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

FOIA Number:
2009-0275-S

FOIA MARKER

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Record Group/Collection: George H.W. Bush Presidential Records
Collection/Office of Origin: Scowcroft, Brent, Collection
Series: Special Separate USSR Notes Files
Subseries: Yeltsin Files

OA/ID Number: 91131
Folder ID Number: 91131-005

Folder Title:
Yeltsin (January - December) 1992 [5]

Stack:	Row:	Section:	Shelf:	Position:
G	34	3	4	3

Withdrawal/Redaction Sheet
(George Bush Library)

Doc. No. / Type	Subject/Title	Date	Restriction	Classification
01a. Handwritten Letter	Kurt F. Meese to POTUS Re: Petitioning the President (1 pp.)	9/7	(b)(6)	
01b. Handwritten Note	Anne Meese to POTUS Re: Petitioning the President (1 pp.)	9/13/89	(b)(6)	
02a. Memo	Daniel Poneman/Nicholas Burns to Brent Scowcroft Re: Proposed Presidential Message to Yeltsin on HEU Sharing (1 pp.)	1/14/93	(b)(1)	S
02b. Draft Cable	To Moscow, Re: [Message from President Bush to President Yeltsin] [FOIA restrictions redacted] (3 pp.)	n.d.	(b)(1)	S
03a. Memcon	Re: One-on-One Meeting with Russian President Boris Yeltsin (3 pp.)	7/30/91	(b)(1)	S
03b. Handwritten Notes	Re: President/Yeltsin 1 on 1 (4 pp.)	7/30/91	(b)(1)	
04. Letter	President Yeltsin to President Bush [Translated from Russian] (2 pp.)	1/14/93	(b)(1)	
05. Letter	President Yeltsin to President Bush [Translated from Russian] (2 pp.)	1/14/93	(b)(1)	

Collection:

Record Group: Bush Presidential Records
Office: Scowcroft, Brent, Files
Series: Special Separate USSR Notes Files
Subseries: Yeltsin Files
WHORM Cat.:
File Location: Yeltsin (January - December) 1992 [5]

Pinksheet Number: cap1103
OA/ID Number: 91131-005
Date Closed: 4/30/2009
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
06. Cable	From White House , Re: [Message from President Bush to President Yeltsin] [142010Z Jan 93] [FOIA restrictions redacted] (3 pp.)	1/14/93	(b)(1)	S
07. Cable	From White House, Re: Message Directly Eyes Only to President Yeltsin from President Bush [292212Z Nov 92] [FOIA restrictions redacted] (4 pp.)	11/29/92	(b)(1)	S
08a. Cable	From White House, Re: [Message from President Bush to President Yeltsin] [012334Z Dec 92] [FOIA restrictions redacted] (2 pp.)	12/1/92	(b)(1)	S
08b. Draft Cable	Re: [Message from President Bush to President Yeltsin] [FOIA restrictions redacted] (2 pp.)	12/1	(b)(1)	S
09. Cable	Re: [Message from President Bush to President Yeltsin] [FOIA restrictions redacted] [280458Z Nov 92] (2 pp.)	11/28/92	(b)(1)	C
10. Cable	From Moscow to White House, Re: Delivery of the President's Letter to Yeltsin on Somalia [281339Z Nov 92] [FOIA restrictions redacted] (2 pp.)	11/28/92	(b)(1)	S
11a. Cable	From Moscow to White House, Re: Kozyrev Hints at "Walk in the Woods" [051009Z Mar 92] [FOIA restrictions redacted] (2 pp.)	3/5/92	(b)(1)	S
11b. Draft Cable	From Ambassador Strauss for Scowcroft and Secretary Baker, Re: Kozyrev Hints at "Walk in the Woods" [FOIA restrictions redacted] (1 pp.)	n.d.	(b)(1)	S

Collection:

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Withdrawal/Redaction Sheet
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Doc. No. / Type	Subject/Title	Date	Restriction	Classification
11c. Cable	From Moscow to White House, Re: Kozyrev Hints at "Walk in the Woods" [051009Z Mar 92] [FOIA restrictions redacted] (2 pp.)	3/5/92	(b)(1)	S
12. Cable	From White House to Moscow, Re: [Message from President Bush to President Yeltsin] [220206Z Dec 92] [FOIA restrictions redacted] (3 pp.)	12/22/92	(b)(1)	S
13. Cable	From Moscow to White House, Re: President's Letter to President Yeltsin on Debt Rescheduling [000000Z] [FOIA restrictions redacted] (1 pp.)	n.d.	(b)(1)	S
14. Cable	Re: Yeltsin December 16 Letter to President Bush on START II (3 pp.)	12/18/92	(b)(1)	S
15. Cable	From White House to Moscow, Re: [Message from President Bush to President Yeltsin] [200154Z Nov 92] [FOIA restrictions redacted] (4 pp.)	11/20/92	(b)(1)	S
16. Cable	From Moscow to White House, Re: Next Steps on Bush - Yeltsin Meeting on START-II [000000Z] [FOIA restrictions redacted] (2 pp.)	n.d.	(b)(1)	S
17. Cable	From Moscow to White House, Re: Next Steps on Bush - Yeltsin Meeting on START-II [000000Z] [FOIA restrictions redacted] (2 pp.)	n.d.	(b)(1)	S

Collection:

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WHORM Cat.:
File Location: Yeltsin (January - December) 1992 [5]

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Withdrawal/Redaction Sheet
(George Bush Library)

Doc. No. / Type	Subject/Title	Date	Restriction	Classification
18. Cable	To White House Re: For General Scowcroft from Charge [FOIA Exemptions Redacted] (3 pp.)	n.d.	(b)(1)	S
19. Draft Cable	Re: Message from President George Bush to President Yeltsin (4 pp.)	n.d.	(b)(1)	S
20a. Cable	From White House to Moscow, Re: Message from President to Former Soviet President Gorbachev [120103Z Jan 93] [FOIA RESTRICTIONS REDACTED] (2 pp.)	1/12/93	(b)(1)	C
20b. Memo	Nick Burns to Brent Scowcroft Re: Message to Charge Collins in Moscow [redacted] (1 pp.)	1/11/93	(b)(1)	C
20c. Message	Re: Message for Charge Jim Collins from Brent Scowcroft (1 pp.)	n.d.	(b)(1)	C
20d. Cable	From White House Re: ***No Subject Found*** (1 pp.)	1/12/93	(b)(1)	C
21. Cable	From Moscow to White House, Re: For General Scowcroft and Nick Burns from Charge [301601Z Dec 92] [FOIA RESTRICTIONS REDACTED] (5 pp.)	12/30/92	(b)(1)	S
22. Cable	From Moscow to White House, Re: President's Letter [101407Z Dec 92] [FOIA RESTRICTIONS REDACTED] (1 pp.)	12/10/92	(b)(1)	S

Collection:

Record Group: Bush Presidential Records
Office: Scowcroft, Brent, Files
Series: Special Separate USSR Notes Files
Subseries: Yeltsin Files
WHORM Cat.:
File Location: Yeltsin (January - December) 1992 [5]

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Withdrawal/Redaction Sheet
(George Bush Library)

Doc. No. / Type	Subject/Title	Date	Restriction	Classification
23. Cable	White House to Distribution List Re: Russian Congress of People's Deputies: Yeltsin Throws Down Gauntlet to Congress; Calls January Referendum: "Them or Me" (5 pp.)	12/10/92	(b)(1)	C
24a. Cable	American Embassy Harare to Secretary of State Washington DC Re: Mugabe Letters to President Bush and President-Elect Clinton (2 pp.)	12/9/92	(b)(1)	C
24b. Draft Cable	Re: Message from President George Bush to President Yeltsin (4 pp.)	n.d.	(b)(1)	S

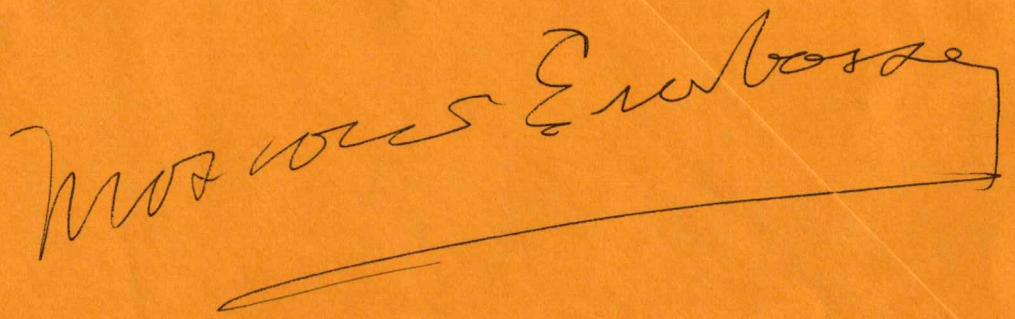
Collection:

Record Group: Bush Presidential Records
Office: Scowcroft, Brent, Files
Series: Special Separate USSR Notes Files
Subseries: Yeltsin Files
WHORM Cat.:
File Location: Yeltsin (January - December) 1992 [5]

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Date Closed: 4/30/2009
FOIA/Sys Case #: 2009-0275-S
Re-review Case #:
P-2/P-5 Review Case #:

MOSCOW
EMBASSY
LTR TO
PRESIDENT

Original Letter



Soviet Union Republics, September 1991



723030 (545499) 9-91

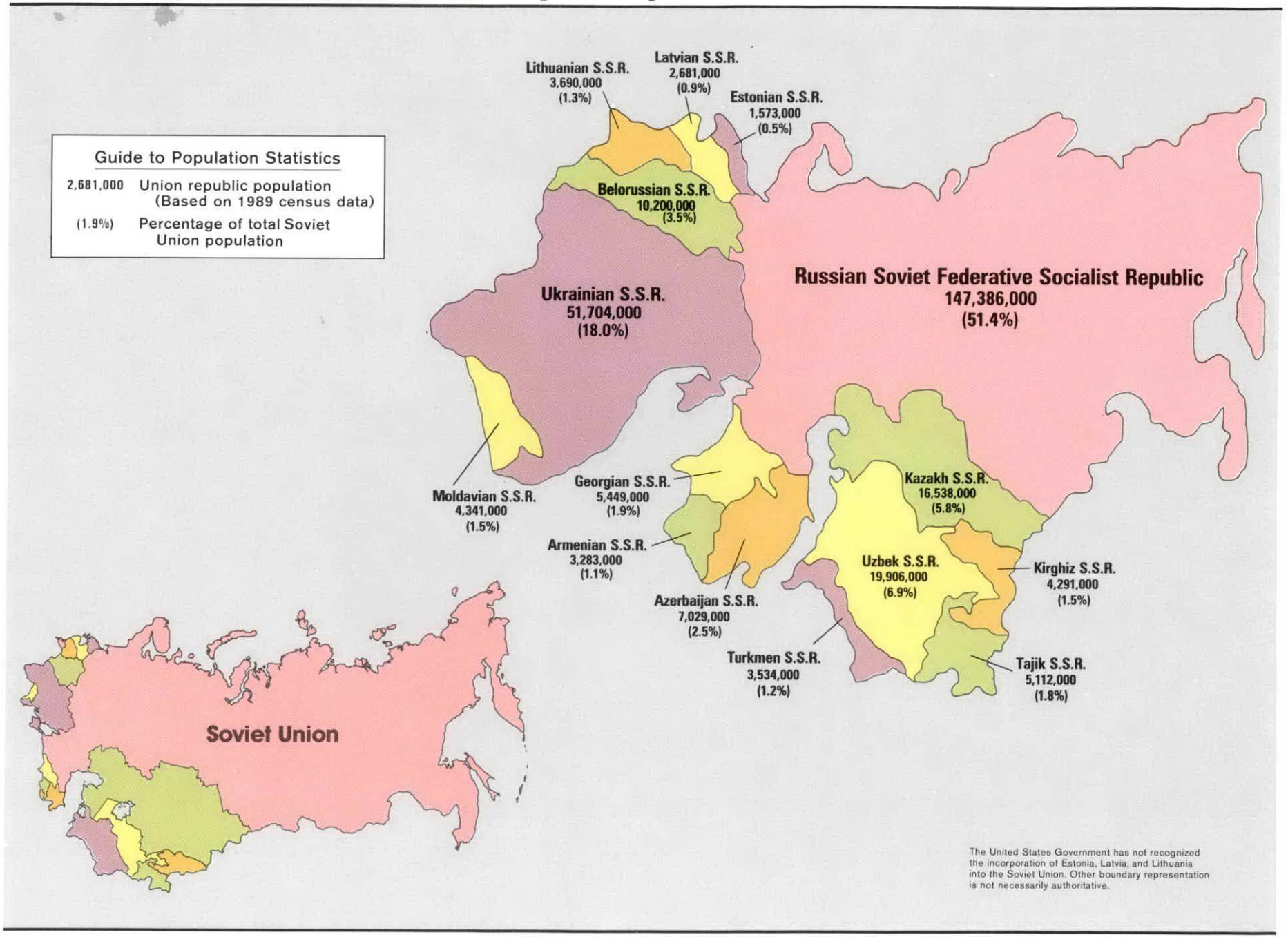
Russia


The United States Government has not recognized the incorporation of Estonia, Latvia, and Lithuania into the Soviet Union. Boundary representation is not necessarily authoritative.
Soviet Union
International boundary
National capital
Railroad
0 400 800 Kilometers
0 400 800 Miles
North Atlantic Ocean
Arctic Ocean
Norwegian Sea
North Sea
Barents Sea
Kara Sea
Laptev Sea
East Siberian Sea
Chukchi Sea
Bering Sea
Sea of Okhotsk
Sea of Japan
East China Sea
Yellow Sea
Philippine Sea
Black Sea
Caspian Sea
Aral Sea
Baltic Sea
Gulf of Bothnia
Persian Gulf
Lake Baikal
Lake Balkhash
Lake Onega
Lake Ladoga
Svalbard (NOR.)
Franz Josef Land
Severnaya Zemlya
Novaya Zemlya
New Siberian Islands
Wrangel I.
Kuril Islands (administered by Soviet Union)
occupied by Soviet Union since 1945, claimed by Japan
Sakhalin
Komandorskiye Ostrova
Arctic Circle
NORWAY
SWEDEN
FINLAND
POLAND
ROMANIA
BUL.
TURKEY
SYRIA
IRAQ
IRAN
KUWAIT
SAUDI ARABIA
AFGHANISTAN
PAK.
CHINA
MONGOLIA
NORTH KOREA
SOUTH KOREA
JAPAN
Dublin
London
Amsterdam
Bonn
Berlin
Prague
Vienna
Warsaw
Budapest
Bucharest
Copenhagen
Stockholm
Helsinki
Oslo
Ankara
Baghdad
Tehrán
Kuwait
Kabul
Ulaanbaatar
Beijing
Shanghai
Tokyo
Seoul
Pyongyang
Moscow
Leningrad
Murmansk
Arkhangel'sk
Vorkuta
Salekhard
Noril'sk
Dikson
Tiksi
Yakutsk
Magadan
Okhotsk
Petropavlovsk-Kamchatskiy
Provideniya
Anadyr'
Pevek
Cherskiy
Novosibirsk
Omsk
Tomsk
Krasnoyarsk
Irkutsk
Chita
Ulan-Ude
Khabarovsk
Vladivostok
Harbin
Shenyang
Lüda (Dalian)
Pusan
Kyzyl
Ürümqi
Alma-Ata
Frunze
Tashkent
Samarkand
Dushanbe
Khorog
Kushka
Herat
Mashhad
Chardzhou
Ashkhabad
Bukhara
Tabriz
Baku
Yerevan
Tbilisi
Astara
Krasnovodsk
Nukus
Kzyl-Orda
Aral'sk
Tyuratam
Balkhash
Taldy-Kurgan
Chimkent
Karaganda
Semipalatinsk
Pavlodar
Barnaul
Novokuznetsk
Tselinograd
Petropavlovsk
Kurgan
Chelyabinsk
Sverdlovsk
Tyumen'
Tobol'sk
Nizhnevartovsk
Surgut
Khanty-Mansiysk
Nadym
Urengoy
Noyabrsk
Tazovskiy
Igarka
Dudinka
Nar'yan-Mar
Pechora
Vorkuta
Konosha
Vologda
Kotlas
Arkhangel'sk
Belomorsk
Murmansk
Petrozavodsk
Tallinn
Riga
Vilnius
Kaliningrad
Leningrad
Novgorod
Smolensk
Kalinin
Minsk
Brest
Grodno
L'vov
Rovno
Chernovtsy
Vinnitsa
Kishinev
Odessa
Kiev
Gomel'
Bryansk
Orel
Ryazan'
Gor'kiy
Kirov
Kostroma
Ustinov
Perm'
Kazan
Penza
Voronezh
Khar'kov
Dnepropetrovsk
Donetsk
Voroshilovgrad
Sevastopol'
Kerch'
Novorossiysk
Rostov
Volgograd
Saratov
Kuybyshev
Ufa
Orenburg
Ural'sk
Armavir
Astrakhan
Oktyabr'sk
Gur'yev
Makat
Brsk
Shevchenko
Batumi
Tbilisi
Yerevan
Baku
Tabriz
Astara
Krasnovodsk
Nukus
Kzyl-Orda
Aral'sk
Tyuratam
Balkhash
Taldy-Kurgan
Chimkent
Frunze
Alma-Ata
Tashkent
Samarkand
Dushanbe
Khorog
Kushka
Herat
Mashhad
Chardzhou
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Ürümqi
Kyzyl
Semipalatinsk
Pavlodar
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Novokuznetsk
Tselinograd
Karaganda
Abakan
Irkutsk
Ulan-Ude
Chita
Borzya
Krasnoyarsk
Tayshet
Bratsk
Nizhneangarsk
Lesosibirsk
Ust'-Ilimsk
Ust'-Kut
Nizhnevartovsk
Surgut
Khanty-Mansiysk
Nadym
Urengoy
Noyabrsk
Tazovskiy
Igarka
Dudinka
Nar'yan-Mar
Pechora
Vorkuta
Salekhard
Noril'sk
Dikson
Tiksi
Yakutsk
Vilyuysk
Lensk
Aldan
Berkakit
Tynda
Berëzovyy
Urgal
Komsomol'sk
Sovetskaya Gavan'
Yuzhno-Sakhalinsk
Okha
Magadan
Petropavlovsk-Kamchatskiy
Provideniya
Anadyr'
Pevek
Cherskiy
Khabarovsk
Blagoveshchensk
Zvestkovyy
Harbin
Vladivostok
Khasan
Tokyo
Shenyang
Lüda (Dalian)
Pusan
Pyongyang
Seoul
Beijing
Shanghai
Ulaanbaatar
Kyzyl
Ürümqi
Alma-Ata
Frunze
Tashkent
Samarkand
Dushanbe
Khorog
Kushka
Herat
Mashhad
Chardzhou
Ashkhabad
Bukhara
Tabriz
Baku
Yerevan
Tbilisi
Astara
Krasnovodsk
Nukus
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Kurgan
Chelyabinsk
Sverdlovsk
Tyumen'
Tobol'sk



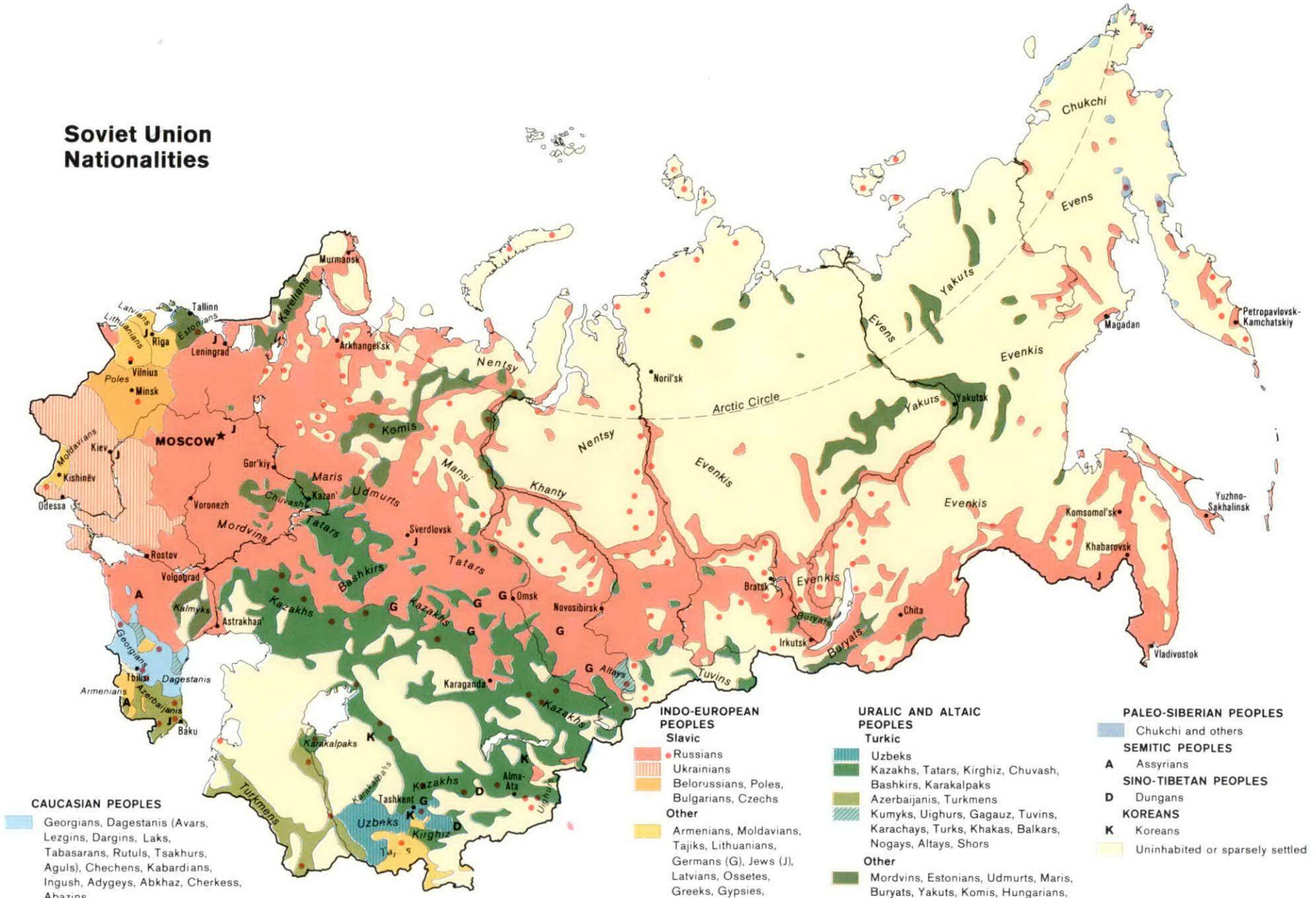
800656 (545499) 10-89

Proportional Area Representation of Soviet Republic Populations



719638 (E00279, B00904) 8-90

Soviet Union Nationalities



CAUCASIAN PEOPLES

Georgians, Dagestanis (Avars, Lezgins, Dargins, Laks, Tabasarans, Rutuls, Tsakhurs, Aguls), Chechens, Kabardians, Ingush, Adygeys, Abkhaz, Cherkess, Abazins

Groups of 12,000 or more, from 1979 census

INDO-EUROPEAN PEOPLES

Slavic

- Russians
- Ukrainians
- Belorussians, Poles, Bulgarians, Czechs

Other

Armenians, Moldavians, Tajiks, Lithuanians, Germans (G), Jews (J), Latvians, Ossetes, Greeks, Gypsies, Rumanians, Kurds, Persians, Tats, Beluchis

URALIC AND ALTAIC PEOPLES

Turkic

- Uzbeks
- Kazakhs, Tatars, Kirghiz, Chuvash, Bashkirs, Karakalpaks
- Azerbaijanis, Turkmens
- Kumyks, Uighurs, Gagauz, Tuvins, Karachays, Turks, Khakas, Balkars, Nogays, Altays, Shors

Other

Mordvins, Estonians, Udmurts, Maris, Buryats, Yakuts, Komis, Hungarians, Komi-Permyaks, Kalmyks, Karelians, Finns, Nentsy, Evenkis, Khanty, Evens

