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

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FOIA MARKER

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Record Group/Collection:	George H.W. Bush Presidential Records
Collection/Office of Origin:	Scowcroft, Brent, Collection
Series:	USSR Chronological Files
Subseries:	Soviet Power Collapse in Eastern Europe Files
OA/ID Number:	91125
Folder ID Number:	91125-002

Folder Title:
Soviet Power Collapse in Eastern Europe (November 1989) (Part II)

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

Withdrawal/Redaction Sheet
(George Bush Library)

Doc. No. / Type	Subject/Title	Date	Restriction	Classification
01a. Memo	Philip Zelikow, et.al. to Brent Scowcroft Re: Letter and Talking Points for Informing NATO Leaders About Our Attendance at a NATO Summit Meeting on December 4 (2 pp.)	11/16/89	(b)(1)	S
01b. Cable	From USMission USNATO to Secretary of State, Washington, D.C., Re: NATO SYG Letter to President Bush [081720Z Nov 89] [FOIA RESTRICTIONS REDACTED] (2 pp.)	11/8/89	(b)(1)	C
01c. Message	Re: Message from President Bush to Prime Minister Thatcher (1 pp.)	n.d.	(b)(1)	S
01d. Message	Re: Message To Be Sent to Prime Minister Mulroney from President Bush (1 pp.)	n.d.	(b)(1)	S
01e. Message	Re: Message To Be Sent to President Mitterrand from President Bush (2 pp.)	n.d.	(b)(1)	S
01f. Message	Re: Message To Be Sent to Chancellor Kohl from President Bush (2 pp.)	n.d.	(b)(1)	S
01g. Message	Re: Message To Be Sent to Prime Minister Andreotti from President Bush (1 pp.)	n.d.	(b)(1)	S

Collection:

Record Group: Bush Presidential Records
Office: Scowcroft, Brent, Files
Series: USSR Chronological Files
Subseries: Soviet Power Collapse in Eastern Europe Files
WHORM Cat.:
File Location: Soviet Power Collapse in Eastern Europe (November 1989) (Part II)

Pinksheet Number: cap1055
OA/ID Number: 91125-002
Date Closed: 3/20/2009
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
01h. Memo	G. Philip Hughes to J. Stapleton Roy Re: Messages to Secretary General Woerner and Other NATO Heads Regarding the President's Trip to Brussels (1 pp.)	11/17/89	(b)(1)	S
01i. Message	President Bush to Secretary General Woerner (1 pp.)	n.d.	(b)(1)	S
01j. Message	Re: President Bush to Heads of Government in Belgium, the Netherlands, Luxembourg, Norway, Portugal, Spain, Turkey, Denmark, Greece, and Iceland (1 pp.)	n.d.	(b)(1)	S
01k. Talking Points	Re: Points To Be Made for Telephone Conversation with Chancellor Kohl (2 pp.)	n.d.	(b)(1)	C
01l. Talking Points	Re: Points To Be Made for Telephone Conversation with President Mitterrand (2 pp.)	n.d.	(b)(1)	C
01m. Memo	Cathy Millison to Barbara Brown Re: Message to Andreotti (1 pp.)	11/17/89	(b)(1)	C
02a. Memo	Timothy E. Deal and Eric Melby to Brent Scowcroft Re: IEPR Breakfast, 7:30 a.m., Friday, November 17, Treasury (3 pp.)	11/16/89	(b)(1)	C
02b. Memo	Timothy E. Deal to Brent Scowcroft Re: Poland: Evaluation of the Reform Program (2 pp.)	11/15/89	(b)(1)	C

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Withdrawal/Redaction Sheet
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Doc. No. / Type	Subject/Title	Date	Restriction	Classification
03a. Memo	Philip Zelikow to Brent Scowcroft Re: Telephone Call to UK Prime Thatcher Minister Thatcher (1 pp.)	11/17/89	(b)(1)	S
03b. Talking Points	Re: Points To Be Made for Telephone Conversation with Prime Minister Thatcher (2 pp.)	n.d.	(b)(1)	S
03c. Cable	Re: Message fro General Scowcroft from Charles Powell (3 pp.)	11/16/89	(b)(1)	S
04a. Memo	Robert L. Hutchings to Brent Scowcroft Re: Telephone Call to Italian Prime Minister Andreotti (1 pp.)	11/17/89	(b)(1)	C
04b. Talking Points	Re: Points To Be Made for Telephone Conversation with Prime Minister Andreotti of Italy (2 pp.)	n.d.	(b)(1)	C
05a. Outline	Re: Meeting with Prime Minister Margaret Thatcher (2 pp.)	11/22/89	(b)(1)	S
05b. Talking Points	Re: Points To Be Made for Meeting with Prime Minister Thatcher (7 pp.)	n.d.	(b)(1)	S
05c. List	Re: Participants (1 pp.)	n.d.	(b)(1)	S
05d. Report	Government Report (2 pp.)	11/20/89	(b)(1)	C
05e. Memo	James A. Baker, III to POTUS Re: The Private Visit of Prime Minister Thatcher, November 23-24 (3 pp.)	11/17/89	(b)(1)	C

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Withdrawal/Redaction Sheet
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Doc. No. / Type	Subject/Title	Date	Restriction	Classification
05f. Memo	Philip Zelikow to Brent Scowcroft Re: Briefing Materials for the President's Meeting with Prime Minister Thatcher at Camp David, November 24 (1 pp.)	11/21/89	(b)(1)	S
05g. Talking Points	Re: Points To Be Made for Meeting with Prime Minister Thatcher (7 pp.)	n.d.	(b)(1)	S
06a. Outline	Re: Meeting with Foreign Minister Hans-Dietrich Genscher of the Federal Republic of Germany (2 pp.)	11/20/89	(b)(1)	C
06b. Talking Points	Re: Points To Be Made for Meeting with FRG Foreign Minister Hans-Dietrich Genscher (2 pp.)	n.d.	(b)(1)	C
06c. Report	Government Report (2 pp.)	11/9/88	(b)(1)	S
06d. Memo	Robert L. Hutchings to Brent Scowcroft Re: The President's Meeting with FRG Foreign Minister Hans-Dietrich Genscher, November 21, 1989, 10:00 - 10:10 a.m. (1 pp.)	11/20/89	(b)(1)	C
07a. Letter	President Bush to Prime Minister Mazowiecki (2 pp.)	11/21/89	(b)(1)	
07b. Memo	Brent Scowcroft to POTUS Re: Reply to Polish Prime Minister Mazowiecki (1 pp.)	11/20/89	(b)(1)	
07c. Memo	Robert L. Hutchings to Brent Scowcroft Re: Reply to Polish Prime Minister Mazowiecki (1 pp.)	11/13/89	(b)(1)	C

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Withdrawal/Redaction Sheet
(George Bush Library)

Doc. No. / Type	Subject/Title	Date	Restriction	Classification
07d. Letter	To General Scowcroft (1 pp.)	1989	(b)(1)	
07e. Report	Re: Information on Financial Requirements in Fourth Quarter 1989 (3 pp.)	n.d.	(b)(1)	
07f. Letter	Prime Minister Mazowiecki to President Bush [Unofficial Translation] (1 pp.)	9/4/89	(b)(1)	
07g. Letter	Prime Minister Mazowiecki to President Bush [Polish] (1 pp.)	9/4/89	(b)(1)	
07h. Letter	To Mr. Prime Minister (1 pp.)	11/21/89	(b)(1)	
08a. Memo	Adrian Basora to Brent Scowcroft Re: Success of November 24 G-24 Meeting; Prospects for December 13 Ministerial (2 pp.)	11/27/89	(b)(1)	C
08b. Report	Re: G-24 Assistance as of 11/24/89 (2 pp.)	n.d.	(b)(1)	C
09a. Summary	Re: Heads of State Correspondence Summary (1 pp.)	n.d.	(b)(1)	C
09b. Letter	Chancellor Kohl to President Bush [Translation] (4 pp.)	11/5/89	(b)(1)	
09c. Letter	Chancellor Kohl to President Bush [German] (5 pp.)	11/6/89	(b)(1)	

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Date Closed: 3/20/2009
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
10a. Summary	Re: Heads of State Correspondence Summary (1 pp.)	n.d.	(b)(1)	C
10b. Letter	President Jaruzelelski to President Bush [Unofficial Translation] (2 pp.)	1/2/89	(b)(1)	
10c. Letter	President Jaruzelelski to President Bush [Polish] (2 pp.)	11/2/89	(b)(1)	
11a. Letter	President Bush to Prime Minister Mazowiecki (1 pp.)	11/28/89	(b)(1)	
11b. Letter	President Bush to Prime Minister Mazowiecki (1 pp.)	11/28/89	(b)(1)	

Collection:

Record Group: Bush Presidential Records
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Date Closed: 3/20/2009
FOIA/Sys Case #: 2009-0275-S
Re-review Case #:
P-2/P-5 Review Case #:

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~~SECRET~~

CHRON FILE

NATIONAL SECURITY COUNCIL
WASHINGTON, D.C. 20506

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2009-1010-MR
1/27/2015 MM

9126

4

November 16, 1989

letters + phone calls both?

Natl Sec Advisor has seen

ACTION

MEMORANDUM FOR BRENT SCOWCROFT

THROUGH: ROBERT BLACKWILL RB

FROM: PHILIP ZELIKOW PZ/ADRIAN BASORA AB/ROBERT HUTCHINGS RH

SUBJECT: Letters and Talking Points for Informing NATO Leaders About Our Attendance at a NATO Summit meeting on December 4

Attached at Tab II are letters to NATO heads of government indicating the President's acceptance of Secretary General Woerner's invitation (Tab I) to address a meeting of the North Atlantic Council in Brussels after his meetings with Gorbachev in Malta. They call for a NATO Summit on Monday, December 4. The letters to key Allied leaders would be sent through White House channels; others would go through State.

Attached at Tab III are talking points for possible telephone conversations with Chancellor Kohl (**now expected between 0800 and 0900 tomorrow morning, November 17**), Prime Minister Mulroney (**now expected at about 0930 tomorrow morning**), and President Mitterrand.

-- The message to Thatcher notes her recent speech at the Guildhall and looks forward to the President's meeting with her on November 24. Thatcher is expected to call you on Saturday, November 18. We will be providing separate talking points for her call.

-- The message and talking points for Mulroney invites him to come to Washington after his return from Moscow near the end of this month for a talk about his impressions of the situation in the Soviet Union.

-- The message and talking points for Mitterrand praises his sponsorship of the EC Summit (on November 18), declines his invitation for a meeting after Malta in the south of France, and instead accepts his earlier invitation to a meeting in the Caribbean, suggesting December 15.

-- The message and talking points for Kohl stresses the special importance of U.S.-German cooperation at this time, and close contacts between the President and the Chancellor. While we decline Kohl's invitation to go to Frankfurt after Malta, the materials include a request instead for a separate bilateral in Brussels and an invitation to the Chancellor to the U.S. for a

meeting with the President at Camp David.

-- The message to Andreotti asks him to send us his impressions from the discussions with Gorbachev in Rome.

-- The message to Woerner reacts directly to his original invitation for an appearance before the North Atlantic Council. Messages to Woerner, and to other NATO leaders, would be sent through State channels. There would be no signed original.

We have also prepared a draft press statement (at Tab IV) for your approval announcing the President's trip to Brussels.

RECOMMENDATIONS

That, after conferring with the President, you authorize transmission on the morning of November 17, of the letters attached at Tab II on his behalf.

Approve ✓ for Woerner (Tab F) and other Allies (Tab G) and Andreotti (Tab E) if call cannot be arranged for 11/17 Disapprove _____

That you approve the talking points at Tab III for the President's use in telephone calls with Chancellor Kohl, President Mitterrand, and Prime Minister Mulroney.

Approve ✓ Disapprove _____

That you authorize us to pass to the Press Office the text of the statement announcing the President's trip to Brussels attached at Tab IV to be released November 17.

Approve ✓ OK pm 11/20 Disapprove _____

Attachments
Tab I Incoming Message from SYG Woerner
Tab II Messages to Allied Leaders
- Tab A To Prime Minister Thatcher
- Tab B To Prime Minister Mulroney
- Tab C To President Mitterrand
- Tab D To Chancellor Kohl
- Tab E To Prime Minister Andreotti
- Tab F To Secretary General Woerner
- Tab G To other NATO heads of government

Tab III Talking Points for Phone Calls from Allied Leaders
- Tab A From Chancellor Kohl
- Tab B From President Mitterrand
- Tab C From Prime Minister Mulroney

Tab IV Press Announcement for NATO Summit Meeting

Withdrawal/Redaction Sheet
(George Bush Library)

Document No. and Type	Subject/Title of Document	Date	Restriction	Class.
01b. Cable	From USMission USNATO to Secretary of State, Washington, D.C., Re: NATO SYG Letter to President Bush [081720Z Nov 89] [FOIA RESTRICTIONS REDACTED] (2 pp.)	11/8/89	(b)(1)	C

Collection:

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Office: Scowcroft, Brent, Files
Series: USSR Chronological Files
Subseries: Soviet Power Collapse in Eastern Europe Files
WHORM Cat.:
File Location: Soviet Power Collapse in Eastern Europe (November 1989) (Part II)

Document Partially Declassified
(Copy of Document Follows)
By MM on 12/9/2021

Date Closed:	3/20/2009	**OA/ID Number:**	91125-002
FOIA/SYS Case #:	2009-0275-S	**Appeal Case #:**	
Re-review Case #:		**Appeal Disposition:**	
P-2/P-5 Review Case #:		**Disposition Date:**	
AR Case #:		**MR Case #:**	2009-1010-MR(550.01)
AR Disposition:		**MR Disposition:**	Released in Part
AR Disposition Date:		**MR Disposition Date:**	1/27/2015

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
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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]

<DIST>
PRT: DONLEY GATES HUGHES SCOWCROFT
SIT: BLACKWILL FILE DYKE HUTCHINGS MAHLEY PRES_MSGS DORMINEY RODMAN SIT VAX BRANSCUM
<PREC> IMMEDIATE <CLAS> ~~CONFIDENTIAL~~ <OSRI> RUFHNA <DTG> 081720Z NOV 89

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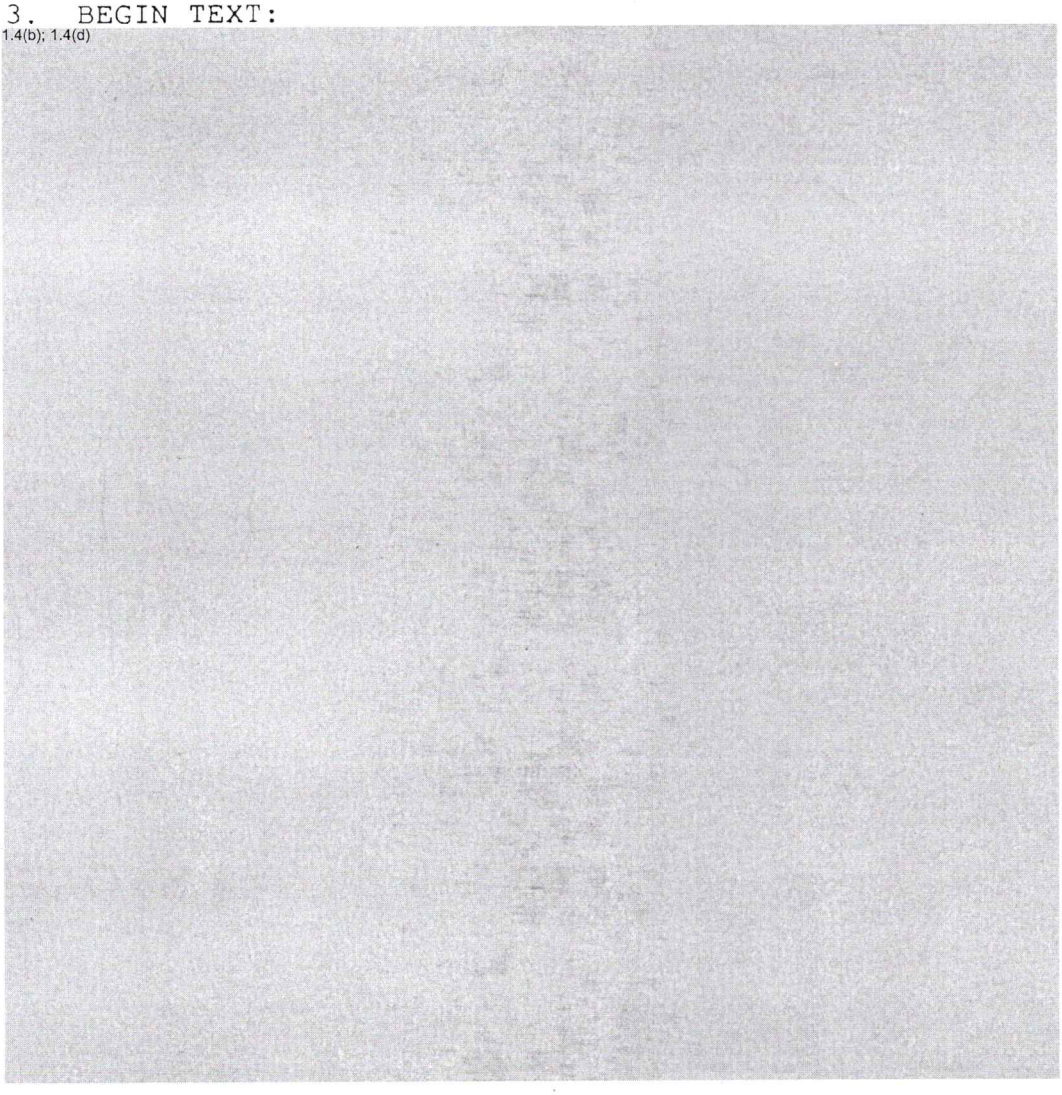
<SUBJ>SUBJECT: NATO SYG LETTER TO PRESIDENT BUSH

