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Subseries: CFE [Conventional Forces in Europe] Files

OA/ID Number: 91121
Folder ID Number: 91121-004

Folder Title:
Soviet Power Collapse in Eastern Europe - CFE [Conventional Forces in Europe] October 1989

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Withdrawal/Redaction Sheet

(George Bush Library)

Doc. No. / Type	Subject/Title	Date	Restriction	Classification
01a. Outline	Re: Meeting with NATO Secretary General Manfred Woerner (2 pp.)	10/10/89	(b)(1)	S
01b. Talking Points	Re: Points To Be Made for Meeting with NATO Secretary General Manfred Woerner (3 pp.)	n.d.	(b)(1)	S
01c. Report	Re: Biography (2 pp.)	2/3/89	(b)(1)	S
01d. Fact Sheet	Re: NATO Tables New Proposals (1 pp.)	n.d.	(b)(1)	
01e. Memo	Philip Zelikow to Brent Scowcroft Re: The President's Meeting with NATO Secretary General Manfred Woerner on October 11 at 2:00 p.m. (2 pp.)	10/7/89	(b)(1)	S
01f. Memo	J. Stapleton Roy to Brent Scowcroft Re: The President's Meeting with NATO Secretary General Manfred Woerner, October 11, 1989, 2:00 PM (1 pp.)	10/6/89	(b)(1)	C
01g. Distribution List	Re: SYG Woerner Meeting with the President (1 pp.)	10/4/89	(b)(1)	
01h. Talking Points	Re: Points To Make (2 pp.)	n.d.	(b)(1)	C

Page 1 of 1

Collection:

Record Group: Bush Presidential Records

Office: Scowcroft, Brent, Files

Series: USSR Chronological Files

Subseries: CFE Files

WHORM Cat.:

File Location: Soviet Power Collapse in Eastern Europe - CFE [Conventional Forces in Europe] October 1989

Pinksheet Number: cap1025

OA/ID Number: 91121-004

Date Closed: 3/13/2009

FOIA/Sys Case #: 2009-0275-S

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P-2/P-5 Review Case #:

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THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

October 10, 1989

3

MEETING WITH NATO SECRETARY GENERAL MANFRED WOERNER

DECLASSIFIED
PER E.O. 13526

2009-0971-MR

7/31/2014 MM

DATE: October 11, 1989
LOCATION: Oval Office
TIME: 2:00-2:30 p.m.

FROM: BRENT SCOWCROFT

BS

I. PURPOSE

This will be your first meeting with Secretary General Woerner since the NATO Summit, where he played such a helpful and important role. You may wish to focus, as will Woerner, on the need to maintain the momentum created by the Summit and retain the initiative in CFE. You may also wish to ask Secretary General Woerner for his views about the situation in Germany, East and West.

II. BACKGROUND

Secretary General Woerner's main purpose in this visit is to ensure that the hopes raised by the successful outcome of the NATO Summit in May are realized. Expectations in Europe are understandably high -- not only for a major agreement reducing conventional forces but also for real progress in overcoming the division of Europe. We, and Woerner, recognize that NATO will need to play an active role in meeting these expectations.

We agree, in particular, with Woerner's interest in making NATO a part of shaping a common Allied response to the changes underway in Eastern Europe. This was the new mission for NATO announced in the Summit Declaration, and we hope it will be a primary topic for discussion at the December ministerial meeting of the North Atlantic Council.

We also agree on the need for rapid progress in concluding a CFE agreement. Woerner will be looking for evidence of your continued commitment to the ambitious timetable announced at the Summit. You can reassure him of our undiminished support for agreement in CFE next year, while asking for his help, both in process and substance, in obtaining the necessary movement within the Alliance.

On the other hand, we do not see any need at this time for revived discussion of divisive nuclear issues within the Alliance. If the subject is raised, we remain committed to the timetable and agenda described in the Comprehensive

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cc: Vice President
Chief of Staff

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Concept document agreed at the Summit, i.e., postponement of talks on short-range US and Soviet nuclear missile forces until implementation of a CFE agreement is underway.

You may also wish to note that work in NATO is well advanced in developing a coordinated Western position on your Open Skies initiative, and express your hope that the Allies can present a united front in support of a regime that epitomizes openness when the international conference on this subject convenes in Canada later this year.

III. PARTICIPANTS

A list of participants is provided at Tab B.

IV. PRESS PLAN

Open photo, writing pool.