PALEO-SIBERIAN PEOPLES

Chukchi and others

SEMITIC PEOPLES

A Assyrians

SINO-TIBETAN PEOPLES

D Dungans

KOREANS

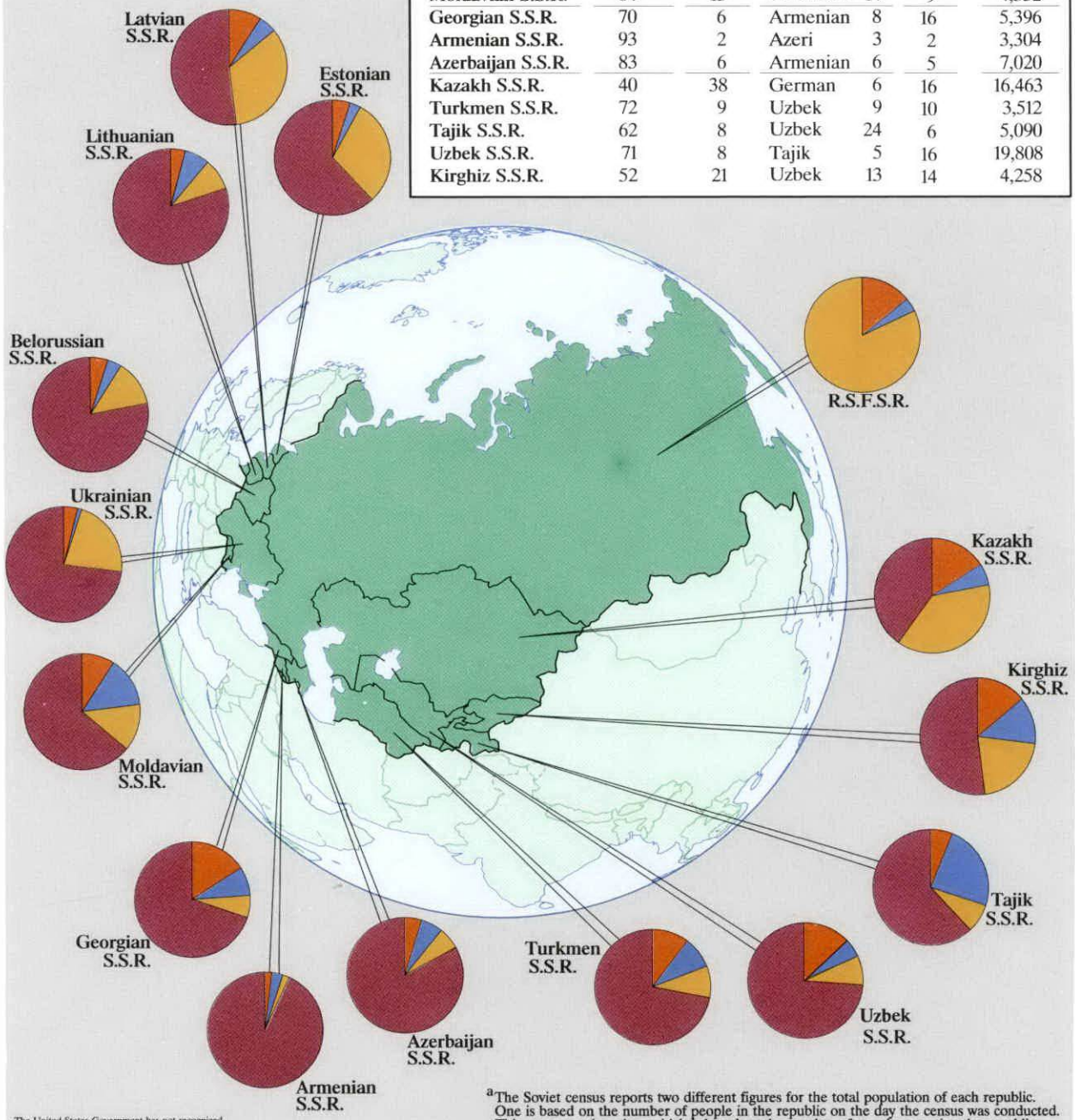
K Koreans

Uninhabited or sparsely settled

505173 6-82

Comparative Soviet Nationalities by Republic, 1989

Republic	Titular Republic Nationality (percent)	Russian (percent)	Minor Nationality (percent)		Other (percent)	Total Republic Population (thousands)[a]
R.S.F.S.R.	-	82	Tatar	4	15	147,002
Estonian S.S.R.	62	30	Ukrainian	3	5	1,566
Latvian S.S.R.	52	34	Belorussian	5	9	2,667
Lithuanian S.S.R.	80	9	Polish	7	4	3,673
Belorussian S.S.R.	78	13	Polish	4	5	10,149
Ukrainian S.S.R.	73	22	Jewish	1	4	51,449
Moldavian S.S.R.	64	13	Ukrainian	14	9	4,332
Georgian S.S.R.	70	6	Armenian	8	16	5,396
Armenian S.S.R.	93	2	Azeri	3	2	3,304
Azerbaijan S.S.R.	83	6	Armenian	6	5	7,020
Kazakh S.S.R.	40	38	German	6	16	16,463
Turkmen S.S.R.	72	9	Uzbek	9	10	3,512
Tajik S.S.R.	62	8	Uzbek	24	6	5,090
Uzbek S.S.R.	71	8	Tajik	5	16	19,808
Kirghiz S.S.R.	52	21	Uzbek	13	14	4,258



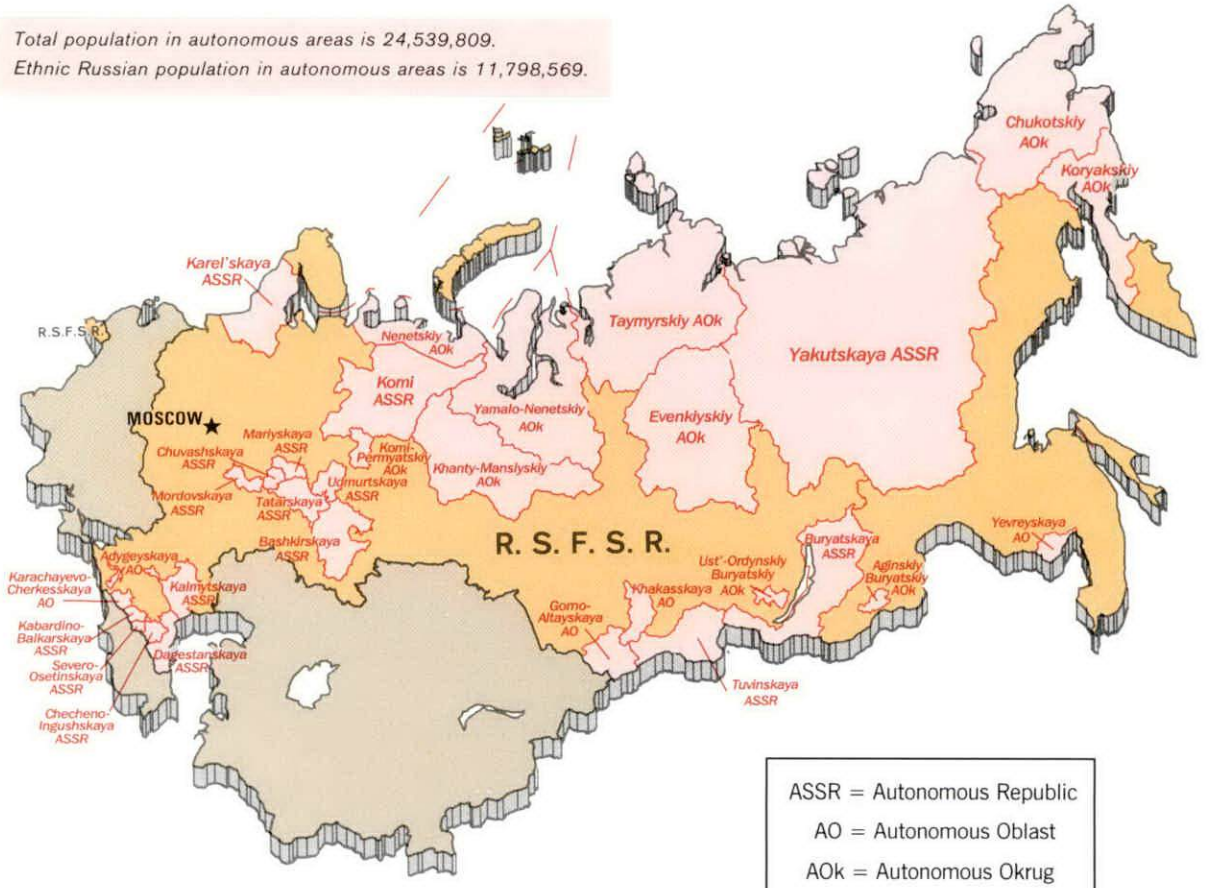
The United States Government has not recognized the incorporation of Estonia, Latvia, and Lithuania into the Soviet Union. Boundary representation is not necessarily authoritative.

[a]The Soviet census reports two different figures for the total population of each republic. One is based on the number of people in the republic on the day the census was conducted. This map uses the other, which is based on the number of people reporting the republic as their place of permanent residence.

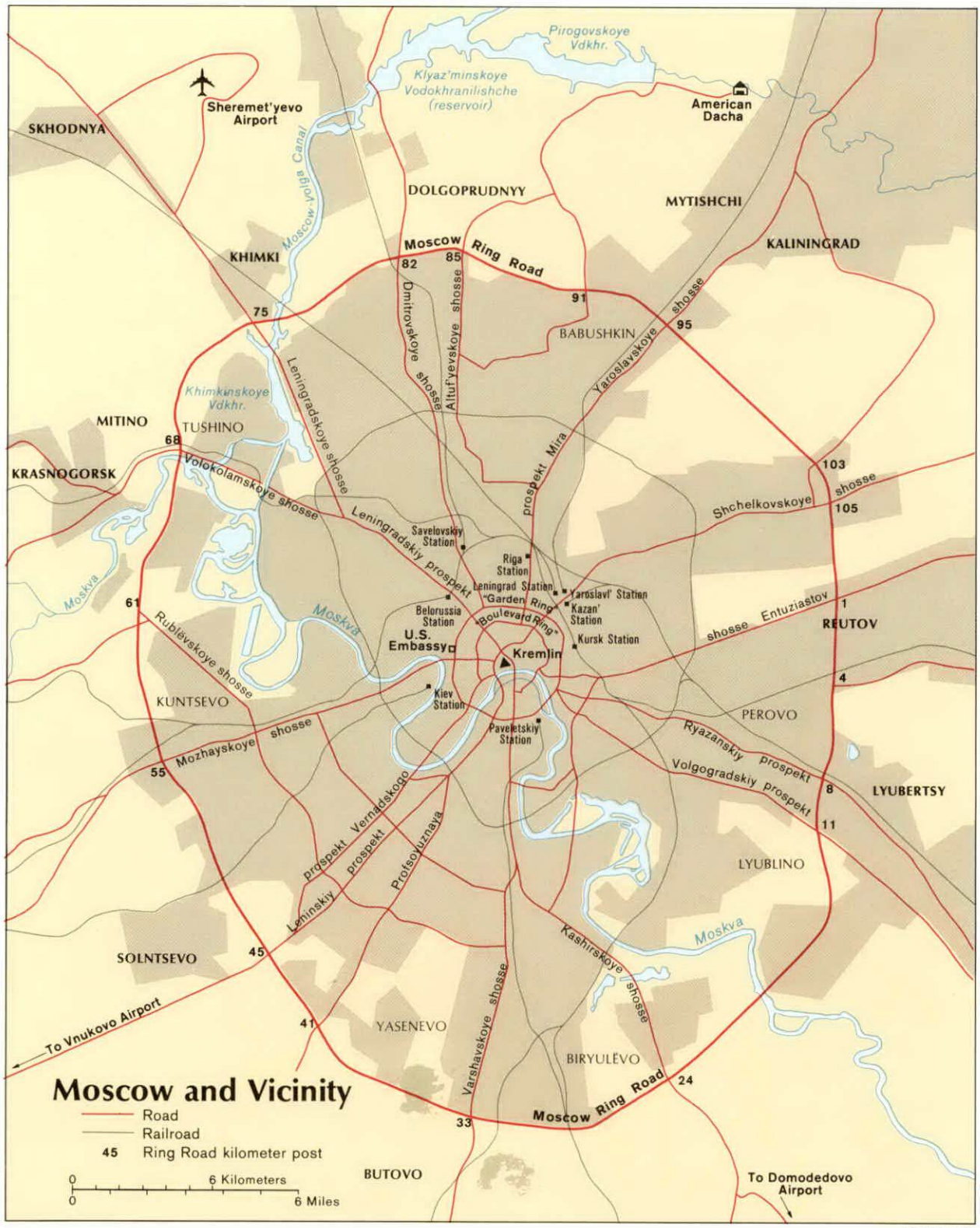
718613 (B01045) 4-90

Autonomous Areas in the Russian Soviet Federative Socialist Republic

Total population in autonomous areas is 24,539,809.
Ethnic Russian population in autonomous areas is 11,798,569.



The United States Government has not recognized the incorporation of Estonia, Latvia, and Lithuania into the Soviet Union. Other boundary representation is not necessarily authoritative.


Pirogovskoye Vdkhr.
Klyaz'minskoye Vodokhranilishche (reservoir)
Sheremet'yevo Airport
American Dacha
SKHODNYA
Moscow-Volga Canal
DOLGOPRUDNYY
MYTISHCHI
KALININGRAD
KHIMKI
Moscow Ring Road
82
85
91
95
75
Dmitrovskoye shosse
Altufyevskoye shosse
Yaroslavskoye shosse
BABUSHKIN
Khimkinskoye Vdkhr.
MITINO
TUSHINO
68
KRASNOGORSK
Volokolamskoye shosse
Leningradskoye shosse
prospekt Mira
103
Shchelkovskoye shosse
105
Leningradskiy prospekt
Savelovskiy Station
Riga Station
Leningrad Station
Yaroslavl' Station
"Garden Ring"
Kazan' Station
Belorussia Station
Boulevard Ring
Kursk Station
Moskva
61
Rublëvskoye shosse
U.S. Embassy
Kremlin
shosse Entuziastov
1
REUTOV
4
KUNTSEVO
Kiev Station
Paveletskiy Station
PEROVO
Mozhayskoye shosse
55
Ryazanskiy prospekt
Volgogradskiy prospekt
8
LYUBERTSY
11
prospekt Vernadskogo
prospekt
Profsoyuznaya
Leninskiy
LYUBLINO
Kashirskoye shosse
SOLNTSEVO
45
To Vnukovo Airport
41
YASENEVO
Varshavskoye shosse
BIRYULËVO
24
Moscow Ring Road
33
BUTOVO
To Domodedovo Airport
Moscow and Vicinity
Road
Railroad
45 Ring Road kilometer post
0 6 Kilometers
0 6 Miles

801082 2-88


Dinamo Stadium
Sovetskaya Hotel
Leningradskiy prospekt
Hippodrome
Belorussia Station
Belorusskaya
Butyrskiy Val
Novoslobodskaya
Novoslobodskaya
Kalyayevskaya
Frunze Central Army Park
Mira
Prospekt Mira
Botanical Gardens
prospekt
Krasnosel'skaya
Leningrad Station
Yaroslavl' Station
Komsomol'skaya
Kazan' Station
Gor'kogo
"Garden Ring"
Kolkhoznaya
Mayakovskaya
Tsvetnoy Bul'var
"Boulevard Ring"
Trubnaya Pl.
Krasnyye Vorota
Razgulyay Pl.
Bauman Park
Pushkinskaya
Gor'kovskaya
Zoo Park
Turgenevskaya
Kirovskaya
Kuznetskiy Most
Gor'kogo
Chkalova
Barrikadnaya
Krasnopresnenskaya
Bol'shoy Theater
Dzerzhinskaya
Nikitskiye Vorota Pl.
Pl. Sverdlova
Khokhlovskaya Pl.
Kurskaya
Kursk Station
Vosstaniya Pl.
New US Embassy (under construction)
US Embassy
Prospekt Marksa
Pl. Revolyutsii
GUM
Kalinina prospekt
Chaykovskogo
Red Square
St. Basil's
Kalininskaya
Arbatskaya
Pl. Nogina
The Residence (U.S. Amb.)
Ukraina Hotel
KREMLIN
Rossiya Hotel
Biblioteka im. Lenina and Borovitskaya
Yauza
Smolenskaya
Arbat
Foreign Ministry
Swimming Pool
Repina Pl.
Kotel'nicheskaya Apartments
Pryamikovo Pl.
Kiyevskaya
Kropotkinskaya
Kiev Station
Moskva
Novokuznetskaya
Tret'yakovskaya
Taganskaya
Marksistskaya
Taganskaya
Zubov. bul'
Park Kul'tury
State Art Gallery and Central House of Artists
Dimitrova
Polyanka Bol'shaya
Ordynka Bol'shaya
Vorontsovskaya
Abel'manovskoy Zastavy Pl.
Krymskiy Val
Novospasskiy Monastery
Krest'yanskoy Zastavy Pl.
Proletarskaya
Paveletskaya
Paveletskiy Station
Oktyabr'skaya
Dobryninskaya
Serpukhovskaya
Gor'kiy Park
prospekt
Frunzenskaya
Sportivnaya
Komsomol'skiy prospekt
Mytnaya
Lyusinovskaya
Shabolovskaya
Leninskiy prospekt
Donskoy Monastery
Serpukhovskoy Zastavy Pl.
Downtown Moscow
M Metro station
0 1/2 1 Kilometer
0 1/2 1 Mile

801081 2-88



723038 (R00029) 9-91

Current and Potential Border Disputes: Moldova



Azerbaijan S.S.R.

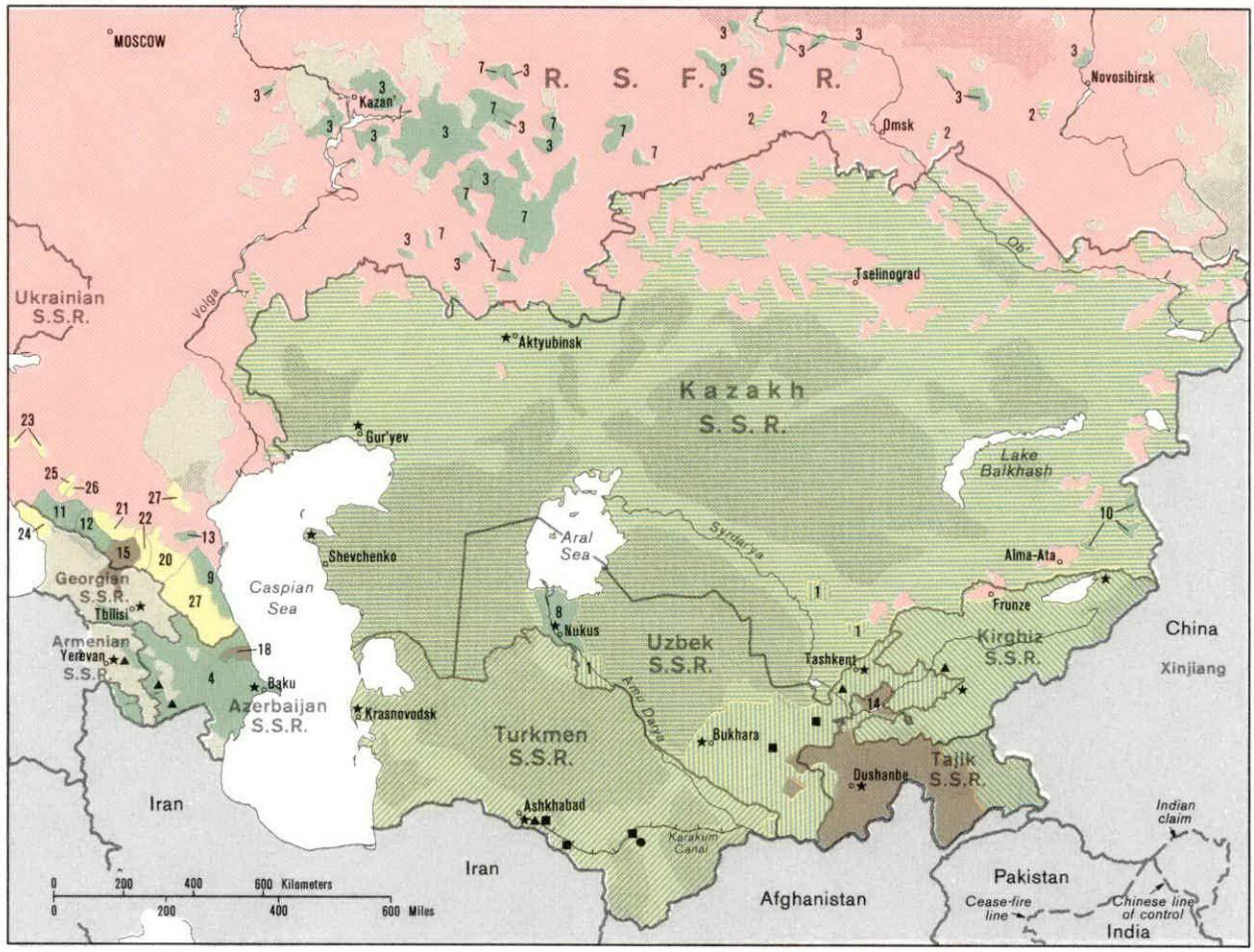



Baltic States



723037 (R00030) 9-91

Muslim Peoples in the Soviet Union



Turkic Peoples

		1979 Population (in thousands)
1	Uzbeks	12,456
2	Kazakhs	6,556
3	Tatars	6,317
4	Azerbaijanis	5,477
5	Turkmens	2,028
6	Kirghiz	1,906
7	Bashkirs	1,371
8	Karakalpaks	303
9	Kumyks	228
10	Uighurs	211
11	Karachays	131
12	Balkars	66
13	Nogays	60

Iranian Peoples

		1979 Population (in thousands)
14	Tajiks	2,898
15	Osetins	542
▲16	Kurds	116
■17	Iranians	31
18	Tats	22
●19	Baluchis	19

Peoples of the Caucasus

		1979 Population (in thousands)
20	Chechens	756
21	Kabardians	322
22	Ingush	186
23	Adygeys	109
24	Abkhaz	91
25	Cherkess	46
26	Abazins	29
27	Dagestani peoples:	
	Avars	483
	Lezgins	383
	Dargins	287
	Laks	100
	Tabasarans	75
	Rutuls	15
	Tsakhurs	14
	Aguls	12

★ Slavic peoples (primarily Russian and Ukrainian)

Other non-Muslim peoples

Sparsely populated area

504780 (544879) 4-81



723042 (B01150) 9-91

Withdrawal/Redaction Sheet
(George Bush Library)

Document No. and Type	Subject/Title of Document	Date	Restriction	Class.
01a. Handwritten Letter	Kurt F. Meese to POTUS Re: Petitioning the President (1 pp.)	9/7	(b)(6)	

Collection:

Record Group: Bush Presidential Records
Office: Scowcroft, Brent, Files
Series: Special Separate USSR Notes Files
Subseries: Yeltsin Files
WHORM Cat.:
File Location: Yeltsin (January - December) 1992 [5]

Date Closed:	4/30/2009	**OA/ID Number:**	91131-005
FOIA/SYS Case #:	2009-0275-S	**Appeal Case #:**	
Re-review Case #:		**Appeal Disposition:**	
P-2/P-5 Review Case #:		**Disposition Date:**	
AR Case #:		**MR Case #:**	
AR Disposition:		**MR Disposition:**	
AR Disposition Date:		**MR Disposition Date:**	

RESTRICTION CODES

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
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(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]

Withdrawal/Redaction Sheet
(George Bush Library)

Document No. and Type	Subject/Title of Document	Date	Restriction	Class.
01b. Handwritten Note	Anne Meese to POTUS Re: Petitioning the President (1 pp.)	9/13/89	(b)(6)	

Collection:

Record Group: Bush Presidential Records
Office: Scowcroft, Brent, Files
Series: Special Separate USSR Notes Files
Subseries: Yeltsin Files
WHORM Cat.:
File Location: Yeltsin (January - December) 1992 [5]

Date Closed:	4/30/2009	**OA/ID Number:**	91131-005
FOIA/SYS Case #:	2009-0275-S	**Appeal Case #:**	
Re-review Case #:		**Appeal Disposition:**	
P-2/P-5 Review Case #:		**Disposition Date:**	
AR Case #:		**MR Case #:**	
AR Disposition:		**MR Disposition:**	
AR Disposition Date:		**MR Disposition Date:**	

RESTRICTION CODES

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~~SECRET~~

~~SECRET~~
NATIONAL SECURITY COUNCIL
WASHINGTON, D.C. 20506

0254

January 14, 1993

Natl Sec Advisor has seen

ACTION

MEMORANDUM FOR BRENT SCOWCROFT

THROUGH: JOHN GORDON

FROM: DANIEL PONEMAN/NICHOLAS BURNS

SUBJECT: Proposed Presidential Message to Yeltsin on HEU Sharing

At Tab I for your approval is a proposed Presidential privacy channel message to Boris Yeltsin.

The letter has two purposes. First, it urges President Yeltsin to instruct his government to sign the HEU agreement in Washington this week, as soon as the text is finally agreed. The sides are very close to completing the text. Yesterday, the Russian head of delegation, Minatom Deputy Minister Yegorov, indicated he would have authority to sign. However, today he was told that the earliest it could be signed is during Minister Mikhailov's projected January 30 visit to Washington. That is clearly contrary to what President Bush and Yeltsin discussed in Moscow.

Second, the letter urges rapid agreement among Russia, Ukraine, Belarus and Kazakhstan on an equitable sharing of the proceeds from the sale of highly-enriched uranium from dismantled weapons. We believe it is important for the President to underscore that point to President Yeltsin before he meets tomorrow with President Kravchuk. Sharing of HEU proceeds is on the Yeltsin-Kravchuk agenda. We are concerned that the Russian Government might link this issue with the overall question of the distribution of assets between Russia and Ukraine. We are also concerned that the Russian bureaucracy might try to argue that there will be no proceeds from HEU sales, on the grounds that the U.S. purchase price will just equal Russian dismantlement costs.