<TEXT>BT
~~C O N F I D E N T I A L~~ USNATO 06186
NODIS
DEPARTMENT PASS WHITE HOUSE IMMEDIATELY
E.O. 12356: DECL:OADR
TAGS: NATO, OPDC
SUBJECT: NATO SYG LETTER TO PRESIDENT BUSH
1. ~~CONFIDENTIAL~~ - ENTIRE TEXT.
2. FOLLOWING IS TEXT OF NOVEMBER 7, 1989 LETTER FROM NATO SECRETARY GENERAL WOERNER TO PRESIDENT BUSH: IN RESPONSE TO THE LATTER'S PERSONAL MESSAGE ANNOUNCING HIS UPCOMING MEETING WITH SOVIET PRESIDENT GORBACHEV IN DECEMBER.
3. BEGIN TEXT:

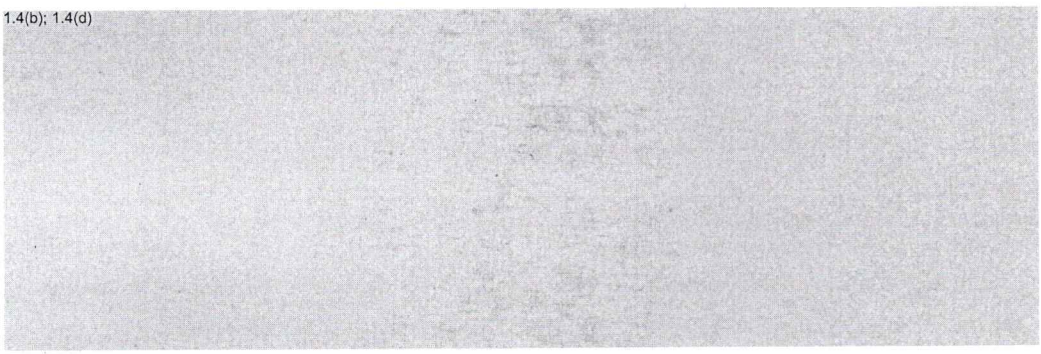
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1.4(b); 1.4(d)



1.4(b); 1.4(d)



END TEXT.
4. NOTE: ORIGINAL LETTER BEING POUCHED TO EUR/RPM
UNDER REGISTRY NUMBER 7955321 FOR TRANSMITTAL.
TAFT
BT
#6186
<SECT>SECTION: 01 OF 01 <SSN> 6186 <TOR> 891108200828 MSG000247867708

~~SECRET~~

MESSAGE FROM PRESIDENT BUSH TO PRIME MINISTER THATCHER
TO BE SENT VIA CABINET CHANNELS

Dear Margaret,

Like you, I believe that recent events in Europe are of historic importance. As I said in May, we seek a Europe whole and free, a unity founded on common values. Europe is in a process of transition from one era to another. As the Berlin Wall is gradually demolished, the divided societies of the East are breaking down their own internal walls, giving way to the vital energies of people longing to determine their own destiny. Our deepest hopes for a transformation of the continent are coming closer to being realized.

When we, and our colleagues in the North Atlantic Alliance, met in Brussels earlier this year, we agreed that overcoming the division of Europe was no longer a utopian dream but was a concrete objective for current policy. That challenge is now manifest. We must work together to maintain a common Western approach that protects and consolidates the gains that have been won, encourages the peoples of East-Central Europe to persist in their struggle to bring their countries into the commonwealth of free nations, and takes care to avoid the dangers of strife and conflict that are inherent in any period of fundamental political change.

With this in mind, I wanted you to know that Secretary General Woerner has invited me to address a meeting of the North Atlantic Council after my meeting in Malta with President Gorbachev. I am accepting his invitation, and will be attending a meeting of the Council on Monday, December 4. I want to take this opportunity to review my discussions with President Gorbachev at Malta and give all of us a chance to exchange views about the momentous events that are continuing to unfold.

You and I can have an earlier discussion of these issues, including the ideas in your November 13 Guildhall speech, when we meet at Camp David on November 24. I look forward to that meeting, and hope to see you in Brussels on December 4.

Sincerely, George Bush

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PER E.O. 13526
2010-1114-MR
SCS 10/31/11

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~~SECRET~~

MESSAGE TO BE SENT TO PRIME MINISTER MULRONEY FROM PRESIDENT BUSH VIA FEDCAN CHANNELS

Dear Brian,

As each month goes by, the historic importance of events in Europe becomes more impressive. As I said in May, we seek a Europe whole and free, a unity founded on common values. Europe is in a process of transition from one era to another. As the Berlin Wall is gradually demolished, the divided societies of the East are breaking down their own internal walls, giving way to the vital energies of people longing to determine their own destiny. Our deepest hopes for a transformation of the continent are coming closer to being realized.

When you and I, and our colleagues in the North Atlantic Alliance, met in Brussels earlier this year, we agreed that overcoming the division of Europe was no longer a utopian dream but was an attainable objective for current policy. That challenge is now even more manifest. We must work together to maintain a common Western approach that protects and consolidates the gains that have been won, encourages the peoples of East-Central Europe to persist in their struggle to bring their countries into the commonwealth of free nations, and takes care to avoid the dangers of strife and conflict that are inherent in any period of such fundamental political change.

With this in mind, I wanted you to know that I welcomed Secretary General Woerner's suggestion that I address a meeting of the North Atlantic Council after my meeting in Malta with President Gorbachev. I am accepting his invitation, and will be attending a meeting of the Council on Monday, December 4. I will of course report on my discussions with President Gorbachev at Malta and I know our colleagues will be interested in your talks in Moscow as well. The Council meeting will also give all of us a chance to exchange views about the momentous events that are continuing to unfold.

It might be helpful if you and I could discuss these issues at an even earlier date. When you return from Moscow, I wonder if your schedule would permit a brief visit to Washington to share your impressions of the Soviet Union and of Gorbachev's agenda before I leave to see him in Malta. I hope that such a meeting here can be arranged, and in any case hope to see you again in Brussels on December 4.

Sincerely, George Bush

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PER E.O. 12958, AS AMENDED
CAP
1999.0273.F
9/8/09

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PER E.O. 13526
2009-1010-MR
1/27/2015 MM

MESSAGE TO BE SENT TO PRESIDENT MITTERRAND FROM PRESIDENT BUSH
VIA BLUE CHANNELS

Dear Francois,

As we have discussed on several occasions, the changes occurring in the East are extraordinary, and recent events in East Germany, Czechoslovakia and even Bulgaria have further underlined their historic importance. As I said in May, U.S. policy seeks a Europe whole and free, a unity founded on common Western values. Europe is in a process of transition from one era to another. As the Berlin Wall is gradually demolished, the divided societies of the East are breaking down their own internal walls, giving way to the vital energies of people longing to determine their own destiny. Our deepest hopes for a transformation of the continent are coming closer to being realized.

When you and I and our colleagues in the North Atlantic Alliance met in Brussels earlier this year, we agreed that overcoming the division of Europe was no longer a utopian dream but rather an attainable objective for current policy. That challenge is now even more manifest. We must work together to maintain a common Western approach that protects and consolidates the gains that have been won, encourages the peoples of East-Central Europe to persist in their struggle to bring their countries into the commonwealth of free nations, and takes care to avoid the dangers of strife and conflict that are inherent in any period of such fundamental political change. Your convening of a meeting of EC leaders on this subject is an important contribution in charting a common course toward the future and I will certainly plan to consult thoroughly with you before my meetings in Malta.

In addition, Secretary General Woerner has invited me to address a meeting of the North Atlantic Council just after my meeting with President Gorbachev. I plan to accept his invitation to report on my discussions with Gorbachev on Monday, December 4. In addition to comparing views on Gorbachev, the meeting should give all of us a chance to exchange ideas about the momentous events that are continuing to unfold.

I very much appreciated your invitation to meet in southern France immediately after my talks in Malta, and the description of your chateau at Bregancon made it seem all the more enticing. I definitely want to have a long talk with you about the situation in Europe. Your perspective will be essential in marking out a clear path toward the future. My problem is that the few days following Malta are terribly busy for me. Since I believe it is important for me to discuss my meetings with Gorbachev with our allies as quickly as possible. I have thought it essential that I stop by Brussels to address the North Atlantic Council on December 4. I do hope you can join me there. Of course, I do hope we can get together, in accordance with your earlier suggestion, in the Caribbean, perhaps on December 15. In

the meantime, I look forward to seeing you in Brussels on December 4.

Sincerely, George

~~SECRET~~

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PER E.O. 12958, AS AMENDED
CAP 1999.0273-F
9/8/09

MESSAGE TO BE SENT TO CHANCELLOR KOHL FROM PRESIDENT BUSH
VIA SKIPPER CHANNELS

Dear Helmut,

Like you, I believe that recent events in Europe are of historic importance. As I said in May, we seek a Europe whole and free, a unity founded on common values. Europe is in a process of transition from one era to another. As the Berlin Wall is gradually opening, the divided societies of the East are breaking down their own internal walls, giving way to the vital energies of people longing to determine their own destiny. Our deepest hopes for a transformation of the continent are coming closer to being realized.

When you and I and our colleagues in the North Atlantic Alliance met in Brussels earlier this year, we agreed that overcoming the division of Europe was no longer a utopian dream but was a concrete objective for current policy. That challenge is now manifest. We must work together to maintain a common Western approach that protects and consolidates the gains that have been won, encourages the peoples of East-Central Europe to persist in their struggle to bring their countries into the commonwealth of free nations, and takes care to avoid the dangers of strife and conflict that are inherent in any period of fundamental political change. Our cooperation will be at the core of such a Western approach and I feel it is more important than ever for you and I to stay in the closest possible touch with each other in exploring the future of Europe, and of Germany.

As part of the effort to arrive at a common Western approach, I wanted you to know that Secretary General Woerner has invited me to address a meeting of the North Atlantic Council after my meetings in Malta. I am accepting his invitation, and will be attending a meeting of the Council on Monday, December 4. I want to take this opportunity to review my discussions with President Gorbachev at Malta and give all of us a chance to exchange views about the momentous events that are continuing to unfold. I would like to hear about your impressions of Poland and your conversations with Krenz, as well as your views of the rapid changes in the GDR.

I very much appreciated your invitation to join you in Frankfurt on my way to Malta. Unfortunately my schedule, particularly some major budget meetings and decisions, precludes such a stop. Might it be possible for you to come here for a talk before I leave for Malta, perhaps in the more informal setting of Camp David? I certainly hope so, but if not, I will definitely find a way to consult thoroughly with you before my meetings in Malta. In addition, I would hope we could meet and have a talk in Brussels, perhaps on the morning of December 4, before the NAC session begins. In any event, I hope that we can get together, and look forward to seeing you in Brussels on December 4.

~~SECRET~~

SECRET

Sincerely, George Bush

SECRET

~~SECRET~~

MESSAGE TO BE SENT TO PRIME MINISTER ANDREOTTI FROM PRESIDENT BUSH
VIA MERCURY CHANNELS

Dear Giulio:

Like you, I believe that recent events in Europe are of historic importance. As I said in May, we seek a Europe whole and free, a unity founded on common values. Europe is in a process of transition from one era to another. As the Berlin Wall is gradually demolished, the divided societies of the East are breaking down their own internal walls, giving way to the vital energies of people longing to determine their own destiny. Our deepest hopes for a transformation of the continent are coming closer to being realized.

When we, and our colleagues in the North Atlantic Alliance, met in Brussels earlier this year, we agreed that overcoming the division of Europe was no longer a utopian dream but was a concrete objective for current policy. That challenge is now manifest. We must work together to maintain a common Western approach that protects and consolidates the gains that have been won, encourages the peoples of East-Central Europe to persist in their struggle to bring their countries into the commonwealth of free nations, and takes care to avoid the dangers of strife and conflict that are inherent in any period of fundamental political change.

With this in mind, I wanted you to know that Secretary General Woerner has invited me to address a meeting of the North Atlantic Council after my meeting in Malta with President Gorbachev. I am accepting his invitation, and will be attending a meeting of the Council on Monday, December 4. I want to take this opportunity to review my discussions with President Gorbachev at Malta. I know our colleagues will want to hear your description of Gorbachev's visit to Italy, as well as Prime Minister Mazowiecki's earlier visit. The Council meeting will give all of us a chance to exchange views about the momentous events that are continuing to unfold.

As I prepare for my meetings with Gorbachev, I will be back in touch to consult with you. In addition, I would value your counsel, and would appreciate any impressions you have gleaned of Gorbachev and his situation as a result of your discussions in Rome. I look forward to seeing you in Brussels on December 4.

Sincerely, George Bush

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PER E.O. 12958, AS AMENDED
CAP 1999.0273-F
CAP 9/8/09

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NATIONAL SECURITY COUNCIL
WASHINGTON, D.C. 20506

9126

November 17, 1989

MEMORANDUM FOR J. STAPLETON ROY
Executive Secretary
Department of State

SUBJECT: Messages to Secretary General Woerner and other NATO Heads regarding the President's Trip to Brussels

Attached for transmission are cables to Secretary General Woerner and other NATO Heads regarding the President's trip to Brussels on December 4. There will be no signed originals. (S)

G. Philip Hughes
Executive Secretary

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PER E.O. 13526
2009-1010-MR
1/27/2015 MM

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~~SECRET~~

(TO BE SENT VIA STATE CHANNELS, NODIS)

Dear Manfred,

Like you, I believe that recent events in Europe are of historic importance. As I said in May, we seek a Europe whole and free, a unity founded on common values. Europe is in a process of transition from one era to another. As the Berlin Wall is gradually demolished, the divided societies of the East are breaking down their own internal walls, giving way to the vital energies of people longing to determine their own destiny. Our deepest hopes for a transformation of the continent are coming closer to being realized.

When we, and our colleagues in the North Atlantic Alliance, met in Brussels earlier this year, we agreed that overcoming the division of Europe was no longer a utopian dream but was a concrete objective for current policy. That challenge is now manifest. We must work together to maintain a common Western approach that protects and consolidates the gains that have been won, encourages the peoples of East-Central Europe to persist in their struggle to bring their countries into the commonwealth of free nations, and takes care to avoid the dangers of strife and conflict that are inherent in any period of fundamental political change.

With this in mind, I would be pleased to accept your thoughtful invitation in your letter of November 7 to address a meeting of the North Atlantic Council after my meeting in Malta with President Gorbachev. My preference would be for a meeting of the Council on Monday morning, December 4. This would give me an opportunity to review my discussions with President Gorbachev at Malta and give all of us a chance to exchange views about the momentous events that are continuing to unfold.

I look forward to seeing you in Brussels on December 4.

Sincerely,
George Bush

DECLASSIFIED
PER E.O. 13526
2009-1010-MR
1/27/2015 MM

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For State to send to heads of government in
Belgium, the Netherlands, Luxembourg, Norway, Portugal, Spain,
Turkey, Denmark, Greece, and Iceland

(No signed original to follow)

Dear _____,

Like you, I believe that recent events in Europe are of historic importance. As I said in May, we seek a Europe whole and free, a unity founded on common values. Europe is in a process of transition from one era to another. As the Berlin Wall is gradually demolished, the divided societies of the East are breaking down their own internal walls, giving way to the vital energies of people longing to determine their own destiny. Our deepest hopes for a transformation of the continent are coming closer to being realized.

When we, and our colleagues in the North Atlantic Alliance, met in Brussels earlier this year, we agreed that overcoming the division of Europe was no longer a utopian dream but was a concrete objective for current policy. That challenge is now manifest. We must work together to maintain a common Western approach that protects and consolidates the gains that have been won, encourages the peoples of East-Central Europe to persist in their struggle to bring their countries into the commonwealth of free nations, and takes care to avoid the dangers of strife and conflict that are inherent in any period of fundamental political change.

With this in mind, I wanted you to know that Secretary General Woerner has invited me to address a meeting of the North Atlantic Council after my meeting in Malta with President Gorbachev. I am accepting his invitation, and will be attending a meeting of the Council on Monday, December 4. I want to take this opportunity to review my discussions with President Gorbachev at Malta and give all of us a chance to exchange views about the momentous events that are continuing to unfold.

I hope I will see you in Brussels on December 4.

Sincerely,
George Bush

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PER E.O. 13526
2009-1010-MR
1/27/2015 MM

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POINTS TO BE MADE FOR TELEPHONE CONVERSATION
WITH CHANCELLOR KOHL

MEETING WITH KOHL/NATO SUMMIT

-- I appreciate your suggestion that we meet soon. I would like to come to Frankfurt before meeting Gorbachev in Malta, but my schedule, including several budget meetings and decisions, will not make that possible.

-- If you ~~would~~, could find it possible to come here ~~for a day or so this month~~ before I go to Malta, I would very much like to ~~sit~~ consult closely with you ~~down for a longer talk~~, perhaps at Camp David.

-- I ~~am~~ also, wanted you to know I can accepting Secretary General Woerner's invitation to address the North Atlantic Council on December 4, just after my meeting with Gorbachev.

-- I hope you will be able to attend. It is important that we all exchange views about the enormous changes that are continuing to unfold.

-- If you agree, let me also suggest that you and I meet separately in Brussels and have a ~~couple of hours~~ chat over breakfast on December 4.

POLAND

-- I appreciate your reply to my letter of October 4 and the details you provided on your assistance package for Poland.