V. SEQUENCE

You will greet Woerner and his party as they are escorted into the Oval Office. After everyone is seated, there will be a photo opportunity before the meeting begins.

Attachments

Tab A	Points to be Made
Tab B	Participants List
Tab C	Biography
Tab D	CFE Fact Sheet

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POINTS TO BE MADE FOR MEETING WITH
NATO SECRETARY GENERAL MANFRED WOERNER

SUMMIT FOLLOW-UP

- I appreciate your efforts to ensure we retain the initiative gained at the May Summit. Your statesmanship was critical to the Summit's success.
- The ambitious agenda we adopted in the Summit Declaration was designed to chart a new course for NATO in a period of change in East-West relations, giving the Alliance the mission of working to overcome the division of Europe. This agenda remains a valid guide for a properly coordinated Western approach.

NATO AND EAST-WEST RELATIONS

- We believe NATO must remain an active forum for discussion of Eastern Europe and East-West policy.
- NATO's work can help set the political context for the EC-led efforts, in the Group of 24, for organizing economic assistance to Poland and Hungary.
- In that regard, I believe developments in Eastern Europe, and our response as an Alliance, should figure prominently in discussions at the December NAC ministerial meeting.
- We are, as you know, strongly committed to supporting the process of economic and political reform in Poland and Hungary. In addition to the food aid and longer-term

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economic development programs we have already announced, I pledged -- ~~this~~ ^{last} week -- to seek an additional \$200 million to provide our share in a \$1 billion stabilization grant as requested by the Polish government.

- As we pursue our economic assistance efforts, I would like to hear whether you think there are any differences in political perspective that are arising, within the Alliance, on the future of Eastern Europe.

CFE

- I appreciate your involvement in moving the Alliance decisionmaking process forward, and the hard work your staff has done in Brussels on the whole range of CFE issues.
- Our tabling in Vienna of NATO's new CFE proposals was an important step toward meeting our Summit commitment to complete a CFE agreement within six to twelve months.
- NATO still has the initiative, but much hard work remains to be done if we are to seize a potential historic opportunity to change the postwar military balance in Europe.
- For example, to sustain the momentum and preserve a tactical advantage, we should table our draft treaty text in Vienna before the current round ends on October 18. We also need to resolve the very difficult verification issues that still divide the Alliance.
- NATO's efforts to accelerate progress in CFE are obviously important. Do you have any ideas on how we might improve the process, or use our resources more effectively, in responding to the needs of the negotiation in Vienna?

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OPEN SKIES

-- I am pleased that work in NATO to develop a coordinated Western position on Open Skies is proceeding well. We will need to work hard in order to have a unified approach when we go into the international conference which Canada has offered to host later this year.

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PARTICIPANTS

U.S.

The President

James A. Baker, Secretary of State

John H. Sununu, Chief of Staff

Brent Scowcroft, Assistant to the President for National Security Affairs

Robert M. Gates, Assistant to the President and Deputy for National Security Affairs

William H. Taft IV, Permanent U.S. Representative to the North Atlantic Council

Raymond Seitz, Assistant Secretary of State

Philip Zelikow, NSC Staff (notetaker)

NATO

Manfred Woerner, Secretary General

W. Robert Pearson, Deputy Assistant Secretary General

James Cunningham, Private Office Director

Withdrawal/Redaction Sheet

(George Bush Library)

Document No. and Type	Subject/Title of Document	Date	Restriction	Class.
01c. Report	Re: Biography (2 pp.)	2/3/89	(b)(1)	S

Collection:

Record Group: Bush Presidential Records
Office: Scowcroft, Brent, Collection
Series: USSR Chronological Files
Subseries: CFE Files
WHORM Cat.:
File Location: Soviet Power Collapse in Eastern Europe - CFE [Conventional Forces in Europe] October 1989

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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.

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

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FACT SHEET: NATO TABLES NEW PROPOSALS

Negotiations on Conventional Armed Forces in Europe (CFE) between the members of NATO and the Warsaw Pact opened in Vienna on March 9, 1989. The goals of the negotiations, as mutually agreed, are:

- to establish a secure and stable balance of conventional forces at lower levels;
- to eliminate disparities prejudicial to stability; and
- to eliminate the capability for launching surprise attack and initiating large-scale offensive action.