Concurrences by: Susan Koch

RECOMMENDATION

That you approve the proposed message at Tab I.

Approve [BJ] Disapprove _____

Attachments
Tab I Proposed Presidential Privacy Channel Message to Yeltsin

~~SECRET~~
Declassify on: OADR

~~SECRET~~

DECLASSIFIED
PER E.O. 13526
2009-1072-MR
11/18/2016

Withdrawal/Redaction Sheet
(George Bush Library)

Document No. and Type	Subject/Title of Document	Date	Restriction	Class.
02b. Draft Cable	To Moscow, Re: [Message from President Bush to President Yeltsin] [FOIA restrictions redacted] (3 pp.)	n.d.	(b)(1)	S

Collection:

Record Group: Bush Presidential Records
Office: Scowcroft, Brent, Files
Series: Special Separate USSR Notes Files
Subseries: Yeltsin Files
WHORM Cat.:
File Location: Yeltsin (January - December) 1992 [5]

Document Partially Declassified
(Copy of Document Follows)
By MM on 11/18/2023

Date Closed:	4/30/2009	**OA/ID Number:**	91131-005
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 #:**	2009-1072-MR(504)
AR Disposition:		**MR Disposition:**	Released in Part
AR Disposition Date:		**MR Disposition Date:**	11/18/2016

RESTRICTION CODES

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

(b)(1) National security classified information
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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]

~~SECRET~~

BUSH PRESIDENTIAL LIBRARY
500.01
2009-1075-MR

TO 1.4(c) MOSCOW

~~SECRET~~ 1.4(c)

1.4(c) MOSCOW - PLEASE DELIVER THE FOLLOWING EYES ONLY MESSAGE FROM BRENT SCOWCROFT TO CHARGE COLLINS ONLY.

JIM, FOLLOWING IS A MESSAGE FROM PRESIDENT BUSH TO PRESIDENT YELTSIN. PLEASE DELIVER URGENTLY. THERE WILL BE NO SIGNED ORIGINAL.

WARM REGARDS,

BRENT

BEGIN TEXT OF MESSAGE.

DEAR BORIS:

YOU AND I AGREED IN MOSCOW TO TRY TO RESOLVE THE SALE OF HIGHLY-ENRICHED URANIUM (HEU) BY JANUARY 20. OUR REPRESENTATIVES ARE MEETING IN WASHINGTON THIS WEEK ON THE GOVERNMENT-TO-GOVERNMENT HEU AGREEMENT, A LETTER CLARIFYING THE ANTI-DUMPING SUSPENSION AGREEMENT, AND A CONTRACT FOR THE SALE OF 4.1 MILLION POUNDS OF URANIUM CONCENTRATE. THEY ARE ALSO WORKING ON THE SPECIFIC TERMS OF A CONTRACT FOR THE CONVERSION AND SALE TO THE U.S. OF HEU EXTRACTED FROM NUCLEAR WEAPONS. WE HAVE WORKED HARD TO DEVELOP AN APPROACH THAT MEETS BOTH OF OUR CONCERNS IN THESE MATTERS.

I UNDERSTAND THAT OUR REPRESENTATIVES ARE VERY NEAR AGREEMENT ON THE TEXT OF THE GOVERNMENT-TO-GOVERNMENT HEU AGREEMENT, AND THAT

~~SECRET~~

DECLASSIFIED IN PART
PER E.O. 13526
2009-1072-MR
MM 11/18/2016

IT SHOULD BE READY TO SIGN WHILE THEY ARE IN WASHINGTON THIS WEEK. THAT, OF COURSE, IS JUST WHAT YOU AND I WANT TO HAPPEN. HOWEVER, YOUR GOVERNMENT APPARENTLY HAS NOW SUGGESTED THAT IT WANTS TO DELAY SIGNING UNTIL THE END OF THE MONTH AT THE EARLIEST. BORIS, I URGE YOU TO INSTRUCT YOUR GOVERNMENT TO SIGN THE HEU GOVERNMENT-TO-GOVERNMENT AGREEMENT THIS WEEK IN WASHINGTON, AS SOON AS THE TEXT IS COMPLETE.

AS YOU KNOW, THE GOVERNMENT-TO-GOVERNMENT AGREEMENT CALLS FOR THE CONCLUSION OF AN IMPLEMENTING CONTRACT. BEFORE THAT CONTRACT CAN BE CONCLUDED, RUSSIA WILL NEED TO AGREE WITH UKRAINE, KAZAKHSTAN, AND BELARUS ON AN EQUITABLE ARRANGEMENT TO SHARE THE PROCEEDS OF THE SALES OF HEU EXTRACTED FROM NUCLEAR WEAPONS. WE UNDERSTAND THAT RUSSIA SHARES THIS VIEW, BUT THAT NO AGREEMENT HAS YET BEEN REACHED WITH THE OTHER THREE STATES. SUCH A SHARING AGREEMENT SHOULD BE CONCLUDED QUICKLY TO PERMIT SUBSTANTIAL FUNDS TO FLOW TO SUPPORT ECONOMIC REFORM. AN EQUITABLE SHARING AGREEMENT WILL ALSO GIVE UKRAINE AND KAZAKHSTAN A POWERFUL INCENTIVE TO TRANSFER NUCLEAR WEAPONS ON THEIR TERRITORY PROMPTLY FOR DISMANTLING IN RUSSIA. CONVERSELY, ABSENCE OF A SHARING ARRANGEMENT COULD JEOPARDIZE APPROVAL OF START AND THE NPT IN UKRAINE AND KAZAKHSTAN.

I URGE YOU TO TAKE THIS UP PERSONALLY WITH PRESIDENT KRAVCHUK AND PRESIDENT NAZARBAYEV, AND RESOLVE IT VERY QUICKLY. A GENEROUS

OFFER BY RUSSIA THAT LEADS TO QUICK AGREEMENT BY THE OTHERS WOULD YIELD MAJOR ECONOMIC AND SECURITY BENEFITS TO RUSSIA.

THE U.S. HAS DONE ITS PART BY MAKING A LONG-TERM COMMITMENT IN THE HEU AGREEMENT AND THE IMPLEMENTING CONTRACT TO PROVIDE MORE THAN $7 BILLION OVER 20 YEARS FOR 500 METRIC TONS OF HEU. THIS SUM IS SUFFICIENT TO PERMIT A FAIR RETURN TO ALL FOUR REPUBLICS, WHILE HASTENING THE TRANSFER OF ALL FORMER SOVIET NUCLEAR WARHEADS TO RUSSIA.

THE UNITED STATES AND RUSSIA HAVE DONE A GREAT DEAL TO CREATE CONDITIONS FOR PROMPT RATIFICATION OF START AND ACCESSION TO THE NPT BY THE OTHER THREE STATES. ONE MORE ESSENTIAL STEP IS TO WORK OUT AN EQUITABLE ARRANGEMENT TO SHARE THE PROCEEDS OF HEU SALES, AND I WOULD HOPE YOU WILL PUT THIS IN PLACE AS QUICKLY AS POSSIBLE.

SINCERELY,
GEORGE BUSH

END TEXT OF MESSAGE.

Withdrawal/Redaction Sheet
(George Bush Library)

Document No. and Type	Subject/Title of Document	Date	Restriction	Class.
03a. Memcon	Re: One-on-One Meeting with Russian President Boris Yeltsin (3 pp.)	7/30/91	(b)(1)	S

Collection:

Record Group: Bush Presidential Records
Office: Scowcroft, Brent, Collection
Series: Special Separate USSR Notes Files
Subseries: Yeltsin Files
WHORM Cat.:
File Location: Yeltsin (Jaunary - December) 1992 [5]

Date Closed:	4/30/2009	**OA/ID Number:**	91131-005
FOIA/SYS Case #:	2009-0275-S	**Appeal Case #:**	
Re-review Case #:		**Appeal Disposition:**	
P-2/P-5 Review Case #:		**Disposition Date:**	
AR Case #:		**MR Case #:**	
AR Disposition:		**MR Disposition:**	
AR Disposition Date:		**MR Disposition Date:**	

RESTRICTION CODES

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

P-1 National Security Classified Information [(a)(1) of the PRA]
P-2 Relating to the appointment to Federal office [(a)(2) of the PRA]
P-3 Release would violate a Federal statute [(a)(3) of the PRA]
P-4 Release would disclose trade secrets or confidential commercial or financial information [(a)(4) of the PRA]
P-5 Release would disclose confidential advice between the President and his advisors, or between such advisors [a)(5) of the PRA]
P-6 Release would constitute a clearly unwarranted invasion of personal privacy [(a)(6) of the PRA]

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

PRM. Removed as a personal record misfile.

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

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

Withdrawal/Redaction Sheet
(George Bush Library)

Document No. and Type	Subject/Title of Document	Date	Restriction	Class.
03b. Handwritten Notes	Re: President/Yeltsin 1 on 1 (4 pp.)	7/30/91	(b)(1)	

Collection:

Record Group: Bush Presidential Records
Office: Scowcroft, Brent, Collection
Series: Special Separate USSR Notes Files
Subseries: Yeltsin Files
WHORM Cat.:
File Location: Yeltsin (Jaunary - December) 1992 [5]

Date Closed:	4/30/2009	**OA/ID Number:**	91131-005
FOIA/SYS Case #:	2009-0275-S	**Appeal Case #:**	
Re-review Case #:		**Appeal Disposition:**	
P-2/P-5 Review Case #:		**Disposition Date:**	
AR Case #:		**MR Case #:**	
AR Disposition:		**MR Disposition:**	
AR Disposition Date:		**MR Disposition Date:**	

RESTRICTION CODES

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(b)(8) Release would disclose information concerning the regulation of financial institutions [(b)(8) of the FOIA]
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Translated from Russian

His Excellency
George BUSH
President of the
United States of America
Washington, D.C.

January 14, 1993
Moscow

Dear George,

Thank you for your letter addressing such a pressing issue which too worries us greatly. We share your deep concern over the situation in Kosovo and its explosive potential for the whole region. We also quite agree that there is a need for joint vigorous efforts.

For our part, in our contacts with Belgrade we continue to firmly insist on the need to correct the situation in Kosovo so that the legitimate rights and interests of Albanians there be fully respected. This, in particular, was raised by Foreign Minister Kozyrev in his telephone conversation with S.Milosevic on December 30. There is also a second part to this equation. It is no secret that the Kosovo problem is being seriously complicated by the policy of the Kosovo Albanians, supported by Tirana, who are actually working for seceding from Serbia. We believe that additional work with Pristina and Tirana to get them to drop maximalist demands could also be useful.

Given the nature of the problems in the area (above all, respect for the rights of ethnic minorities and human rights), it would perhaps be advisable to pursue the efforts within the framework of the CSCE as a follow-up on the Stockholm meeting of the Council of Foreign Ministers. In so doing, we would also take into account the fact that the CSCE observers are already in Kosovo.

On a personal note, I would like to say that we find the idea of a military intervention in Yugoslavia rather problematic, the more so that it is discussed in the context of the Kosovo situation

where there is no open conflict. One cannot overlook the fact that an outright reliance on the possibility of the use of power methods in Kosovo may prove counterproductive and could be misconstrued by the Kosovo extremists, who are capable of provoking a flare-up that would have unforeseeable consequences.

However complicated the situation on the territory of former Yugoslavia, military involvement of foreign powers there could hardly get us any closer to a settlement, not to speak of a possible further escalation of violence and a long-term complication of relations within the Balkans, as well as between the Balkan states and the countries that would participate in such an operation. Even in the purely military sense, in our view, it is hard to discern any clear solution as a result of an intervention, while the possibility to get bogged down in the crisis "swamp" is great. The use of force in Europe, particularly in such a volatile area as this, is a means of the last resort.

In any event, such a action with respect to the territory of former Yugoslavia should only be considered within the framework of the Security Council decisions and yes, within the context of international reaction, as you justly emphasized in your letter.

At present, the UN Security Council mechanism could be used for augmenting the international presence in Kosovo by sending, with Belgrade's agreement, UN military observers there.

Other Security Council possibilities should, in our view, be reserved for critical contingencies.

We support further consultations on the Kosovo problem and continued intensive cooperation in the Security Council, which we are already pursuing, so as not to permit, by joint efforts, the emergence of yet another seat of conflict on the territory of former Yugoslavia.

Sincerely,

Boris YELTSIN
President
of the Russian Federation

Received 1-14-93

Translated from Russian

His Excellency
George BUSH
President of the
United States of America
Washington, D.C.

January 14, 1993
Moscow

Dear George,

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Sincerely,

Boris YELTSIN
President
of the Russian Federation

Withdrawal/Redaction Sheet
(George Bush Library)

Document No. and Type	Subject/Title of Document	Date	Restriction	Class.
06. Cable	From White House , Re: [Message from President Bush to President Yeltsin] [142010Z Jan 93] [FOIA restrictions redacted] (3 pp.)	1/14/93	(b)(1)	S

Collection:

Record Group: Bush Presidential Records
Office: Scowcroft, Brent, Files
Series: Special Separate USSR Notes Files
Subseries: Yeltsin Files
WHORM Cat.:
File Location: Yeltsin (January - December) 1992 [5]

Document Partially Declassified
(Copy of Document Follows)
By MM on 3/13/2023

Date Closed:	4/30/2009	**OA/ID Number:**	91131-005
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 #:**	2009-1072-MR(504)
AR Disposition:		**MR Disposition:**	Released in Part
AR Disposition Date:		**MR Disposition Date:**	11/18/2016

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
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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]

IMMEDIATE

~~SECRET~~

WHITE HOUSE SITUATION ROOM

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2009-1075-MR

PAGE 01 OF 03

PRT: COMM GANTT HOWE SCOWCROFT SIT
SIT: COO FILE OLEARY PRIVACY OUT SIGLER SUM SUM2

<PREC> IMMEDIATE <CLAS> ~~SECRET~~ <DTG> 142010Z JAN 93

FM WHITE HOUSE

TO 1.4(c) MOSCOW NIACT
~~SECRET~~ EYES ONLY 1.4(c)
QQQQ

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PLEASE DELIVER THE FOLLOWING MESSAGE EYES ONLY TO CHARGE COLLINS FROM BRENT SCOWCROFT.

.

JIM, FOLLOWING IS A MESSAGE FROM PRESIDENT BUSH TO PRESIDENT YELTSIN. PLEASE DELIVER URGENTLY. THERE WILL BE NO SIGNED ORIGINAL.

.

WARM REGARDS,

.

BRENT

.

BEGIN TEXT:

.

DEAR BORIS:

.

YOU AND I AGREED IN MOSCOW TO TRY TO RESOLVE THE SALE OF HIGHLY-ENRICHED URANIUM (HEU) BY JANUARY 20. OUR REPRESENTATIVES ARE MEETING IN WASHINGTON THIS WEEK ON THE GOVERNMENT-TO-GOVERNMENT HEU AGREEMENT, A LETTER CLARIFYING THE ANTI-DUMPING SUSPENSION AGREEMENT, AND A CONTRACT FOR THE SALE OF 4.1 MILLION POUNDS OF URANIUM CONCENTRATE. THEY ARE ALSO WORKING ON THE SPECIFIC TERMS OF A CONTRACT FOR THE CONVERSION AND SALE TO THE U.S. OF HEU EXTRACTED FROM NUCLEAR WEAPONS. WE HAVE WORKED HARD TO DEVELOP AN APPROACH THAT MEETS BOTH OF OUR CONCERNS IN THESE MATTERS.

.

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PER E.O. 13526
2009-1072-MR
mm 11/18/2016

I UNDERSTAND THAT OUR REPRESENTATIVES ARE VERY NEAR AGREEMENT ON THE TEXT OF THE GOVERNMENT-TO-GOVERNMENT HEU AGREEMENT, AND THAT IT SHOULD BE READY TO SIGN WHILE THEY ARE IN WASHINGTON THIS WEEK. THAT, OF COURSE, IS JUST WHAT YOU AND I WANT TO HAPPEN. HOWEVER, YOUR GOVERNMENT APPARENTLY HAS NOT SUGGESTED THAT IT WANTS TO DELAY SIGNING UNTIL THE END OF THE MONTH AT THE EARLIEST. BORIS, I URGE YOU TO INSTRUCT YOUR GOVERNMENT TO SIGN THE HEU GOVERNMENT-TO-GOVERNMENT AGREEMENT THIS WEEK IN WASHINGTON, AS SOON AS THE TEXT IS COMPLETE.

.

AS YOU KNOW, THE GOVERNMENT-TO-GOVERNMENT AGREEMENT CALLS FOR THE CONCLUSION OF AN IMPLEMENTING CONTRACT. BEFORE THAT CONTRACT CAN BE CONCLUDED, RUSSIA WILL NEED TO AGREE WITH UKRAINE, KAZAKHSTAN, AND BELARUS ON AN EQUITABLE ARRANGEMENT TO SHARE THE PROCEEDS OF THE SALES OF HEU EXTRACTED FROM NUCLEAR WEAPONS. WE UNDERSTAND THAT RUSSIA SHARES THIS VIEW, BUT THAT NO AGREEMENT HAS YET BEEN REACHED WITH THE OTHER THREE STATES. SUCH A SHARING AGREEMENT SHOULD BE CONCLUDED QUICKLY TO PERMIT SUBSTANTIAL FUNDS TO FLOW TO SUPPORT ECONOMIC REFORM. AN EQUITABLE SHARING AGREEMENT WILL ALSO GIVE UKRAINE AND KAZAKHSTAN A POWERFUL INCENTIVE TO TRANSFER NUCLEAR WEAPONS ON THEIR TERRITORY PROMPTLY FOR DISMANTLING IN RUSSIA. CONVERSELY, ABSENCE OF A SHARING ARRANGEMENT COULD JEOPARDIZE APPROVAL OF START AND THE NPT IN UKRAINE AND KAZAKHSTAN.

.

I URGE YOU TO TAKE THIS UP PERSONALLY WITH PRESIDENT KRAVCHUK AND PRESIDENT NAZARBAYEV, AND RESOLVE IT VERY QUICKLY. A GENEROUS OFFER BY RUSSIA THAT LEADS TO QUICK AGREEMENT BY THE OTHERS WOULD YIELD MAJOR ECONOMIC AND SECURITY BENEFITS TO RUSSIA.

.

THE U.S. HAS DONE ITS PART BY MAKING A LONG-TERM COMMITMENT IN THE HEU AGREEMENT AND THE IMPLEMENTING CONTRACT TO PROVIDE MORE THAN $7 BILLION OVER 20 YEARS FOR 500 METRIC TONS OF HEU. THIS SUM IS SUFFICIENT TO PERMIT A FAIR RETURN TO ALL FOUR REPUBLICS, WHILE HASTENING THE TRANSFER OF ALL FORMER SOVIET NUCLEAR WARHEADS TO RUSSIA.

.

WHITE HOUSE SITUATION ROOM

THE UNITED STATES AND RUSSIA HAVE DONE A GREAT DEAL TO CREATE CONDITIONS FOR PROMPT RATIFICATION OF START AND ACCESSION TO THE NPT BY THE OTHER THREE STATES. ONE MORE ESSENTIAL STEP IS TO WORK OUT AN EQUITABLE ARRANGEMENT TO SHARE THE PROCEEDS OF HEU SALES, AND I WOULD HOPE YOU WILL PUT THIS IN PLACE AS QUICKLY AS POSSIBLE.

.

SINCERELY,

.

GEORGE BUSH

.

.

END TEXT

DECL: OADR

#0025

NNNN

<MSGID> M0167980

Withdrawal/Redaction Sheet
(George Bush Library)

Document No. and Type	Subject/Title of Document	Date	Restriction	Class.
07. Cable	From White House, Re: Message Directly Eyes Only to President Yeltsin from President Bush [292212Z Nov 92] [FOIA restrictions redacted] (4 pp.)	11/29/92	(b)(1)	S

Collection:

Record Group: Bush Presidential Records
Office: Scowcroft, Brent, Files
Series: Special Separate USSR Notes Files
Subseries: Yeltsin Files
WHORM Cat.:
File Location: Yeltsin (January - December) 1992 [5]

Document Partially Declassified
(Copy of Document Follows)
By MM on 3/13/2023

Date Closed:	4/30/2009	**OA/ID Number:**	91131-005
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 #:**	2009-1072-MR(505)
AR Disposition:		**MR Disposition:**	Released in Part
AR Disposition Date:		**MR Disposition Date:**	11/18/2016

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]

IMMEDIATE

~~SECRET~~

WHITE HOUSE SITUATION ROOM

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505
2009-1075-MR

PAGE 01 OF 04

PRT: COMM GANTT HOWE SCOWCROFT SIT
SIT: COO FILE OLEARY PRIVACY^OUT SIGLER SUM SUM2

<PREC> IMMEDIATE <CLAS> ~~SECRET~~ <DTG> 292212Z NOV 92

FM WHITE HOUSE

TO 1.4(c) MOSCOW NIACT
~~S E C R E T~~ EYES ONLY 1.4(c)
QQQQ

.
PLEASE DELIVER THE FOLLOWING MESSAGE TO CHARGE COLLINS.
CHARGE COLLINS PLEASE DELIVER THE FOLLOWING MESSAGE DIRECTLY EYES ONLY TO PRESIDENT YELTSIN FROM PRESIDENT BUSH.

.
.
BEGIN TEXT:

.
DEAR BORIS:

.
I AM WRITING TO SHARE MY THOUGHTS ON HOW WE MAY WORK TOGETHER DURING THE TIME REMAINING TO ME IN OFFICE ON THE MOST IMPORTANT ISSUE IN OUR BILATERAL RELATIONSHIP -- OUR COMMON DESIRE TO END FOREVER THE THREAT OF NUCLEAR WAR BETWEEN THE UNITED STATES AND RUSSIA. GOVERNOR CLINTON AND I AGREED LAST WEEK THAT SUPPORT FOR REFORM IN RUSSIA MUST REMAIN A PRIORITY FOR THE UNITED STATES, AND THAT OUR PARTNERSHIP WITH YOU IS TOO IMPORTANT TO ALLOW THE U.S. TRANSITION PERIOD TO DELAY PROGRESS ON THE VITAL ISSUES BEFORE US. IN PARTICULAR, THE GOVERNOR HOPED WE COULD COMPLETE THE START II TREATY BY MID-JANUARY. I HOPE YOU AGREE, AS WE DISCUSSED ON NOVEMBER 4, THAT YOU AND I SHOULD CONCLUDE THIS TREATY TOGETHER.

.
TOGETHER WE MADE THE IMPORTANT AND TOUGH DECISIONS THAT LED TO OUR JOINT UNDERSTANDING AT THE JUNE SUMMIT. THAT WAS THE MAJOR TASK AND IT IS NOW BEHIND US. WE NOW HAVE BEFORE US THE TASK OF

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PER E.O. 13526
2009-1072-MR
MM 11/18/2016

CODIFYING OUR HISTORIC ACCOMPLISHMENT INTO TREATY LANGUAGE. A SUCCESSFUL CONCLUSION OF THAT TASK WOULD LOCK IN A FOUNDATION FOR A CLOSE, COOPERATIVE AMERICAN-RUSSIAN PARTNERSHIP FOR THE REMAINDER OF THIS DECADE AND INTO THE NEXT CENTURY.

.

OUR JOINT UNDERSTANDING CALLS FOR DRAMATIC REDUCTIONS IN THE STRATEGIC FORCES OF BOTH SIDES. EVEN MORE IMPORTANTLY, IT GREATLY IMPROVES STABILITY BY BANNING THE MOST DESTABILIZING SYSTEMS NOW HELD BY BOTH COUNTRIES. BUT, AS WE HAVE DISCUSSED, THERE IS MUCH MORE TO THE AGREEMENT THAN THE CHANGES IT REQUIRES IN OUR NUCLEAR FORCES. UNDERLYING IT IS A PROFOUND BREAK FROM THE PAST IN HOW WE LOOK AT ARMS CONTROL, AT STABILITY, AND AT EACH OTHER. FOR THAT, YOU DESERVE MUCH OF THE CREDIT. IT WAS, AS I RECALL, AT YOUR INITIATIVE THAT WE DECIDED TO ABANDON THE OLD STANDARD OF NUMERICAL PARITY JUST HOURS BEFORE WE ANNOUNCED THE AGREEMENT IN THE ROSE GARDEN.

.

ANOTHER NOVEL FEATURE OF OUR AGREEMENT THAT STANDS IN SHARP CONTRAST TO THE YEARS OF COMPETITIVE ARMS BUILD UP IS THE PROVISION THAT THE UNITED STATES MIGHT HELP RUSSIA TO REDUCE ITS FORCES MORE QUICKLY. AS YOU KNOW, WE ARE ALREADY DISCUSSING WITH YOUR GOVERNMENT U.S. ASSISTANCE TO HELP ALLEVIATE THE FINANCIAL BURDEN OF IMPLEMENTING THE NEW AGREEMENT.

.

