immediately upon arrival. (S)

The President: It sounds good. I think we are close. (S)

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President Yeltsin: Yes, George, I think we are close. I have already set the people in Sochi into motion. Things have started to roll. I told them it would be an important visitor but without saying who. (S)

The President: That's good. I think its good. Lets keep it quiet for now lest there be a last-minute hitch. (S)

President Yeltsin: Yes, we can agree later on when to announce the specific day and time. (S)

The President: Good. We need to move forward as quick as we can. They tell me the treaty language takes time to get into form. (S)

President Yeltsin: Yes, okay, George. I am prepared to do everything necessary. I have enjoyed the conversation today and feel that we are very close. It will be a historic agreement that you and I will leave for the planet. (S)

The President: Merry Christmas. (U)

President Yeltsin: And to you. (U)

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THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

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MEMORANDUM OF TELEPHONE CONVERSATION

SUBJECT: Telcon with Prime Minister Ruud Lubbers of
the Netherlands on December 21, 1992

PARTICIPANTS: The President
Prime Minister Ruud Lubbers
Interpreter: None
Notetaker: E. Anthony Wayne

DATE, TIME December 21, 1992, 4:31 - 4:37 p.m.
AND PLACE: Oval Office

The President: Hello, Ruud. (U)

Prime Minister Lubbers: Hello, George. (U)

The President: Merry Christmas. It's good to hear your voice.
(U)

Prime Minister Lubbers: I have no special reason to call except
to send my best greetings to you and Barbara now that we are in
the holiday season and a bit passed your elections. The Queen
also sends her best. She was here for dinner tonight. (U)

The President: Well, thank you very much and please give my
thanks to the Queen. I appreciated her letter very much, and it
is very kind of you to call. (U)

Prime Minister Lubbers: I just wanted to say hello. Things are
going well here. As you may know, Hans van den Broek is going to
the European Commission. He will be handling foreign policy
there. I will be a bit lonely here as we have been together for
ten years. I will now be alone here until 1994 when I leave
office. (U)

The President: Well, everyone here has the highest respect for
Hans van den Broek. He has done a wonderful job, and he is a
friend of the Atlantic relationship. (U)

Prime Minister Lubbers: Yes, he will be very good for EC foreign
policy and for relations between Europe and the United States.
(U)

The President: Is he taking Andriessen's place? (U)

Prime Minister Lubbers: It looks like Hans will do foreign
policy only and the trade portfolio will go to Leon Brittain.
But the final decision will be taken tomorrow. Jacques Delors

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and I agreed that Hans will do all of the political aspects of foreign policy. (C)

The President: Well, that is just great. I want to express our thanks to Franz Andriessen. I know he faced a lot of pressure in negotiating a trade agreement with us, and he did a good job. I also want to say that it was great working with you and I will miss that. (U)

Prime Minister Lubbers: Yes, I have great memories working with you too. (U)

The President: Thank you so much for the call. I really appreciate it. Merry Christmas. Now, if you get to Texas, I look forward to seeing you. (U)

Prime Minister Lubbers: Yes, and if you come to the Netherlands, I hope to see you. All the best. I guess you are still hoping for progress on GATT? (U)

The President: Yes, there is a bit more we would like to do on GATT. I may also be going to Somalia over the holidays. And, we are trying to get a SALT II treaty done before I leave office. (C)

Prime Minister Lubbers: All the best for the next few weeks. I hope they are productive. (U)

The President: Yes, we'll try. Thanks for the phone call. (U)

Prime Minister Lubbers: All the best. Good-bye. (U)

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MEMORANDUM OF TELEPHONE CONVERSATION

SUBJECT: Telcon with President Kravchuk of Ukraine on
December 24th, 1992

PARTICIPANTS: The President
President Kravchuk
Interpreter: Marta Zielyuk
Notetaker: Christine Potts

DATE, TIME December 24th, 1992 at 10:58 to 11:10
AND PLACE: Camp David

The President: Hello, Mr. President, how are you? (U)

President Kravchuk: Good day, I am glad to hear from you. (U)