On March 9 -- the day negotiations began -- the West tabled a proposal for substantial reductions in military equipment. Under the Western proposal, each side would reduce its holdings in Europe from the Atlantic to the Urals to:

Main Battle Tanks	20,000
Artillery	16,500
Armored Troop Carriers	28,000.

The East accepted the West's proposed limits on tanks and armored troop carriers, but proposed a different ceiling for artillery.

At the initiative of President Bush at the May 29-30 NATO Summit, Alliance leaders agreed to expand the western proposal. NATO tabled a revised proposal in Vienna on July 13. The initiative calls for:

- reducing levels of combat aircraft to 5700 and helicopters to 1900 in Europe for each side;
- limiting U.S. and Soviet personnel stationed in Europe outside of national territory to 275,000; and
- concluding a treaty in 6-12 months.

On September 21, NATO proposed an additional package of provisions on information exchange, verification, stabilizing measures, and non-circumvention.

- Information Exchange -- NATO's proposal provides for an exchange of information between members of NATO and the Warsaw Pact on existing forces and for regular updates to this data to aid in verification.
- Verification -- NATO has proposed a comprehensive, rigorous regime incorporating specific measures to monitor compliance. NATO's proposal includes on-site and aerial inspections and notifications of equipment movements that might affect the balance of forces.
- Stabilizing Measures -- NATO's proposal includes provisions to supplement force cuts through such measures as monitoring of storage and constraints on certain military activities.
- Non-circumvention -- NATO's proposal makes explicit the inherent right of a party to withdraw from the treaty if its supreme interest are jeopardized.

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NATIONAL SECURITY COUNCIL
WASHINGTON, D.C. 20506

8038

October 7, 1989

ACTION

MEMORANDUM FOR BRENT SCOWCROFT

THROUGH: ROBERT BLACKWILL/ARNOLD KANTER *RB* *AK*

FROM: PHILIP ZELIKOW *PZ*

SUBJECT: The President's Meeting with NATO Secretary
General Manfred Woerner on October 11 at 2:00 p.m.

This will be the President's third meeting this year with Secretary General Woerner. After meeting with the President, Woerner will meet with the Vice President and then return to your office, at 3:00 p.m., for a meeting with you.

Woerner's contributions to the strength of the Alliance have been significant. He was exceptionally helpful during the NATO Summit. Woerner, in turn, holds a very high opinion of the President's performance to date in relations with Europe and the Alliance. Woerner's goals for NATO at this stage are practically identical to our own:

- maintain the favorable momentum from the NATO Summit, particularly on CFE;
- involve NATO in helping to shape the Western policy agenda responding to the political changes in Eastern Europe, in accord with the mandate granted in the NATO Summit Declaration;
- avoid high visibility discussions of nuclear issues within NATO during the near future; and
- protect general Alliance solidarity in dealing with a new Soviet military posture and preparing for the possibility of a 'post-CFE' security environment.

You may also wish to elicit Woerner's views on the situation in Germany, both East and West. Woerner may, in turn, probe for your views on the status of US-Soviet relations and related strategic arms control issues.

Concurrences by: Heather Wilson *HW*

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RECOMMENDATION

That you sign the Memorandum to the President attached at Tab I, briefing him for his October 11 meeting with NATO Secretary General Woerner.

Attachments

Tab I	Memorandum to the President
Tab A	Points to be Made
Tab B	Participants List
Tab C	Biography
Tab D	CFE Fact Sheet

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October 6, 1989

MEMORANDUM FOR BRENT SCOWCROFT
THE WHITE HOUSE

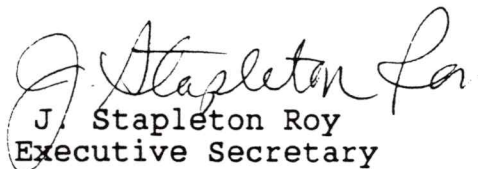
SUBJECT: The President's Meeting with NATO Secretary General
Manfred Woerner, October 11, 1989, 2:00 PM

During his October 11-12 visit, NATO Secretary General Woerner will seek to ensure that the momentum from last May's NATO Summit is not lost. With expectations among many of the Allied publics very high -- not only of a major conventional force reduction (CFE) agreement, but of profound shifts within the near-term of the postwar fundamentals of Europe -- our main task within NATO over the coming months is to keep the Alliance's sense of political initiative alive and focused. We must register steady and tangible progress toward our basic goals of creating a stable military balance at reduced levels and of overcoming the division of Europe.