THE DRAFT TREATY JIM BAKER PROVIDED TO YOUR GOVERNMENT IN JULY WAS A FAITHFUL TRANSLATION INTO TREATY LANGUAGE OF THE JUNE 17 JOINT UNDERSTANDING. IN VIEW OF THAT, I WAS SURPRISED BY THE CHANGES WHICH WERE PROPOSED BY YOUR FOREIGN MINISTRY. THE PROPOSALS TO PERMIT CONVERSION OF SS-18 SILOS AND DOWNLOADING OF SS-19S SEEM CLEARLY OUT OF STEP WITH THE JUNE ACCORD. SIMILARLY, THE PROPOSALS ON HEAVY BOMBERS WOULD REOPEN ISSUES THAT WERE SETTLED IN THE START TALKS. I AM AT A LOSS TO UNDERSTAND WHY THESE CHANGES WOULD BE SUGGESTED UNLESS IT IS TO PERMIT RUSSIAN FORCES TO REACH THE 3500 WARHEAD CEILING AND TO DO SO IN THE MOST ECONOMICAL MANNER. IF THAT INTERPRETATION IS CORRECT, IT SEEMS CLEARLY AT ODDS WITH YOUR STATEMENT IN THE OVAL OFFICE THAT YOU

WANTED TO BREAK SYMMETRY AS A SYMBOL OF OUR NEW RELATIONSHIP.

.

WITH RESPECT TO THE PROPOSED STATEMENTS ON THE ABM TREATY, OUR COUNTRIES HAVE BEGUN TO MAKE PROGRESS TOWARD A GLOBAL DEFENSE AGAINST BALLISTIC MISSILES ALONG THE LINES YOU SUGGESTED AT CAMP DAVID. I WOULD HOPE WE COULD BUILD ON THAT PROGRESS RATHER THAN RETURN TO STATMENTS THAT SEEM OUTDATED IN OUR NEW RELATIONSHIP.

.

BORIS, I THINK WE SHOULD REMAIN TRUE TO OUR JUNE FRAMEWORK AGREEMENT. THE INITIAL RESPONSE TO OUR TREATY DRAFT SEEMS TO TAKE US IN A DIFFERENT DIRECTION. I WOULD ASK THAT YOU REFLECT ON THE ISSUES THAT I HAVE RAISED AND THAT WE DISCUSS THEM TOGETHER VERY SOON. IF THE POSITIONS ON ANY OF THESE ISSUES DIRECTLY REFLECT YOUR OWN THINKING I WOULD APPRECIATE KNOWING THE REASONING WHICH LED YOU TO PROPOSE THE CHANGES. I AM CONVINCED THAT ONLY YOU AND I CAN MAKE THE NECESSARY DECISIONS AND PROVIDE THE IMPETUS TO CONCLUDE THIS AGREEMENT DURING THE NEXT SEVERAL WEEKS.

.

I KNOW THE TREMENDOUS PROBLEMS RUSSIA IS FACING AND THE PRESSURES ON YOU AND YOUR TEAM OF REFORMERS. I AM DOING ALL THAT IS WITHIN MY POWER TO ASSIST YOU AND TO DEMONSTRATE SUPPORT FOR YOUR REFORMS. I REMAIN HOPEFUL THAT A PARIS CLUB DEBT RESCHEDULING AGREEMENT AND THE FULL RANGE OF ECONOMIC ASSISTANCE WE HAVE ALREADY DELIVERED WILL HELP TO SECURE THE SUCCESS OF YOUR PROGRAMS. AND LET ME ADD - PULLING BACK FROM OUR CLEAR UNDERSTANDING WOULD GREATLY COMPLICATE OUR ABILITY TO GET CONGRESS TO CONTINUE TO HELP ON THE ECONOMIC FRONT. CONCLUSION OF THIS NEW TREATY WOULD DRASTICALLY REDUCE THE BURDEN OF STRATEGIC FORCES LEFT OVER FROM THE COLD WAR, WOULD BOLSTER YOUR AND RUSSIA'S STANDING IN THE WORLD COMMUNITY, AND WOULD BE THE CROWNING ACCOMPLISHMENT OF OUR HISTORIC COOPERATION TOGETHER. I AM READY TO WORK HARD TO REACH FINAL AGREEMENT WITH YOU AND WILL CALL YOU AFTER YOU HAVE HAD A CHANCE TO REFLECT ON THIS LETTER.

.

SINCERELY,

.

GEORGE BUSH

.

END TEXT

DECL: OADR

#0022

NNNN

<MSGID> M0086707

Withdrawal/Redaction Sheet
(George Bush Library)

Document No. and Type	Subject/Title of Document	Date	Restriction	Class.
08a. Cable	From White House, Re: [Message from President Bush to President Yeltsin] [012334Z Dec 92] [FOIA restrictions redacted] (2 pp.)	12/1/92	(b)(1)	S

Collection:

Record Group: Bush Presidential Records
Office: Scowcroft, Brent, Files
Series: Special Separate USSR Notes Files
Subseries: Yeltsin Files
WHORM Cat.:
File Location: Yeltsin (January - December) 1992 [5]

Document Partially Declassified
(Copy of Document Follows)
By MM on 3/13/2023

Date Closed:	4/30/2009	**OA/ID Number:**	91131-005
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 #:**	2009-1072-MR(506)
AR Disposition:		**MR Disposition:**	Released in Part
AR Disposition Date:		**MR Disposition Date:**	11/18/2016

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
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(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

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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]

IMMEDIATE

~~SECRET~~

WHITE HOUSE SITUATION ROOM

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506
2009-1075-MR

PAGE 01 OF 02

PRT: COMM GANTT HOWE SCOWCROFT SIT
SIT: COO FILE OLEARY PRIVACY^OUT SIGLER SUM SUM2

<PREC> IMMEDIATE <CLAS> ~~SECRET~~ <DTG> 012334Z DEC 92

FM WHITE HOUSE

TO 1.4(c) MOSCOW
~~S E C R E T~~ 1.4(c)
QQQQ

.

PLEASE DELIVER THE FOLLOWING MESSAGE FROM BRENT SCOWCROFT TO CHARGE COLLINS ONLY.
JIM -- PLEASE DELIVER THE FOLLOWING MESSAGE FROM PRESIDENT BUSH TO PRESIDENT YELTSIN AT OPENING OF BUSINESS, DECEMBER 2. THERE WILL BE NO SIGNED ORIGINAL.
WARM REGARDS,
BRENT

.

BEGIN TEXT:

.

DEAR BORIS:
IT WAS GOOD TO TALK WITH YOU ON MONDAY. I KNOW YOU MUST BE VERY BUSY WITH THE OPENING OF THE CONGRESS OF PEOPLES DEPUTIES, BUT I WANTED TO FOLLOW UP WITH YOU ON YOUR WELCOME SUGGESTION THAT WE SIGN A START II TREATY BEFORE I LEAVE OFFICE.
YOUR SUGGESTION ABOUT A MEETING IN ALASKA IS EXCELLENT. I PROPOSE WE MEET IN ANCHORAGE TO SIGN THE TREATY. OUR MEETING WOULD ALSO PROVIDE AN OPPORTUNITY TO ASSESS THE MANY OTHER IMPORTANT ISSUES IN OUR BILATERAL RELATIONSHIP. I SUGGEST THAT WE WITHHOLD PUBLIC COMMENT ON THESE PLANS UNTIL WE HAVE AGREED ON FINAL ARRANGEMENTS.
I WAS VERY PLEASED TO HEAR THAT YOU AGREE WITH THE APPROACH SET OUT IN MY MONDAY LETTER TO YOU ON THE TREATY AND THAT WE WILL ADHERE TO THE FRAMEWORK AGREEMENT WE SIGNED IN JUNE. THERE HAS BEEN ONE NEW DEVELOPMENT SINCE I WROTE TO YOU. WE HAVE NOW HAD THE OPPORTUNITY TO REVIEW A NEW DRAFT OF THE TREATY PROPOSED BY YOUR FOREIGN

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PER E.O. 13526
2009-1072-MR
MM 11/18/2016

MINISTRY. THIS NEW DRAFT IS A COMPLETE REWRITE OF THE ONE THE U.S. OFFERED IN JULY. TO RECONCILE THE TWO DRAFTS WOULD BE A LABORIOUS AND CUMBERSOME PROCESS. EVEN WHERE THE TWO TEXTS ARE NOT IN FUNDAMENTAL DISAGREEMENT. THE NEW DRAFT TEXT, MOREOVER, INCORPORATES SIGNIFICANT DEPARTURES FROM THE PROVISIONS OF OUR JUNE AGREEMENT. THEREFORE, I PROPOSE WE CONTINUE TO WORK FROM THE U.S. DRAFT TREATY, WHILE RECOGNIZING THE NEED TO RESOLVE DIFFERENCES ON SPECIFIC LANGUAGE. IN THIS SPIRIT, WE ARE READY TO RECEIVE DEPUTY FOREIGN MINISTER MAMEDOV NEXT WEEK AS PROPOSED BY ANDREI KOZYREV TO LARRY EAGLEBURGER.

FOLLOWING THESE DISCUSSIONS, I RECOMMEND WE INSTRUCT EAGLEBURGER AND KOZYREV TO MEET, AS SOON AS YOUR CONGRESS CONCLUDES, TO RESOLVE THE REMAINING ISSUES AND PREPARE THE FINAL ARRANGEMENTS FOR OUR MEETING.

BORIS, NOTHING COULD BE MORE IMPORTANT FOR BOTH OUR COUNTRIES, OR A BETTER SYMBOL OF THE NEW PARTNERSHIP, THAN OUR SIGNING THIS HISTORIC TREATY. I WISH YOU EVERY SUCCESS IN THE TOUGH DAYS AHEAD OF YOU.

SINCERELY,

GEORGE BUSH

.

.

END TEXT

DECL: OADR

#0032

NNNN

<MSGID> M0091195

Withdrawal/Redaction Sheet
(George Bush Library)

Document No. and Type	Subject/Title of Document	Date	Restriction	Class.
08b. Draft Cable	Re: [Message from President Bush to President Yeltsin] [FOIA restrictions redacted] (2 pp.)	12/1	(b)(1)	S

Collection:

Record Group: Bush Presidential Records
Office: Scowcroft, Brent, Files
Series: Special Separate USSR Notes Files
Subseries: Yeltsin Files
WHORM Cat.:
File Location: Yeltsin (January - December) 1992 [5]

Document Partially Declassified
(Copy of Document Follows)
By MM on 3/13/2023

Date Closed:	4/30/2009	**OA/ID Number:**	91131-005
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 #:**	2009-1072-MR(506)
AR Disposition:		**MR Disposition:**	Released in Part
AR Disposition Date:		**MR Disposition Date:**	11/18/2016

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
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Deed of Gift Restrictions

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PRM. Removed as a personal record misfile

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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]

~~SECRET~~

Being sent via Situation Room 12/1

~~SECRET~~ -- ENTIRE TEXT

1.4(c) MESSAGE FROM BRENT SCOWCROFT TO CHARGE COLLINS ONLY

JIM -- PLEASE DELIVER THE FOLLOWING MESSAGE FROM PRESIDENT BUSH TO PRESIDENT YELTSIN AT OPENING OF BUSINESS, DECEMBER 2. tHERE WILL BE NO SIGNED ORIGINAL.

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506.01
2009-1075-MR

WARM REGARDS,

BRENT

BEGIN TEXT OF MESSAGE

DEAR BORIS:

IT WAS GOOD TO TALK WITH YOU ON MONDAY. I KNOW YOU MUST BE VERY BUSY WITH THE OPENING OF THE CONGRESS OF PEOPLES DEPUTIES, BUT I WANTED TO FOLLOW UP WITH YOU ON YOUR WELCOME SUGGESTION THAT WE SIGN A START II TREATY BEFORE I LEAVE OFFICE.

YOUR SUGGESTION ABOUT A MEETING IN ALASKA IS EXCELLENT. I PROPOSE WE MEET IN ANCHORAGE TO SIGN THE TREATY. OUR MEETING WOULD ALSO PROVIDE AN OPPORTUNITY TO ASSESS THE MANY OTHER IMPORTANT ISSUES IN OUR BILATERAL RELATIONSHIP. I SUGGEST THAT WE WITHHOLD PUBLIC COMMENT ON THESE PLANS UNTIL WE HAVE AGREED ON FINAL ARRANGEMENTS.

I WAS VERY PLEASED TO HEAR THAT YOU AGREE WITH THE APPROACH SET OUT IN MY MONDAY LETTER TO YOU ON THE TREATY AND THAT WE WILL ADHERE TO THE FRAMEWORK AGREEMENT WE SIGNED IN JUNE. THERE HAS BEEN ONE NEW DEVELOPMENT SINCE I WROTE TO YOU. WE HAVE NOW HAD THE OPPORTUNITY TO REVIEW A NEW DRAFT OF THE TREATY PROPOSED BY YOUR FOREIGN MINISTRY. THIS NEW DRAFT IS A COMPLETE REWRITE OF THE ONE THE U.S. OFFERED IN JULY. TO RECONCILE THE TWO DRAFTS

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PER E.O. 13526
2009-1072-MR
MM 11/18/2016

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FOLLOWING THESE DISCUSSIONS, I RECOMMEND WE INSTRUCT EAGLEBURGER AND KOZYREV TO MEET, AS SOON AS YOUR CONGRESS CONCLUDES, TO RESOLVE THE REMAINING ISSUES AND PREPARE THE FINAL ARRANGEMENTS FOR OUR MEETING.

BORIS, NOTHING COULD BE MORE IMPORTANT FOR BOTH OUR COUNTRIES, OR A BETTER SYMBOL OF THE NEW PARTNERSHIP, THAN OUR SIGNING THIS HISTORIC TREATY. I WISH YOU EVERY SUCCESS IN THE TOUGH DAYS AHEAD OF YOU.

SINCERELY,

GEORGE BUSH

END TEXT

Withdrawal/Redaction Sheet
(George Bush Library)

Document No. and Type	Subject/Title of Document	Date	Restriction	Class.
09. Cable	Re: [Message from President Bush to President Yeltsin] [FOIA restrictions redacted] [280458Z Nov 92] (2 pp.)	11/28/92	(b)(1)	C

Collection:

Record Group: Bush Presidential Records
Office: Scowcroft, Brent, Files
Series: Special Separate USSR Notes Files
Subseries: Yeltsin Files
WHORM Cat.:
File Location: Yeltsin (January - December) 1992 [5]

Document Partially Declassified
(Copy of Document Follows)
By MM on 3/13/2023

Date Closed:	4/30/2009	**OA/ID Number:**	91131-005
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 #:**	2009-1072-MR(507)
AR Disposition:		**MR Disposition:**	Released in Part
AR Disposition Date:		**MR Disposition Date:**	11/18/2016

RESTRICTION CODES

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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]

IMMEDIATE

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

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2009-1075-MR

PRT: COMM GANTT HOWE SCOWCROFT SIT
SIT: COO FILE OLEARY PRIVACY OUT SIGLER SUM SUM2

<PREC> IMMEDIATE <CLAS> ~~CONFIDENTIAL~~ <DTG> 280458Z NOV 92

FM WHITE HOUSE

TO 1.4(c) MOSCOW
~~C O N F I D E N T I A L~~ 1.4(c)
QQQQ

.

PLEASE DELIVER THE FOLLOWING MESSAGE TO CHARGE.

.

MR. COLLINS: PLEASE DELIVER THE FOLLOWING MESSAGE TO PRESIDENT YELTSIN FROM PRESIDENT BUSH.

.

BEGIN TEXT:

.

DEAR BORIS,

.

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

.

AS THE ACTING SECRETARY MADE CLEAR IN HIS PREVIOUS LETTER, THE U.S. VIEWS THE SITUATION IN SOMALIA AS EXTRAORDINARILY COMPELLING. THE U.S. STANDS READY TO MAKE A MAJOR CONTRIBUTION, INCLUDING THE PROVISION OF U.S. MILITARY FORCES, TO AN EFFORT THAT WILL ENSURE THE DELIVERY OF FOOD AND ESSENTIAL HUMANITARIAN SERVICES IN THE CRITICAL AREA OF STARVATION

DECLASSIFIED IN PART
PER E.O. 13526
2009-1072-MR
MM 11/18/2016

IN SOUTH-CENTRAL SOMALIA. WE LOOK FORWARD TO COOPERATING WITH YOU IN THIS EFFORT. YOUR LEADERSHIP WOULD MAKE A VITAL CONTRIBUTION.

.

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

.

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

.

SINCERELY,

.

GEORGE BUSH

.

.

.

.

END TEXT

DECL: OADR

#Ø012

NNNN

<MSGID> MØØ85931

Withdrawal/Redaction Sheet
(George Bush Library)

Document No. and Type	Subject/Title of Document	Date	Restriction	Class.
10. Cable	From Moscow to White House, Re: Delivery of the President's Letter to Yeltsin on Somalia [281339Z Nov 92] [FOIA restrictions redacted] (2 pp.)	11/28/92	(b)(1)	S

Collection:

Record Group: Bush Presidential Records
Office: Scowcroft, Brent, Files
Series: Special Separate USSR Notes Files
Subseries: Yeltsin Files
WHORM Cat.:
File Location: Yeltsin (January - December) 1992 [5]

Document Partially Declassified
(Copy of Document Follows)
By MM on 3/13/2023

Date Closed:	4/30/2009	**OA/ID Number:**	91131-005
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 #:**	2009-1072-MR(508)
AR Disposition:		**MR Disposition:**	Released in Part
AR Disposition Date:		**MR Disposition Date:**	11/18/2016

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
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(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]

IMMEDIATE

~~SECRET~~

WHITE HOUSE SITUATION ROOM

BUSH PRESIDENTIAL LIBRARY
508
2009-1075-MR

PAGE 01 OF 02

PRT: GANTT HOWE SCOWCROFT
SIT: FILE PRIVACY IN SUM SUM2

<PREC> IMMEDIATE <CLAS> ~~SECRET~~ <DTG> 281339Z NOV 92

FM 1.4(c) MOSCOW

TO WHITE HOUSE
~~S E C R E T~~ 281339Z NOV 92 1.4(c)
QQQQ
PLEASE DELIVER THE FOLLOWING MESSAGE TO GENERAL SCOWCROFT
SUBJECT: DELIVERY OF THE PRESIDENT'S LETTER TO YELTSIN ON SOMALIA
1. ON NOVEMBER 28 CHARGE COLLINS GAVE SUBJECT LETTER TO RUSSIAN DEPUTY FOREIGN MINISTER MAMEDOV. (PRESIDENT YELTSIN, HIS TOP AIDES AND FOREIGN MINISTER KOZYREV WERE TIED UP WITH PREPARATIONS FOR THE DECEMBER 1 CONGRESS OF PEOPLES DEPUTIES.)
2. MAMEDOV PROMISED TO GET PRESIDENT BUSH'S LETTER TO PRESIDENT YELTSIN IMMEDIATELY. AFTER READING THE LETTER, MAMEDOV ASKED WHETHER HE WAS CORRECT IN ASSUMING THE US WOULD BE IN CONTACT WITH RUSSIA AGAIN BEFORE IT MADE ANY DECISION ON SPECIFIC ACTIONS IN SOMALIA. CHARGE CONFIRMED THE ACCURACY OF MAMEDOV'S UNDERSTANDING ON THIS POINT. CHARGE NOTED THAT THE US WAS STILL CONSIDERING ITS OPTIONS. WE ARE IN TOUCH WITH THE PARTIES INVOLVED, INCLUDING THE UNSYG.
MAMEDOV ASKED WHETHER THE US CONTEMPLATED MILITARY ACTION. CHARGE NOTED THE HORRIBLE NATURE OF THE SITUATION IN SOMALIA MADE IT IMPERATIVE FOR THE WORLD COMMUNITY TO TAKE SOME ACTION. THE US IS CONSULTING WITH THE PARTIES AND HAS NOT RULED OUT ANY OPTION. MAMEDOV REPLIED THAT RUSSIA IS ALSO CONSIDERING ITS OPTIONS. HE STATED THAT A HASTY RESPONSE COULD BE COUNTERPRODUCTIVE AND CONCLUDED THAT KOZYREV WOULD LAY OUT THE RUSSIAN POSITION IN A RESPONSE TO THE

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PER E.O. 13526
2009-1072-MR
MM 11/18/2016

WHITE HOUSE SITUATION ROOM

LETTER HE HAD RECEIVED ON SOMALIA FROM ACTING
SECRETARY EAGLEBURGER.
END TEXT
DECL OADR
#7122
NNNN
<MSGID> MØØ86212

Withdrawal/Redaction Sheet
(George Bush Library)

Document No. and Type	Subject/Title of Document	Date	Restriction	Class.
11a. Cable	From Moscow to White House, Re: Kozyrev Hints at "Walk in the Woods" [051009Z Mar 92] [FOIA restrictions redacted] (2 pp.)	3/5/92	(b)(1)	S

Collection:

Record Group: Bush Presidential Records
Office: Scowcroft, Brent, Files
Series: Special Separate USSR Notes Files
Subseries: Yeltsin Files
WHORM Cat.:
File Location: Yeltsin (January - December) 1992 [5]

Document Partially Declassified
(Copy of Document Follows)
By MM on 3/13/2023

Date Closed:	4/30/2009	**OA/ID Number:**	91131-005
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 #:**	2009-1072-MR(509)
AR Disposition:		**MR Disposition:**	Released in Part
AR Disposition Date:		**MR Disposition Date:**	11/18/2016

RESTRICTION CODES

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

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IMMEDIATE

~~SECRET~~

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PRT: GANTT HOWE SCOWCROFT
SIT: FILE PRIVACY-IN SIT

<PREC> IMMEDIATE <CLAS> ~~SECRET~~ <DTG> 051009Z MAR 92

FM [1.4(c)] MOSCOW

TO WHITE HOUSE
STATE/RCI

~~S E C R E T~~ [1.4(c)]
QQQQ
EYES ONLY
FROM AMBASSADOR STRAUSS FOR SCOWCROFT AND SECRETARY BAKER
SUBJECT: KOZYREV HINTS AT "WALK IN THE WOODS"
AT THE END OF MY FEBRUARY 4 MEETING WITH ANDREY KOZYREV, IN WHICH I DELIVERED SECRETARY BAKER, S MARCH 3 DEMIRVING LETTER AND ALSO RAN THROUGH A NUMBER OF BILATERAL ISSUES [1.4(c)] [1.4(c)] KOZYREV HINTED THAT HE MAY SEEK TO CUT A DEAL OUTSIDE CHANNELS DURING THE MARCH 11 MEETING IN BRUSSELS. KOZYREV SAID HE UNDERSTOOD MY COMMENTS ABOUT THE IMPORTANCE OF THE BRUSSELS MEETING. HE ADDED THAT HE WAS NOT CERTAIN THAT HE WOULD BE ABLE TO GET A RESPONSE BACK TO THE SECRETARY, S LETTER BEFORE MARCH 11. IF HE COULD NOT, KOZYREV SAID HE MIGHT BE FORCED TO "TAKE A WALK IN THE WOODS" WITH SECRETARY BAKER.
ANDREY, S REFERENCE WAS CLEAR AND I THINK HE MEANT THAT HE WAS NOT CERTAIN HE COULD GET APPROVAL ON THE U.S. PROPOSALS THROUGH THE RUSSIAN SECURITY APPARATUS.
EARLIER IN THE MEETING KOZYREV HAD WARNED ABOUT THE STRENGTH OF OPPONENTS OF DEMOCRACY IN THE CIRCLES AROUND YEL, TSIN, WHO AS YOU KNOW, HAS GONE OF FOR A PERIOD OF REST IN THE CRIMEA. WHAT STANCE THE U.S.

DECLASSIFIED IN PART
PER E.O. 13526
2009-1072-MR
mm 11/18/2016

IMMEDIATE

~~SECRET~~

WHITE HOUSE SITUATION ROOM

SHOULD TAKE ON ANY DEAL ANDREY MIGHT OFFER WOULD OBVIOUSLY DEPEND PRIMARILY ON ITS TERMS. THERE ARE, HOWEVER, GROWING SIGNS IN THE FOREIGN POLICY AND NATIONAL SECURITY SPHERE THAT CONSERVATIVES ARE GAINING STRENGTH. WHILE WE WOULD NOT WANT TO REJECT ANYTHING ANDREY MIGHT OFFER OUT OF HAND, AND LEAVE HIM DANGLING IN THE WIND, WE SHOULD BE CERTAIN OF HIS ABILITY TO MAKE ANY DEAL HE OFFERS IN BRUSSELS HOLD IN MOSCOW.