If that won't work out, I will find some other way to get your views before I see Gorbachev

DECLASSIFIED IAW EO
PER E.O. 12958, AS AMENDED
1998.0273.F
CAP 9/8/09

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~
Declassify on:OADR

-- I particularly appreciate your readiness to ~~contribute~~ match our contribution ~~$200 million~~ toward the $1 billion stabilization fund the Poles have requested. Am I right in understanding that your assistance will be in the form of a loan?

-- I would welcome your impressions of your visit to Poland.

GDR AND BERLIN

-- It has been thrilling to watch the opening of the Wall. I know what an emotional and hopeful time this is for Germans.

-- I am encouraged by the initial steps toward reform taken by the new leadership in the GDR. I sent personal messages to both Krenz and Prime Minister Modrow telling them that.

-- I also said that as they continue down the path of democratic change, the United States will be ready to develop stronger ties and support their reform efforts.

-- What impressions have you gained from your conversations with Krenz?

NATIONAL SECURITY COUNCIL
WASHINGTON, D.C. 20506

November 17, 1989

MEMORANDUM FOR JAMES CICCONI

FROM: G. PHILIP HUGHES

SUBJECT: Press Statement regarding the President's Trip to Brussels

Attached is a press statement, cleared by General Scowcroft, announcing the President's trip to Brussels. The press statement should be issued on November 20.

Attachment
Press Release

cc: Marlin Fitzwater
Roman Popadiuk

THE WHITE HOUSE

Office of the Press Secretary

STATEMENT BY THE PRESS SECRETARY

The President has accepted the invitation of the Secretary General of the North Atlantic Treaty Organization, Manfred Woerner, to attend a meeting of the North Atlantic Council on December 4, 1989. The President looks forward to reporting to The North Atlantic Council on his meetings with President Gorbachev and to participating in an exchange of views by NATO leaders on the extraordinary developments in Europe.

# # #

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

POINTS TO BE MADE FOR
TELEPHONE CONVERSATION WITH
PRESIDENT MITTERRAND

-- Since I think it important to discuss my meeting with Gorbachev as quickly as possible, I thought the most effective use of the few hours I can make available would be to return through Brussels and meet with the North Atlantic Council on the morning of December 4. I believe that we should also use this occasion to exchange views on the momentous events unfolding in Eastern Europe. Of course I very much hope it will be possible for you to participate.

-- I very much appreciated your suggestion that we get together in southern France just after my meeting with Gorbachev in Malta; the description of your chateau at Bregancon [BREH-GONE-SAWN] made it seem all the more enticing.

-- Unfortunately, my schedule, including a series of major meetings on the budget here in Washington, makes the days immediately following Malta trip just impossible.

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PER E.O. 12958, AS AMENDED
1999.0273-F
CHP 9/8/09

-- Your convening of a meeting of EC leaders on this subject is an important contribution in charting a common course toward the future. I certainly want to consult with you before my meetings in Malta and I will be in touch with you when I figure out how that consultation can most effectively be done.

-- But I definitely want to have a long talk with you about the situation in Europe. Your perspective will be essential in marking out a clear path toward the future. I would like to suggest that we keep to our earlier plan of meeting in the Caribbean; would December 15 be possible for you?

NATIONAL SECURITY COUNCIL

17-Nov-1989 15:32 EDT

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

MEMORANDUM FOR: Barbara Browne (BROWNE)

FROM: Cathy Millison
(MILLISON)

SUBJECT: Msg to Andreotti

I am leaving with the West Wing Desk, the original of package #9126 -- re attendance at a NATO Summit meeting on December 4.

The press release has been sent forward to Cicconi's office with a request that it be released on November 20.

The two messages to Woerner and other NATO Heads have been sent to State for transmission via State channels.

General Scowcroft decided that it was not necessary to send the privacy channel messages to the other Heads of State since the President has talked with each of them by phone except for PM Andreotti. That phone call is to take place tomorrow at 7:30 a.m. If the President is not able to complete the call then the message will have to be sent via Privacy Channel.

I will also leave a copy of the proposed message to Andreotti with the SDO.

CC: Entell Ford (FORD)
CC: Philip Zelikow (ZELIKOW)
CC: Dona F. Proctor (PROCTOR)
CC: William F. Sittmann (SITTMANN)

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2009-1010-MR
1/27/2015 MM

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CONFIDENTIAL

CHRON FILE

9238

NATIONAL SECURITY COUNCIL
WASHINGTON, D.C. 20506

November 16, 1989

Natl Sec Advisor has seen

INFORMATION

MEMORANDUM FOR BRENT SCOWCROFT

FROM: TIMOTHY E. DEAL
ERIC MELBY

4

SUBJECT: IEPR Breakfast, 7:30 a.m., Friday, November 17, Treasury

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PER E.O. 12958, AS AMENDED
2000-0116-F/1
3/31/10

Eastern Europe/USSR

1. Poland: Treasury will brief the group on the joint Treasury-CEA evaluation of Poland's economic reform program. We highlighted several of the key findings in the memorandum of November 15 (copy at Tab I). The IMF team has now returned from Warsaw and believes that the Poles are making progress on reducing the budget deficit, which has contributed to the hyperinflation of recent months. Treasury remains concerned, however, about the failure of other G-7 governments to make a commitment to the stabilization fund. David Mulford will press his counterparts on this point at a G-7 Deputies meeting this weekend. It is essential that the $1 billion fund be in place when Poland and the IMF reach agreement on an adjustment program (December-January). Meanwhile, Treasury is prepared to take the lead in organizing a $500 million multilateral bridge loan to Poland, which could be tied to IMF disbursements.

2. GDR: Treasury has asked State to provide an assessment of the economic implications of recent developments in the GDR.

3. Malta Meeting: Treasury continues to believe that it is being cut out of preparations for economic discussions with the Soviets at Malta. Dallara raised the issue with Deal, and Treasury has also contacted Steve Danzansky, Director of the Office of Cabinet Affairs, seeking his intervention to secure a "place at the table" in pre-Malta preparations. Bob Gates has talked to David Bates about Treasury's concerns. After receiving assurances that Brady would have an opportunity to voice his views at a Cabinet meeting before Malta, Treasury seems satisfied.

Andean Region

This topic covers two issues: (a) easing of terms for repayment of official debt, and (b) encouraging the MDBs to give structural adjustment loans to support the drug war in Andean countries.

Treasury will resist easing repayment terms. However, there are two steps we could take. Following the precedent set with sub-Saharan countries this year, we could ask Congress to give us new Section 572 authority to forgive official debt of countries who are cooperating on drugs and pursuing sound economic policies. Such forgiveness is scored against the 150 account and would cost us about $4 million for Bolivia in and $37 million for Colombia in FY90. Peru would not be eligible. The impact would be greater if PL-480 debt relief were included (but the cost correspondingly greater for the U.S.).

We could also announce at the Paris Club that we are willing to extend Toronto Summit terms to Bolivia's rescheduling. This would mean extending repayment terms to 25 years. Other G-7 countries might forgive some of Bolivia's debt under Toronto Summit terms. Colombia is not affected as it is not re-scheduling debt.

At our request, Treasury has been exploring with the World Bank structural adjustment loans for Andean countries fighting drugs. The Bank is willing to grant Colombia a $200 million quick disbursing loan under an existing energy sector loan if Colombia fulfills its commitments under the loan. This would require raising energy prices and cutting energy sector subsidies (which cost the Colombian government $400 million/year). An IMF report on Colombia suggests that the $200 million would offset the effect of the collapse of the coffee agreement and the impact of the drug war. Colombia has World Bank money in the pipeline ($75 million under the energy sector loan) which it has not been able to draw down because it is not fulfilling Bank conditions.

The Bank is also willing to consider a trade sector loan if Colombia reforms its import regime by moving to tariffs from quantitative restrictions. To date, Colombia has been unwilling to do this for political reasons.

David Miller has talked with Mulford about Colombia and found him exceptionally positive toward efforts to help that country. David believes that one way to expedite an imaginative, timely, and comprehensive response to Colombia's needs might be to designate Mulford "action officer" for this project so that we will have something positive to offer before or at the Andean Summit.

Asian-Pacific Economic Cooperation (APEC)

Secretary Baker will report on the November 6-7 meeting in Canberra of foreign and trade ministers from ASEAN, Canada, U.S., Japan, Korea, New Zealand and Australia.

IDA IX

We need to reach a decision soon on IDA IX. Treasury continues to push for an increase in our annual contribution to $1.06 billion, an increase of $102 million, to maintain the U.S.

contribution in real terms. Treasury has proposed taking this amount out of funding for other Multilateral Development Banks (MDB). State and OMB continue to resist that option. Dallara has promised to send us data to bolster Treasury's case in the hopes that you can persuade Dick Darman to move. Another international meeting on IDA IX is now scheduled for December. We must have a position by then; we can't afford to hold up the replenishment any longer.

China MDB Loans

Treasury has joined State in asking for a review of our strategy on MDB loans to China, since it appears that World Bank and Asian Development Bank officials are beginning to push new proposals. This item was on the agenda for September 15, but apparently not discussed.

Concurrences by: Robert Blackwill, Karl Jackson, William Pryce, David Miller

Attachment
Tab I Copy of November 15 Memo on Poland's Economic Reform Program

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

NATIONAL SECURITY COUNCIL
WASHINGTON, D.C. 20506

9178

November 15, 1989

DECLASSIFIED ~~IN PART~~
PER E.O. 12958, AS AMENDED
2000.0116.F/1
CAP 3/31/10

INFORMATION

MEMORANDUM FOR BRENT SCOWCROFT

FROM: TIMOTHY E. DEAL

SUBJECT: Poland: Evaluation of the Reform Program

This follows up on a memorandum that I sent you earlier regarding interagency analysis of Poland's economic reform program.

At its October 3 meeting, the NSC agreed that a small group should undertake an evaluation of: (a) Poland's economic reform program; and (b) the likely effects of U.S. economic assistance in promoting economic growth and structural change in Poland. The study group responds to Dick Darman's suggestion that a "road map" was needed for the U.S. aid initiative.

On its own initiative, Treasury began the necessary analytical work in cooperation with the Council of Economic Advisers (CEA). A small interagency group chaired by Charles Dallara has met twice so far to critique work underway. In addition to Dallara and Treasury staff, the following have participated in the meetings: State, Bob Zoellick; CEA, John Taylor; OMB, Phil DuSault; Federal Reserve, Ted Truman; and NSC, Tim Deal. The group will meet again soon to review the third draft as well as a 2-3 page list of key questions for use by Michael Boskin and his economic/financial group during the visit of the Presidential mission to Poland.

You may find interesting some of the preliminary findings of the study:

-- The Polish authorities have already adopted a number of reform measures (e.g., devaluation, reduction in wage indexation) this past year. But the government must be even bolder and announce a comprehensive reform package, rather than piecemeal measures.

-- The overall economic situation is deteriorating, but postponing the overall adjustment process to gain time will only make adjustment more painful later.

-- However, on price reform, a phased approach may be preferable to "shock therapy." In the first phase, the government would devalue further, end wage indexation, eliminate subsidies, and decontrol agricultural prices. A temporary price freeze would then precede the second phase under which all other prices are decontrolled

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Declassify on: OADR

over a three-year period. This approach draws on Israel's successful experience with a similar program in 1985.

-- Poland's request for external financial assistance is large, but "reasonable" if accompanied by economic restructuring.

-- The IMF and World Bank will have to play a larger role in overseeing changes to the Polish economy than they have played elsewhere. Teams from the two institutions will need to remain in Poland to help resolve difficulties that arise in the adjustment program during the first year or so.

The completed study will meet the NSC's request for an evaluation of the Polish reform program and also provide an independent analytical basis for judging the IMF program that finally emerges from negotiations with Poland. There is some skepticism among Administration economists about the Fund's ability to prescribe the right kind of medicine for an Eastern European country moving from a centrally planned to a market-oriented economy.

Concurrences by: Robert Blackwill and Adrian Basora. AHB

~~SECRET~~

3:15 pm CHRON FILE

NATIONAL SECURITY COUNCIL
WASHINGTON, D.C. 20506

~~SECRET~~/SENSITIVE

9275

November 17, 1989

ACTION

MEMORANDUM FOR BRENT SCOWCROFT

THROUGH: ROBERT D. BLACKWILL RB

FROM: PHILIP ZELIKOW

SUBJECT: Telephone Call to UK Prime Minister Thatcher

Natl Sec Advisor has seen

4

We understand that the President will be talking to Prime Minister Thatcher this afternoon at about 3:15 pm. Attached are talking points conveying the President's decision to go to Brussels for a meeting of the North Atlantic Council on December 4 and commenting on ideas she sent to the President yesterday, November 16 (Tab II), on how to respond to developments in Europe.

RECOMMENDATION

That you approve the talking points at Tab I for the President's use in his conversation this afternoon with Prime Minister Thatcher.

Approve BS Disapprove_____

Attachment
Tab I Points to be Made
Tab II November 16 Message to the President from Prime Minister Thatcher (sent through Cabinet Channels)
Tab III Prime Minister Thatcher's Guildhall speech on November 13

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Declassify on: OADR

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PER E.O. 13526
2009-1223-MR
07/28/2010 MM

POINTS TO BE MADE FOR TELEPHONE CONVERSATION
WITH PRIME MINISTER THATCHER

-- The events in the East have been truly extraordinary. You and I will need to work closely together in responding to the developments in Europe.

-- I am looking forward to your visit next week for a solid exchange of views on these issues.

-- Thank you for the message you sent to me yesterday on the approach you will be taking into the EC meeting tomorrow. I agree that our thinking is very much alike on this.

-- Like you, I think we should not crow about these momentous changes, but take a more measured stance which actually helps ease the way for more movement.

-- I also agree that the key concept is self-determination, including for Germany. We should, as you suggested, emphasize the need to see genuine democracy in the GDR and elsewhere in Eastern Europe.

-- Your message mentioned the need for the EC to devise new ways to relate to Eastern European countries. Your Guildhall speech also seemed to emphasize a broadening of the EC, perhaps as an alternative to deeper integration. How do you think these ideas will fare at the Summit meeting tomorrow?

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2009-1223-MR
07/28/2010 MM

-- In addition to our meeting at Camp David, we may also be able to discuss these issues in Brussels. I agreed with the suggestion in your message, and I am accepting Manfred Woerner's invitation to come to NATO on December 4 to report on my talks with Gorbachev in Malta. I hope to see you again then as well.

Withdrawal/Redaction Sheet
(George Bush Library)

Document No. and Type	Subject/Title of Document	Date	Restriction	Class.
03c. Cable	Re: Message fro General Scowcroft from Charles Powell (3 pp.)	11/16/89	(b)(1)	S

Collection:

Record Group: Bush Presidential Records
Office: Scowcroft, Brent, Collection
Series: USSR Chronological Files
Subseries: Soviet Power Collapse in Eastern Europe Files
WHORM Cat.:
File Location: Soviet Poser Collapse in Eastern Europe (November 1989) (Part II)

Date Closed:	3/20/2009	**OA/ID Number:**	91125-002
FOIA/SYS Case #:	2009-0275-S	**Appeal Case #:**	
Re-review Case #:		**Appeal Disposition:**	
P-2/P-5 Review Case #:		**Disposition Date:**	
AR Case #:		**MR Case #:**	
AR Disposition:		**MR Disposition:**	
AR Disposition Date:		**MR Disposition Date:**	

RESTRICTION CODES

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

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

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

PRM. Removed as a personal record misfile.

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

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

GUILDHALL SPEECH

Major extract from text of a speech made by the Prime Minister the Right Honourable Margaret Thatcher FRS MP at the Lord Mayor's Banquet Guildhall on Monday 13 November 1989.

May I start by thanking you, my Lord Mayor, for your toast to Her Majesty's Ministers, a company whose turnover has recently exceeded market expectations....

The Battle of Ideas

My Lord Mayor, we are witnessing great events.

Fifty years ago the peace of Europe was shattered by the sound of armies on the March. Today the plains of central Europe resound once more, this time to the swirl of people on the move.

The message is clear. When people are free to choose, they choose freedom. They turn their backs on a system which has been discredited - not by western propaganda but by first-hand experience.

An American writer visiting the home of Communism in 1919 remarked:

''I have seen the future and it works.''

Seventy years on we know that it doesn't.

Yes, these are exciting times and the city is right at the heart of them. Just eighteen months ago President Reagan spoke here in this Guildhall. Six months ago President Gorbachev did likewise.

The excitement comes because we are experiencing the culmination of a battle of ideas, a battle which has been fought out over more than a century. A contest between two fundamentally different political philosophies.

On the one side liberty, human rights, a rule of law, and a belief that the task of Government is to serve the nation.

On the other, a doctrine which holds that Government should have a central plan to cover every aspect of life, and that people should conform whatever their personal wishes. A doctrine that makes the state all powerful and the individual count for nothing.

There is no doubt where we stand, but our fundamental beliefs came to be questioned by some people, particularly during the great depression of the 1920s and 30s, when they began to wonder whether the alternative system, the system of Communism, would be the wave of the future.

Of course they should have known better. They should have recognised the inner contradictions in the Communist system which meant that it could only prevail by oppression and force.

Later new technology began to strip away the lie upon which Communism depended. You cannot isolate people from new ideas when they can tune in to radio broadcasts which tell them what is really going on in the world outside. Nor can you keep people down indefinitely when television can bring them pictures of a better life elsewhere.

For more than twenty years after the last war, we were told how the Soviet Union would overtake the United States, how Communism would eventually bury capitalism and how the worldwide victory of socialism was inevitable.

Some were mesmerised by this propaganda. The West felt itself on the defensive. The diplomatic talk was not of the spread of freedom, but of the containment of Communism. Even as recently as the 1970s we were encouraged to accept that Communism in Eastern Europe was there to stay and there was not much we could do about it.