The President: Merry Christmas. I am glad to hear from you. (U)

President Kravchuk: Mr. President, I want to congratulate you and wish you a Merry Christmas. We wish you peace and prosperity. (U)

The President: Thank you. I am only sorry I won't be in the job next year to work with you as in the past. (Ø)

President Kravchuk: Thank you and never mind. I would be glad to be the host of you and Barbara to my country. (Ø)

The President: That's nice. What business do we have to conduct here? (Ø)

President Kravchuk: I would like to confirm the letter I received from you on December 4th and express gratitude for your promise to help us get rid of our nuclear weapons. (Ø)

The President: I'm sure the new administration will also agree. (Ø)

President Kravchuk: Both myself and the government and key ministries -- including Defense, Foreign Affairs, and the National Security Council -- all want to confirm that we will stick to the course as I agreed with you in May of this year. (Ø)

I also want to say that the Supreme Rada and various committees have conducted two sittings to analyze the documents. There is not any delay on our part. We are just studying the question, as necessary, to be sure all documents are adopted. (Ø)

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The President: Is there any way for you to make a public statement of your commitment to START and the NPT, and also to call for positive Rada action on the earliest possible date? That would be good, and it would calm any concern here and in Europe on this nuclear issue. Are you confident that the Rada will go along with the government? (Ø)

President Kravchuk: Yes, I am sure that the Supreme Rada will adopt the documents because they have more elements of a deeper understanding. We are still studying the financial issue. We are talking with Russia on the question of compensation. The Rada is now feeling better about adopting the treaties. (Ø)

The President: Obviously, if there is anything I can do before leaving office, please let me know. It is a very important issue to the world and your leadership is vital. (Ø)

President Kravchuk: The key problem is reaching an agreement with Russia, but we are working on it. (Ø)

The President: Maybe we can help there, but good luck. I surely appreciate the call. (Ø)

President Kravchuk: Thank you. As we are approaching the end of the year, I am satisfied with the processes started in May and I hope the next administration will also support this process. (Ø)

The President: As we come to year's end, I'd like to make a simple press statement -- no details -- to show that we are in close contact if you agree. (Ø)

President Kravchuk: I support your idea, especially the part dealing with the essence of our course, that we are prepared to go on adopting START and the NPT to convince parliament to adopt these two treaties as soon as possible. (Ø)

The President: Do you want to say that; do you want me to say that; or do you just want a general press statement? (Ø)

President Kravchuk: I think it is good that you tell it in your own country and I will tell my press as well. (Ø)

The President: That's fine. Have a wonderful New Year and give my best to your family. (Ø)

President Kravchuk: The same to you, Mr. President. Please give my best to Barbara and all the good people of America. (U)

-- End of Conversation --

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MEMORANDUM OF TELEPHONE CONVERSATION

SUBJECT: Telcon with Suleyman Demirel, Prime Minister
of Turkey on December 24, 1992 (U)

PARTICIPANTS: The President
Prime Minister Suleyman Demirel of Turkey
Interpreter: None
Notetaker: Jane Holl

DATE, TIME December 24, 1992, 11:48 - 11:53 am EST
AND PLACE: Camp David

The President: How are you sir? (U)

Prime Minister Demirel: Fine Thank you Mr. President. How are
you? (U)

The President: Well first, happy holidays, Merry Christmas.
Barbara and I are at Camp David with the family calling to say
thank you for the Provide Comfort extension. It is a wonderful
thing. Hope there is no grief on your side. (Ø)

Prime Minister Demirel: No, no. We understand matters. We were
able to make our Parliament understand too. (Ø)

You know, our soldiers are on the way to Somalia. (Ø)

The President: Well I know it and we're grateful. We're glad to
be associated with your wonderful troops. I'll be there on the
first of January to see our soldiers. (Ø)

Well, the other thing I'd like to mention is that I'm worried
about northern Iraq. I'd like to get your views on it. (Ø)

Prime Minister Demirel: I don't think too many things will
happen. Saddam won't dare to do anything; that's my personal
opinion. He has troops, as you know, but I don't think there
will be any more craziness. (Ø)