DECL: OADR

~~S E C R E T~~

*2551

Withdrawal/Redaction Sheet
(George Bush Library)

Document No. and Type	Subject/Title of Document	Date	Restriction	Class.
11b. Draft Cable	From Ambassador Strauss for Scowcroft and Secretary Baker, Re: Kozyrev Hints at "Walk in the Woods" [FOIA restrictions redacted] (1 pp.)	n.d.	(b)(1)	S

Collection:

Record Group: Bush Presidential Records
Office: Scowcroft, Brent, Files
Series: Special Separate USSR Notes Files
Subseries: Yeltsin Files
WHORM Cat.:
File Location: Yeltsin (January - December) 1992 [5]

Document Partially Declassified
(Copy of Document Follows)
By MM on 3/13/2023

Date Closed:	4/30/2009	**OA/ID Number:**	91131-005
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 #:**	2009-1072-MR(509)
AR Disposition:		**MR Disposition:**	Released in Part
AR Disposition Date:		**MR Disposition Date:**	11/18/2016

RESTRICTION CODES

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~~S E C R E T~~

EYES ONLY

FROM AMBASSADOR STRAUSS FOR SCOWCROFT AND SECRETARY BAKER

SUBJECT: KOZYREV HINTS AT "WALK IN THE WOODS"

AT THE END OF MY FEBRUARY 4 MEETING WITH ANDREY KOZYREV, IN WHICH I DELIVERED SECRETARY BAKER,S MARCH 3 DEMIRVING LETTER AND ALSO RAN THROUGH A NUMBER OF BILATERAL ISSUES 1.4(c) 1.4(c) KOZYREV HINTED THAT HE MAY SEEK TO CUT A DEAL OUTSIDE CHANNELS DURING THE MARCH 11 MEETING IN BRUSSELS. KOZYREV SAID HE UNDERSTOOD MY COMMENTS ABOUT THE IMPORTANCE OF THE BRUSSELS MEETING. HE ADDED THAT HE WAS NOT CERTAIN THAT HE WOULD BE ABLE TO GET A RESPONSE BACK TO THE SECRETARY,S LETTER BEFORE MARCH II. IF HE COULD NOT, KOZYREV SAID HE MIGHT BE FORCED TO "TAKE A WALK IN THE WOODS" WITH SECRETARY BAKER.

ANDREY,S REFERENCE WAS CLEAR AND I THINK HE MEANT THAT HE WAS NOT CERTAIN HE COULD GET APPROVAL ON THE U.S. PROPOSALS THROUGH THE RUSSIAN SECURITY APPARATUS. EARLIER IN THE MEETING KOZYREV HAD WARNED ABOUT THE STRENGTH OF OPPONENTS OF DEMOCRACY IN THE CIRCLES AROUND YEL,TSIN, WHO AS YOU KNOW, HAS GONE OF FOR A PERIOD OF REST IN THE CRIMEA. WHAT STANCE THE U.S. SHOULD TAKE ON ANY DEAL ANDREY MIGHT OFFER WOULD OBVIOUSLY DEPEND PRIMARILY ON ITS TERMS. THERE ARE, HOWEVER, GROWING SIGNS IN THE FOREIGN POLICY AND NATIONAL SECURITY SPHERE THAT CONSERVATIVES ARE GAINING STRENGTH. WHILE WE WOULD NOT WANT TO REJECT ANYTHING ANDREY MIGHT OFFER OUT OF HAND, AND LEAVE HIM DANGLING IN THE WIND, WE SHOULD BE CERTAIN OF HIS ABILITY TO MAKE ANY DEAL HE OFFERS IN BRUSSELS HOLD IN MOSCOW.

DECL: OADR

~~S E C R E T~~

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2009-1072-MR
MM 11/18/2016

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Special Message Routing

Cable:

X	SCOWCROFT		McNAMARA
X	HOWE		DEAL
	GOMPERT		GORDON
	HEWETT		PAAL
	HAASS		PRYCE
		X	GANTT (File)

NSC External Distribution:

	Vice President		Sec State
	Chief of Staff		Sec Defense
			Sec Treasury
			Attorney General

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Withdrawal/Redaction Sheet
(George Bush Library)

Document No. and Type	Subject/Title of Document	Date	Restriction	Class.
11c. Cable	From Moscow to White House, Re: Kozyrev Hints at "Walk in the Woods" [051009Z Mar 92] [FOIA restrictions redacted] (2 pp.)	3/5/92	(b)(1)	S

Collection:

Record Group: Bush Presidential Records
Office: Scowcroft, Brent, Files
Series: Special Separate USSR Notes Files
Subseries: Yeltsin Files
WHORM Cat.:
File Location: Yeltsin (January - December) 1992 [5]

Document Partially Declassified
(Copy of Document Follows)
By MM on 3/13/2023

Date Closed:	4/30/2009	**OA/ID Number:**	91131-005
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 #:**	2009-1072-MR(509)
AR Disposition:		**MR Disposition:**	Released in Part
AR Disposition Date:		**MR Disposition Date:**	11/18/2016

RESTRICTION CODES

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IMMEDIATE

~~SECRET~~

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2009-1075-MR

PRT: GANTT HOWE SCOWCROFT
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<PREC> IMMEDIATE <CLAS> ~~SECRET~~ <DTG> 051009Z MAR 92

FM 1.4(c) MOSCOW

TO WHITE HOUSE
STATE/RCI

~~S E C R E T~~ 1.4(c)
QQQQ
EYES ONLY
FROM AMBASSADOR STRAUSS FOR SCOWCROFT AND SECRETARY BAKER
SUBJECT: KOZYREV HINTS AT "WALK IN THE WOODS"
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PER E.O. 13526
2009-1072-MR
MM 11/18/2016

IMMEDIATE

~~SECRET~~

WHITE HOUSE SITUATION ROOM

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DECL: OADR

~~S E C R E T~~

*2551

Withdrawal/Redaction Sheet
(George Bush Library)

Document No. and Type	Subject/Title of Document	Date	Restriction	Class.
12. Cable	From White House to Moscow, Re: [Message from President Bush to President Yeltsin] [220206Z Dec 92] [FOIA restrictions redacted] (3 pp.)	12/22/92	(b)(1)	S

Collection:

Record Group: Bush Presidential Records
Office: Scowcroft, Brent, Files
Series: Special Separate USSR Notes Files
Subseries: Yeltsin Files
WHORM Cat.:
File Location: Yeltsin (January - December) 1992 [5]

Document Partially Declassified
(Copy of Document Follows)
By MM on 3/13/2023

Date Closed:	4/30/2009	**OA/ID Number:**	91131-005
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 #:**	2009-1072-MR(511)
AR Disposition:		**MR Disposition:**	Released in Part
AR Disposition Date:		**MR Disposition Date:**	11/18/2016

RESTRICTION CODES

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IMMEDIATE

~~SECRET~~

WHITE HOUSE SITUATION ROOM

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2009-1075-MR

PAGE 01 OF 03

PRT: COMM SIT
SIT: COO OLEARY PRIVACY OUT SIGLER SUM SUM2

<PREC> IMMEDIATE <CLAS> ~~SECRET~~ <DTG> 220206Z DEC 92

FM WHITE HOUSE

TO 1.4(c) MOSCOW NIACT
~~SECRET~~ EYES ONLY 1.4(c)
QQQQ

.

1.4(c) MOSCOW - PLEASE DELIVER THE FOLLOWING EYES ONLY MESSAGE FROM BRENT SCOWCROFT TO CHARGE COLLINS ONLY.

.

.

.

JIM
FOLLOWING IS A MESSAGE FROM PRESIDENT BUSH TO PRESIDENT YELTSIN. PLEASE DELIVER URGENTLY. THERE WILL BE NO SIGNED ORIGINAL.

.

WARM REGARDS

.

BRENT

.

BEGIN TEXT:

.

DEAR BORIS:

.

AS PROMISED, I WOULD LIKE IN THIS LETTER TO CONFIRM THE UNDERSTANDINGS THAT YOU AND I REACHED ON THE TELEPHONE TODAY. IT IS ON THE BASIS OF THOSE UNDERSTANDINGS THAT MY EXPERTS WILL MEET WITH YOURS TOMORROW IN GENEVA.

.

- FIRST, WE HAVE AGREED ON THE RETENTION AND DOWNLOADING TO A SINGLE-WARHEAD OF NOT MORE THAN 120 SS-19 MISSILES IN EXISTING SS-19 SILOS.

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PER E.O. 13526
2009-1072-MR
MR 11/18/2016

- SECOND, ALL SS-18 MISSILES, BOTH DEPLOYED AND NON-DEPLOYED, WILL BE DESTROYED, AND ALL FURTHER SS-18 MISSILE PRODUCTION WILL BE BANNED.

- THIRD, UP TO 75 OF THE SS-18 SILOS SUBJECT TO THIS TREATY MAY BE CONVERTED IN A MANNER THAT WOULD PRECLUDE THE POSSIBILITY OF THEIR LATER REUSE FOR DEPLOYING HEAVY ICBMS. THE REMAINING SS-18 SILOS WILL BE DESTROYED IN ACCORDANCE WITH START PROCEDURES.

- FOURTH, OUR GOVERNMENTS MUST AGREE ON THE PROCEDURES FOR DESTROYING THE SS-18 MISSILES AND CONVERTING THE SS-18 SILOS, INCLUDING APPROPRIATE INSPECTION AND VERIFICATION PROCEDURES. CONVERSION PROCEDURES WILL INCLUDE POURING AT LEAST THIRTEEN METERS DEPTH OF CONCRETE INTO THE BASE OF EACH SS-18 SILO.

- FIFTH, B-1 BOMBERS THAT HAVE NEVER BEEN EQUIPPED FOR LONG-RANGE NUCLEAR ALCMS MAY BE REORIENTED TO A CONVENTIONAL ROLE. ONLY ONE REORIENTATION CYCLE WILL BE ALLOWED; THAT IS, A B-1 BOMBER THAT IS REORIENTED TO A CONVENTIONAL ROLE MAY BE RETURNED TO A NUCLEAR ROLE ONLY ONCE, AND COULD NOT THEREAFTER BE REORIENTED AGAIN TO A CONVENTIONAL ROLE. OTHER PROPOSALS THE U.S. MADE IN STOCKHOLM HAVE MET YOUR OTHER CONCERNS REGARDING HEAVY BOMBERS.

BASED ON THESE UNDERSTANDINGS, I AM CONFIDENT THAT OUR EXPERTS CAN RAPIDLY CONCLUDE A TREATY TEXT. ONCE THAT HAPPENS, WE WILL BE IN A POSITION TO SET A SPECIFIC DATE FOR US TO SIGN THIS HISTORIC TREATY.

SINCERELY,

GEORGE BUSH

END TEXT
DECL: OADR

IMMEDIATE

~~SECRET~~

WHITE HOUSE SITUATION ROOM

#0061
NNNN
<MSGID> M0131300

Withdrawal/Redaction Sheet
(George Bush Library)

Document No. and Type	Subject/Title of Document	Date	Restriction	Class.
13. Cable	From Moscow to White House, Re: President's Letter to President Yeltsin on Debt Rescheduling [000000Z] [FOIA restrictions redacted] (1 pp.)	n.d.	(b)(1)	S

Collection:

Record Group: Bush Presidential Records
Office: Scowcroft, Brent, Files
Series: Special Separate USSR Notes Files
Subseries: Yeltsin Files
WHORM Cat.:
File Location: Yeltsin (January - December) 1992 [5]

Document Partially Declassified
(Copy of Document Follows)
By MM on 3/13/2023

Date Closed:	4/30/2009	**OA/ID Number:**	91131-005
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Re-review Case #:		**Appeal Disposition:**	
P-2/P-5 Review Case #:		**Disposition Date:**	
AR Case #:		**MR Case #:**	2009-1072-MR(510)
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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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PAGE 01

PRT: HOWE SCOWCROFT SIT
SIT: FILE PRIVACY-IN SUM SUM2

<PREC> IMMEDIATE <CLAS> ~~SECRET~~ <DTG> 000000Z

FM [1.4(c)] MOSCOW

TO WHITE HOUSE
~~SECRET~~ VIA [1.4(c)]
QQQQ
PLEASE PASS TO GENERAL SCOWCROFT FROM CHARGE COLLINS.
SUBJECT: PRESIDENT'S LETTER TO PRESIDENT YELTSIN ON DEBT RESCHEDULING

I DELIVERED PRESIDENT BUSH'S LETTER TO PRESIDENT YELTSIN THIS MORNING (NOVEMBER 13) AT 0915 TO YELTSIN'S FOREIGN POLICY ADVISOR RYURIKOV. RYURIKOV READ THE MESSAGE QUICKLY AND SAID HE WOULD CONVEY IT IMMEDIATELY TO PRESIDENT YELTSIN THIS MORNING. HE COMMENTED THAT THIS TANGIBLE EXPRESSION OF PRESIDENT BUSH'S CONTINUED SUPPORT FOR REFORM HERE AND FOR PRESIDENT YELTSIN WAS VERY IMPORTANT AND WOULD BE VERY MUCH APPRECIATED. I SAID THAT I KNEW THIS ACTION WAS A FOLLOW UP TO THE PRESIDENT'S PHONE CALL WITH PRESIDENT YELTSIN RECENTLY, WHERE HE HAD EXPRESSED READINESS TO SUPPORT RUSSIA'S REFORM PROGRAM AND PRESIDENT YELTSIN. IN ADDITION TO THE RESCHEDULING SUPPORT, I NOTED THAT PRESIDENT BUSH'S OFFER WAS REPEATED IN THE LETTER, AND I SAID I KNEW PRESIDENT BUSH WOULD BE ANXIOUS TO KNOW IF THERE ARE ANY OTHER STEPS PRESIDENT YELTSIN THINKS WOULD BE HELPFUL IN THE RUN UP TO THE DECEMBER 1 CONGRESS OF PEOPLE'S DEPUTIES. RYURIKOV REITERATED HIS APPRECIATION.

END TEXT.
DECLAS: OADR
#6878
NNNN
<MSGID> M0058257

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MM 11/18/2016

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WASHFAX RECEIPT
DEPARTMENT OF STATE

B

S/S #

MESSAGE NO. 090783 CLASSIFICATION ~~SECRET/NODIS~~ No. Pages 3

FROM: OPS CENTER _____ 647-1512 _____
(Officer name) (Office symbol) (Extension) (Room number)

MESSAGE DESCRIPTION MOSCOW 38804

TO: (Agency)	DELIVER TO:	Extension	Room No.
WHSR	EYES ONLY - SLOCROFT/BURNS		

FOR: CLEARANCE ☐ INFORMATION ☒ PER REQUEST ☐ COMMENT ☐

REMARKS: PLEASE PHONE STATE OPS UPON RECEIPT!

S/S Officer: _____

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Department of State Guidelines
E.O. 12958, SEC 3.4 (B), July 21, 1997
By Cop NARA, Date 4/30/09

NODIS NODIS NODIS

14/18

Fri Dec 18 05:25:38 EST 1992 [MOSCOW 0038804] SS COPY 11 OF 11 (COVERSHEET) Page 1

~~SECRET~~

DEPARTMENT OF STATE

IMMEDIATE INCOMING
SS(11)

POST/MRN: MOSCOW 0038804 181010Z DEC 92
DISTRIBUTION: -SS
COMMENTS: FOR SECRETARY EAGLEBURGER EYES ONLY///NOT PASSED TO WHITE HOUSE BY SSO///

SUBJECT: YELTSIN DECEMBER 16 LETTER TO PRESIDENT BUSH ON START II

NO SENS COPY CUT

Rptd. TOSEC, NSC, + USUN EO Wisner, per WRP.

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PAGE 01 MOSCOW 38804 181015Z

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FM AMEMBASSY MOSCOW
TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 9363

~~S E C R E T~~ MOSCOW 038804

NODIS

FOR S/S ONLY

S/S PASS WHITE HOUSE FOR SCOWCROFT AMD S FOR
SECRETARY EAGLEBURGER EYES ONLY

E.O. 12356: DECL: OADR
TAGS: PARM, PREL, START, RS
SUBJECT: YELTSIN DECEMBER 16 LETTER TO PRESIDENT
BUSH ON START II

1. ~~SECRET~~ - ENTIRE TEXT.

2. ON DECEMBER 18 RUSSIAN DEPUTY FOREIGN MINISTER MAMEDOV GAVE CHARGE COLLINS A LETTER FROM PRESIDENT YELTSIN TO PRESIDENT BUSH, FOLLOWING UP DISCUSSIONS IN STOCKHOLM ON STAR II. MAMEDOV NOTED THAT, ALTHOUGH THE LETTER ISDATED DECEMBER 16, IT HAD NOT IN FACT BEEN SIGNED BY YELTSIN UNTIL LATE ON DECEMBER 17, WHILE THE RUSSIAN PRESIDENT WAS IN CHINA.

3. BEGIN TEXT OF INFORMAL EMBASSY TRANSLATION.

DEAR GEORGE

I AM VERY ENCOURAGED BY THE CONSTRUCTIVE RESULT OF THE DISCUSSION WHICH OUR FOREIGN MINISTERS HELD IN STOCKHOLM. THE POSITIONS OF THE SIDES ARE NOW CLOSE IN PRACTICALLY ALL MAIN QUESTIONS, CONNECTED WITH THE WORKING OUT OF THE START II TREATY.

OIS NODIS NODIS

IN RESPONSE TO THE FLEXIBILITY DISPLAYED BY THE AMERICAM SIDE -- I UNDERSTAND THAT FOR YOU THIS WAS NOT A SIMPLE DECISION -- WE WILL UNDERTAKE A RADICAL PROPOSAL IN RETURN. I AM CONVINCED THAT IT WILL OVERCOME THE REMAINING DIFFERENCES ON HEAVY MIRVED ICBMS. DOING THIS -- A DECISION THAT WAS ALSO DIFFICULT FOR ME -- WE TAKE ACCOUNT OF THE FACT THAT FOR MANY YEARS OUR HEAVY MISSILES HAVE EVOKED SPECIAL CONCERN IN AMERICA. IN ORDER TO ONCE AND FOR ALL REMOVE THAT CONCERN, I WANT TO INFORM YOU ABOUT THE FOLLOWING.

BY JANUARY 1, 2003, RUSSIA WILL PHYSICALLY DESTROY ALL DEPLOYED AND NON-DEPLOYED LAND-BASED HEAVY ICBMS. WE WILL NOT HAVE ANY OF THAT CLASS OF MISSILE, AND THERE WILL BE NO PRODUCTION OF THEM. IT FOLLOWS, THAT THE SILOS OF HEAVY MISSILES, WHICH WILL REMAIN AFTER THEIR RECONFIGURATION, NEVER WILL BE ABLE TO CONTAIN SUCH MISSILES.

WE GREATLY APPRECIATE THE FLEXIBILITY YOU DISPLAYED ON A SUBJECT THAT IS SO SENSITIVE FOR US AS REDUCING TO ONE THE NUMBER OF WARHEADS ON THE SS-19 MISSILE. WE PLAM TO REDUCE 120 SUCH MISSILES TO ONE RV, THUS CHANGING THEM TO SINGLE RV MISSILES. WE AGREE THAT SUCH MISSILES WOULD BE DEPLOYED ONLY IN SILOS WHICH WERE ORIGINALLY CONSTRUCTED FOR THEM.

TO FINALLY COMPLETE THE WORK ON THE TREATY, WE PROPOSE IN THE NEAREST FUTURE TO ORGANIZE A MEETING OF EXPERTS IN MOSCOW OR, FOR EXAMPLE, IN GENEVA. I PROCEED FROM THE FACT THAT FOR THIS TO WORK, AND ALSO FOR PREPARATION OF MY MEETING WITH YOU, TWO OR THREE WEEKS ARE REQUIRED.

GEORGE, IN OUR LAST TELEPHONE CONVERSATION, WE CONFIRMED OUR MUTUAL EFFORTS TO BRING TO A CLOSE OUR WORK ON THE START II TREATY. NOW I AM CONFIDENT THAT IT IS COMPLETELY REALISTIC TO SIGN THIS DOCUMENT OF HISTORICAL IMPORTANCE BEFORE JANUARY 20, 1993.

END TEXT.

COLLINS

~~SECRET~~

Withdrawal/Redaction Sheet
(George Bush Library)

Document No. and Type	Subject/Title of Document	Date	Restriction	Class.
15. Cable	From White House to Moscow, Re: [Message from President Bush to President Yeltsin] [200154Z Nov 92] [FOIA restrictions redacted] (4 pp.)	11/20/92	(b)(1)	S

Collection:

Record Group: Bush Presidential Records
Office: Scowcroft, Brent, Files
Series: Special Separate USSR Notes Files
Subseries: Yeltsin Files
WHORM Cat.:
File Location: Yeltsin (January - December) 1992 [5]

Document Partially Declassified
(Copy of Document Follows)
By MM on 3/13/2023

Date Closed:	4/30/2009	**OA/ID Number:**	91131-005
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 #:**	2009-1072-MR(513)
AR Disposition:		**MR Disposition:**	Released in Part
AR Disposition Date:		**MR Disposition Date:**	11/18/2016

RESTRICTION CODES

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

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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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~~SECRET~~

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<PREC> IMMEDIATE <CLAS> ~~SECRET~~ <DTG> 200154Z NOV 92

FM WHITE HOUSE

TO 1.4(c) MOSCOW NIACT
~~S E C R E T~~ 1.4(c)
QQQQ

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PLEASE DELIVER THE FOLLOWING MESSAGE TO CHARGE COLLINS.

.

PLEASE DELIVER THE FOLLOWING MESSAGE TO PRESIDENT YELTSIN
FROM PRESIDENT BUSH.

.

NOVEMBER 19, 1992
BEGIN TEXT:

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DEAR BORIS:

.

I KNOW YOU ARE AS DEEPLY TROUBLED AS I ABOUT THE CONTINUING CONFLICT IN WHAT WAS YUGOSLAVIA. YOU, WE AND OTHER CONCERNED NATIONS ARE HEAVILY ENGAGED IN EFFORTS TO CONTAIN AND REDUCE THE VIOLENCE, SAVE THE MILLIONS OF INNOCENT VICTIMS, AND FOSTER SERIOUS NEGOTIATIONS UNDER THE UN-EC FRAMEWORK. IN THIS SPIRIT, I WANT TO SHARE WITH YOU OUR THINKING ABOUT THE GROWING POTENTIAL FOR VIOLENCE IN THE KOSOVO.

.

WE CONTINUE TO BELIEVE THAT A LASTING ACCOMMODATION MUST BE SOUGHT -- INDEED, CAN ONLY BE FOUND -- THROUGH NEGOTIATIONS AIMED AT RESTORING KOSOVO'S AUTONOMY AND THE RIGHTS OF ITS CITIZENS. CLEARLY, A CLIMATE OF INTIMIDATION, ABUSES, AND PROVOCATIONS NOT ONLY IMPEDES PEACEFUL DIALOGUE BUT THREATENS THE OUTBREAK OF HOSTILITIES. RECENT POLITICAL DEVELOPMENTS AND INCIDENTS ARE NOT ENCOURAGING.

.

IF CONFLICT OCCURS IN KOSOVO, THERE IS A GRAVE DANGER THAT IT WILL

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2009-1072-MR
MR 11/18/2016

BE EXTREMELY VIOLENT AND COST THOUSANDS OF INNOCENT LIVES. IT COULD ALSO SPREAD DUE TO A NEW WAVE OF REFUGEES FLOWING INTO NEIGHBORING STATES, WHO THEMSELVES MAY FEEL THREATENED AND UNDER PRESSURE TO ACT. INTERNATIONAL PEACE AND SECURITY, AS WELL AS DEMOCRACY AND REFORM, COULD BE ENDANGERED ON A WIDER SCALE. I KNOW YOU ARE WELL AWARE OF THESE RISKS.

WE WOULD LIKE TO CONSULT ABOUT WHAT CAN BE DONE TO PREVENT THE WORST FROM HAPPENING AND TO BEGIN AND SUSTAIN A REAL NEGOTIATION. WE HAVE SEVERAL IDEAS ON WHICH I WOULD WELCOME YOUR REACTION:

-- AN INTERNATIONAL CALL FOR A RESTORATION OF AUTONOMY, AN END TO REPRESSION, A REDUCTION IN THE MILITARY BUILD-UP, AND AN INSISTENCE THAT VIOLENCE BE RULED OUT BY BOTH PARTIES.

-- A SUBSTANTIALLY INCREASED INTERNATIONAL MONITORING PRESENCE WITHIN KOSOVO TO DISCOURAGE ABUSES, PROVOCATIONS, AND VIOLENCE. THE U.S. IS PREPARED TO PARTICIPATE IN THIS EFFORT.

-- AN INTENSIVE NEGOTIATION UNDER THE DIRECTION OF A PROMINENT STATESPERSON WITHIN THE VANCE/OWEN FRAMEWORK. THE PARTIES SHOULD BE CALLED TO CONTINUOUS TALKS ON ARRANGEMENTS FOR THE RESTORATION OF AUTONOMY AND THE RIGHTS OF ALL CITIZENS.

OUR CURRENT THINKING IS THAT A UN SECURITY COUNCIL RESOLUTION EMBODYING THESE IDEAS WOULD BE TIMELY AND VALUABLE. WE FULLY RECOGNIZE THAT SUCH A RESOLUTION WOULD NEED TO BE CRAFTED SO AS TO CALM AND IMPROVE THE SITUATION RATHER THAN POLARIZE IT.

I AM ALSO EAGER TO LEARN YOUR OWN THOUGHTS ABOUT WHAT CAN BE DONE TO DEFUSE THIS DANGEROUS SITUATION. IN ANY EVENT, WE WILL CLEARLY NEED AN EFFORT BY A COALITION OF CONCERNED NATIONS. IT IS ESSENTIAL THAT ALL STATES, ESPECIALLY THOSE IMMEDIATELY AFFECTED, REFRAIN FROM UNILATERAL ACTION AND INSTEAD JOIN AND WORK WITHIN THE COALITION.