Enormous credit is due to President Reagan, he gave confidence back to America and the whole of the Western world. He ended the psychology of defeat and retreat and went out to spread liberty and democracy.

President Bush is carrying on that great campaign drawing on his own wide international experience. And the scenes we have recently witnessed on our television screens could never have come about without the boldness, the vision and the courage of President Gorbachev.

In Britain in those years we became used to the notion of inevitable decline, that the best we could hope for was to manage that decline, and that nothing we could do would set us on the upward path again.

But then, because of the sort of people we are, we said: ''Enough - we can do better than this. Look at our history, look at how we used our our liberties to create wealth, look at how we created one of the greatest empires ever seen. We will go back to those fundamental principles, and we will rebuild our confidence''.

People woke up again to the fact that wealth is not created by Governments but by the vitality, initiative and enterprise of individuals who want to build something: A business, an industry, a place of learning, a theatre, an orchestra. And as you know my Lord Mayor, a part of their fundamental belief was that, as they prospered themselves, so they must use their wealth to help others prosper.

And so we began to climb back, we rebuilt our economic strength. We re-established respect for Britain abroad. And more and more we found the ideas that we had rediscovered were spreading to other countries, as they began to free up their economies and return to the values which across the years had made Europe one of the great civilisations of the world.

I am not one who - to quote an American author - believes that democracy and enterprise have finally won the battle of ideas, that we have therefore arrived, as he said, at the end of history and there is nothing left to fight for. That would be unutterably complacent, indeed foolish. There will always be threats to freedom - not only from frontal assaults but more insidiously by erosion from within.

What we have done - and by we, I mean Britain and the United States and the Western European countries - is to put freedom once more on the offensive, a peaceful offensive. We have shown that genuine democracy is best able to meet people's needs and aspirations.

We have shown that enterprise is the best way to create the wealth you need to bring a higher standard of living and all the other benefits which we in the west now enjoy.

And the power and attaction of our example is evident in the unprecedented ferment we are now witnessing in eastern Europe.

Economy

I need hardly remind this audience of the many economic achievements of this country in the last few years. They are not measured just in statistics but in changing attitudes, and in our much greater influence in the wider world.

There is no better illustration of our economic vitality than the number of people setting up in business on their own. Over 1600 every week this year.

And the city has been among the first to lend a hand in helping and advising young people on how to get started. Only last month the late Lord Mayor and I were able to see this in practice at the Blackfriars Foundry, premises once used to cast the type for Fleet Street - in the days when type was cast and Fleet Street was in Fleet Street. Thanks to the generosity of the City those premises have now been turned into workshops for the businesses of tomorrow.

But so powerful has been the sense of enterprise that the economy has been growing at a rate we simply could not sustain. This very success has given us problems. Inflation is too high and we have had to take the necessary action. Of course high interest rates are painful, but nothing like as damaging as prolonged inflation, that would undermine the whole basis of our prosperity.

The defeat of inflation has to be the overriding priority. The measures taken to achieve that will also help to reduce the trade deficit.

But a word of warning. Our costs are rising faster than those of our competitors. I know that higher interest rates are unwelcome for many businesses, but an extra 1 per cent on pay adds nearly three times as much to costs as a single percentage point on interest rates, and pay has risen sharply this year.

Our export performance has been good. But, our businesses are losing far too many opportunities in the home market. Many of the things we import are not specialised high technology goods, they are ordinary products. There is no shortage of demand for them, and I hope British industry will see to it that more of that demand is met by firms in this country.

One very bright spot in our trade performance is the contribution that comes from the City of London. Financial services earned a surplus last year of over 7 billion pounds. When the markets are open, you in the City can compete with the best - and win.

But all too often our markets are more open to the rest of the world - including our European partners - than theirs are to us. If world trade is to continue to flourish, we must all play by the same rules.

There are some encouraging signs. Earlier this Autumn I visited Japan and addressed a large audience of businessmen. In my characteristically gentle way, I just hinted at some of the ways Japanese markets might be made more open. believe it or not the audience actually applauded(exclam) I have a feeling the message is finally getting through.

protection for their particular industry in their particular country. That's why we went for majority voting to implement the single market programme.

And most of the time you will find that Britain is part of the majority - the majority that wants to get rid of constraints.

Far from being the slowest ship in the convoy we are well up front. Especially when it comes to putting into practice what has been agreed. Of the 68 single market measures which everyone is supposed to have in operation by now, we have put into effect 65. Some countries have implemented less than half. Only 7 of the 68 measures are in force in all member countries. So our record is good.

That same desire to get rid of restrictions will guide us when it comes to closer economic and monetary co-operation in Europe. We are happy with stage one of the Delors report because it is rooted in free market polices and fair competition.

But beyond that, the Delors proposals would abolish the pound sterling and all other national currencies in favour of a single currency run by a European central bank. That institution would control our interest rates and monetary policy, and Brussels would control our budgetary policy.

It is ironic, at a time when eastern Europe is moving towards greater democracy, that some in the community want to take economic and monetary policies away from our national Parliaments and hand them over to a body which is not democratically accountable.

Anyone who read the debate in the House of Commons the other day will realise how strong is the resolve in all parts of the house not to give up Parliament's Sovereignty in matters which are so central to its very existence. That is why Britain has proposed an alternative way forward.

COI LONDON

Foreign Affairs

When I spoke at Bruges a year or so ago - in a speech which caused just a little bit of a stir - I reminded people that the European Community is only one manifestation of Europe's identity: That Warsaw, Prague and Budapest are great European cities, just as European as London, Paris and Rome.

Even a year ago, we could scarcely have imagined the extent and the speed of the changes which have since swept the Soviet Union, Poland, Hungary and now East Germany.

We should honour those in the Communist countries who never let repression and dictatorship break their spirit or their unshakeable belief in liberty, and who are now seeing their hopes realised.

We must give them every possible encouragement and support. We are doing just that in all our contacts with the Soviet Union under Mr. Gorbachev, and in the practical help - with food, training, trade - that we are giving to Poland and Hungary. We cannot and must not let their brave efforts fail.

In East Germany the objective must be to see genuine democracy, with free elections and more than one party. To attain that in an orderly way which preserves stability in Europe would itself be a huge achievement.

Moreover, as we have already seen in the Soviet Union, it is easier to make political changes than it is to carry out economic reform. Economic reform requires the acceptance of initiative and responsibility by people themselves - and that is very difficult in countries which have never known these qualities.

The way in which we in the West respond to these historic changes could be crucial in determining their success. We want to see democracy extend throughout the Soviet Union and Eastern Europe, and we want it to last.

Once the demand for reform starts, there is a tendency for it to run very fast. Indeed the very speed of change could put the goal of democracy in jeopardy. Strong emotions have been aroused on all sides by recent events. The need now is to take a measured view of the way ahead.

These developments put a special responsibility on those of us who are members of the European Community. While continuing to build up co-operation among the twelve, we must not allow ourselves to become obsessed with the details of the Community's internal business as though nothing were happening elsewhere. We must not take a narrow, blinkered approach.

We have to remain open and outward-looking, ready to help, looking at these changes in Eastern Europe as part of the broad sweep of history, as part of the eternal battle between freedom and central control.

We must stretch out the hand of co-operation, and develop new forms of association with the emerging democracies of Eastern Europe - Poland, Hungary, East Germany and we hope others will follow. After all, the European Community is a powerful example of how European states can work together in freedom, and it would be natural for the Eastern European countries to believe they will benefit from closer contact with it.

The Community should see what is happening as a great turning point in Europe's history, and its response must measure up to that.

We must also remember that times of great change are times of great uncertainty even danger. The librarian of The United States Congress put it very well when he said:

''There is no more insecure time in the life of an Empire than when it is facing the devolution of its power., no more dangerous time in the life of a religion (Communism being after all a secular religion) than when it has lost its inner faith but retains its outer power.'' Very wise words.

Now is the time for us in the West to stay true to the policies and the principles that have brought us safely through the years of confrontation and cold war since 1945. I don't believe that the great changes now happening would have come about had it not been for NATO and the strength and resolve it has shown.

And it must be through NATO that we continue to keep the peace by tried and tested means, while welcoming every step that allows us to do so safely at lower levels of forces and weapons.

All of us present at this great banquet are involved in public life in one way or another - in government, in business, in banking, in the law, in diplomacy. We should recognise how immensely privileged we are to be living in these historic times, how fortunate to have a share of responsibility for the way events unfold.

Our thoughts are already beginning to turn to the future which lies beyond the millennium. But before that the decade ahead will test all our skill, our wisdom, our will and our nerve, if we are to steer these great events to a successful conclusion, if we are to achieve the full flowering of democracy that has been our greatest hope and our noblest endeavour.

ENDS VS095/89

COI LONDON

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9274

NATIONAL SECURITY COUNCIL
WASHINGTON, D.C. 20506

THE PRESIDENT HAS SEEN

November 17, 1989

ACTION

MEMORANDUM FOR BRENT SCOWCROFT

THROUGH: ROBERT D. BLACKWILL RB

FROM: ROBERT L. HUTCHINGS RLH

SUBJECT: Telephone Call to Italian Prime Minister Andreotti

We understand that the President will place a call to Andreotti at 3:00 p.m. today, November 17. Attached are talking points conveying the President's decision to go to Brussels December 4 and asking Andreotti to communicate impressions gleaned from his forthcoming meeting with Gorbachev in Rome.

RECOMMENDATION

That you approve the talking points at Tab I for the President's use in his telephone conversation with Andreotti.

Approve S Disapprove _____

Attachment
Tab I Points to be Made

for his Camp David short follow talk points & RHM

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PER E.O. 13526
2009-1010-MR
1/27/2015 MM

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~
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~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

POINTS TO BE MADE FOR TELEPHONE CONVERSATION WITH PRIME MINISTER ANDREOTTI OF ITALY

-- I want to stay in close touch, particularly as we both prepare for our meetings with Gorbachev.

-- Manfred Woerner has invited me to come to Brussels on December 4, with the request that I report on my meeting with Gorbachev.

-- I have accepted his invitation, but I also think this would be an important occasion to exchange views on the historic changes taking in place in Eastern Europe and Germany.

-- I hope you will also be able to come to Brussels. We will all want to know your impressions of Gorbachev, as well as of Prime Minister Mazowiecki's visit.

-- As I prepare for my meeting with Gorbachev, I would value your advice and suggestions.

-- You will be meeting him just before I do. I would appreciate any impressions you have gained of Gorbachev and his situation as a result of your discussion in Rome. This will be of great help to me.

He will phone me — phone on

POLAND

-- Lech Walesa's visit here is going well. I believe he is relatively satisfied with the level of economic assistance we are providing.

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PER E.O. 13526
2009-1010-MR
1/27/2015 MM

-- I understand the EC meeting tomorrow night will discuss assistance to Poland and Hungary, as well as events in the GDR.

-- I hope that this session will lead to major contributions toward the $1 billion stabilization fund the Polish Government has requested. Italy's participation will be vital.

GDR AND BERLIN

-- I am impressed with the encouraging changes in Berlin and the GDR. I hope the opening of GDR borders, including the Wall, will be followed by democratic reforms within the GDR.

-- It is important for all of us to consult closely and support Chancellor Kohl during this time of rapid change in Germany.

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NSC/S PROFILE

RECORD ID: 8909268
RECEIVED: 17 NOV 89 08

TO: PRESIDENT

CHRON FILE

FROM: SCOWCROFT

DOC DATE: 22 NOV 89
SOURCE REF:

KEYWORDS: GREAT BRITAIN
CM

VISIT
AP

2

PERSONS: THATCHER, MARGARET

SUBJECT: TALKERS FOR PRES MTG W/ THATCHER / NOV 24

ACTION: NOTED BY PRES DUE DATE: 21 NOV 89 STATUS: C

STAFF OFFICER: ZELIKOW LOGREF: 8909194 8909259

FILES: PA NSCIF: CODES:

D O C U M E N T D I S T R I B U T I O N

FOR ACTION	FOR CONCURRENCE	FOR INFO
		BLACKWILL
		ZELIKOW

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White House Guidelines
E.O. 12958, SEC 3.4 (B) September 11, 2006
By Cap NARA, Date 3/20/09

COMMENTS: _____

DISPATCHED BY _____ DATE _____ BY HAND W/ATTCH

OPENED BY: NSMEN CLOSED BY: NSMDC DOC 4 OF 4

~~SECRET~~

~~SECRET~~ RECORD ID: 8909268

ACTION DATA SUMMARY REPORT

DOC	ACTION OFFICER	CAO	ASSIGNED	ACTION REQUIRED
001	ZELIKOW	Z	89111708	PREPARE MEMO FOR SCOWCROFT
001		X	89112212	ACTION TAKEN PER ZELIKOW
002	ZELIKOW	Z	89112009	APPROPRIATE ACTION
003	SCOWCROFT	Z	89112213	FWD TO PRES FOR DECISION
004	PRESIDENT	Z	89112213	FOR DECISION
004		X	89112711	NOTED BY PRES

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White House Guidelines
E.O. 12958, SEC 3.4 (B) September 11, 2006
By Cap NARA, Date 3/20/09

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THE PRESIDENT HAS SEEN
11/25/89

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

9268 add-on

November 22, 1989

DECLASSIFIED
PER E.O. 13526
2010-1114-MR
6/16/2014 MM

MEETING WITH
PRIME MINISTER MARGARET THATCHER
DATE: November 24, 1989
LOCATION: Camp David
TIME: 10:00 a.m. - 3:00 p.m.

FROM: BRENT SCOWCROFT

I. PURPOSE

To exchange views with Prime Minister Thatcher about your upcoming meeting with President Gorbachev in Malta and about recent developments in Europe.

II. BACKGROUND

Prime Minister Thatcher comes here at a difficult time for her at home and amid increasing isolation abroad. Two cabinet shakeups in three months, a faltering economy, and a widely criticized domestic program have reduced the Prime Minister's popularity within Britain to the lowest point in more than three years. She is increasingly alienated from her European colleagues and from her fellow leaders in the Commonwealth. More than ever, she will be relying on her influence in Washington, and with you, to achieve her strategic foreign policy objectives.

First among these objectives is likely to be a common position on the future of Germany. You heard a sampling of her views on this issue when you talked on the telephone on November 17. The Prime Minister is hostile to the idea of German reunification and does not trust the leadership of the FRG. The tension has its sources in familiar history between the two nations, but also in Mrs. Thatcher's personal view that Kohl abandoned his principles during the SNF dispute earlier this year, has been incautious in reacting to events in the GDR, and is unable to control Genscher, whom she detests. She may try to draw you into agreement that, while German self-determination is well and good, we could indicate our expectation that it will lead to two German states, with reunification remaining a distant and hardly attainable goal. While her concern for the effects of events in Germany on Gorbachev's position may be genuine, she may also use arguments about Moscow's fears to cloak her own.

Your position should remain clear: that we are prepared to honor the German people's choices about their future --

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Declassify on: OADR

cc: Vice President
Chief of Staff

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including a choice for reunification; that we are committed to peaceful change in a stable way; and that we are comfortable with the way Bonn is meeting the challenge posed by recent events.

Your objectives for this meeting, on the other hand, lead off with a desire to draw upon the Prime Minister's past meetings with Gorbachev, and her generally shrewd perspective on East-West relations, as you prepare for your meetings in Malta. At the same time, you will be satisfying Mrs. Thatcher's wish for consultations in advance and in depth about your plans, and be seen to be doing so -- giving her a boost at home. Her impressions of the recently concluded EC Summit will be valuable, as would an elaboration of her idea, discussed in her November 13 Guildhall speech, for the EC to "develop new forms of association with the emerging democracies of Eastern Europe."

On substance, beyond planning for Malta, you may wish to explore with the Prime Minister whether there is some potential for improvement in her relations with her European colleagues. We do not wish to be in the position, which we may eventually face, of having to choose openly between increasingly divergent British and French policies on the future of Europe. We share her distaste for central control by bureaucrats in Brussels, but doubt that she will achieve her goals by distancing herself from almost every potential ally on the continent. It is because we have so many common goals, for decentralization and for free markets, that we want London's views to be more influential in Europe, and in the EC.

On these and other subjects that may come up, talking points are attached at Tab A. One other point of special interest -- we are particularly concerned about tentative British steps to improve contacts with the Hun Sen regime in Phnom Penh.

IV. PRESS PLAN

Open photo, writing pool.

V. SEQUENCE

Informal meetings and lunch.

Attachments
Tab A Points to be Made
Tab B Participants List
Tab C Biography
Tab D Secretary Baker's Memo to the President

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POINTS TO BE MADE FOR MEETING WITH
PRIME MINISTER THATCHER

Mediterranean Meeting

-- The December 2-3 meeting will offer a timely opportunity to review the dramatic changes underway in the world and explore ways to put the US-Soviet relationship on a more stable and cooperative footing.

-- I want to keep this an informal meeting -- not a summit. That will wait until next year. Neither side expects negotiations or deals. Still, I expect a wide ranging exchange of views.

-- I will want to hear from Gorbachev where he thinks the reform policies he has created will lead, both in the USSR and Eastern Europe.

-- We need to better understand each other's approaches to regional problems; I will urge Moscow to show more "new thinking" in this area.

-- Although I will probe Gorbachev on Soviet concerns in Eastern Europe, I will resist any suggestion that the US and USSR agree to a blueprint for Europe.

Germany

-- The pace of change in the GDR is truly astounding. As the GDR moves toward reform and democratization, we must expect that a new relationship between East and West Germany will develop.

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2009-1260-MR
06/10/2010 MM

-- In our public handling of the issue of reunification, we believe the emphasis should be placed on the concept of self-determination. We are prepared to live with that, and we see problems in any effort, real or perceived, to block German national aspirations.