We agree with Woerner's strong interest in maintaining for NATO a key role in developing a common Allied response to changes underway in Eastern Europe. This will be the primary topic for discussion at the December North Atlantic Council ministerial meeting.

Secretary General Woerner warmly appreciated the President's initiative on CFE, which was central to the success of the Brussels Summit. Generally supportive of U.S. positions, the SYG has been active in seeking to shape an Alliance consensus on CFE. He will be interested in the President's views on prospects for CFE.

The President may wish to thank Woerner for his efforts while noting that much remains to be done. We will want to reassure the SYG that we are committed to full and rapid implementation of the programs adopted in the Summit Declaration and to a timely conclusion of a sound, verifiable CFE agreement.


J. Stapleton Roy
Executive Secretary

Attachments:

- Tab 1 - Points to Make
- Tab 2 - Biographic Information
- Tab 3 - CFE Fact Sheet
- Tab 4 - Suggested State and NATO Participants

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SYG Woerner Meeting with the President

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Cleared: EUR/RPM:MGuest *MB*

EUR:ATBohlen *MB*

EUR:CWKamman *MB*

EUR/EEY:JHooper

EUR/SOV:SPifer

EUR/RPE:FKerber

PM/TMP:PHanscom

H:MBova

S/P:JReichart/SFlanagan

P:EEdelman

T:CDell

C:RNBurns *gfr*

PMP3-3047 10/4/89

POINTS TO MAKE

SUMMIT FOLLOW-UP

- o I appreciate your efforts to ensure we retain the initiative gained at the May Summit. We must not lose momentum in implementing Summit Declaration recommendations.
- o The ambitious agenda we adopted in the Summit Declaration for overcoming the division of Europe remains a valid blueprint for a successful Western policy.

NATO AND EAST-WEST RELATIONS

- o We believe it is important that NATO remain an active forum for discussion of Eastern Europe and East-West policy.
- o Discussions at NATO will provide an integrated strategic context for the EC-led efforts in organizing economic assistance to Poland and Hungary, which is but one aspect of overall Western policy.
 - We recognize that Allied policy -- both political and economic -- must be carefully coordinated.
 - In that regard, I believe developments in Eastern Europe -- and how we, as an Alliance, respond to them -- should figure prominently in discussions at the December NAC ministerial.
- o My Administration has repeatedly made clear its determination to support and encourage economic and political reform in Poland and Hungary.
 - In September we submitted a bill to Congress outlining specific proposals to transform their economies into functioning parts of the European and world economic communities. Last week I announced a \$200 million grant to the Polish stabilization plan.
- o Our goals for aid to Poland and Hungary are focused on achieving a united and coordinated commitment to helping these countries make the difficult transition to open, market-oriented societies.
- o The U.S. would like to see the following:
 - A formal declaration of intent within the G-24 to assist Poland and Hungary and the development of a strategy to do so.

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- Development of a set of priorities beyond food aid, ideally accompanied by specific pledges of assistance.
- Agreement that the OECD should explore developing contacts with Poland and Hungary.
- o We must continue to encourage the dramatic changes in Poland and Hungary. The success of reform efforts in Eastern Europe will benefit the entire Western alliance, leading to reduced tensions and increased avenues of cooperation.

CFE

- o I appreciate your involvement in moving the Alliance decision process forward, and the hard work your staff has done in Brussels on the whole range of CFE issues.
- o The tabling in Vienna of NATO's expanded CFE proposals is an important step toward meeting our Summit commitment to complete a CFE accord within six to twelve months.
- o NATO has retained the initiative in Vienna, but much hard work remains to be done.
- To sustain the momentum we have built in CFE, we need to table a draft CFE Treaty Text in Vienna before the end of this Round and develop an agreed Alliance position on the politically sensitive CFE verification issues still undecided.
- o The work of the HLTF, the International Staff in Brussels, and the NATO caucus in Vienna is critical to meeting NATO's timetable for concluding a CFE treaty.
- What are your ideas on how we can use the resources most effectively to move the negotiation forward, now that the essentials of our position are on the table?

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SUGGESTED PARTICIPANTS

NATO

Secretary General Manfred Woerner
Deputy Assistant Secretary General W. Robert Pearson
Private Office Director James Cunningham

Department of State

Secretary James A. Baker, III
Assistant Secretary Raymond G. H. Seitz
Ambassador William H. Taft, IV