The President: Well, I hope you're right. I'm a little worried
about the UN trucks having bombs placed on them. We don't need a
flare-up on your border and a Kurdish refugee flare-up again.
(Ø)

Prime Minister Demirel: We have good relations with Kurdish
leaders and they are helping with our fighting against terrorist

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groups. We are continuing our fight with terrorism. I think we will succeed. (Ø)

The President: Well I hope so. I wish you well. I wanted to call on the first subject but also ask your opinion on others. (Ø)

Prime Minister Demirel: Thank you. I think what's going on in Bosnia is very bad. We've discussed this many times. We're very sorry and the Turkish public is very upset. I know your commitment. The CSCE and UN Security Council credibility has been eroded. With the new world order how can we keep peace with 100,000 killed in Bosnia? I'm going to speak with Mitterrand and have discussions with him about this. I discussed it with John Major you know. Something must be done one way or the other. (Ø)

The President: Well that's true. The Secretary General is very wary of doing anything. Vance and Owen are wary too. We're more forward looking. I met with the Central European foreign ministers and told them we all should do more. (Ø)

Prime Minister Demirel: Definitely, I know your view and we are very close to your view. (Ø)

The President: It's preying on my conscience. We want to do something but we have to be in concert with others. It would not be good to do something alone. (Ø)

Prime Minister Demirel: Best regards to you and your family. (U)

The President: Well, same to you. I'm proud of our relationship. Sorry it won't be continuing but I'm sure the new team will work out. (U)

Prime Minister Demirel: Well, we will cooperate and collaborate anyway with the new administration. (U)

The President: It will work out. Turkey and the U.S. have a strong relationship. (U)

Prime Minister Demirel: Thank you. (U)

-- End of Conversation --

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WASHINGTON

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MEMORANDUM OF TELEPHONE CONVERSATION

SUBJECT: Telcon with Boris Yeltsin, President of
Russia, on December 24th

PARTICIPANTS: The President
General Scowcroft
Boris Yeltsin
Interpreter: Dmitriy Zarechnak
Notetaker: Christine Potts and Niel Bleicken

DATE, TIME December 24th, 1992, 1:43 - 2:31

AND PLACE: Camp David

The President: Boris, how are you doing? (U)

President Yeltsin: Well, generally we're quite well, although we do not celebrate Christmas right now. I want to wish you a happy holiday. (U)

The President: I am calling on the START treaty. We've run into difficulties and I would like to talk to you about them. (S)

President Yeltsin: I am ready. I received your letter and I read it. The letter reflected correctly what you and I said earlier and I agree with it. (S)

The President: Let me make my points to you because we are concerned about Geneva. I will read through this and get your reaction. Is that OK? (S)

President Yeltsin: Yes, of course, I am listening. (U)

The President: On the first day in Geneva, your experts said they were without instructions. On the second day, they suggested changes to the agreement you and I made on Monday, raised new issues, and continued to argue very detailed heavy bomber issues. We are now waiting for extensive Russian text on several issues. (S)

At this rate I am very worried that the treaty will not be ready anytime soon. Let me tell you what I am prepared to do to get the process back on track for signing on January 2nd or 3rd. (S)

President Yeltsin: I would like to confirm that there can be no changes to what we agreed earlier. If our experts state anything

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to the contrary then I will set the record straight and put it in order. We agreed earlier on all the questions and some of our military disagreed. Well, then, the decision has to be taken on a political level. (S)

- On SS-18s our agreement is valid; there will be complete destruction of all deployed and non-deployed missiles and production will be licensed (sic);
- Out of 154 silos, 75 will be loaded with concrete -- 13 meters -- to prevent use by heavy missiles. Some of our military disagrees and wants up to 90 to 100, but I want to confirm our earlier agreement;
- As regards SS-19s, the number is 120 to be converted to single warhead missiles with verification by inspection or using spacecraft;
- As regards heavy bombers, our earlier agreement is still valid. They should be converted only one time.
- Of course, the military wants to have a higher number of SS-18 silos converted, up to 90 or 100, but if you do not agree, we will stick to our earlier agreement. (S)

(At this point the line was disconnected.)