-- However, the first order of business is to promote democracy in the GDR. I also agree we should avoid handing out blueprints, let alone timetables.

-- Our objective must be to ensure that whatever new relationship develops in time between the two German states does not diminish strong and intensifying ties between the FRG and its Western partners.

-- Chancellor Kohl has stressed the overriding priority the FRG gives to its Western ties. I am impressed by his handling of the situation.

-- At the same time, it is more essential than ever to strengthen the political, economic and military ties between the FRG and its Western partners.

-- The US thus supports further intensification of European integration in political, security as well as economic spheres.

-- We consulted closely in responding to Gorbachev's recent letter about events in the GDR and Berlin. We should continue to work together on these matters.

-- I will respond negatively to any Soviet request for special U.S.-USSR arrangements on Germany, or Four Power talks, or

other devices that shift the focus at this time from the pressing need for reform and democracy in the GDR.

Eastern Europe

-- We continue to look for an end to the division of Europe. As you know, we support the ongoing reform movements underway in Eastern Europe, particularly in Poland, Hungary and, more recently, in the GDR.

-- We are pleased with the economic reform efforts undertaken so far in Poland and welcomed the EC Summit's endorsement of more assistance.

The European Community and 1992

-- What do you see as the EC's basic direction in the next decade? To what extent do you believe that the picture has been changed by developments in Eastern Europe? Could you elaborate on the "reaching out" you talked about in your Guildhall speech?

-- It appears that the social charter and monetary issues will dominate the Strasbourg summit. How do you see these developing?

-- Of all of the EC members, we know you come closest to sharing our economic goals. Is there any way for both of our countries to be more influential in shaping EC policy in the way we hope?

Indochinese Refugees in Hong Kong

-- I agree that the boat people arriving in Hong Kong have created a very serious burden. In addition, we agree that

the refugee status of many, if not most of the arrivals, remains dubious.

-- Our position is that involuntary repatriation to a country like Vietnam is unacceptable. It could also result in extremely bad publicity for Hong Kong and HMG.

-- We believe that more should be done over a longer time frame to give voluntary repatriation a chance to work. A total of nearly 1,300 Vietnamese in Hong Kong are at some stage of voluntary return.

-- The primary US objective is to preserve first asylum. If this principle is undermined, we fear that unilateral actions by Thailand and Malaysia will result in the loss of first asylum and more deaths.

-- (If raised:) Vietnam and Haiti are not equivalent cases for examination of repatriation. The human rights abuses in Vietnam far exceed those in Haiti.

Cambodia

-- I believe that we must stick together in supporting a comprehensive settlement in Cambodia and maintaining strong public support for Prince Sihanouk and the Cambodian non-Communists.

-- We must focus our efforts on returning the Cambodian factions to the negotiating table. A comprehensive political solution offers the best hope of preventing the Khmer Rouge from returning to power.

-- The Non-Communist Resistance (NCR) must remain a viable

alternative to the Khmer Rouge and the Vietnamese-imposed Phnom Penh regime.

-- We believe that this is not the time to cut off assistance to the NCR; they must continue to receive the support necessary to withstand the threats they face from communist opponents.

-- We also believe that the political and economic ostracism of the PRK should be sustained.

-- Unfortunately, even humanitarian support from your government to Phnom Penh, despite plans to channel it through non-governmental organizations, will be perceived as increasing the legitimacy of the Hun Sen regime -- thus decreasing the possibility of a negotiated settlement.

South Africa

-- South African politics are evolving in a promising direction. I agree that continued debate about sanctions is inappropriate at this time.

-- The focus should be on events in South Africa and how to encourage more forward movement by Pretoria and constructive responses from the opposition.

-- Our position is clear -- apartheid must end. The South African government (SAG) must move to negotiations with the wide range of credible leaders of the black minority on the establishment of a non-racial democracy.

-- We will not seek to dictate a schedule, but the SAG needs to stay ahead of the curve by freeing remaining political

prisoners, continuing to allow peaceful political expression, and, at some point, lifting the State of Emergency.

-- In return, the opposition, including the ANC, should desist from violence and provocative rhetoric during the pre-dialogue phase, whatever its formal negotiating position might be.

-- We can together exercise our leadership by carrying this message to all parties.

Argentina/Falklands

-- I was very pleased to see direct talks resume between London and the new Argentine government. I hope the dialogue will lead to restoration of full diplomatic relations soon.

-- Your government's flexibility in responding to Menem's overtures has given him the political space to continue to pursue improved ties.

-- I am impressed with Menem's pragmatism and realism. He has shown a willingness to meet our concerns on a number of issues, including nuclear proliferation and the Condor missile.

-- The best guarantee of peace in the South Atlantic is continued democratic government in Argentina. We seek to bolster civilian control of the military by enhancing our security relationship with the Argentine government.

-- Naturally, we will keep you informed of developments on a regular basis. We will, of course, continue to consult with

you on any major arms transfers.

Cyprus

-- An opportunity exists for progress. The UNSYG's decision to meet with the two leaders is a significant step toward getting the talks back on track.

-- We share your conviction that President Vassiliou is sincere in his desire to reach a settlement. We both want to help him in this -- but that also means helping him face reality.

-- The UN drafting efforts made a good start--but they are not the final result. We will need to do much more work before a final document emerges. We must continue to coordinate our policies on Cyprus.

Trident D-5 Issues (IF RAISED)

-- I am aware of the importance of the Trident D-5 program to the U.K. The FY90 Defense bill which is now in final form is only $400 million short of our $1.8 billion request for the D-5 missile. This means we will not be able to buy as many missiles next year as we had planned. I can assure you that you will receive the missiles for which you contracted. We will not break our pledge on the D-5.

PARTICIPANTS

U.S.

The President
Lawrence Eagleburger, Deputy Secretary of State
Brent Scowcroft,
Assistant to the President for National Security Affairs
Henry Catto, Ambassador to the United Kingdom

U.K.

Margaret Thatcher, Prime Minister
Sir Antony Acland, Ambassador to the United States
Charles Powell, Private Secretary to the Prime Minister

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1/27/2015 MM

Withdrawal/Redaction Sheet
(George Bush Library)

Document No. and Type	Subject/Title of Document	Date	Restriction	Class.
05d. Report	Government Report (2 pp.)	11/20/89	(b)(1)	C

Collection:

Record Group: Bush Presidential Records
Office: Scowcroft, Brent, Files
Series: USSR Chronological Files
Subseries: Soviet Power Collapse in Eastern Europe Files
WHORM Cat.:
File Location: Soviet Poser Collapse in Eastern Europe (November 1989) (Part II)

Date Closed:	3/20/2009	**OA/ID Number:**	91125-002
FOIA/SYS Case #:	2009-0275-S	**Appeal Case #:**	
Re-review Case #:		**Appeal Disposition:**	
P-2/P-5 Review Case #:		**Disposition Date:**	
AR Case #:		**MR Case #:**	
AR Disposition:		**MR Disposition:**	
AR Disposition Date:		**MR Disposition Date:**	

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P-4 Release would disclose trade secrets or confidential commercial or financial information [(a)(4) of the PRA]
P-5 Release would disclose confidential advice between the President and his advisors, or between such advisors [a)(5) of the PRA]
P-6 Release would constitute a clearly unwarranted invasion of personal privacy [(a)(6) of the PRA]

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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

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THE SECRETARY OF STATE

WASHINGTON

9268 A/O

November 17, 1989

WITH SECRET ATTACHMENT

MEMORANDUM FOR: THE PRESIDENT

FROM: JAMES A. BAKER, III

SUBJECT: THE PRIVATE VISIT OF PRIME MINISTER THATCHER, NOVEMBER 23-24

I. SETTING

- The surprise resignation in October of Chancellor of the Exchequer Lawson (after a year of public disagreement with the Prime Minister over monetary policy) led to a second Cabinet shake-up in 1989 and the departure of Thatcher's personal economic advisor, Alan Walters.

- These developments, combined with the traditional mid-term slump, have provoked Thatcher's worst crisis since 1985-6. Her management style and political judgment are being called into question.

- Thatcher's domestic reform program is increasingly seen, even by moderates of her own party, as radical and out of touch with British voters.

- The key to Thatcher's political survival will be her command of the economy. She has a daunting task to accomplish -- inflation is running at 8%, interest rates are at 15% and the 1989 trade deficit (expected to top £20 billion) is proportionally larger than ours.

- Thatcher's dramatic announcement that she intended to make the next election her last has created a new element of uncertainty and the aura of a "lame duck" leader.

- It is essential to Thatcher's standing at home that she be seen as having a close working and personal relationship with you -- especially since she is often the "odd man out" in the EC.

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2008-0767-MR
09/02/2010 MM

- Thatcher originally intended this visit as one of her periodic consultations in Washington, with a focus on Eastern Europe. However, in light of your meeting with General Secretary Gorbachev, developments in Germany, and Mitterrand's call for a special EC summit the visit has assumed a higher profile.

- While U.K. political leaders do not give credence to media speculation about the "death of the special relationship," they are concerned that we are less and less willing to accommodate their concerns.

- Given her own "special relationship" with Gorbachev (they have met five times), Thatcher will seek a thorough briefing on the Malta meeting.

- She is one of the the most cautious West European leaders on East-West relations -- often to the irritation of her EC colleagues. She remains skeptical of Gorbachev's foreign policy goals while applauding his economic and political reforms.

- Thatcher has welcomed the recent dramatic events in Eastern Europe, most notably in her November 13 Guild Hall speech. She called on the EC to "develop new forms of association with the emerging democracies of Eastern Europe."

  -- Thatcher's effort to focus the EC's attention is, in part, an effort to change the focus of the Community from pursuing greater integration in areas where she is opposed, such as monetary policy and workers' rights.

- You should remind the Prime Minister of the importance of greater European integration in order to closely bind the FRG to the West and its institutions.

- Thatcher also is likely to reiterate her viewpoint on areas where our interests do not coincide -- involuntary repatriation of Indochinese refugees from Hong Kong and US security cooperation with Argentina.

II. OBJECTIVES

- To preview your upcoming meeting with Gorbachev and to hear Thatcher's views on East-West relations.

- To brief Thatcher on the visit of FRG Foreign Minister Genscher and his thinking on developments in Germany.

- To urge urge the desirability of greater European integration in order to closely bind the FRG to the West.

- To express our understanding for the pressures in Hong Kong resulting from the continued influx of Indochinese refugees and to reiterate our strong opposition to involuntary repatriation.

- To congratulate her on the U.K.'s improved relations with Argentina and to remind her of our desire to strengthen democracy in that country.

- To urge Mrs. Thatcher to continue her efforts to assure that the 1992 process does not result in the creation of new external trade barriers in Europe.

- To brief the Prime Minister on the Shamir visit and the status of our Middle East peace proposals.

III. STRATEGY

- We need to use these talks and related media statements to remind the British and American public of the fundamental importance of US-U.K. relations. However, these reassurances should not be made in terms that will undermine our relationships with other allies.

- Thatcher will not be easily swayed on the question of involuntary repatriation of Indochinse refugees from Hong Kong. You will need to convince her of the sensitivity of this issue to the American people and a potential backlash in Congress.

- Despite the improved atmosphere between Buenos Aires and London, Thatcher will remain wary of our intention to expand security relations with the Memem government.

  -- You should restate our commitment to consult on major arms transfers and our awareness of the U.K.'s security interests in the region.

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NATIONAL SECURITY COUNCIL
WASHINGTON, D.C. 20506

9268 add-on

November 21, 1989

ACTION

MEMORANDUM FOR BRENT SCOWCROFT

THROUGH: ROBERT BLACKWILL

FROM: PHILIP ZELIKOW

SUBJECT: Briefing Materials for the President's Meeting with Prime Minister Thatcher at Camp David, November 24

The briefing package for the meeting is attached at Tab I. Amid all the talking points on a wide range of possible subjects, two points deserve special emphasis. First, the President should take care not to be drawn into seeming acceptance of a position hostile to possible German aspirations for reunification, such as a formula that stresses the potential for self-determination to produce a continued preference for two German states. Second, the President may wish to urge the Prime Minister, in the nicest possible way, to improve her relations with the rest of Western Europe.

Arnold Kanter, ~~Karl Jackson~~, and David Passage concur.

RECOMMENDATION

That you approve the Memorandum to the President attached at Tab I.

Attachments
Tab I Memorandum to the President
Tab A Points to be Made
Tab B Participants List
Tab C Biography
Tab D Secretary Baker's Memo to the President

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PER E.O. 12958,
AS AMENDED
2009-1260-MR
06/10/2010 MM

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2009-1260-MR
6/10/10 CAP

POINTS TO BE MADE FOR MEETING WITH PRIME MINISTER THATCHER

Mediterranean Meeting

-- The December 2-3 meeting will offer a timely opportunity to review the dramatic changes underway in the world and explore ways to put the US-Soviet relationship on a more stable and cooperative footing.

-- I want to keep this an informal meeting -- not a summit. That will wait until next year. Neither side expects negotiations or deals. Still, I expect a wide ranging exchange of views.

-- I will want to hear from Gorbachev where he thinks the reform policies he has created will lead, both in the USSR and Eastern Europe.

-- We need to better understand each other's approaches to regional problems; I will urge Moscow to show more "new thinking" in this area.

-- Although I will probe Gorbachev on Soviet concerns in Eastern Europe, I will resist any suggestion that the US and USSR agree to a blueprint for Europe.

Germany

-- The pace of change in the GDR is truly astounding. As the GDR moves toward reform and democratization, we must expect that a new relationship between East and West Germany will develop.

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-- In our public handling of the issue of reunification, we believe the emphasis should be placed on the concept of self-determination. We are prepared to live with that, and we see problems in any effort, real or perceived, to block German national aspirations.

-- However, the first order of business is to promote democracy in the GDR. I also agree we should avoid handing out blueprints, let alone timetables.

-- Our objective must be to ensure that whatever new relationship develops in time between the two German states does not diminish strong and intensifying ties between the FRG and its Western partners.

-- Chancellor Kohl has stressed the overriding priority the FRG gives to its Western ties. I am impressed by his handling of the situation.

-- At the same time, it is more essential than ever to strengthen the political, economic and military ties between the FRG and its Western partners.

-- The US thus supports further intensification of European integration in political, security as well as economic spheres.

-- We consulted closely in responding to Gorbachev's recent letter about events in the GDR and Berlin. We should continue to work together on these matters.

-- I will respond negatively to any Soviet request for special U.S.-USSR arrangements on Germany, or Four Power talks, or

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other devices that shift the focus at this time from the pressing need for reform and democracy in the GDR.

Eastern Europe

-- We continue to look for an end to the division of Europe. As you know, we support the ongoing reform movements underway in Eastern Europe, particularly in Poland, Hungary and, more recently, in the GDR.

-- We are pleased with the economic reform efforts undertaken so far in Poland and welcomed the EC Summit's endorsement of more assistance.

The European Community and 1992

-- What do you see as the EC's basic direction in the next decade? To what extent do you believe that the picture has been changed by developments in Eastern Europe? Could you elaborate on the "reaching out" you talked about in your Guildhall speech?

-- It appears that the social charter and monetary issues will dominate the December 8-9 Strasbourg EC summit. How do you see these developing?

-- Of all of the EC members, we know you come closest to sharing our economic goals. Is there any way for both of our countries to be more influential in shaping EC policy in the way we hope?

Indochinese Refugees in Hong Kong

-- I agree that the majority of the arrivals to Hong Kong are North Vietnamese seeking a better life, not political

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refugees. We also agree that such persons are ultimately the responsibility of Vietnam and should return home.

-- Our position is that involuntary repatriation of non-refugees from Hong Kong is unacceptable now. It could also result in extremely bad publicity for Hong Kong and HMG.

-- We believe that more should be done over a longer time frame to give voluntary repatriation a chance to work. A total of nearly 1,300 Vietnamese in Hong Kong are at some stage of voluntary return.

-- The primary US objective is to preserve first asylum. If this principle is undermined, we fear that unilateral actions by Thailand and Malaysia will result in the loss of first asylum and more deaths.

-- (If raised:) Vietnam and Haiti are not equivalent cases for examination of repatriation. The human rights abuses in Vietnam far exceed those in Haiti.

Cambodia

-- I believe that we must stick together in supporting a comprehensive settlement in Cambodia and maintaining strong public support for Prince Sihanouk and the Cambodian non-Communists.

-- We must focus our efforts on returning the Cambodian factions to the negotiating table. A comprehensive political solution offers the best hope of preventing the Khmer Rouge frGm returning to power.

SECRET

-- The Non-Communist Resistance (NCR) must remain a viable alternative to the Khmer Rouge and the Vietnamese-imposed Phnom Penh regime.

-- We believe that this is not the time to cut off assistance to the NCR; they must continue to receive the support necessary to withstand the threats they face from communist opponents.

-- We also believe that the political and economic ostracism of the PRK should be sustained.

-- Unfortunately, even humanitarian support from your government to Phnom Penh, despite plans to channel it through non-governmental organizations, will be perceived as increasing the legitimacy of the Hun Sen regime -- thus decreasing the possibility of a negotiated settlement.

South Africa

-- South African politics are evolving in a promising direction. I am opposed to further sanctions.

-- The focus should be on events in South Africa and how to encourage more forward movement by Pretoria and constructive responses from the opposition.

-- Our position is clear -- apartheid must end. The South African government (SAG) must move to negotiations with the wide range of credible leaders of the black minority on the establishment of a non-racial democracy.

-- We will not seek to dictate a schedule, but the SAG needs to

SECRET

stay ahead of the curve by freeing remaining political prisoners, continuing to allow peaceful political expression, and, at some point, lifting the State of Emergency.