WE ARE ESPECIALLY CONCERNED THAT MILOSEVIC WILL PERCEIVE ADVANTAGES IN INCREASING TENSIONS IN KOSOVO WHILE ASSUMING THAT THERE WILL BE NO INTERNATIONAL REACTION IN THE EVENT THAT HE DOES. IN ORDER TO DISCOURAGE THIS, I PROPOSE THAT WE SEND STRONG, PRIVATE MESSAGES TO MILOSEVIC, TELLING HIM WE EXPECT HIS COMPLETE RESTRAINT AND COOPERATION IN KOSOVO. TO CONVINCE MILOSEVIC OF THE SERIOUSNESS OF OUR RESOLVE, WE MUST WARN HIM OF POSSIBLE SERIOUS CONSEQUENCES FOR SERBIA IF HE ACTS AGGRESSIVELY. BECAUSE VIOLENCE IN KOSOVO COULD SPARK A WIDER WAR, I WANT TO BE SURE YOU ARE AWARE THAT THE UNITED STATES WILL CONSIDER THE USE OF FORCE IN THE CONTEXT OF AN INTERNATIONAL RESPONSE IF ETHNIC CLEANSING OR SERBIAN-SPONSORED VIOLENCE OCCURS IN KOSOVO. THIS IS, OF COURSE, A MOST SERIOUS CONSIDERATION, WHICH I AM SHARING ONLY WITH YOU, JOHN MAJOR, AND FRANCOIS MITTERRAND. I WOULD ASK THAT YOU KEEP IT COMPLETELY CONFIDENTIAL, SINCE ITS DISCLOSURE COULD INCREASE THE CHANCES OF PROVOCATION ON THE PART OF KOSOVAR EXTREMISTS. WE MUST SIMULTANEOUSLY URGE MAXIMUM RESTRAINT BY THE ETHNIC ALBANIAN POPULATION OF KOSOVO AND PRESS THEM TO SEEK REDRESS OF THEIR GRIEVANCES THROUGH THE GENEVA PROCESS AND WITHIN CURRENT BORDERS.

I AM WELL AWARE OF HOW CONTROVERSIAL THE ENTIRE YUGOSLAVIA CRISIS IS IN RUSSIA AND THAT SOME THERE MIGHT DEEM KOSOVO AN INTERNAL SERBIAN MATTER. HOWEVER, I KNOW YOU WILL APPRECIATE THE GRAVITY OF THE INTERNATIONAL DANGERS AND THE NEED TO CONFRONT MILOSEVIC WITH A FIRM AND UNITED STANCE. RUSSIA'S VOICE WILL BE CRITICAL, WHETHER DIRECTLY WITH BELGRADE OR IN THE SECURITY COUNCIL. INDEED, RUSSIA IS IN A STRONG POSITION TO HELP AVOID BOTH A DANGEROUS EXPANSION OF THE YUGOSLAV CONFLICT AND THE SERIOUS CONSEQUENCES SUCH AN EXPANSION COULD HAVE FOR SERBIA ITSELF. YOUR STANDING AND OUR NEW PARTNERSHIP WILL BE ESPECIALLY IMPORTANT IF WE ARE TO AVERT A GREATER TRAGEDY AND A CHALLENGE TO THE BROADER DEMOCRATIC EURO-ATLANTIC ORDER YOU AND I ARE COMMITTED TO FOSTER.

WE WOULD LIKE TO ENGAGE IN HIGH-LEVEL CONSULTATIONS SO THAT WE CAN MOVE FORWARD TOGETHER PROMPTLY. WE WILL BE OFFERING A SUGGESTION TO THAT END SHORTLY. IN THE MEANTIME, I INVITE YOUR EARLY REACTION TO

WHITE HOUSE SITUATION ROOM

THESE IDEAS AND YOUR COOPERATION IN PREVENTING AN EXPANSION OF THE BALKAN CONFLICT.

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RESPECTFULLY,

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GEORGE BUSH

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END TEXT

DECL: OADR

*0181

NNNN

<MSGID> M0070405

Withdrawal/Redaction Sheet
(George Bush Library)

Document No. and Type	Subject/Title of Document	Date	Restriction	Class.
16. Cable	From Moscow to White House, Re: Next Steps on Bush - Yeltsin Meeting on START-II [000000Z] [FOIA restrictions redacted] (2 pp.)	n.d.	(b)(1)	S

Collection:

Record Group: Bush Presidential Records
Office: Scowcroft, Brent, Files
Series: Special Separate USSR Notes Files
Subseries: Yeltsin Files
WHORM Cat.:
File Location: Yeltsin (January - December) 1992 [5]

Document Partially Declassified
(Copy of Document Follows)
By MM on 3/13/2023

Date Closed:	4/30/2009	**OA/ID Number:**	91131-005
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 #:**	2009-1072-MR(514)
AR Disposition:		**MR Disposition:**	Released in Part
AR Disposition Date:		**MR Disposition Date:**	11/18/2016

RESTRICTION CODES

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FM 1.4(c) MOSCOW

TO WHITE HOUSE NIACT
~~S E C R E T~~ 1.4(c)
0000
FROM CHARGE COLLINS FOR GENERAL SCOWCROFT. SITROOM PLEASE ALSO PASS TO NICK BURNS AT OOB
SUBJECT: NEXT STEPS ON BUSH-YELTSIN MEETING ON START-II
I SAW DEPUTY FOREIGN MINISTER MAMEDOV TODAY (16 DECEMBER) AND HE HAS ASSURED ME THAT THERE IS A FINAL DRAFT OF A LETTER FROM YELTSIN TO THE PRESIDENT RESPONDING TO US ON START II. THE LETTER HAS INTERAGENCY CLEARANCE--MAMEDOV SPECIFIED FROM MOD, MFA AND PRIMAKOV--AND IS AWAITING FINAL APPROVAL BY YELTSIN. THIS SHOULD HAPPEN AFTER KOHL LEAVES MOSCOW TODAY AND BEFORE YELTSIN, TOGETHER WITH KOZYREV, LEAVES MOSCOW FOR CHINA, AT 2100 THIS EVENING (MOSCOW TIME).
IN THE INTERIM, HOWEVER, AND TO HELP IN GETTING THE YELTSIN LETTER OUT, MAMEDOV HAS ASKED FOR HELP FROM US. SPECIFICALLY, HE HAS ASKED THAT WE GET A PRESIDENTIAL MESSAGE TODAY THAT YELTSIN COULD BE SHOWN TOGETHER WITH THE DRAFT LETTER TO PRESIDENT BUSH. OUR MESSAGE, WHICH NEED NOT BE A SIGNED LETTER, SHOULD INDICATE OUR WILLINGNESS TO AIM FOR AN EARLY JANUARY DATE FOR A SUMMIT MEETING. THE POINT OF THE MESSAGE FROM MAMEDOV'S SIDE IS TO EASE THE TIME PRESSURE TO COMPLETE THE TREATY FOR A DECEMBER MEETING WHICH YELTSIN UNDERSTANDS TO BE THE PRESIDENT'S PROPOSAL AND WHICH NO ONE HERE EVIDENTLY IS PREPARED TO SUGGEST CHANGING. IN SHORT, MAMEDOV TELLS ME HE AND KOZYREV NEED OUR HELP TO BUY SOME TIME. IF YOU CAN GET A MASSAGE BACK TO ME ASAP, I WILL GET IT DELIVERED TO YELTSIN BEFORE THEY FLY OFF TO CHINA.
BEGIN TEXT OF SUGGESTED MESSAGE

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2009-1072-MR
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IMMEDIATE

~~SECRET~~

WHITE HOUSE SITUATION ROOM

PAGE 02 OF 02

DEAR BORIS
PAGE 002 MOSCOW ~~S E C R E T~~
I HAVE TALKED WITH LARRY EAGLEBURGER AND HEARD A GOOD, FULL REPORT ABOUT THE VERY CONSTRUCTIVE TALKS HE HAD IN STOCKHOLM WITH FOREIGN MINISTER KOZYREV. I THINK OUR RESPECTIVE DELEGATIONS DISPLAYED A CONSTRUCTIVE SPIRIT AND MADE GOOD PROGRESS TOWARD THE STRATEGIC ARMS REDUCTION AGREEMENT THAT WE BOTH HOPE TO CONCLUDE.
I HAVE ALSO BEEN FOLLOWING CLOSELY THE EVENTS IN MOSCOW IN RECENT DAYS. I KNOW THAT YOU HAVE GONE THROUGH SOME DIFFICULT TIMES, AND I WANT TO STRESS MY SUPPORT AND ADMIRATION FOR YOUR CONTINUED EFFORTS TO BRING DEMOCRATIC REFORM TO RUSSIAN. I ALSO KNOW YOU HAVE BEEN MEETING HELMET KOHL IN MOSCOW AND THAT YOU ARE NOW DEPARTING FOR AN IMPORTANT VISIT TO CHINA.
BEFORE YOU LEAVE, I WOULD LIKE TO SHARE WITH YOU MY LATEST THOUGHTS ON OUR POSSIBLE MEETING AND CONCLUSION OF THE START II AGREEMENT. GIVEN THE PRESS OF EVENTS IN BOTH OUR CAPITALS, AND THE NEED FOR OUR RESPECTIVE EXPERTS TO ENSURE THAT THE TREATY IS CAREFULLY PREPARED, I THINK IT MAKES SENSE FOR US TO LOOK AT AIMING FOR A MEETING IN EARLY JANUARY RATHER THAN IN DECEMBER. IF YOU AGREE, I WOULD SUGGEST THAT WE CONSIDER THAT TO BE OUR TENTATIVE DEADLINE FOR THE MEETING AND THAT IN THE INTERIM WE HAVE OUR EXPERTS MEET INTENSIVELY TO FLESH OUT THE REMAINING DETAILS. I LOOK FORWARD TO HEARING YOUR VIEWS ON THIS IDEA ON TIMING AND YOUR VIEWS ON THE NEXT STEPS WE SHOULD TAKE TO RESOLVE THE ISSUES THAT OUR FOREIGN MINISTERS DISCUSSED AT THE STOCKHOLM MEETING.
DECL OADR.
~~S E C R E T~~
#7451
NNNN
<MSGID> M0120672

~~SECRET~~

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Subseries: Yeltsin Files
WHORM Cat.:
File Location: Yeltsin (January - December) 1992 [5]

Document Partially Declassified
(Copy of Document Follows)
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PRT: GANTT HOWE SCOWCROFT SIT
SIT: FILE PRIVACY-IN SUM SUM2

<PREC> IMMEDIATE <CLAS> ~~SECRET~~ <DTG> 000000Z

FM 1.4(c) MOSCOW

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~~S E C R E T~~ 1.4(c)
QQQQ
FROM CHARGE COLLINS FOR GENERAL SCOWCROFT. SITROOM PLEASE ALSO PASS TO NICK BURNS AT OOB
SUBJECT: NEXT STEPS ON BUSH-YELTSIN MEETING ON START-II
I SAW DEPUTY FOREIGN MINISTER MAMEDOV TODAY (16 DECEMBER) AND HE HAS ASSURED ME THAT THERE IS A FINAL DRAFT OF A LETTER FROM YELTSIN TO THE PRESIDENT RESPONDING TO US ON START II. THE LETTER HAS INTERAGENCY CLEARANCE--MAMEDOV SPECIFIED FROM MOD, MFA AND PRIMAKOV--AND IS AWAITING FINAL APPROVAL BY YELTSIN. THIS SHOULD HAPPEN AFTER KOHL LEAVES MOSCOW TODAY AND BEFORE YELTSIN, TOGETHER WITH KOZYREV, LEAVES MOSCOW FOR CHINA, AT 2100 THIS EVENING (MOSCOW TIME).
IN THE INTERIM, HOWEVER, AND TO HELP IN GETTING THE YELTSIN LETTER OUT, MAMEDOV HAS ASKED FOR HELP FROM US. SPECIFICALLY, HE HAS ASKED THAT WE GET A PRESIDENTIAL MESSAGE TODAY THAT YELTSIN COULD BE SHOWN TOGETHER WITH THE DRAFT LETTER TO PRESIDENT BUSH. OUR MESSAGE, WHICH NEED NOT BE A SIGNED LETTER, SHOULD INDICATE OUR WILLINGNESS TO AIM FOR AN EARLY JANUARY DATE FOR A SUMMIT MEETING. THE POINT OF THE MESSAGE FROM MAMEDOV'S SIDE IS TO EASE THE TIME PRESSURE TO COMPLETE THE TREATY FOR A DECEMBER MEETING WHICH YELTSIN UNDERSTANDS TO BE THE PRESIDENT'S PROPOSAL AND WHICH NO ONE HERE EVIDENTLY IS PREPARED TO SUGGEST CHANGING. IN SHORT, MAMEDOV TELLS ME HE AND KOZYREV NEED OUR HELP TO BUY SOME TIME. IF YOU CAN GET A MASSAGE BACK TO ME ASAP, I WILL GET IT DELIVERED TO YELTSIN BEFORE THEY FLY OFF TO CHINA.
BEGIN TEXT OF SUGGESTED MESSAGE

DECLASSIFIED IN PART
PER E.O. 13526
2009-1072-MR
MM 11/18/2016

IMMEDIATE

~~SECRET~~

WHITE HOUSE SITUATION ROOM

PAGE 02 OF 02

DEAR BORIS
PAGE 002 MOSCOW ~~S E C R E T~~
I HAVE TALKED WITH LARRY EAGLEBURGER AND HEARD A GOOD, FULL REPORT ABOUT THE VERY CONSTRUCTIVE TALKS HE HAD IN STOCKHOLM WITH FOREIGN MINISTER KOZYREV. I THINK OUR RESPECTIVE DELEGATIONS DISPLAYED A CONSTRUCTIVE SPIRIT AND MADE GOOD PROGRESS TOWARD THE STRATEGIC ARMS REDUCTION AGREEMENT THAT WE BOTH HOPE TO CONCLUDE.
I HAVE ALSO BEEN FOLLOWING CLOSELY THE EVENTS IN MOSCOW IN RECENT DAYS. I KNOW THAT YOU HAVE GONE THROUGH SOME DIFFICULT TIMES, AND I WANT TO STRESS MY SUPPORT AND ADMIRATION FOR YOUR CONTINUED EFFORTS TO BRING DEMOCRATIC REFORM TO RUSSIAN. I ALSO KNOW YOU HAVE BEEN MEETING HELMET KOHL IN MOSCOW AND THAT YOU ARE NOW DEPARTING FOR AN IMPORTANT VISIT TO CHINA.
BEFORE YOU LEAVE, I WOULD LIKE TO SHARE WITH YOU MY LATEST THOUGHTS ON OUR POSSIBLE MEETING AND CONCLUSION OF THE START II AGREEMENT. GIVEN THE PRESS OF EVENTS IN BOTH OUR CAPITALS, AND THE NEED FOR OUR RESPECTIVE EXPERTS TO ENSURE THAT THE TREATY IS CAREFULLY PREPARED, I THINK IT MAKES SENSE FOR US TO LOOK AT AIMING FOR A MEETING IN EARLY JANUARY RATHER THAN IN DECEMBER. IF YOU AGREE, I WOULD SUGGEST THAT WE CONSIDER THAT TO BE OUR TENTATIVE DEADLINE FOR THE MEETING AND THAT IN THE INTERIM WE HAVE OUR EXPERTS MEET INTENSIVELY TO FLESH OUT THE REMAINING DETAILS. I LOOK FORWARD TO HEARING YOUR VIEWS ON THIS IDEA ON TIMING AND YOUR VIEWS ON THE NEXT STEPS WE SHOULD TAKE TO RESOLVE THE ISSUES THAT OUR FOREIGN MINISTERS DISCUSSED AT THE STOCKHOLM MEETING.
DECL OADR.
~~S E C R E T~~
#7451
NNNN
<MSGID> M0120672

~~SECRET~~

Withdrawal/Redaction Sheet
(George Bush Library)

Document No. and Type	Subject/Title of Document	Date	Restriction	Class.
18. Cable	To White House Re: For General Scowcroft from Charge [FOIA Exemptions Redacted] (3 pp.)	n.d.	(b)(1)	S

Collection:

Record Group: Bush Presidential Records
Office: Scowcroft, Brent, Files
Series: Special Separate USSR Notes Files
Subseries: Yeltsin Files
WHORM Cat.:
File Location: Yeltsin (January - December) 1992 [5]

Document Partially Declassified
(Copy of Document Follows)
By MM on 3/7/2019

Date Closed:	4/30/2009	**OA/ID Number:**	91131-005
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 #:**	2009-1075-MR (516)
AR Disposition:		**MR Disposition:**	Released in Part
AR Disposition Date:		**MR Disposition Date:**	10/29/2014

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]

IMMEDIATE

~~SECRET~~

WHITE HOUSE SITUATION ROOM

BUSH PRESIDENTIAL LIBRARY
516
2009-1075-MR

PAGE 01 OF 03

PRT: GANTT HOWE SCOWCROFT SIT
SIT: BURNS FILE 1.4(c) IN SUM SUM2

<PREC> IMMEDIATE <CLAS> ~~SECRET~~ <DTG> 000000Z

FM 1.4(c) MOSCOW

TO WHITE HOUSE
STATE/RCI
~~S E C R E T~~ 1.4(c)
0000
FOR GENERAL SCOWCROFT FROM CHARGE
PLEASE ALSO PASS NICK BURNS
FOR SECRETARY EAGLEBURGER

DECLASSIFIED IN PART
PER E.O. 13526
2009-1071-MR
10/29/2014 MM

MAMEDOV CALLED CHARGE TO THE MFA AT NOON TODAY ON START II AND NEXT STEPS. HE EXPRESSED APPRECIATION FOR LAST NIGHT'S QUICK TURN AROUND ON THE ORAL MESSAGE FROM THE PRESIDENT. IT HAD BEEN WELL RECEIVED AND KOZYREV WAS MOST APPRECIATIVE. EVERYONE IS NOW AGREED THAT JANUARY SHOULD BE THE TARGET DATE FOR A MEETING ACCORDING TO KOZYREV. MAMEDOV SAID THAT THE NEXT STEP IS TO GET FINAL APPROVAL ON THE LETTER RESPONSE TO PRESIDENT BUSH. YELTSIN AND HIS PARTY TOOK A CLEARED TEXT ON THE PLANE, AND ALL MAMEDOV NEEDS FROM THE PARTY IS A "YES" OR "NO." HE CLEARLY EXPECTS THAT ANYTIME, AND SAID HE WILL PASS THE LETTER THROUGH CHARGE AS SOON AS THE RESPONSE IS RECEIVED FROM BEIJING.

MAMEDOV CONTINUED THAT THE LETTER WILL NOT, OF COURSE, BE THE LAST STEP. THERE WILL BE MORE DISCUSSION REQUIRED. HE THEN RAISED THE QUESTION OF AN EXPERTS MEETING. AS BACKGROUND, HE SAID, HE WANTED CHARGE TO KNOW THAT PARLIAMENT IS NOW FOCUSSED ON FOREIGN POLICY AND HAS SUMMONED DEPUTY FOREIGN MINISTERS ADAMISHIN AND BERDENNIKOV TO TESTIFY ON YUGOSLAVIA AND ARMS CONTROL RESPECTIVELY. WITH THIS ENVIRONMENT, MAMEDOV SAID, HE NOW THINKS THAT IT MAY BE BEST NOT TO HOLD THE EXPERTS MEETING

IN MOSCOW. AND THAT WASHINGTON OR POSSIBLY GENEVA WOULD BE BETTER AS A VENUE. WHAT WILL BE IMPORTANT IS A CALM ATMOSPHERE TO GET THE WORK DONE, AND AS PARLIAMENT IS FOCUSSING ON MFA ISSUES, IT MAY NOT BE A GOOD TIME TO TRY TO HOLD TALKS HERE IN MOSCOW. THIS IS PRELIMINARY THINKING: HE STRESSED. HE WILL WANT TO DISCUSS THIS FURTHER AFTER WE HAVE THE LETTER AND THE U.S. REACTION IN HAND.

UKRAINE WAS ALSO ON MAMEDOV'S MIND. HE SAID UKRAINE'S DELAY IN RATIFYING START AND ADHERING TO THE NPT IS GOING TO MAKE IT HARDER TO COUNTER CRITICS OF RUSSIAN MOVEMENT FORWARD ON ARMS CONTROL WHEN THE UKRAINE STONEWALLS. THIS, HE SAID, IS ONE OF THE MOST DIFFICULT QUESTIONS THE MFA IS HAVING TO ADDRESS. HE URGED THAT THE U.S. DO EVERYTHINNG IT CAN TO PRESS FOR EARLY MOVEMENT BY UKRAINE ON START AND NPT.

FINALLY, MAMEDOV PASSED WHAT HE SAID WERE COMPLETELY INFORMAL REACTIONS ABOUT HOW TO ACCOMPLISH THE SIGNING ASSUMING WE GET START II COMPLETED. HE SAID IN DISCUSSION AT THE AIRPORT BEFORE DEPARTING TO CHINA, YELTSIN HAD INDICATED HIS INTEREST IN THE IDEA OF A SIMULTANEOUS SIGNING IN THE TWO CAPITALS. MAMEDOV WANTED TO STRESS THAT THIS SHOULD NOT BE TAKEN AS AUTHORITATIVE REACTION THINKING ABOUT ALTERNITIVES TO AN ANCHORAGE MEETING, BUT IT IS THE FIRST REACTION HE AND KOZYREV HAVE HAD TO GETTING THE SIGNING DONE IN A WAY OTHER THAN THE ORIGINAL PROPOSAL OF A THREE-PARTY MEETING.

MAMEDOV THEN SAID KOZYREV HAD ASKED HIM TO DISCUSS WITH CHARGE ANOTHER IDEA WHICH KOZYREV THOUGHT MERITED CONSIDERATION A SIGNING SOMEWHERE IN THE RUSSIAN FAR EAST, PROBABLY VLADIVOSTOK. MAMEDOV UNDERSCORED THAT THIS IDEA WAS GIVEN TO HIM HURRIEDLY AS THE PARTY WAS ON ITS WAY TO DEPARTURE AND HE WAS PASSING ON KOZYREV'S REMARKS AT THE MINISTER'S REQUEST.

END TEXT

~~S E C R E T~~

#7473

NNNN

WHITE HOUSE SITUATION ROOM

<MSGID> M0123488

DECLASSIFIED
PER E.O. 13526
2009-1071-MR
MM 8/14/2015

~~SECRET~~ -- ENTIRE TEXT

PRIVACY CHANNEL MESSAGE FROM PRESIDENT GEORGE BUSH TO PRESIDENT YELTSIN. DELIVER TO CHARGE COLLINS ONLY

JIM, FOLLOWING IS A MESSAGE FROM PRESIDENT BUSH TO PRESIDENT YELTSIN. PLEASE DELIVER URGENTLY. THERE WILL BE NO SIGNED ORIGINAL.

WARM REGARDS,

BRENT

BEGIN TEXT OF MESSAGE

DEAR BORIS,

I WAS HEARTENED BY OUR CONVERSATION ON SUNDAY, IN WHICH YOU REAFFIRMED YOUR STRONG COMMITMENT TO OUR JUNE AGREEMENT ON FURTHER STRATEGIC ARMS REDUCTIONS AND THE ELIMINATION OF MIRVED ICBMS. WE BOTH WANT TO SIGN A TREATY CODIFYING THAT HISTORIC AGREEMENT; OUR RESPONSIBILITY TO OUR NATIONS AND TO THE WORLD REQUIRES NO LESS OF US.

THERE IS STILL MUCH WORK TO DO IF WE ARE TO BE ABLE TO SIGN THE START II TREATY BEFORE I LEAVE OFFICE. YOU HAVE IDENTIFIED THREE IMPORTANT ISSUES TO ME. YOUR FOREIGN MINISTRY SENT US A DRAFT TREATY TEXT THAT DIVERGES EVEN MORE FROM OUR JUNE AGREEMENT AND, IN SOME INSTANCES, FROM THE START I TREATY. THAT IS WHY I WELCOME YOUR REAFFIRMATION OF OUR JUNE AGREEMENT AS THE BASIS FOR THE ACTUAL TREATY, AND YOUR STATEMENT THAT MOST OF THE DIFFERENCES BETWEEN THE U.S. AND RUSSIAN DRAFT TREATY TEXTS

REFLECT RUSSIAN ECONOMIC CONCERNS, NOT POLITICAL OR MILITARY DIFFERENCES.

YOU SHOULD HAVE NO DOUBT THAT THE UNITED STATES IS PREPARED TO ASSIST RUSSIA FINANCIALLY AND TECHNICALLY TO IMPLEMENT BOTH THE START TREATY AND START II. INDEED, OUR JUNE AGREEMENT, FOR THE FIRST TIME IN ARMS CONTROL, FEATURES THE POSSIBILITY OF SUCH ASSISTANCE. U.S. TECHNICAL EXPERTS WILL BE IN MOSCOW NEXT WEEK TO CONTINUE DISCUSSION OF POSSIBLE ASSISTANCE PROJECTS.