The President: Boris, now that we are back on the line, I will let the translator tell you the next part of my comments. Then I would welcome your comments. (S)

For my part, I will do what I can to get this process back on track.

- We will review your textual material as soon as it is received. We will be able to adjust the level of concrete poured into SS-18 silos if the 13 meters is not a technically correct level;
- On bombers, I assure you that the numbers we will offer on heavy bomber loadings will be the "real" -- that is, as the bombers are actually equipped as stated in our June agreement. (S)

For your part, if we are to have any change of completing the treaty and signing on schedule, your people must be instructed to implement the agreements you and I have made, rather than reopening them or advancing new proposals. And, of course, we

must receive the text of your new protocols immediately. But how should we proceed? (S)

Once we receive and look at the rest of your language, we can judge when our experts can meet again. That could be as early as the first of next week in Geneva. But that would be pointless if they proceed as they did during the past three days of meetings. (S)

Boris, what can you tell me? (S)

President Yeltsin: Tomorrow Minister Kozyrev and First Deputy Defense Minister Kokoshin are leaving for Geneva. The letter you sent reflects correctly everything we agreed upon. I do not intend to back down from our agreement and tomorrow morning I could send you a text the same as you sent to confirm our agreements. (S)

It is a fact that the military wants not 75 but a bigger number of SS-18 silos converted. Should we heed them, the START II Treaty would take another 15 years to prepare just like START I. We can not afford such a delay. (S)

Tomorrow Kozyrev and Kokoshin leave for Geneva with the following instructions:

- SS-18 missiles will be destroyed completely. Both deployed and nondeployed will be destroyed together with their launchers. Factory production will be banned;
- Out of a total of 154 silos, 75 will be converted for use with lighter single-warhead ICBMs and depth changed from 39 to 26 meters -- changed by 13 meters;
- On SS-19s, the remaining number will be 120 converted to single-warhead missiles;
- As regards heavy bombers, those not deployed can only be converted one time -- only once;
- All those procedures for destruction and conversion will be subject to on-site inspection. This applies to both missiles and bombers. (S)

This is our position. We do not intend to depart from this position. Tomorrow Kozyrev and Kokoshin will go to Geneva; they will do everything necessary to complete the work in time. (S)

George, I think we have had some technical misunderstanding. Those experts who were in Geneva were unaware of our agreement. (S)

The President: Well, that sounds encouraging. The next step is to get the rest of your language, and I encourage you to get it to us as soon as possible. (S)

President Yeltsin: Tomorrow morning both Kozyrev and Kokoshin will be in Geneva. Maybe Eagleburger should be there, too. (S)

The President: Tomorrow is Christmas. I can tell you we will respond as soon as possible. Let's wait to get the rest of your text if we can, but what you have told me is very clear. Your people told us they will give us some extensive new text, but I don't want to waste Kozyrev's time either. (S)

President Yeltsin: Minister Kozyrev will be in Geneva and I can not see any other way. We can not let the experts determine this agreement. (S)

The President: That is right. We agree with that. Let me get on the telephone and get people to him as soon as we can. Thank you, Boris. You are a good man. This is what we need done in order to get the experts to follow our earlier agreement. Barbara and I are looking forward to seeing you for one last official visit. (S)

President Yeltsin: Thank you for your warm words. I am looking forward to the visit. I want to congratulate you on Christmas, and send my best to Barbara. I hope you are satisfied with the composition of our new government, which will continue to proceed on the path of reform. (S)

The President: I do not personally know all those people, but it looked like a victory for Boris Yeltsin and that is good enough for me. Good-bye, Boris, and my best wishes to your family in this holiday season. (S)