-- In return, the opposition, including the ANC, should desist from violence and provocative rhetoric during the pre-dialogue phase, whatever its formal negotiating position might be.

-- We can together exercise our leadership by carrying this message to all parties.

Argentina/Falklands

-- I was very pleased to see direct talks resume between London and the new Argentine government. I hope the dialogue will lead to restoration of full diplomatic relations soon.

-- Your government's flexibility in responding to Menem's overtures has given him the political space to continue to pursue improved ties.

-- I am impressed with Menem's pragmatism and realism. He has shown a willingness to meet our concerns on a number of issues, including nuclear proliferation and the Condor missile.

-- The best guarantee of peace in the South Atlantic is continued democratic government in Argentina. We seek to bolster civilian control of the military by enhancing our security relationship with the Argentine government.

-- Naturally, we will keep you informed of developments on a

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regular basis. We will, of course, continue to consult with you on any major arms transfers.

Cyprus

-- An opportunity exists for progress. The UNSYG's decision to meet with the two leaders is a significant step toward getting the talks back on track.

-- We share your conviction that President Vassiliou is sincere in his desire to reach a settlement. We both want to help him in this -- but that also means helping him face reality.

-- The UN drafting efforts made a good start--hut they are not the final result. We will need to do much more work before a final document emerges. We must continue to coordinate our policies on Cyprus.

Trident D-5 Issues (IF RAISED)

-- I am aware of the importance of the Trident D-5 program to the U.K. The FY90 Defense bill which is now in final form is only $400 million short of our $1.8 billion request for the D-5 missile. This means we will not be able to buy as many missiles next year as we had planned. I can assure you that you will receive the missiles for which you contracted. We will not break our pledge on the D-5.

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NSC/S PROFILE

RECORD ID: 8909347
RECEIVED: 20 NOV 89 16

CHRON FILE

TO: PRESIDENT

FROM: SCOWCROFT

DOC DATE: 20 NOV 89
SOURCE REF:

KEYWORDS: GERMANY F R AP

4

PERSONS: GENSCHER, HANS D

SUBJECT: PRES MTG W/ FRG FOMIN GENSCHER 21 NOV

ACTION: NOTED BY PRES DUE DATE: 23 NOV 89 STATUS: C

STAFF OFFICER: HUTCHINGS LOGREF: 8909083

FILES: WH NSCIF: CODES:

D O C U M E N T D I S T R I B U T I O N

FOR ACTION	FOR CONCURRENCE	FOR INFO
		BLACKWILL
		DEAL
		HUTCHINGS
		WILSON

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White House Guidelines
E.O. 12958, SEC 3.4 (B) September 11, 2006
By Cof NARA, Date 3/20/09

COMMENTS: _____

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OPENED BY: NSJWD CLOSED BY: NSJWD DOC 2 OF 3

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9347

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

NOTED

November 20, 1989

MEETING WITH FOREIGN MINISTER HANS-DIETRICH GENSCHER
OF THE FEDERAL REPUBLIC OF GERMANY

DATE: November 21, 1989
LOCATION: Oval Office
TIME: 10:00 - 10:10 A.M.

FROM: BRENT SCOWCROFT

I. PURPOSE

To discuss preparations for your upcoming meeting with Gorbachev and exchange views on Eastern Europe and inter-German relations.

II. BACKGROUND

Genscher is here on a one-day visit to consult on your forthcoming meeting with Gorbachev in the Mediterranean. He will meet with Secretary Baker at noon, followed by a working lunch.

On the Mediterranean meeting, Genscher wants to consult, and be seen as consulting, particularly on Eastern Europe and inter-German affairs. He understands that this is to be an informal meeting with no agreements advertised in advance, but he will want to probe your intentions.

Genscher may also want to discuss his just-concluded trip to Poland with Chancellor Kohl, as well as their trip to Paris for the EC Summit devoted to Eastern Europe. You may wish to ask whether the Summit generated new pledges toward the $1 billion stabilization fund for Poland. Genscher has also advocated expanding the G-24 concerted action group to include support for the GDR, and he may well encourage U.S. support for such an effort. Our view is that while we support the idea of a multilateral approach toward the GDR, it would be premature to use the G-24 toward that end. First we must see whether the GDR leadership's call for economic and political reform is translated into reality.

III. PARTICIPANTS

A list of participants is at Tab C.

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PER E.O. 13526
2008-0695-MR
CAP 9/27/10

IV. PRESS PLAN

Open photo, writing pool

V. SEQUENCE

Photo opportunity and brief meeting in the Oval Office

Attachments
Tab A Points to be Made
Tab B Biography
Tab C Participants List

CC: Vice President
Chief of Staff

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

POINTS TO BE MADE FOR MEETING WITH
FRG FOREIGN MINISTER HANS-DIETRICH GENSCHER

-- I am glad you were able to come before my departure for my meeting with President Gorbachev in the Mediterranean. With so much in flux, particularly in the GDR, it is important that we stay in close touch.

-- I appreciate the comments you and Chancellor Kohl have made in response to press speculation about German reunification.

  - o With change just beginning in the GDR, much of this speculation is premature. And much of it is mischievous in characterizing attitudes in the FRG.
  - o You and Chancellor Kohl have quite rightly focused on the need for democratic change and self-determination in the GDR, and on the Federal Republic's secure Western links.

-- I have stressed the same points here. I spoke from the heart when I expressed my complete confidence in the government and people of the Federal Republic.

-- It is important that we speak from our common position. You can be assured that I will do just that when I meet with Gorbachev in a couple of weeks.

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2008-0695-MR
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-- President Gorbachev and I will obviously want to discuss the situation in Eastern Europe and the GDR as they affect all of Europe and East-West relations. I would welcome any thoughts or suggestions you might have.

POLAND AND THE EC SUMMIT

-- I would welcome your impressions from your trip to Poland.

-- I would also be interested in the EC Summit in Paris this weekend. Were there any new pledges of support for the $1 billion stabilization fund for Poland?

-- (IF ASKED) I agree that it will be important for all of us working together to encourage reform and democratic change in the GDR, but I believe it is premature to expand the G-24 at this point. First we need to see whether the GDR leadership's pledges to pursue economic and political reform are carried out.

Withdrawal/Redaction Sheet
(George Bush Library)

Document No. and Type	Subject/Title of Document	Date	Restriction	Class.
06c. Report	Government Report (2 pp.)	11/9/88	(b)(1)	S

Collection:

Record Group: Bush Presidential Records
Office: Scowcroft, Brent, Files
Series: USSR Chronological Files
Subseries: Soviet Power Collapse in Eastern Europe Files
WHORM Cat.:
File Location: Soviet Poser Collapse in Eastern Europe (November 1989) (Part II)

Date Closed:	3/20/2009	**OA/ID Number:**	91125-002
FOIA/SYS Case #:	2009-0275-S	**Appeal Case #:**	
Re-review Case #:		**Appeal Disposition:**	
P-2/P-5 Review Case #:		**Disposition Date:**	
AR Case #:		**MR Case #:**	
AR Disposition:		**MR Disposition:**	
AR Disposition Date:		**MR Disposition Date:**	

RESTRICTION CODES

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

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

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

PRM. Removed as a personal record misfile.

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

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

PARTICIPANTS

U. S.

The President
The Vice 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
Robert D. Blackwill, Special Assistant to the President for European and Soviet Affairs, NSC
Ray G. H. Seitz, Assistant Secretary for European and Canadian Affairs
Vernon Walters, U.S. Ambassador to the Federal Republic of Germany
Gisela Marcuse, Interpreter

Federal Republic of Germany

Hans-Dietrich Genscher, Foreign Minister
Dieter Kastrup, Ministerial Director
Juergen Ruhfus, Ambassador
Dorthee Kaltenbach, Interpreter

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WITH SECRET ATTACHMENT

9347

NATIONAL SECURITY COUNCIL
WASHINGTON, D.C. 20506

November 20, 1989

ACTION

MEMORANDUM FOR BRENT SCOWCROFT

THROUGH: ROBERT D. BLACKWILL RB

FROM: ROBERT L. HUTCHINGS RLH

SUBJECT: The President's Meeting with FRG Foreign Minister Hans-Dietrich Genscher, November 21, 1989, 10:00 - 10:10 a.m.

At Tab I is the President's briefing package for his meeting with Foreign Minister Genscher. In your meeting with Genscher immediately following, you may want to draw him out on his reading of change in the GDR and ways of handling the German Question in the context of the Mediterranean meeting.

Concurrences by: Tim Deal, Heather Wilson HW

RECOMMENDATION

That you sign the memorandum for the President at Tab I.

Attachments
Tab I Memorandum for the President
Tab A Points to be Made
Tab B Biography
Tab C Participants List

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2009-1011-MR
SCS 4/22/13

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NSC/S PROFILE

RECORD ID: 8909047
RECEIVED: 09 NOV 89 11

TO: MAZOWIECKI, TADEUSZ

CHRON FILE

FROM: PRESIDENT

DOC DATE: 21 NOV 89
SOURCE REF:

KEYWORDS: POLAND HS
ECONOMICS

4

PERSONS: MAZOWIECKI, TADEUSZ

SUBJECT: REPLY FROM PRES TO POLISH PM MAZOWIESKI RE ECONOMIC AID

ACTION: FOR DISPATCH DUE DATE: 23 NOV 89 STATUS: C

STAFF OFFICER: HUTCHINGS LOGREF: 8909104

FILES: WH NSCIF: CODES:

D O C U M E N T D I S T R I B U T I O N

FOR ACTION	FOR CONCURRENCE	FOR INFO
STATE		BLACKWILL
		HUTCHINGS
		MERCHANT

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E.O. 12958, SEC 3.4 (B) September 11, 2006
By Cap NARA, Date 3/20/09

COMMENTS: _____

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~~CONFIDENTIAL~~ RECORD ID: 8909047

ACTION DATA SUMMARY REPORT

DOC	ACTION OFFICER	CAO	ASSIGNED	ACTION REQUIRED
001	SCOWCROFT	Z	89111319	FWD TO PRES FOR SIG
002	PRESIDENT	Z	89112010	FOR SIGNATURE
003		X	89112119	PRES SGD LTR
003	STATE	X	89112120	FOR DISPATCH

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E.O. 12958, SEC 3.4 (B) September 11, 2006
By Cop NARA, Date 3/20/09

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

November 21, 1989

Dear Mr. Prime Minister:

Thank you for your kind letter of October 17. The special ties between our two countries, which survived even the worst of times in Poland's postwar history, have grown much closer with your election as Prime Minister. This is indeed a time of new beginnings.

Please be assured that we are working urgently with our Congress toward early approval of the full range of economic and other assistance measures I have requested. I hope and expect that Congress will act soon. I am also urging our economic partners to join the United States in making major contributions to the $1 billion stabilization fund your government has requested.

With respect to Poland's possible needs for financial assistance in the fourth quarter, I appreciate the amplifying information Deputy Prime Minister Balcerowicz provided in his recent letter to General Scowcroft. Our Treasury Department has been in touch with your Finance Ministry concerning the need for further data on your fourth quarter requirements.

Let me also assure you that your request for bridge financing is under active discussion here. We are prepared to consider positively a bridge loan carrying over to initial disbursements under an IMF program and possibly to IBRD loans. The Treasury Department will be in touch with your Finance Ministry to discuss the matter further and determine the appropriate time at which such a bridge loan might be possible.

I hope that you and your government will discuss this issue with the Mission I am sending to Poland at the end of this month. I have asked Secretary Yeutter and other leaders of that Mission to report to me immediately upon their return. The Chairman of my Council of Economic Advisers, Michael Boskin, will prepare the section of the report dealing with economic and financial matters.

CHRON FILE

I am delighted that you will be able to accept my invitation to visit the United States. I will be looking forward to our first meeting.

With warm regards,

Sincerely,



His Excellency
Tadeusz Mazowiecki
Chairman of the Council of Ministers
of the Polish People's Republic,
Warsaw.

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

1989 NOV 20 AM 11:28

November 20, 1989

ACTION

MEMORANDUM FOR THE PRESIDENT

FROM: BRENT SCOWCROFT

SUBJECT: Reply to Polish Prime Minister Mazowiecki

Purpose

To reply to Mazowiecki's letter of October 17.

Background

Mazowiecki's letter (Tab B) was in reply to yours of October 4, in which you informed him of your intent to ask Congress to approve a $200 million grant to Poland as our contribution to a $1 billion stabilization fund. Mazowiecki thanked you for your support but also requested that the U.S. take the lead in organizing an additional package of approximately $500 million in new Western credits to cover Poland's import needs in the fourth quarter of this year.

Your reply (Tab A), using language which we have worked out with Nick Brady, responds as positively as we can to Poland's request. It notes that we are in direct contact with the Polish Finance Ministry on Poland's fourth quarter data (their figures do not parse) and treats separately, and positively, the possibility of a bridge loan in the context of an IMF agreement. Your letter also notes that the forthcoming Presidential Mission will help us better assess ways we can support Poland's economic reforms.

RECOMMENDATION

That you sign the letter to Mazowiecki at Tab A.

Attachments
Tab A Letter to Mazowiecki
Tab B Incoming from Mazowiecki

cc: Vice President
Chief of Staff

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

9047

NATIONAL SECURITY COUNCIL
WASHINGTON, D.C. 20506

November 13, 1989

11/13/89
1300

Brent -- State has cleared the text of the message to Mazowiecki.
BS Blackwill

ACTION

MEMORANDUM FOR BRENT SCOWCROFT

THROUGH: ROBERT D. BLACKWILL

FROM: ROBERT L. HUTCHINGS

SUBJECT: Reply to Polish Prime Minister Mazowiecki

At Tab I is a memorandum for the President attaching for his signature a letter to Prime Minister Mazowiecki (Tab A) in reply to the latter's letter of October 17 (Tab B).

The President wrote Mazowiecki on October 4 giving him advance notice of the $200 million stabilization grant and the dispatch of the Presidential mission. In his reply, Mazowiecki expressed his gratitude for this support but also requested, as did Deputy Prime Minister Balcerowicz in his meeting with you in September, that the U.S. take the lead in organizing additional Western financial credits to cover import needs in the fourth quarter of this year. In an October 25 letter to you (Tab II), Balcerowicz estimates these needs at $501 million.

With Tim Deal's help, we used this letter to drive the matter all the way to Nick Brady, with the result that we are able to lean farther forward than ever before on the possibility of a bridge loan. Treasury insists, however, that this be treated separately from any discussion of U.S. assistance in the fourth quarter.

Concurrences by: Tim Deal and Adrian Basora AAB

RECOMMENDATION

That you sign the memorandum for the President at Tab I.

Attachments
Tab I Memorandum for the President
Tab A Letter to Mazowiecki
Tab B Incoming from Mazowiecki
Tab II Letter to you from Balcerowicz

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WASHFAX RECEIPT

THE WHITE HOUSE

C

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MESSAGE NO. _____ CLASSIFICATION _____ PAGES 2

FROM G. PHILIP HUGHES _____ _____

(NAME) (EXTENSION) (ROOM NUMBER)

MESSAGE DESCRIPTION PRES LTR TO TADEUSZ MAZWIECKI

LOG # 7049

TO (AGENCY)	DELIVER TO:	DEPT/ROOM NO.	EXTENSION
~~STATE~~	Stapleton Roy	~~EUR~~ SEC	

REMARKS FOR IMMEDIATE CABLING SGD ORIGINALS TO FOLLOW

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E.O. 12958, SEC 3.4 (B) September 11, 2006
By Cop NARA Date 3/20/09

AMBASSADOR OF THE POLISH PEOPLE'S REPUBLIC
WASHINGTON

8925430
'89 NOV-01 4:38 PM

October 30, 1989

Dear Sir,

I have the honour to ask you kindly to transmit the enclosed message to the President of the United States of America.

I avail myself of this opportunity to renew to you, Sir, the assurances of my highest consideration.

Jan Kinast

The Honorable
Joseph V. Reed
Chief of Protocol
Department of State
Washington, D.C.

POLSKA RZECZPOSPOLITA LUDOWA
WICEPREZES RADY MINISTRÓW
MINISTER FINANSÓW

Warszawa, 1989-10-12

Dear General Scowcroft

I greatly appreciate the constructive and sincere conversation which we had during my last wisit to Washington.

Following our discussion I have attached schedules that indicate in detail the use of the requested by us credits covering our financial requirements for fourth quater of 1989.

Yours faithfully,

General Brent Scowcroft
National Security Council
Washington

Information

on financial requirements in fourth quater 1989

A. Cash flow projections in fourth quarter 1989 in mill USD.

In - flow

	Oct.	Nov.	Dec.	Total
1/ Exports	440	420	500	1.360
2/ Services	55	55	60	170
3/ Interest	30	30	30	90
4/ Principal	5	5	5	15
5/ Short term credits (net)	45	45	45	135
6/ Transfers (net)	100	100	100	300
- hard currency shops sale	13	13	15	41
- pensions	8	8	8	24
- other transfers	79	79	77	235
TOTAL	675	655	740	2.070

Out - flow - assuming no addition finance from Western countries

1/ Decentralised imports financed with currency coming from auctions and companies accounts*/	300	300	350	950
2/ Import of materials, commodities, market goods centrally financed**/	310	300	400	1.010
2/ Services	65	60	85	210
3/ Interest	72	71	79	222
4/ Principal	176	62	86	324
5/ Repayments to rebuild liquidity of Polish banks	79	79	77	235
TOTAL	1.002	872	1.077	2.951
Financing gap	327	217	377	881

*/ Companies keep (for their free disposal) on their currency accounts part of their exports earnings; they can also obtain foreign currency through the currency auction system in Polish banks.