LET ME OFFER A SUGGESTION AS TO HOW WE MIGHT PROCEED. ON CONVERSION OF SS-18 SILOS, I MUST TELL YOU THAT THIS IS BEYOND MY ABILITY TO ACCEPT. I UNDERSTAND THAT SENATOR NUNN, WHO WILL PLAY A CENTRAL ROLE IN OUR RATIFICATION PROCESS, RECENTLY EXPRESSED SIMILAR SENTIMENTS TO YOU. THESE SYSTEMS HAVE BECOME A SYMBOL OF SUCH IMPORTANCE THAT I CANNOT SEE ANY OTHER ALTERNATIVE TO THEIR DESTRUCTION. THEIR RETENTION, EVEN IF CONVERTED WITH THOROUGH SAFEGUARDS, JUST WOULD NOT BE AN ACCEPTABLE ALTERATION OF THE PROCEDURES CONTAINED IN START I.

IF YOU AND I CAN AGREE TO THE DISPOSITION OF THE SS-18 ISSUE THROUGH SILO DESTRUCTION, THEN I THINK WE COULD TURN THE REMAINDER OF THE NEGOTIATIONS OVER TO LARRY EAGLEBURGER AND ANDREI KOZYREV FOR RAPID CONCLUSION OF A TREATY TEXT. I BELIEVE THAT IT IS STILL POSSIBLE IN THE TIME REMAINING IF LARRY AND ANDREI WORK FROM THE U.S. DRAFT TEXT. I AM SURE YOU CAN

UNDERSTAND HOW DIFFICULT IT WOULD BE TO WORK FROM YOUR TEXT -- YOUR GOVERNMENT NEEDED FOUR MONTHS TO REVIEW OUR TEXT AND WE HAVE HAD YOUR FAR MORE COMPLICATED ONE, WITH ITS FUNDAMENTAL DIFFERENCES, FOR ONLY TWO WEEKS. OF COURSE, THEY WOULD HAVE TO RESOLVE DIFFERENCES ON SPECIFIC LANGUAGE. I WOULD SEND LARRY WITH CONCRETE INSTRUCTIONS TO ENABLE THE TREATY TO BE COMPLETED IN TIME FOR YOU AND ME TO SIGN.

I ALSO WOULD LIKE TO RESPOND TO YOUR SUGGESTION THAT GOVERNOR CLINTON MIGHT JOIN US IF WE MEET. I HAVE LOOKED INTO THIS THOROUGHLY AND, ALTHOUGH IT IS A GOOD IDEA IN PRINCIPLE, IT WOULD SIMPLY CREATE TOO MANY COMPLICATIONS IN OUR POLITICAL SYSTEM DURING A TRANSITION BETWEEN TWO POLITICAL PARTIES. AS I MENTIONED IN AN EARLIER LETTER, GOVERNOR CLINTON AND I AGREE THAT THE NEW U.S.-RUSSIAN PARTNERSHIP IS TOO IMPORTANT TO DELAY PROGRESS ON VITAL ISSUES. THEREFORE, GOVERNOR CLINTON HOPES YOU AND I CAN CONCLUDE THIS TREATY.

I UNDERSTAND THE RELUCTANCE YOU MIGHT HAVE AT A SIGNING CEREMONY ON AMERICAN SOIL, WITHOUT THE OPPORTUNITY TO MEET WITH THE PRESIDENT-ELECT DURING YOUR VISIT. HOWEVER, ASSUMING WE ARE ABLE TO RESOLVE OUR DIFFERENCES OVER THE TREATY IN TIME FOR US TO CONCLUDE THE PROCESS, THERE ARE A VARIETY OF WAYS IN WHICH YOU AND I COULD ACCOMPLISH ITS SIGNATURE. FOR EXAMPLE, WE COULD MEET SOMEWHERE ELSE OR EVEN HAVE SIMULTANEOUS SIGNING CEREMONIES IN OUR RESPECTIVE CAPITALS.

BORIS, I AM READY TO WORK CLOSELY WITH YOU TO SEE IF WE CAN CONCLUDE THE TREATY IN THE NEXT FEW WEEKS.

SINCERELY,

GEORGE BUSH

END TEXT OF MESSAGE

Withdrawal/Redaction Sheet
(George Bush Library)

Document No. and Type	Subject/Title of Document	Date	Restriction	Class.
20a. Cable	From White House to Moscow, Re: Message from President to Former Soviet President Gorbachev [120103Z Jan 93] [FOIA RESTRICTIONS REDACTED] (2 pp.)	1/12/93	(b)(1)	C

Collection:

Record Group: Bush Presidential Records
Office: Scowcroft, Brent, Files
Series: Special Separate USSR Notes Files
Subseries: Yeltsin Files
WHORM Cat.:
File Location: Yeltsin (January - December) 1992 [5]

Document Partially Declassified
(Copy of Document Follows)
By MM on 3/1/2016

Date Closed:	4/30/2009	**OA/ID Number:**	91131-005
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 #:**	2009-1071-MR(502)
AR Disposition:		**MR Disposition:**	Released in Part
AR Disposition Date:		**MR Disposition Date:**	10/29/2014

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

IMMEDIATE

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

WHITE HOUSE SITUATION ROOM

BUSH PRESIDENTIAL LIBRARY
518
2009-1076-MR

PRT: COMM HOWE SCOWCROFT SIT
SIT: COO FILE OLEARY OLEARY^H 1.4(c) [redacted] ^OUT SIGLER SUM SUM2

<PREC> IMMEDIATE <CLAS> ~~CONFIDENTIAL~~ <DTG> 120103Z JAN 93

FM WHITE HOUSE

TO 1.4(c) [redacted] MOSCOW
~~C O N F I D E N T I A L~~ 1.4(c) [redacted]
QQQQ

.

PLEASE DELIVER THE FOLLOWING MESSAGE TO CHARGE COLLINS
FROM GENERAL SCOWCROFT.

.

JIM: PLEASE DELIVER THE FOLLOWING MESSAGE FROM THE PRESIDENT TO FORMER SOVIET PRESIDENT GORBACHEV AS SOON AS POSSIBLE. WE WILL SEND THE ORIGINAL TO YOU FOR DELIVERY AT A LATER DATE. THANKS AND WARM REGARDS. BRENT

.

BEGIN TEXT:

.

DEAR MIKHAIL:

.

I AM WRITING TO THANK YOU FOR YOUR VERY KIND LETTER OF DECEMBER 24 IN WHICH YOU OFFERED HOLIDAY WISHES TO BARBARA AND MYSELF. WE WOULD LIKE TO CONVEY TO BOTH YOU AND RAISA OUR BEST WISHES FOR A HAPPY AND HEALTHY NEW YEAR.

.

AS YOU KNOW, I HAVE JUST RETURNED FROM MOSCOW AND A VERY SUCCESSFUL MEETING WITH PRESIDENT YELTSIN. THE START II TREATY THAT WE SIGNED IS A MAJOR ACCOMPLISHMENT, WHICH WE BELIEVE WILL BE OF ENORMOUS BENEFIT TO RUSSIA AND THE UNITED STATES AS TOGETHER WE APPROACH A NEW MILLENNIUM. OUR VERY GREAT HOPE IS THAT WE WILL CONTINUE TO WORK TOGETHER IN PARTNERSHIP FOR A NEW AND PEACEFUL WORLD ORDER, AND A FUTURE FREE OF THE FEAR OF NUCLEAR WAR.

.

DECLASSIFIED IN PART
PER E.O. 13526
2009-1071-MR
10/29/2014 MM

I AM VERY SORRY THAT IT WAS NOT POSSIBLE FOR US TO MEET WHILE I WAS IN MOSCOW. AS YOU KNOW, MY TRIP THERE WAS RUSHED, WITH MOSCOW BEING SUBSTITUTED FOR SOCHI AT THE LAST MOMENT. AS IT WAS, I SPENT LESS THAN TWENTY-FOUR HOURS IN YOUR CAPITAL. HAD IT BEEN POSSIBLE, I WOULD HAVE ENJOYED VERY MUCH THE OPPORTUNITY TO TALK WITH YOU.

.

BARBARA AND I RETAIN VERY GREAT AFFECTION FOR YOU AND RAISA, AND WE HOPE THAT YOU WILL BE ABLE TO VISIT US DURING YOUR NEXT TRIP TO THE UNITED STATES. UNTIL THEN, WE WISH BOTH OF YOU THE BEST OF SUCCESS AND HAPPINESS.

.

SINCERELY,

.

GEORGE BUSH

.

.

END TEXT

DECL: OADR

#0002

NNNN

<MSGID> M0160952

Withdrawal/Redaction Sheet
(George Bush Library)

Document No. and Type	Subject/Title of Document	Date	Restriction	Class.
20b. Memo	Nick Burns to Brent Scowcroft Re: Message to Charge Collins in Moscow [redacted] (1 pp.)	1/11/93	(b)(1)	C

Collection:

Record Group: Bush Presidential Records
Office: Scowcroft, Brent, Files
Series: Special Separate USSR Notes Files
Subseries: Yeltsin Files
WHORM Cat.:
File Location: Yeltsin (January - December) 1992 [5]

Document Partially Declassified
(Copy of Document Follows)
By SCS on 10/31/14

Date Closed:	4/30/2009	**OA/ID Number:**	91131-005
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 #:**	2009-1076-MR (518.01)
AR Disposition:		**MR Disposition:**	Released in Part
AR Disposition Date:		**MR Disposition Date:**	12/17/2013

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]
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(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

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~ 0202

NATIONAL SECURITY COUNCIL
WASHINGTON, D.C. 20506

January 11, 1993





ACTION

MEMORANDUM FOR BRENT SCOWCROFT

FROM: NICK BURNS NB

SUBJECT: (b)(1) Message to Charge Collins in Moscow

Per our conversation, I recommend that you approve the attached for transmission to Jim Collins in Moscow.

RECOMMENDATION

That you approve the message to Charge Jim Collins at Tab I and authorize its dispatch today (b)(1)

Approve ✓ Disapprove _____

Attachment
Tab I Message to Jim Collins

DECLASSIFIED IN PART
PER E.O. 13526
2009-1071-MR
SCS 12/17/13

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~
Declassify on: OADR

Withdrawal/Redaction Sheet
(George Bush Library)

Document No. and Type	Subject/Title of Document	Date	Restriction	Class.
20c. Message	Re: Message for Charge Jim Collins from Brent Scowcroft (1 pp.)	n.d.	(b)(1)	C

Collection:

Record Group: Bush Presidential Records
Office: Scowcroft, Brent, Collection
Series: Special Separate USSR Notes Files
Subseries: Yeltsin Files
WHORM Cat.:
File Location: Yeltsin (Jaunary - December) 1992 [5]

Date Closed:	4/30/2009	**OA/ID Number:**	91131-005
FOIA/SYS Case #:	2009-0275-S	**Appeal Case #:**	
Re-review Case #:		**Appeal Disposition:**	
P-2/P-5 Review Case #:		**Disposition Date:**	
AR Case #:		**MR Case #:**	
AR Disposition:		**MR Disposition:**	
AR Disposition Date:		**MR Disposition Date:**	

RESTRICTION CODES

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

P-1 National Security Classified Information [(a)(1) of the PRA]
P-2 Relating to the appointment to Federal office [(a)(2) of the PRA]
P-3 Release would violate a Federal statute [(a)(3) of the PRA]
P-4 Release would disclose trade secrets or confidential commercial or financial information [(a)(4) of the PRA]
P-5 Release would disclose confidential advice between the President and his advisors, or between such advisors [a)(5) of the PRA]
P-6 Release would constitute a clearly unwarranted invasion of personal privacy [(a)(6) of the PRA]

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

PRM. Removed as a personal record misfile.

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

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

Withdrawal/Redaction Sheet
(George Bush Library)

Document No. and Type	Subject/Title of Document	Date	Restriction	Class.
20d. Cable	From White House Re: ***No Subject Found*** (1 pp.)	1/12/93	(b)(1)	C

Collection:

Record Group: Bush Presidential Records
Office: Scowcroft, Brent, Collection
Series: Special Separate USSR Notes Files
Subseries: Yeltsin Files
WHORM Cat.:
File Location: Yeltsin (Jaunary - December) 1992 [5]

Date Closed:	4/30/2009	**OA/ID Number:**	91131-005
FOIA/SYS Case #:	2009-0275-S	**Appeal Case #:**	
Re-review Case #:		**Appeal Disposition:**	
P-2/P-5 Review Case #:		**Disposition Date:**	
AR Case #:		**MR Case #:**	
AR Disposition:		**MR Disposition:**	
AR Disposition Date:		**MR Disposition Date:**	

RESTRICTION CODES

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

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

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

PRM. Removed as a personal record misfile.

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

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

Withdrawal/Redaction Sheet
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Document No. and Type	Subject/Title of Document	Date	Restriction	Class.
21. Cable	From Moscow to White House, Re: For General Scowcroft and Nick Burns from Charge [301601Z Dec 92] [FOIA RESTRICTIONS REDACTED] (5 pp.)	12/30/92	(b)(1)	S

Collection:

Record Group: Bush Presidential Records
Office: Scowcroft, Brent, Files
Series: Special Separate USSR Notes Files
Subseries: Yeltsin Files
WHORM Cat.:
File Location: Yeltsin (January - December) 1992 [5]

Document Partially Declassified
(Copy of Document Follows)
By MM on 3/1/2016

Date Closed:	4/30/2009	**OA/ID Number:**	91131-005
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 #:**	2009-1076-MR(503)
AR Disposition:		**MR Disposition:**	Released in Part
AR Disposition Date:		**MR Disposition Date:**	10/29/2014

RESTRICTION CODES

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

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P-2 Relating to the appointment to Federal office [(a)(2) of the PRA]
P-3 Release would violate a Federal statute [(a)(3) of the PRA]
P-4 Release would disclose trade secrets or confidential commercial or financial information [(a)(4) of the PRA]
P-5 Release would disclose confidential advice between the President and his advisors, or between such advisors [a)(5) of the PRA]
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WHITE HOUSE SITUATION ROOM

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PAGE 01 OF 05

PRT: GANT/HILL HOWE SCOWCROFT SIT
SIT: BURNS FILE 1.4(c) IN SUM SUM2

<PREC> IMMEDIATE <CLAS> ~~SECRET~~ <DTG> 301601Z DEC 92

FM 1.4(c) MOSCOW

DECLASSIFIED IN PART
PER E.O. 13526
2009-1071-MR
10/29/2014 MR

TO WHITE HOUSE
~~SECRET~~ 1.4(c)
QQQQ
SECTION ONE OF TWO
FOR GENERAL SCOWCROFT AND NICK BURNS FROM CHARGE
WHITE HOUSE PASS STATE DEPARTMENT FOR SECRETARY EAGLEBURGER AND S/P DIRECTOR DENNIS ROSS ONLY

AS WE DISCUSSED, MAMEDOV SUGGESTED TODAY THAT EACH PRINCIPAL MAKE ONE STATEMENT AT THE SOCHI PRESS CONFERENCE. FOLLOWING IS EMBASSY'S REVISED DRAFT WHICH COMBINES THE TWO DRAFT STATEMENTS (BILATERAL RELATIONS, START-2) WE FORWARDED YESTERDAY.

MAMEDOV TOLD US, IN STRICT CONFIDENCE, THAT THE RUSSIAN DRAFT STATEMENT IS WITH YELTSIN FOR APPROVAL. WE THINK HE WOULD BE PREPARED TO SHARE THE RUSSIAN DRAFT ONCE IT COMES BACK FROM THE KREMLIN AND WE WOULD APPRECIATE AUTHORIZATION TO SHARE AN APPROPRIATELY EDITED VERSION OF THIS DRAFT WITH MAMEDOV.

BEGIN TEXT OF DRAFT PRESIDENTIAL STATEMENT.

THE U.S. AND RUSSIA -- AN ENDURING PARTNERSHIP FOR CHANGE

WORKING TOGETHER OVER THE PAST YEAR, THE UNITED STATES AND RUSSIA HAVE TRANSFORMED A FUNDAMENTALLY HOSTILE RELATIONSHIP BASED ON MUTUAL DESTRUCTIVE POTENTIAL INTO A PARTNERSHIP, IN THE FULLEST SENSE OF THE TERM, BASED ON MUTUAL CONFIDENCE AND RESPECT.

DURING THE COLD WAR, THE UNITED STATES AND RUSSIA PERFECTED THEIR ABILITY TO DESTROY EACH OTHER IN 30 MINUTES. THE REALITIES OF THIS TERRIBLE ACCOMPLISHMENT

ARE INESCAPABLE. THE START-2 TREATY WE HAVE SIGNED TODAY REPRESENTS--FOR AMERICANS, RUSSIANS, AND ALL OTHER PEOPLES--AN HISTORIC ACHIEVEMENT. IT TAKES THE U.S. AND RUSSIA A FURTHER LARGE STEP BACK FROM THE SPECTER OF NUCLEAR HOLOCAUST. IT WILL FREE UP ENERGIES AND RESOURCES FOR THE PRESENT AND FUTURE GENERATIONS OF AMERICANS AND RUSSIANS TO CONCENTRATE ON THE BUSINESS OF IMPROVING LIFE, RATHER THAN DESTROYING IT.

START-2 IS RADICAL IN REDUCING THE NUCLEAR FORCE LEVELS OF BOTH SIDES. IT IS A GOOD TREATY BECAUSE IT FULLY RESPECTS THE INTERESTS OF BOTH COUNTRIES. IT WAS CONCLUDED AFTER STRENUOUS AND DETAILED NEGOTIATIONS IN WHICH BOTH SIDES PRESSED THEIR VIEWPOINTS TO THE FULL. IT ENHANCES STABILITY BY ELIMINATING ALL HEAVY ICBM'S AND ALL LAND-BASED MULTIPLE, INDEPENDENTLY-TARGETED RE-ENTRY VEHICLES--BOTH U.S. AND RUSSIAN. ITS PROMPT RATIFICATION BY THE U.S. SENATE, AS WELL AS BY THE RUSSIAN SUPREME SOVIET, IS NOW OF CRITICAL IMPORTANCE TO BOTH OUR PEOPLES. THE U.S. IS PREPARED TO PROVIDE SUBSTANTIAL FINANCIAL AND TECHNICAL ASSISTANCE TO RUSSIA TO HELP IN THE IMPLEMENTATION OF START-2, TO AID IN THE DESTRUCTION (AND MODIFICATION) OF SILOS AND THE DISMANTLING OF MISSILES. THIS MONEY WILL BE A PERMANENT AMERICAN INVESTMENT IN A MORE SECURE NUCLEAR BALANCE AND IN SAFER NUCLEAR ARSENALS IN RUSSIA AND THE U.S.

START-2 REFLECTS THE ROLE OF CHANGE IN THE U.S.-RUSSIAN RELATIONSHIP. OVER THE COMING YEARS, THE TREATY MAKES MAKES CONSTRUCTIVE AND FUNDAMENTAL CHANGE POSSIBLE FOR BOTH OUR PEOPLES. WE WERE ABLE TO CONCLUDE THE TREATY BECAUSE OUR RELATIONSHIP ITSELF HAS CHANGED.

SIXTEEN MONTHS AGO, ALL AMERICANS WATCHED WITH ADMIRATION AND RESPECT AS THE RUSSIAN PEOPLE, WITH BORIS YELTSIN.S COURAGEOUS LEADERSHIP, MADE THEIR DECISION IN

FAVOR OF DEMOCRACY AND REFORM, AND TO REJOIN THE MAINSTREAM OF THE WORLD COMMUNITY FROM WHICH TOTALITARIAN

COMMUNISM HAD EFFECTIVELY ISOLATED THEM FOR 74 YEARS. SINCE THEN, THE RUSSIAN PEOPLE AND RUSSIAN LEADERS HAVE WORKED STEADFASTLY TO ENSURE THAT THERE IS NO WAY BACK TO TOTALITARIANISM. DURING THE COLD WAR, WE IN THE UNITED STATES REGARDED THE SOVIET UNION AS A FORMIDABLE ADVERSARY. NOW, WE WELCOME RUSSIA AS AN EVEN MORE WORTHY PARTNER. RUSSIA IS A GREAT POWER, WITH A GREAT HISTORY AND GREAT CIVILIZATION, AND ITS DEMOCRATIC TRANSFORMATION HAS OPENED TO THE WORLD THE EXAMPLE AND CREATIVE GENIUS OF THE BEST RUSSIAN TRADITIONS. RUSSIA HAS AN HONORED PLACE AMONG DEMOCRATIC, INDUSTRIALIZED COUNTRIES, AS A PARTNER IN THE EURO-ATLANTIC AND PACIFIC COMMUNITIES, AND AND AS PERMANENT MEMBER OF THE U.N. SECURITY COUNCIL.

FOR ITS PART, THE UNITED STATES HAS APPROACHED THE NEW RELATIONSHIP WITH RESPECT FOR FOUR BASIC PRINCIPLES:

- Ø FIRST, THE UNITED STATES SEEKS NO UNILATERAL ADVANTAGE FROM RUSSIA'S TRANSFORMATION. WE RECOGNIZE THAT NO ADVANTAGE CAN BE SUSTAINABLE WHICH IS NOT MUTUAL. WE WANT A TOLERANT, DEMOCRATIC RUSSIA WHICH RESPECTS ITS NEIGHBORS AND ITS CITIZENS; IS STRONG AND PROSPEROUS; DISPOSES SUFFICIENT MILITARY FORCE TO MEET REASONABLE SECURITY NEEDS, AND RESPECTS INTERNATIONAL NORMS IN ITS RELATIONS WITH THE WORLD.
- Ø SECOND, THE UNITED STATES AND RUSSIA REMAIN UNIQUELY IMPORTANT TO EACH OTHER. FOR AMERICANS, STABLE, OPEN, AND DEMOCRATIC RUSSIAN POLITICAL INSTITUTIONS AND RISING LIVING-STANDARDS BASED ON A SUCCESSFUL MARKET ECONOMY ARE PREREQUISITES FOR A HEALTHY AND SECURE WORLD ENVIRONMENT. AN ECONOMICALLY STRONG RUSSIA IS AN IMPORTANT POTENTIAL OUTLET FOR AMERICAN PRODUCTS AND INVESTMENT, WHICH WILL GENERATE U.S. JOBS.

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OOQO
FINAL SECTION OF TWO
FOR GENERAL SCOWCROFT AND NICK BURNS FROM CHARGE
WHITE HOUSE PASS STATE DEPARTMENT FOR SECRETARY EAGLEBURGER
AND S/P DIRECTOR DENNIS ROSS ONLY
PAGE Ø04 MOSCOW ~~S E C R E T~~

- Ø THIRD, THE UNITED STATES RESPECTS RUSSIA'S DISTINCT IDENTITY AND NATIONAL INTERESTS. WHILE OUR MUTUAL INTERESTS OUTWEIGH OUR DIFFERENCES, WE KNOW THAT PARTNERSHIP DOES NOT AND CANNOT MEAN AGREEMENT ABOUT ALL THINGS AT ALL TIMES. IT IS A SIGN OF THE STRENGTH OF OUR RELATIONSHIP THAT DISPUTES TODAY ARE RESOLVED THROUGH NEGOTIATION IN PURSUIT OF MUTUAL BENEFIT.
- Ø FOURTH, FUNDAMENTAL U.S. INTERESTS ARE SERVED BY OUR INVOLVEMENT. TO THE EXTENT OF OUR RESOURCES AND WITH RESPECT FOR RUSSIA'S SOVEREIGNTY, IN THE COUNTRY'S TRANSFORMATION. AT THE SAME TIME, WE RECOGNIZE THAT THE CONTINUED EFFECTIVENESS OF OUR ENGAGEMENT DEPENDS ON RUSSIA'S FORWARD MOVEMENT IN MAKING ITS ECONOMIC AND POLITICAL TRANSFORMATIONS IRREVERSIBLE.

IN THE PAST YEAR WE HAVE UNDERTAKEN A RANGE OF EFFORTS AIMED AT HELPING TO SECURE THE SUCCESS OF RUSSIA'S TRANSFORMATION AS WELL AS HELPING TO EASE ITS HARDSHIPS. BESIDES UNDERTAKING SHARPLY TO REDUCE WEAPONS OF MASS DESTRUCTION -- CHEMICAL AS WELL AS NUCLEAR WEAPONS -- WE HAVE CONCLUDED A WIDE RANGE OF AGREEMENTS AIMED AT ALLOWING OUR RELATIONSHIP TO DEVELOP FULLY AND NORMALLY. THE BILATERAL INVESTMENT TREATY, BILATERAL TRADE AGREEMENT WITH MFN STATUS, AND OPIC AGREEMENT WILL ENHANCE BILATERAL TRADE AND INVESTMENT. COOPERATION AND JOINT ACTIVITIES AIMED AT ASSISTING RUSSIA TO ADDRESS SERIOUS ENVIRONMENTAL PROBLEMS ARE ALSO AN IMPORTANT ELEMENT OF OUR NEW RELATIONSHIP.