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December 24, 1992 *Sam*

POINTS TO BE MADE FOR TELEPHONE CALL
WITH PRESIDENT BORIS YELTSIN

- Boris, my experts are on their way back from Geneva now. They did not reach closure on the START II Treaty.
- On the first day in Geneva, your experts said they were without instructions. On the second day, they suggested changes to the agreement you and I made on Monday, raised new issues, and continued to argue very detailed heavy bomber issues. We are now waiting for extensive Russian text on several issues.
- When we receive these documents, we will look at them. But Boris, at this rate we are not now on a track to complete the treaty anytime soon, much less for signing on January 2 or 3.
- For my part, I will do what I can to get this process back on track.
 - o We will review your new textual material as soon as it is received. We will be able to adjust the level of concrete to be poured into SS-18 silos if the 13 meters is not a technically correct level.
 - o On bombers, I assure you that the numbers we will offer on heavy bomber loadings will be "real" -- that is, as the bombers are actually equipped, as stated in our June agreement.
- For your part, if we are to have any chance of completing the treaty and signing on schedule, your people must be instructed to implement the agreements you and I have made,

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rather than reopening them or advancing new proposals. And, of course, we must receive the text of your new protocols immediately.

-- But how should we proceed?

- o Once we receive and look at the rest of your language, we can judge when our experts can meet again.
- o That could be as early as the first of next week in Geneva. But that would be pointless if they proceed as they did during the past three days of meetings.

-- Boris, what can you tell me?

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31 6/1/11

MEMORANDUM OF TELEPHONE CONVERSATION

SUBJECT: Telcon with President Hosni Mubarak of Egypt
on January 2, 1993

PARTICIPANTS: The President
President Hosni Mubarak
Interpreter: None
Notetaker: Edmund Hull

DATE, TIME: January 2, 1993, 8:04 - 8:10 a.m. (Local)
AND PLACE: Air Force One

President Mubarak: Hello, George. Hello. (U)

The President: Hosni, I hear you loud and clear. How are you?
(U)

President Mubarak: Very well. Glad to hear your voice. (U)

The President: Sorry we can't stop in Egypt, but we have a very hectic schedule. We are now going to Moscow instead of Solchi which makes it a longer trip. I wish I could come. Anyway, I wanted to say hello to you and wish you a happy New Year. (U)

President Mubarak: I was expecting you to come, but I wish you good luck on your trip to Moscow. I'd like to see you at any time. (U)

The President: Well, that's very nice of you. I saw some of your soldiers in Somalia. They were a very impressive group of young people. (Ø)

President Mubarak: I am very pleased you saw some of our soldiers. (Ø)

The President: Well, we will continue working on Somalia, and now we are going to sign this agreement in Moscow. (Ø)

President Mubarak: All right. (U)

The President: I'm worried about Saddam Hussein. He has been testing us, violating the no-fly zone. We may have to take some strong action. We may have to do more there. We don't want to show lack of resolve. (Ø)

President Mubarak: It's strange that he should be doing this at the end (of your administration). It's very strange. (Ø)

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The President: I don't know why. It could be he's trying to distract (his people) from intolerable conditions inside Iraq or that he is anticipating a new administration or he believes we are distracted by Somalia or Bosnia. Whatever, he can't get away with it. (S)

President Mubarak: He may think the world is busy with other problems. It's very stupid. He never has estimated correctly. (S)

The President: Well, I agree with that. Incidentally, it's important that the peace process move forward. We are disturbed by the deportations and the violence that caused them, but the Middle East peace process is vital to everybody. We must keep it going. I hope you agree with that. (S)

President Mubarak: I agree. That is why I sent a private message to Rabin through his Ambassador here. I did not want to embarrass him, but to urge him to find any solution so as not to impede the talks. (S)

The President: Very good. I'm sure the message will help. Well, I just wanted to say hello and Happy New Year. I am sorry I cannot make a stop. Thank you for the invitation to Cairo. (U)

President Mubarak: All right. Thank you very much. Have a happy New Year, and (regards) to your family. (U)

The President: Thank you, Hosni. We are thinking of you. I have only two weeks left, but if there is anything I can do, let me know. (U)

President Mubarak: Thank you. I'll call you. Thank you. Good luck on your trip to Moscow. (U)

The President: Goodbye and my best to Suzie and your family. (U)

President Mubarak: Thank you. Goodbye. (U)

-End of Conversation-