**/ Import of the materials, commodities, semiproducts and other inputs assential for the entire economy (i.e. fuel, grain, fooder, pharamaceuticals etc.) is financed from the the certains limits of currency accumulated for balance of payments purposes by Bank Handlowy w Warszawie S.A.

Additional remarks:

- After 9 month deficit of trade balance amounted to USD 130 million (on cash basis) and of services USD 177 m.
- In three quarters of this year Poland paid to its creditors USD 1.058 m. of principal and interest (net) - including private banks socialist contries and short term credits, suppliers'credits and other.

Total cash remaining for centrally allocated imports without additional assistance amounts only to USD 129 m.

Most urgent needs of materials, commodities, market goods and others amounts for the fourth quarter to 1 bln USD. These goods are needed to avoid major disruption of the home market and production.
The structure of these requirements is as follows:

- Meat	(60 thousand tons)	90
- Butter	(15 thousand tons)	33
- Milk powder	(3 thousand tons)	9
- Phosphates		62
- Fish meal		21
- Fodder concentrates		44
- Crop protection products		40
- Fuels		144
- Pharamaceuticals and medical equipment		125
- Grains		103
- Import input for export production		128
of which for agriculture		40
- Import input for market production		118
- Equipment for new technology development		53
Total		1.010/

As concerned import input for market production the main items are as follows: cellulose(33 m USD), newsprint and printing paper(22 m USD), hot-rolled plate(35 m USD), wire rod(21 m USD), cotton(14 m USD. More detailed specification of import input for market and export production can be delivered at your request.

E.Financial assistance requested.

- Import financing needs- central imports	-	1.010
- Cash at disposal	+	129
- Recycling of interest due to London Club on medium and long term credits	+	170
- Foreign aid confirmed	+	70
- EEC		62
- USA		8
- Assistance expected in form of:		
- further food assistance promised already by EEC and USA	+	140
- required credits from Western Governments	+	501

It has been envisaged that the credits should be granted both as financial assistance (minimum 200 million USD) and suppliers credits (300 million USD).

Unofficial translation

8827

Warsaw, September 4, 1989

Dear Mr. President:

I would like to cordially thank you for your congratulations and wishes sent upon my being entrusted with the office of the Chairman of the Council of Ministers by the Sejm of the Polish People´s Republic.

I know and value very highly, Mr. President, your friendly interest in the affairs of my homeland. It has been clearly confirmed in the program of economic cooperation between the US and Poland, which you first presented in Hamtramck and then developed during your historic visit to Poland. I am fully aware that major challenges facing our nation have to be resolved by the Poles themselves. However, the implementation of programs announced by you will constitute a significant means of support for us.

I wish to assure you, Mr.President, that Poland declares itself in favour of a comprehensive development of Polish-American relations. We see a need to broaden their infrastructure.

Please accept, Mr.President, my best wishes of success and prosperity for you personally and for the friendly American nation.

(signed)
Tadeusz Mazowiecki

His Excellency
George H. Bush
The President of the United States of America
Washington, D.C.

8827

PREZES RADY MINISTRÓW POLSKIEJ RZECZYPOSPOLITEJ LUDOWEJ

Warszawa, dnia 1989.09.04

Szanowny Panie Prezydencie,

Chciałbym serdecznie podziękować Panu, Panie Prezydencie za gratulacje i życzenia nadesłane w związku z powierzeniem mi przez Sejm Polskiej Rzeczypospolitej Ludowej funkcji prezesa Rady Ministrów.

Znam i wysoko cenię Pana, Panie Prezydencie, życzliwe zainteresowanie problemami mojej ojczyzny. Zostało ono dobitnie potwierdzone w programie współpracy ekonomicznej USA z Polską, który zaprezentował Pan w Hamtramck a następnie rozwinął podczas historycznej wizyty w Polsce. Mam pełną świadomość tego, że główne wyzwania przed którymi stoi nasz naród musimy rozwiązywać własnymi siłami Polaków. Tym niemniej realizacja zapowiedzianych przez Pana programów będzie dla nas stanowić poważne wsparcie.

Pragnę zapewnić Pana, Panie Prezydencie, że Polska opowiada się za wszechstronnym rozwojem przyjaznych stosunków polsko-amerykańskich. Widzimy potrzebę poszerzenia ich infrastruktury.

Proszę przyjąć Panie Prezydencie najlepsze życzenia pomyślności i sukcesów dla Pana oraz zaprzyjaźnionego narodu amerykańskiego.

Jego Ekscelencja
Pan George H. BUSH

Prezydent Stanów Zjednoczonych Ameryki
WASZYNGTON

9047

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

November 21, 1989

Dear Mr. Prime Minister:

Thank you for your kind letter of October 17. The special ties between our two countries, which survived even the worst of times in Poland's postwar history, have grown much closer with your election as Prime Minister. This is indeed a time of new beginnings.

Please be assured that we are working urgently with our Congress toward early approval of the full range of economic and other assistance measures I have requested. I hope and expect that Congress will act soon. I am also urging our economic partners to join the United States in making major contributions to the $1 billion stabilization fund your government has requested.

With respect to Poland's possible needs for financial assistance in the fourth quarter, I appreciate the amplifying information Deputy Prime Minister Balcerowicz provided in his recent letter to General Scowcroft. Our Treasury Department has been in touch with your Finance Ministry concerning the need for further data on your fourth quarter requirements.

Let me also assure you that your request for bridge financing is under active discussion here. We are prepared to consider positively a bridge loan carrying over to initial disbursements under an IMF program and possibly to IBRD loans. The Treasury Department will be in touch with your Finance Ministry to discuss the matter further and determine the appropriate time at which such a bridge loan might be possible.

I hope that you and your government will discuss this issue with the Mission I am sending to Poland at the end of this month. I have asked Secretary Yeutter and other leaders of that Mission to report to me immediately upon their return. The Chairman of my Council of Economic Advisers, Michael Boskin, will prepare the section of the report dealing with economic and financial matters.

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NSC/S PROFILE

RECORD ID: 8909502
RECEIVED: 27 NOV 89 09

CHRON FILE

TO: SCOWCROFT

FROM: BASORA
BLACKWILL

DOC DATE: 27 NOV 89
SOURCE REF:

4

KEYWORDS: HUNGARY
ECONOMICS
POLAND
IMF

PERSONS:

SUBJECT: SUCCESS OF G-24 MTG ON 24 NOV & PROSPECTS FOR MINISTERIAL ON 13 DEC

ACTION: NOTED BY SCOWCROFT DUE DATE: 30 NOV 89 STATUS: C

STAFF OFFICER: BASORA LOGREF:

FILES: WH NSCIF: CODES:

D O C U M E N T D I S T R I B U T I O N

FOR ACTION	FOR CONCURRENCE	FOR INFO
		BASORA
		BLACKWILL

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E.O. 12958, SEC 3.4 (B) September 11, 2006
By Cap NARA, Date 3/20/09

COMMENTS:

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OPENED BY: NSJRP CLOSED BY: NSMDC DOC 1 OF 1

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~~CONFIDENTIAL~~ RECORD ID: 8909502

ACTION DATA SUMMARY REPORT

DOC	ACTION OFFICER	CAO	ASSIGNED	ACTION REQUIRED
001	SCOWCROFT	Z	89112720	FOR INFORMATION
001		X	89120512	NOTED BY SCOWCROFT

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9502

NATIONAL SECURITY COUNCIL
WASHINGTON, D.C. 20506

Nat'l Sec Advisor has seen

[redacted]

November 27, 1989

INFORMATION

MEMORANDUM FOR BRENT SCOWCROFT

THROUGH: ROBERT D. BLACKWILL RB

FROM: ADRIAN BASORA AVAB

SUBJECT: Success of November 24 G-24 Meeting; Prospects for December 13 Ministerial

The November 24 meeting in Brussels achieved all of our key objectives: a strong sense of momentum and effectiveness, very large aid commitments, pressure on laggards among the G-24, and a solid groundwork for the Ministerial on December 13.

Successful Fundraising

Although the November 24 meeting was only the second full-fledged gathering of the G-24, the pledging dynamic has taken powerful hold. Financial commitments to Poland are already well over $6 billion, and to Hungary over $2 billion -- and both amounts are still rising. Within these totals, we have commitments of nearly $900 million to the symbolically important $1 billion Stabilization Fund for Poland, along with strong IMF endorsement of the need for the Fund. Nevertheless, with only two weeks to go to the Ministerial, we will need to nudge a few laggards, especially the U.K. A brief synopsis of G-24 financial commitments so far, as compiled by the EC Commission, is at Tab I.

Pressure on Laggards

The Japanese, the British, and several smaller country delegations at the November 24 meeting showed signs of clear discomfort at their inability to make firm pledges to significant assistance programs. However, the Japanese did make a virtual pledge of $150 million to the Stabilization Fund, and they indicated that other aid and export credits would also be forthcoming. The UK delegate did not disclaim the EC Commission's "report" at the meeting that there would be a $125

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million British contribution to the Stabilization Fund, but he told us privately that a substantially lower number was still a possibility. The French also did not comment publicly when the Commission reported that they would contribute $125 million, but privately their head of delegation told us that Dumas was still fighting with Finance Minister Beregovoy for a higher amount ($150-170).

Groundwork for a Successful Ministerial

The November 24 meeting demonstrated not only a strong pledging dynamic but also substantial progress on aid coordination and priority-setting. There was unanimous agreement to convene a Ministerial on December 13. The meeting will start with presentations by the Poles and Hungarians in the morning, to be followed by internal G-24 discussions thereafter. Delors will hold a private lunch for the Ministers.

Critical to success of the Ministerial will be full funding of the $1 billion Stabilization Fund for Poland. The chances for this seem good, although a Presidential phone call or two may conceivably be needed.

TD
Concurrence: Tim Deal

Attachment
Tab I Synopsis of G-24 Financial Commitments

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G-24 Assistance as of 11/24/89

Food Aid

$370 million already pledged, with substantially more to come; U.S. share $108 million; virtually all grants rather than loans.

Agricultural Sector Assistance

$20 million pledged, but most of counterpart funds from food aid will also be used for agricultural development; all grants.

Training (Vocational and Management

$92 million committed, with more to come; all grants.

Investment Funds, Joint Venture Financing and Industrial Development Credits

$438 million committed (counting U.S. Enterprise Fund); terms vary widely, though most countries other than the U.S. are thinking of loans.

Environment

$46 million committed, with more to come; mostly grants.

Export Credits/Guarantees

$2,300 million, not including U.S. (or any others except FRG, France, Italy and Canada); presumably at OECD consensus rates with only a limited degree of concessionality.

Project Financing

$1,400 million, mostly from the European Investment Bank (EIB), but including $300 million from the World Bank; long-term loans.

EEC Action Plan

$330 million; details not yet specified.

Debt Reduction

$732 million, FRG is the only country so far to announce.

Stabilization Fund

$880 million firmly committed, by our own informal census at the November 24 meeting.

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Miscellaneous

$17 million FRG postal fee reduction.

Totals:

Approximately $6 billion for Poland and $2 billion for Hungary, depending on allocations within the $1.1 billion of EIB lending.

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RECORD ID: 8909373
RECEIVED: 21 NOV 89 08

TO: HUGHES

CHRON FILE

FROM: ROY, J

DOC DATE: 29 NOV 89
SOURCE REF: 8926993

4

KEYWORDS: GERMANY F R
ECONOMIC ASSISTANCE
HUNGARY
POLAND
HS

PERSONS: KOHL, HELMUT

SUBJECT: LTR TO PRES FM CHANCELLOR KOHL RE AID TO POLAND / RESPONSE TO 4 OCT LTR

ACTION: PRES NOTED SUMMARY OF LTR DUE DATE: 27 NOV 89 STATUS: C

STAFF OFFICER: STATE LOGREF: 8909299 8909322

FILES: WH NSCIF: CODES:

D O C U M E N T D I S T R I B U T I O N

FOR ACTION	FOR CONCURRENCE	FOR INFO
		BLACKWILL
		DEAL
		DYKE
		HUTCHINGS
		RICE

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COMMENTS: _____

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~~CONFIDENTIAL~~ RECORD ID: 8909373

ACTION DATA SUMMARY REPORT

DOC	ACTION OFFICER	CAO	ASSIGNED	ACTION REQUIRED
001	STATE	Z	89112108	RECOMS / DRAFT REPLY
002		X	89112919	NO REPLY REQUIRED PER STATE
002		X	89120709	PRES NOTED SUMMARY OF LTR

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E.O. 12958, SEC 3.4 (B) September 11, 2006
By Cap NARA, Date 3/20/09

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9390

Heads of State Correspondence Summary

Chancellor Kohl of The Federal Republic of Germany - November 6, 1989

Chancellor Kohl acknowledges your letter of October 4th and informs you of FRG assistance plans for Poland and Hungary.

He states that coordination of aid to Poland & Hungary should be discussed at the next meeting of the Group of 24. He hopes that western efforts can be coordinated in the areas of: program assistance, food donations and other projects which will help foster their self reliance.

He will announce, during his visit to Poland, that the FRG will make available DM 3 billion as a guaranteed framework for loans to Poland.

Over the last two years, the FRG has contributed a total of DM 2 billion to Hungary.

Kohl regards the extension of assistance to Poland and Hungary as a contribution to the future of NATO.

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PER E.O. 12958, AS AMENDED
CAP 4/27/99

Translation

The Federal Republic of Germany
The Federal Chancellor

Bonn, 6. November 1989

PRES NOTED SUMMARY

Dear George,

On the eve of my official visit to the Polish People's Republic I am writing to inform you, in reply to your letter of 4 October, about the economic and financial assistance that has been agreed in connection with my visit and to bring you up to date on the aid we are providing for Hungary.

Permit me also to inform you about further considerations which should be discussed at the next round of talks to co-ordinate aid within the framework of the so-called Group of 24.

At the Paris economic summit and in our subsequent discussion we were unanimously agreed that a historic process is taking place before our eyes in Poland and Hungary, and in other socialist countries. They are moving with considerable momentum towards the granting of civil rights and liberties, the development of a pluralist society, and the transition to market economy principles. We shared the view that the continuation of this process is in our own interest, that we should therefore regard its advancement and support as a challenge to us to take joint action. And we considered that speedy and substantial assistance is necessary so that this unique historic opportunity will not be missed.

His Excellency
Mr George H. W. Bush,
President of the
United States of America,
The White House,
Washington, D.C.

The new Polish Government under Prime Minister Masowiecki is firmly resolved to co-operate closely with the West and - as far as the Federal Republic of Germany is concerned - to make a clean break with the past. It is important for the success - and possibly the survival - of the new Polish Government that it should quickly be able to produce economic results and show that it is receiving effective assistance from Western partners.

My Government is therefore prepared to support Poland with a substantial economic and financial aid programme which will become effective on the occasion of my visit - that is to say, prior to the conclusion of a stand-by credit agreement with the International Monetary Fund and a further rescheduling arrangement within the Paris Club (Poland V).

The Government of the Federal Republic of Germany will make available DM 3 billion as a guarantee framework for loans to Poland. Of this global amount, DM 2.5 billion will be used to secure debts owed to German firms or banks for supplies and services from the Federal Republic of Germany to the Polish People's Republic.

As for your proposed co-ordinated stabilization aid from Western partners within the framework of the stabilization programme to be agreed with the International Monetary Fund, my Government is prepared to make available 200 million dollars for this purpose. This amount would form part of the aforementioned global guarantee framework of DM 3 billion.

An outstanding amount of approximately DM 760 million (principal and interest) of a DM 1 billion loan granted by the Federal Government in 1975 is to be waived and future liabilities totalling about DM 570 million will, upon maturity, be met in Zloty and used for projects of mutual interest in Poland.

Under a treaty on the mutual protection and promotion of investments which is about to be concluded, the Federal Government will also assume unlimited guarantees for investments in the Polish People's Republic.

Projects which are the subject of applications for export credit or investment guarantees will be examined by a new German-Polish monitoring committee as

to their economic value in the context of measures designed to rebuild and develop the Polish economy. The details have still to be worked out.

The Government of the Federal Republic of Germany is aware that the conclusion of a credit agreement between the Polish People's Republic and the International Monetary Fund on the basis of a reliable Polish adaptation programme is of fundamental significance. It is therefore strongly supportive of an early, constructive agreement between Poland and the Fund. It also considers that the World Bank, too, should soon be granting loans to Poland.

In implementing the Poland IV rescheduling arrangement covering debts totalling DM 2.5 billion, the Federal Government has granted last year's favourable interest rate, which, related to the whole credit period, means a saving of DM 100 million.

In addition, the Federal Government will advocate in the Paris Club a long-term rescheduling of Poland's liabilities on terms which make the greatest possible allowance for Poland's ability to pay.

The Federal Government realizes that it is essential in supporting the Polish reform efforts not only to provide material assistance but to send leading experts to Poland to help the Government devise and carry out the transition from a centrally planned to a market economy.

It would be most gratifying if we could agree on a co-ordinated approach in this matter as well.

Furthermore, I also fully agree with proposals for Western steps to promote the training of manpower in industry and commerce. My Government will be making a bilateral contribution.

Owing to the acute shortage of food and the rapidly spreading poverty in Poland, that country's Government gives top priority to at least satisfying minimum needs and thus preventing social eruptions. We should support these efforts as best we can in our own interest.

The Government of the Federal Republic of Germany therefore considers further supplies of food to Poland from the West to be indispensable. In order to facilitate private consignments I have instructed the German Post Office to halve the cost of mailing parcels to Poland for six months, thus foregoing its share entirely.

But the foremost aim of the West must be to ensure that Poland will be in a position as from 1990 to produce a much greater proportion of its food requirements itself. I therefore propose that the Group of 24 should even now reach agreement on the necessary non-financial programme - such as the delivery of seed, fertilizer, pesticides, as well as agricultural machinery and spares.