THE SPECIAL RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN RUSSIANS AND

WHITE HOUSE SITUATION ROOM

AMERICANS DID NOT END WITH THE COLD WAR. OUR SHARED EXPERIENCE SINCE AUGUST 1991 HAS MADE CLEAR THAT WE HAVE AN ENDURING RELATIONSHIP WHICH WILL BE A DYNAMIC. CREATIVE. AND STRONG FORCE IN SHAPING THE FUTURE.
END TEXT:
DECL OADR
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Withdrawal/Redaction Sheet
(George Bush Library)

Document No. and Type	Subject/Title of Document	Date	Restriction	Class.
22. Cable	From Moscow to White House, Re: President's Letter [101407Z Dec 92] [FOIA RESTRICTIONS REDACTED] (1 pp.)	12/10/92	(b)(1)	S

Collection:

Record Group: Bush Presidential Records
Office: Scowcroft, Brent, Files
Series: Special Separate USSR Notes Files
Subseries: Yeltsin Files
WHORM Cat.:
File Location: Yeltsin (January - December) 1992 [5]

Document Partially Declassified
(Copy of Document Follows)
By MM on 3/1/2016

Date Closed:	4/30/2009	**OA/ID Number:**	91131-005
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 #:**	2009-1071-MR(504)
AR Disposition:		**MR Disposition:**	Released in Part
AR Disposition Date:		**MR Disposition Date:**	10/29/2014

RESTRICTION CODES

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PAGE 01

PRT: GANTT HOWE SCOWCROFT SIT
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FM 1.4(c) MOSCOW

TO THE WHITE HOUSE
~~S E C R E T~~ 1.4(c)
QQQQ
FROM CHARGE COLLINS FOR GENERAL SCOWCROFT
SUBJECT: PRESIDENT'S LETTER

I DELIVERED PRESIDENT BUSH'S LETTER TO YELTSIN TO HIS FOREIGN POLICY ADVISER, DMITRIY RYURIKOV. (YOU CAN IMAGINE THAT WITH WHAT IS GOING ON HERE TODAY SEEING YELTSIN WAS IMPOSSIBLE.) RYURIKOV READ THE LETTER CAREFULLY AND PROMISED TO GET IT TO PRESIDENT YELTSIN PROMPTLY. HE MADE NO SUBSTANTIVE COMMENT. I TOLD RYURIKOV THAT I WAS AVAILABLE IF THE RUSSIANS WANT TO PASS A REPLY. I ALSO CONFIRMED THAT LARRY EAGLEBURGER IS SCHEDULED TO SEE KOZYREV IN STOCKHOLM, ON DECEMBER 13. RYURIKOV SAID HE WOULD GET BACK TO US WHEN A REPLY IS READY.
END TEXT.
DECLAS: OADR
~~S E C R E T~~
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WHITE HOUSE SITUATION ROOM

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FM AMEMBASSY MOSCOW

TO RUEHC/SECSTATE WASHDC NIACT IMMEDIATE 8479
RHEHAAA/WHITEHOUSE WASHDC NIACT IMMEDIATE
INFO RUEHYE/AMEMBASSY YEREVAN 1095
RUEHVL/AMEMBASSY VILNIUS 0819
RUEHSI/AMEMBASSY TBILISI 1221
RUEHNT/AMEMBASSY TASHKENT 1120
RUEHCH/AMEMBASSY CHISINAU 0966
RUEHAH/AMEMBASSY ASHGABAT 0971
RUEHTL/AMEMBASSY TALLINN 0802
RUEHRA/AMEMBASSY RIGA 0814
RUEHKB/AMEMBASSY BAKU 1411
RUEHTA/AMEMBASSY ALMA ATA 1911
RUEHKV/AMEMBASSY KIEV 3969
RUEHEK/AMEMBASSY BISHKEK 0891
RUEHSK/AMEMBASSY MINSK 1732
RUEHXD/MOSCOW POLITICAL COLLECTIVE
~~C O N F I D E N T I A L~~ SECTION 01 OF 02 MOSCOW 037832
STATE NIACT FOR S/S-O AND EUR/ISCA
DEPT ALSO FOR S, D, P, C, E, S/P, HA, L, PA, INR
E.O. 12356: DECL:OADR
TAGS: PGOV, PINR, ECON, PREL PARM, PHUM, RS
SUBJECT: RUSSIAN CONGRESS OF PEOPLE'S DEPUTIES:
YELTSIN THROWS DOWN GAUNTLET TO CONGRESS;
CALLS JANUARY REFERENDUM: "THEM OR ME"
REF: MOSCOW 37824
1. ~~CONFIDENTIAL~~ - ENTIRE TEXT.
SUMMARY
---
2. RUSSIAN PRESIDENT BORIS YELTSIN TOLD THE RUSSIAN

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PER E.O. 13526
2009-1071-MR
10/29/2014 MM

CONGRESS THURSDAY MORNING HE WILL GO DIRECTLY TO THE PEOPLE IN A JANUARY REFERENDUM ON WHETHER HE OR THE CONGRESS SHOULD CONDUCT ECONOMIC REFORM. HE SAID GAYDAR WILL REMAIN IN CHARGE OF ECONOMIC REFORM AS ACTING PRIME MINISTER (DESPITE THE FAILURE OF THE CONGRESS TO CONFIRM HIM AS PRIME MINISTER THE PREVIOUS DAY, REFTEL). IN RESPONSE TO YELTSIN'S REMARKS, SPEAKER KHASBULATOV OFFERED HIS RESIGNATION, WHICH THE CONGRESS REFUSED TO CONSIDER. THE RUSSIAN CONSTITUTIONAL COURT IS MEETING IN SPECIAL SESSION TO CONSIDER THE LEGALITY OF YELTSIN'S PROPOSAL. SOME RADICAL REFORMERS HAVE EXPRESSED SUPPORT FOR THE PRESIDENT'S MOVE, BUT IT IS CLEAR THAT PRO-REFORM FORCES ARE DIVIDED ON THIS ISSUE. STREET DEMONSTRATIONS ARE PLANNED BY THE OPPOSITION.
END SUMMARY

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3. YELTSIN TOOK THE FLOOR AT THE OPENING OF THE THURSDAY MORNING SESSION OF THE RUSSIAN CONGRESS OF PEOPLE'S DEPUTIES FOR TEN MINUTES. HE SPOKE, HE SAID, NOT ONLY TO THE CONGRESS BUT ALSO DIRECTLY TO THE RUSSIAN PEOPLE. YELTSIN SAID THAT AS PRESIDENT HE HAS THE POWER TO CALL A REFERENDUM AND WILL DO SO IN JANUARY 1993. THE QUESTION TO BE PUT TO THE PEOPLE WILL BE "WHOM DO YOU CHARGE WITH CARRYING OUT ECONOMIC REFORM, THE CONGRESS OR THE PRESIDENT?" YELTSIN'S REMARKS WERE GREETED WITH A MIXTURE OF APPLAUSE AND BOOS. YELTSIN, GAYDAR AND OTHER GOVERNMENT FIGURES THEN LEFT THE HALL. WE HAVE REPORTS THE GOVERNMENT IS CURRENTLY MEETING IN CLOSED SESSION.

4. COMMENT: A STRICT READING OF THE EXISTING RUSSIAN CONSTITUTION GIVES THE CONGRESS ALONE THE POWER TO DECLARE REFERENDA; ALTHOUGH THE PRESIDENT MAY PETITION THE CONGRESS TO DO SO. THE PRESIDENT'S OWN LAWYERS HAVE TOLD US THEY DO NOT/NOT BELIEVE YELTSIN HAS THE CONSTITUTIONAL AUTHORITY TO CONDUCT A REFERENDUM

WITHOUT THE APPROVAL OF THE CONGRESS. THIS VIEW IS SUPPORTED BY THE FACT THAT YELTSIN ASKED THE CONGRESS EARLIER THIS WEEK TO AMEND THE CONSTITUTION TO GIVE HIM SUCH AUTHORITY, A PROPOSAL WHICH THE CONGRESS PREDICTABLY REJECTED. END COMMENT.

5. SPEAKER RUSLAN KHASBULATOV DECLARED TO THE CONGRESS IMMEDIATELY AFTER YELTSIN'S SPEECH THAT HE "HAD BEEN INSULTED BY THE HIGHEST POWER IN THE LAND" AND "I ANNOUNCE MY RESIGNATION". KHASBULATOV THEN LEFT THE HALL. THE CONGRESS LATER VOTED (148-583) NOT/NOT TO CONSIDER THE SPEAKER'S RESIGNATION. KHASBULATOV RETURNED TO THE HALL, BUT NOT/NOT TO THE SPEAKER'S CHAIR.

6. YELTSIN'S SPEECH WAS DELIVERED TO A HALL PARTLY EMPTY ON WHAT HAD BEEN PLANNED AS A ROUTINE FINAL MORNING OF THE CONGRESS. THE CONGRESS BARELY HAD A QUORUM (694) WHEN IT REJECTED A PROPOSAL TO RECESS BRIEFLY AFTER KHASBULATOV LEFT THE HALL (151-548). (A NUMBER OF DEPUTIES HAVE TOLD EMBOFFS AT THE SESSION THAT THEY FEAR A GOVERNMENT LOCKOUT IF THEY RECESS.)

7. DEBATE IN THE CONGRESS WAS STORMY AND EMOTIONALLY CHARGED. THE CONGRESS VOTED (681-39-13) THAT THE

STATE NIACT FOR S/S-O AND EUR/ISCA
DEPT ALSO FOR S, D, P, C, E, S/P, HA, L, PA, INR
E.O. 12356: DECL:OADR
TAGS: PGOV, PINR, ECON, PREL PARM, PHUM, RS
SUBJECT: RUSSIAN CONGRESS OF PEOPLE'S DEPUTIES: YELTSIN THROWS DOWN GAUNTLET TO CONGRESS; CALLS JANUARY REFERENDUM: "THEM OR ME"

MINISTERS OF DEFENSE, SECURITY AND INTERNAL AFFAIRS SHOULD GIVE THE CONGRESS THEIR VIEWS ON THE CURRENT SITUATION. IN ADDITION, THE CONSTITUTIONAL COURT IS MEETING IN SPECIAL SESSION TO CONSIDER THE VALIDITY OF YELTSIN'S PROPOSED REFERENDUM IN TERMS OF THE 1978 RUSSIAN FEDERATION CONSTITUTION. COURT CHAIRMAN ZORKIN

IS EXPECTED TO REPORT THE COURT'S FINDINGS TO THE CONGRESS LATER IN THE DAY. THE CONGRESS IS NOW CONTINUING WITH ITS AGENDA, DEBATING A DRAFT RESOLUTION ON LOCAL GOVERNORS AND HEARING A REPORT ON CRIME IN RUSSIA.

8. YELTIN'S DIRECT CHALLENGE TO THE AUTHORITY OF THE CONGRESS HAS SPLIT THE PRO-REFORM FORCES WITHIN THE CONGRESS. SOME OF THE RADICAL REFORMERS ARE READY TO SUPPORT THE PRESIDENT. GLEB YAKUNIN (PROTECT) TOLD POLOFF HE WELCOMES THE PRESIDENT'S MOVE. HOWEVER, OTHER DEMOCRATS VALUE CONSTITUTIONAL PROCEDURE MORE THAN ECONOMIC REFORM, AND ARE WARY OF A DIRECT CONFRONTATION BETWEEN PRESIDENT AND LEGISLATURE. BOTH ANTI-YELTSIN HARDLINERS AND SOME "CENTRISTS" ARE PROCLAIMING THE START OF A YELTSIN "DICTATORSHIP". THE HARDLINE "RUSSIAN UNITY" GROUP HAS CALLED FOR ANTI-GOVERNMENT STREET DEMONSTRATIONS STARTING THIS AFTERNOON.

COMMENT

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9. SOME OF YELTSIN'S ADVISORS HAVE COUNSELLED HIM TO GO DIRECTLY TO THE PEOPLE IN HIS INCREASINGLY TENUOUS RELATIONSHIP WITH THE LEGISLATURE. THE RUSSIAN PRESIDENT HAS NOW CHOSEN TO DO SO, IN THE AFTERMATH OF ACTIONS BY THE CONGRESS TO APPROVE HIS COMPROMISE PROPOSAL TO AMEND THE CONSTITUTION TO GIVE THE SUPREME SOVIET THE POWER TO CONFIRM THE MINISTERS OF FOREIGN AFFAIRS, DEFENSE, SECURITY AND INTERNAL AFFAIRS, BUT ITS REJECTION OF HIS NOMINATION OF GAYDAR AS FULL PRIME MINISTER.

10. THROUGHOUT THIS YEAR, YELTSIN HAS STRUGGLED WITH THE DILEMMA OF HOW TO CONDUCT RADICAL ECONOMIC REFORM UNDER A CONSTITUTIONAL SYSTEM DATING FROM THE BREZHNEV ERA AND WITH A LEGISLATURE ELECTED IN THE GORBACHEV ERA. YELTSIN HAS BEEN ALTERNATELY COUNSELLED BY VARIOUS PRO-REFORM ELEMENTS EITHER TO COMPROMISE WITH

THE SELF-STYLED CENTRISTS OR TO CONFRONT HIS DILEMMA BY DIRECT RECOURSE TO THE PEOPLE. HE HAS NOW CHOSEN THE LATTER PATH. THIS PATH WILL NOT BE SMOOTH. AS HIS OPPONENTS WILL CERTAINLY ACCUSE THE PRESIDENT OF VIOLATING THE CONSTITUTION AND WILL CHALLENGE THE VALIDITY OF ANY REFERENDUM HE MAY CONDUCT WITHOUT THE CONSENT OF THE CONGRESS. THE BATTLE LINES BETWEEN EXECUTIVE AND LEGISLATURE, AND BETWEEN RADICAL REFORM AND STATUS QUO IN RUSSIA, HAVE NEVER BEEN MORE TIGHTLY DRAWN. END COMMENT.

COLLINS

BT

#7832

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~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

WHITE HOUSE SITUATION ROOM

PRT: HILL HOWE SCOWCROFT SIT
SIT: FICKLIN FILE SUM SUM2 VAX WHSR^IN

<PREC> ROUTINE <CLAS> ~~CONFIDENTIAL~~ <DTG> 090719Z DEC 92

FM AMEMBASSY HARARE

TO SECSTATE WASHDC 6755
~~C O N F I D E N T I A L~~
LIMITED OFFICIAL USE HARARE 013700
E.O. 12356: N/A
TAGS: OPDC, KSTT, PREL, US, ZI
SUBJ: MUGABE LETTERS TO PRESIDENT BUSH AND
- PRESIDENT-ELECT CLINTON
1. ON DECEMBER 8, THE MINISTRY OF FOREIGN AFFAIRS PROVIDED THE EMBASSY WITH COURTESY COPIES OF MESSAGES SENT BY ZIMBABWEAN PRESIDENT MUGABE TO PRESIDENT BUSH AND PRESIDENT ELECT CLINTON. THE TEXTS FOLLOW.
BEGIN TEXT OF MUGABE-BUSH LETTER.
"17TH NOVEMBER, 1992.
DEAR MR. PRESIDENT
IT IS MY HONOUR TO WRITE TO YOU PERSONALLY TO EXPRESS MY GREAT APPRECIATION FOR THE ROLE YOU PLAYED AS PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED STATES IN ESTABLISHING CLOSER RELATIONS WITH ZIMBABWE, NOT ONLY BY ENHANCING COOPERATION BETWEEN THE TWO COUNTRIES BUT ALSO BY IMPROVING PERSONAL RELATIONS BETWEEN YOURSELF, AS PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED STATES, AND MYSELF. I REMEMBER VIVIDLY MY VISIT TO THE UNITED STATES AT YOUR INVITATION AND THE USEFUL DISCUSSIONS WE HELD ON OUR COUNTRIES' RELATIONS AS WELL AS ON MATTERS AFFECTING NOT ONLY OUR AFRICAN REGION BUT OTHERS AS WELL. IT IS NOW THE WILL OF THE PEOPLE OF THE UNITED STATES THAT YOU RETIRE. I SINCERELY WISH YOU WELL IN YOUR RETIREMENT. MAY YOU CONTINUE TO ENJOY GOOD HEALTH.
ROBERT GABRIEL MUGABE

DECLASSIFIED
PER E.O. 13526
2009-1071-MR
10/29/2014 MM

PRESIDENT OF THE REPUBLIC OF ZIMBABWE" END TEXT.
-
2. BEGIN TEXT OF MUGABE-CLINTON TELEGRAM.
"FROM: MINISTRY OF FOREIGN AFFAIRS, HARARE, ZIMBABWE
TO: STATE DEPARTMENT, WASHINGTON DC, UNITED STATES OF AMERICA
COMPLIMENTS
HONOR TO REQUEST TRANSMISSION OF FOLLOWING MESSAGE FROM THE PRESIDENT OF THE REPUBLIC OF ZIMBABWE, HIS EXCELLENCY ROBERT GABRIEL MUGABE, TO THE PRESIDENT-ELECT OF THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA, MR. BILL CLINTON.
"ON BEHALF OF THE GOVERNMENT AND PEOPLE OF ZIMBABWE, AND INDEED ON MY OWN BEHALF, I WISH TO CONVEY TO YOU, PRESIDENT-ELECT BILL CLINTON, OUR MOST HEARTY CONGRATULATIONS ON YOUR ELECTION TO THE HIGH OFFICE OF PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA.
AS WE JOIN YOU IN CELEBRATING YOUR IMPRESSIVE ELECTORAL VICTORY, WE IN ZIMBABWE DEEPLY CHERISH THE EXCELLENT RELATIONS THAT HAVE EXISTED BETWEEN OUR TWO NATIONS OVER THE YEARS. I PERSONALLY LOOK FORWARD TO THE CONSOLIDATION AND EXPANSION OF THESE RELATIONS ON THE BASIS OF SHARED IDEALS AND VALUES.
I WISH YOU PERSONAL GOOD HEALTH AND SUCCESS IN YOUR ENDEAVOURS TO REALISE THE DREAM YOU HAVE CHERISHED FOR THE PEOPLE OF THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA.
ACCEPT, MR. PRESIDENT-ELECT, THE ASSURANCES OF MY HIGHEST CONSIDERATION.
ROBERT GABRIEL MUGABE
PRESIDENT OF THE REPUBLIC OF ZIMBABWE"
HIGHEST CONSIDERATION." END TEXT. LANPHER
BT
#3700
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DECLASSIFIED
PER E.O. 13526
2009-1071-MR
MM 8/14/2015

~~SECRET~~ -- ENTIRE TEXT

PRIVACY CHANNEL MESSAGE FROM PRESIDENT GEORGE BUSH TO PRESIDENT YELTSIN. DELIVER TO CHARGE COLLINS ONLY

JIM, FOLLOWING IS A MESSAGE FROM PRESIDENT BUSH TO PRESIDENT YELTSIN. PLEASE DELIVER URGENTLY. THERE WILL BE NO SIGNED ORIGINAL.

WARM REGARDS,

BRENT

BEGIN TEXT OF MESSAGE

DEAR BORIS,

I WAS HEARTENED BY OUR CONVERSATION ON SUNDAY, IN WHICH YOU REAFFIRMED YOUR STRONG COMMITMENT TO OUR JUNE AGREEMENT ON FURTHER STRATEGIC ARMS REDUCTIONS AND THE ELIMINATION OF MIRVED ICBMS. WE BOTH WANT TO SIGN A TREATY CODIFYING THAT HISTORIC AGREEMENT; OUR RESPONSIBILITY TO OUR NATIONS AND TO THE WORLD REQUIRES NO LESS OF US.

THERE IS STILL MUCH WORK TO DO IF WE ARE TO BE ABLE TO SIGN THE START II TREATY BEFORE I LEAVE OFFICE. YOU HAVE IDENTIFIED THREE IMPORTANT ISSUES TO ME. YOUR FOREIGN MINISTRY SENT US A DRAFT TREATY TEXT THAT DIVERGES EVEN MORE FROM OUR JUNE AGREEMENT AND, IN SOME INSTANCES, FROM THE START I TREATY. THAT IS WHY I WELCOME YOUR REAFFIRMATION OF OUR JUNE AGREEMENT AS THE BASIS FOR THE ACTUAL TREATY, AND YOUR STATEMENT THAT MOST OF THE DIFFERENCES BETWEEN THE U.S. AND RUSSIAN DRAFT TREATY TEXTS

REFLECT RUSSIAN ECONOMIC CONCERNS, NOT POLITICAL OR MILITARY DIFFERENCES.

YOU SHOULD HAVE NO DOUBT THAT THE UNITED STATES IS PREPARED TO ASSIST RUSSIA FINANCIALLY AND TECHNICALLY TO IMPLEMENT BOTH THE START TREATY AND START II. INDEED, OUR JUNE AGREEMENT, FOR THE FIRST TIME IN ARMS CONTROL, FEATURES THE POSSIBILITY OF SUCH ASSISTANCE. U.S. TECHNICAL EXPERTS WILL BE IN MOSCOW NEXT WEEK TO CONTINUE DISCUSSION OF POSSIBLE ASSISTANCE PROJECTS.

LET ME OFFER A SUGGESTION AS TO HOW WE MIGHT PROCEED. ON CONVERSION OF SS-18 SILOS, I MUST TELL YOU THAT THIS IS BEYOND MY ABILITY TO ACCEPT. I UNDERSTAND THAT SENATOR NUNN, WHO WILL PLAY A CENTRAL ROLE IN OUR RATIFICATION PROCESS, RECENTLY EXPRESSED SIMILAR SENTIMENTS TO YOU. THESE SYSTEMS HAVE BECOME A SYMBOL OF SUCH IMPORTANCE THAT I CANNOT SEE ANY OTHER ALTERNATIVE TO THEIR DESTRUCTION. THEIR RETENTION, EVEN IF CONVERTED WITH THOROUGH SAFEGUARDS, JUST WOULD NOT BE AN ACCEPTABLE ALTERATION OF THE PROCEDURES CONTAINED IN START I.

IF YOU AND I CAN AGREE TO THE DISPOSITION OF THE SS-18 ISSUE THROUGH SILO DESTRUCTION, THEN I THINK WE COULD TURN THE REMAINDER OF THE NEGOTIATIONS OVER TO LARRY EAGLEBURGER AND ANDREI KOZYREV FOR RAPID CONCLUSION OF A TREATY TEXT. I BELIEVE THAT IT IS STILL POSSIBLE IN THE TIME REMAINING IF LARRY AND ANDREI WORK FROM THE U.S. DRAFT TEXT. I AM SURE YOU CAN

UNDERSTAND HOW DIFFICULT IT WOULD BE TO WORK FROM YOUR TEXT -- YOUR GOVERNMENT NEEDED FOUR MONTHS TO REVIEW OUR TEXT AND WE HAVE HAD YOUR FAR MORE COMPLICATED ONE, WITH ITS FUNDAMENTAL DIFFERENCES, FOR ONLY TWO WEEKS. OF COURSE, THEY WOULD HAVE TO RESOLVE DIFFERENCES ON SPECIFIC LANGUAGE. I WOULD SEND LARRY WITH CONCRETE INSTRUCTIONS TO ENABLE THE TREATY TO BE COMPLETED IN TIME FOR YOU AND ME TO SIGN.

I ALSO WOULD LIKE TO RESPOND TO YOUR SUGGESTION THAT GOVERNOR CLINTON MIGHT JOIN US IF WE MEET. I HAVE LOOKED INTO THIS THOROUGHLY AND, ALTHOUGH IT IS A GOOD IDEA IN PRINCIPLE, IT WOULD SIMPLY CREATE TOO MANY COMPLICATIONS IN OUR POLITICAL SYSTEM DURING A TRANSITION BETWEEN TWO POLITICAL PARTIES. AS I MENTIONED IN AN EARLIER LETTER, GOVERNOR CLINTON AND I AGREE THAT THE NEW U.S.-RUSSIAN PARTNERSHIP IS TOO IMPORTANT TO DELAY PROGRESS ON VITAL ISSUES. THEREFORE, GOVERNOR CLINTON HOPES YOU AND I CAN CONCLUDE THIS TREATY.

I UNDERSTAND THE RELUCTANCE YOU MIGHT HAVE AT A SIGNING CEREMONY ON AMERICAN SOIL, WITHOUT THE OPPORTUNITY TO MEET WITH THE PRESIDENT-ELECT DURING YOUR VISIT. HOWEVER, ASSUMING WE ARE ABLE TO RESOLVE OUR DIFFERENCES OVER THE TREATY IN TIME FOR US TO CONCLUDE THE PROCESS, THERE ARE A VARIETY OF WAYS IN WHICH YOU AND I COULD ACCOMPLISH ITS SIGNATURE. FOR EXAMPLE, WE COULD MEET SOMEWHERE ELSE OR EVEN HAVE SIMULTANEOUS SIGNING CEREMONIES IN OUR RESPECTIVE CAPITALS.

BORIS, I AM READY TO WORK CLOSELY WITH YOU TO SEE IF WE CAN CONCLUDE THE TREATY IN THE NEXT FEW WEEKS.

SINCERELY,

GEORGE BUSH

END TEXT OF MESSAGE