My Government's support for the process of political, economic and social reform in Hungary began two years ago. In the autumn of 1987 it provided a guarantee framework of DM 1 billion for an untied loan. At the urgent request of the Hungarian Government it has now widened that framework by another DM 500 million.

At the same time, Bavaria and Baden-Württemberg have each made available DM 250 million as guarantee backing for project-tied loans.

This means that in all we have made available DM 2 billion for Hungary within two years.

In taking these not easy decisions to extend extensive economic and financial assistance to Poland and Hungary the Federal Government has also been guided by the consideration that the Federal Republic, in keeping with the need for a distribution of burdens among the Western countries, is thus making a substantial contribution to the future tasks of the Alliance, which were again impressively endorsed at the NATO summit in May.

Sincerely, Yours

(sgd) Helmut Kohl

BUNDESREPUBLIK DEUTSCHLAND
DER BUNDESKANZLER

Bonn, den 6. November 1989

Seiner Exzellenz
dem Präsidenten der Vereinigten
Staaten von Amerika
Herrn George Bush

Washington, D.C.

PRES NOTED SUMMARY

Lieber George,

am Vorabend meines offiziellen Besuchs in der Volksrepublik Polen möchte ich Sie in Antwort auf Ihr Schreiben vom 4. Oktober über die wirtschaftlichen und finanziellen Hilfsmaßnahmen, die im Zusammenhang mit diesem Besuch verabredet worden sind, unterrichten.

Gleichzeitig möchte ich Ihnen den Stand unserer Ungarn-Hilfe mitteilen.

Ferner möchte ich Ihnen weiterführende Überlegungen unterbreiten, die wir in die nächste Runde der Abstimmung westlicher Hilfsmaßnahmen im Rahmen der sogenannten 24er-Gruppe einbeziehen sollten.

Auf dem Wirtschaftsgipfel in Paris und in unserem nachfolgenden Meinungsaustausch haben wir einmütig festgestellt, daß sich vor unseren Augen in Polen und Ungarn - wie auch in anderen sozialistischen Ländern - historische Prozesse vollziehen. Sie laufen mit beachtlicher Dynamik in Richtung auf die Gewährung bürgerlicher Rechte und Freiheiten, die Entwicklung eines pluralistischen Systems und den Übergang zur Marktwirtschaft.

Wir waren uns einig, daß die Fortsetzung dieser Prozesse in unserem Interesse liegt und wir deshalb ihre Förderung und Unterstützung als Herausforderung zum gemeinsamen Handeln begreifen sollten.

Wir waren uns schließlich einig, daß rasche und substantielle Hilfe erforderlich ist, damit wir diese bisher einmalige geschichtliche Chance nicht verpassen.

Die neue polnische Regierung unter Ministerpräsident Mazowiecki ist fest entschlossen, eng mit dem Westen zusammenzuarbeiten und - was die Bundesrepublik Deutschland betrifft - einen Schlußstrich unter die Vergangenheit zu ziehen.

Für die Durchsetzungsfähigkeit - und möglicherweise für das Überleben - der neuen polnischen Regierung wird es wesentlich sein, daß sie rasche wirtschaftliche Erfolge und wirksame Hilfe der westlichen Partnerländer nachweisen kann.

Die Bundesregierung ist deshalb bereit, Polen mit einem bedeutenden wirtschaftlich-finanziellen Hilfsprogramm zu unterstützen, das mit meinem Besuch - d.h. noch vor Abschluß eines Beistandskreditabkommens mit dem Internationalen Währungsfonds und vor einer weiteren Umschuldung im Pariser Club (Polen V) - in Kraft tritt.

Die Bundesregierung stellt einen Gewährleistungsrahmen von 3 Mrd. DM für Kredite an Polen zur Verfügung.

Von diesem Gesamtbetrag sind rund 2,5 Mrd. DM für die Absicherung von Forderungen deutscher Lieferanten oder Banken für Lieferungen und Leistungen aus der Bundesrepublik Deutschland in die Volksrepublik Polen vorgesehen.

Was die von Ihnen angeregte koordinierte Stabilisierungshilfe der westlichen Partnerländer im Rahmen des mit dem Internationalen Währungsfonds zu vereinbarenden Stabilisierungsprogramms angeht, so ist die Bundesregierung bereit, ebenfalls einen Betrag von 200 Mio US $ zur Verfügung zu stellen. Dieser Betrag würde im Rahmen des genannten Gesamt-Gewährleistungsrahmen von 3 Mrd. DM vorgesehen.

Ein von der Bundesregierung im Jahre 1975 gewährter ungebundener Finanzkredit in Höhe von 1 Mrd. DM wird hinsichtlich der rückständigen Fälligkeiten (Zinsen und Tilgungen) in Höhe von rd. 760 Mio DM erlassen und hinsichtlich der künftigen Verpflichtungen in Höhe von rd. 570 Mio DM bei deren Fälligkeit in Zloty erbracht und für Projekte gemeinsamen Interesses in Polen eingesetzt.

Bei Abschluß eines Vertrages über den gegenseitigen Schutz und die Förderung von Kapitalanlagen, der unmittelbar bevorsteht, wird die Bundesregierung ferner Garantien für Kapitalanlagen in der Volksrepublik Polen ohne Begrenzung übernehmen.

Projekte, für die Exportkreditbürgschaften oder Kapitalanlagegarantien beantragt werden, sollen durch ein neues deutsch-polnisches Prüfungsgremium auf ihre wirtschaftliche Qualität für den Auf- und Ausbau der Wirtschaft der Volksrepublik Polen geprüft werden. Einzelheiten hierzu werden noch festgelegt.

Die Bundesregierung ist sich bewußt, daß der Abschluß einer Kreditvereinbarung zwischen der Volksrepublik Polen und dem Internationalen Währungsfonds auf der Grundlage eines tragfähigen polnischen Anpassungsprogramms von fundamentaler Bedeutung ist. Die Bundesregierung unterstützt deshalb nachdrücklich eine baldige konstruktive Einigung Polens mit dem Internationalen Währungsfonds.

Sie setzt sich auch für die baldige Gewährung von Krediten der Weltbank an die Volksrepublik Polen ein.

Bei Umsetzung der Umschuldungsvereinbarung Polen IV mit einem Forderungsvolumen von 2,5 Mrd. DM hat die Bundesregierung die günstigen Zinsen des Vorjahres gewährt, was eine Ersparnis in Höhe von 100 Mio DM, bezogen auf die Gesamtlaufzeit, bedeutet.

Die Bundesregierung wird sich darüber hinaus im Pariser Club dafür einsetzen, daß die polnischen Zahlungsverpflichtungen im Rahmen einer langfristigen Regelung zu Bedingungen, die der polnischen Zahlungsfähigkeit möglichst weitgehend Rechnung tragen, umgeschuldet werden.

Die Bundesregierung ist sich bewußt, daß es bei der Unterstützung der polnischen Reformen unerläßlich ist, nicht nur materielle Hilfe zu leisten, sondern darüber hinaus hochrangige Experten nach Polen zu entsenden, die die polnische Regierung bei der konzeptionellen und praktischen Bewältigung des Übergangs von der zentralen Planwirtschaft zur Marktwirtschaft beraten.

Ich würde es sehr begrüßen, wenn wir auch hierzu ein international abgestimmtes Vorgehen verabreden könnten.

Darüber hinaus teile ich voll und ganz die vorgeschlagenen westlichen Schritte hinsichtlich der Aus- und Fortbildung von wirtschaftlichen Nachwuchskräften. Die Bundesregierung wird hierzu ihren bilateralen Beitrag leisten.

Angesichts akuter Engpässe in der Versorgung mit Lebensmitteln und einer sich rasch ausbreitenden Armut weiter Bevölkerungsschichten in Polen ist es derzeit höchste Priorität der polnischen Regierung, durch Gewährleistung einer Minimalversorgung soziale Eruptionen zu vermeiden. Wir sollten diese Bemühungen im eigenen Interesse nach besten Kräften unterstützen.

Die Bundesregierung geht deshalb davon aus, daß weitere westliche Lebensmittellieferungen nach Polen unerläßlich sind. Zur Erleichterung privater Hilfssendungen habe ich veranlaßt, daß die Deutsche Bundespost die Paketgebühren nach Polen für ein halbes Jahr halbiert und dabei auf ihren Anteil voll verzichtet.

Vorrangiges Ziel des Westens muß aber sein, daß Polen ab 1990 in der Lage ist, einen wesentlich höheren Teil seiner Eigenversorgung selbst zu erzeugen. Ich schlage deshalb vor, daß sich die 24er-Gruppe bereits jetzt über die notwendigen Sachprogramme - etwa Lieferung von Saat-, Dünge- und Pflanzenschutzmitteln sowie von landwirtschaftlichen Maschinen und Ersatzteilen - verständigt.

Die Hilfsmaßnahmen der Bundesregierung zur Abstützung des politischen, wirtschaftlichen und gesellschaftlichen Reformprozesses in Ungarn haben bereits vor zwei Jahren eingesetzt.

Im Herbst 1987 hat die Bundesregierung einen Bürgschaftsrahmen für einen ungebundenen Finanzkredit in Höhe von einer Mrd DM zur Verfügung gestellt. Auf dringende Bitte der ungarischen Regierung hat die Bundesregierung diesen Bürgschaftsrahmen nunmehr um weitere 500 Mio DM erhöht.

Gleichzeitig haben die Bundesländer Bayern und Baden-Württemberg Bürgschaften für projektgebundene Kredite in Höhe von je 250 Mio DM gewährt.

Zusammengenommen bedeutet dies, daß Ungarn von unserer Seite in zwei Jahren 2 Mrd DM zur Verfügung gestellt worden sind.

Bei ihren nicht leichten Entscheidungen über diese weitreichenden wirtschaftlichen und finanziellen Hilfsmaßnahmen für Polen und Ungarn hat sich die Bundesregierung auch von der Erwägung leiten lassen, daß die Bundesrepublik Deutschland damit im Sinn einer innerwestlichen Lastenteilung einen substantiellen Beitrag zu den Zukunftsaufgaben leistet, die unser Bündnis beim Gipfeltreffen Ende Mai dieses Jahres erneut eindrucksvoll bekräftigt hat.

Mit freundlichen Grüßen

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~
NSC/S PROFILE

RECORD ID: 8909374
RECEIVED: 21 NOV 89 08

TO: HUGHES

CANON FILE

FROM: ROY, J

DOC DATE: 01 DEC 89
SOURCE REF: 8926994

KEYWORDS: POLAND VISIT
HS

4

PERSONS:

SUBJECT: STATE RECOM RE JARUZELSKI INVITATION TO VISIT

ACTION: NFAR PER HUTCHINGS DUE DATE: 27 NOV 89 STATUS: C

STAFF OFFICER: HUTCHINGS LOGREF: 8909299 8909322

FILES: WH NSCP: CODES:

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CHRON FILE

9390

THE PRESIDENT HAS SEEN

Heads of State Correspondence Summary

President Jaruzelski of Poland - November 2, 1989

President Jaruzelski acknowledges your October 4th letter. He is pleased with the intentions, of the U.S. and its partners, to substantially support Poland's present economic reforms. Finally, he accepts your invitation to pay an official state visit and hopes to do so in the first quarter of 1990.

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Declassify on: OADR

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Document No. and Type	Subject/Title of Document	Date	Restriction	Class.
10b. Letter	President Jaruzelelski to President Bush [Unofficial Translation] (2 pp.)	1/2/89	(b)(1)	

Collection:

Record Group: Bush Presidential Records
Office: Scowcroft, Brent, Collection
Series: USSR Chronological Files
Subseries: Soviet Power Collapse in Eastern Europe Files
WHORM Cat.:
File Location: Soviet Poser Collapse in Eastern Europe (November 1989) (Part II)

Date Closed:	3/20/2009	**OA/ID Number:**	91125-002
FOIA/SYS Case #:	2009-0275-S	**Appeal Case #:**	
Re-review Case #:		**Appeal Disposition:**	
P-2/P-5 Review Case #:		**Disposition Date:**	
AR Case #:		**MR Case #:**	
AR Disposition:		**MR Disposition:**	
AR Disposition Date:		**MR Disposition Date:**	

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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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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.
10c. Letter	President Jaruzelelski to President Bush [Polish] (2 pp.)	11/2/89	(b)(1)	

Collection:

Record Group: Bush Presidential Records
Office: Scowcroft, Brent, Collection
Series: USSR Chronological Files
Subseries: Soviet Power Collapse in Eastern Europe Files
WHORM Cat.:
File Location: Soviet Poser Collapse in Eastern Europe (November 1989) (Part II)

Date Closed:	3/20/2009	**OA/ID Number:**	91125-002
FOIA/SYS Case #:	2009-0275-S	**Appeal Case #:**	
Re-review Case #:		**Appeal Disposition:**	
P-2/P-5 Review Case #:		**Disposition Date:**	
AR Case #:		**MR Case #:**	
AR Disposition:		**MR Disposition:**	
AR Disposition Date:		**MR Disposition Date:**	

RESTRICTION CODES

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

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

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UNCLASSIFIED

(Classification)

DEPARTMENT OF STATE
EXECUTIVE SECRETARIAT
TRANSMITTAL FORM

S/S 8926994

Date December 1, 1989

For: Mr. Philip Hughes
Executive Secretary
National Security Council
The White House

Reference:

To: President Bush From: Polish President Jaruzelski

Date: November 2, 1989 Subject: President Jaruzelski Accepts Invitation for Official Visit to the U.S.

Referral Dated: November 21, 1989 I.D. # 8909374 (if any)

_____ The attached item was sent directly to the Department of State.

Action Taken:

_____ A draft reply is attached.

_____ A draft reply will be forwarded.

_____ A translation is attached.

_____ An information copy of a direct reply is attached.

XXX We believe no response is necessary for the reason cited below.

_____ The Department of State has no objection to the proposed travel.

_____ Other (see remarks).

Remarks: This is a courtesy note from one President to another. Time of visit will be established through normal diplomatic channels.

for R. M. Bourges
Director
Secretariat Staff

UNCLASSIFIED

(Classification)

NATIONAL SECURITY COUNCIL ID 8909374

REFERRAL 8926994 DATE: 21 NOV 89

'89 NOV-21 2:50 PM

MEMORANDUM FOR: ROY, J

STATE

DOCUMENT DESCRIPTION: TO: PRESIDENT

SOURCE: JARUZELSKI, WOJCIECH

DATE: 02 NOV 89

SUBJ: PRES JARUZELSKI LTR TO PRES ACCEPTING OFFICIAL VISIT INVITATION / RESPONSE TO PRES 4 OCT LTR

REQUIRED ACTION: RECOMS / DRAFT REPLY

DUEDATE: 24 NOV 89

COMMENT:

Marie D Chalk

FOR GEORGE VAN ERON

DIRECTOR NSC SECRETARIAT

Received in S/S-IRM/ARMS
11/21 at 2:05 pm (SS)

CHRON FILE

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THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

November 28, 1989

Dear Mr. Prime Minister:

The people of the United States have been inspired by the courageous and enduring commitment to freedom, and by the substantial willingness to sacrifice, being demonstrated by the people of Poland in the cause of political and economic reform. I am convinced that, with perseverance, these efforts will bear abundant fruit and will lead to improved lives for all Poles. I want to assure you once again that the United States will assist Poland during this difficult period of transition.

With this in mind, I have asked Secretary Yeutter and his team to review carefully the economic situation in Poland and to report to me on how the assistance being provided by the United States can be put to the most effective possible use. They will of course be sharing their views and their considerable expertise with you as well.

I will be most interested in the recommendations of this Presidential Mission upon its return to the United States. In the meantime, I want to reiterate my strong personal commitment to reform in Poland and my continuing esteem for the courageous Polish people.

With warm regards.

Sincerely,

George Bush

His Excellency
Tadeusz Mazowiecki
Chairman, Council of Ministers
Warsaw

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

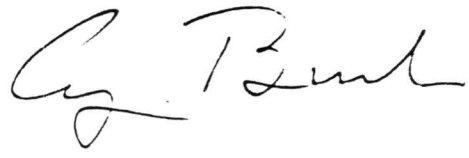
November 28, 1989

Dear Mr. President:

All Americans continue to be encouraged by the developments taking place in Poland. We want to see Poland's efforts to achieve political and economic reform succeed and lead to a new era of freedom and prosperity for your country. I also realize the sacrifices required to accomplish these goals and I am committed, as you know, to providing substantial assistance.

I have asked Secretary Yeutter and his team to study the best ways of ensuring that this assistance is channelled in the most effective possible way. I am pleased that you will be receiving Secretary Yeutter and his colleagues. I look forward to reviewing the Presidential Mission's report upon its return to the United States and want to assure you of my continuing strong personal interest and respect.

Sincerely,



His Excellency
Wojciech Jaruzelski
Chairman, Council of State
Warsaw

NATIONAL SECURITY COUNCIL
WASHINGTON, D.C. 20506

9576

November 28, 1989

SIGNED

ACTION

MEMORANDUM FOR BRENT SCOWCROFT

THROUGH: ROBERT BLACKWILL RB

FROM: ADRIAN BASORA AHB

SUBJECT: Presidential Letters for Mission to Poland

Secretary Yeutter would like to take letters from the President with him this evening to present in Poland when he calls upon Prime Minister Mazowiecki and President Jaruzelski. The attached letters are based upon drafts provided by the State Department.

RECOMMENDATION:

That you ask the President to sign the attached letters and that you or he hand them to Secretary Yeutter at this evening's briefing for the Mission.

Approve _____ Disapprove _____

Attachment
Tab I Letters to Polish President and Prime Minister