

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

FOIA Number:
2009-0275-S

FOIA MARKER

**This is not a textual record. This is used as an
administrative marker by the George Bush Presidential
Library Staff.**

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

OA/ID Number: 91125
Folder ID Number: 91125-010

Folder Title:
Soviet Power Collapse in Eastern Europe (December 1990 - January 1991)

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

Withdrawal/Redaction Sheet

(George Bush Library)

Doc. No. / Type	Subject/Title	Date	Restriction	Classification
01. Memo	Robert L. Hutchings to Brent Scowcroft Re: Presidential Speech on Eastern Europe (2 pp.)	12/18/90	(b)(1)	✓
02a. Memo	William F. Sittmann to J. Stapleton Roy Re: Presidential Letter to President Vaclav Havel of Czechoslovakia (1 pp.)	12/27/90	(b)(1)	✓
02b. Draft Letter	Re: Letter from the President to President Vaclav Havel of Czechoslovakia (2 pp.)	n.d.	(b)(1)	
02c. Memo	Robert L. Hutchings to Brent Scowcroft Re: Letter to President Havel of Czechoslovakia (2 pp.)	12/20/90	(b)(1)	✓
02d. Memo	J. Stapleton Roy to Brent Scowcroft Re: Draft Letter from the President to Czechoslovak President Havel on Assistance (1 pp.)	12/10/90	(b)(1)	✓
02e. Draft Letter	Re: Department of State Draft President's Response to Havel Letter (3 pp.)	n.d.	(b)(1)	
02f. Letter	President Havel to President Bush [English] (2 pp.)	11/27/90	(b)(1)	
02g. Letter	President Havel to President Bush [Czech] (2 pp.)	11/27/90	(b)(1)	

Page 1 of 2

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 (December 1990 - January 1991)

Pinksheet Number: cap1062
OA/ID Number: 91125-010
Date Closed: 4/1/2009
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
03a. Cable	Re: Response to President Zhelev's Letter to President Bush (1 pp.)	1/30/91	(b)(1)	C
03b. Letter	President Zhelev to President Bush [English] (2 pp.)	12/7/90	(b)(1)	
03c. Letter	President Zhelev to President Bush [Bulgarian] (4 pp.)	12/8/90	(b)(1)	
04. Letter	President Havel to President Bush [English] (2 pp.)	11/27/90	(b)(1)	

Collection:

Record Group: Bush Presidential Records
Office: Scowcroft, Brent, Files
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Date Closed: 4/1/2009
FOIA/Sys Case #: 2009-0275-S
Re-review Case #:
P-2/P-5 Review Case #:

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~
NSC/S PROFILE

RECORD ID: 9009844
RECEIVED: 17 DEC 90 18

TO: SCOWCROFT

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

FROM: HUTCHINGS
GOMPERT

DOC DATE: 17 DEC 90
SOURCE REF:

KEYWORDS: EUROPE EAST

SPEECHES

PERSONS:

SUBJECT: PRES SPEECH RE EASTERN EUROPE

ACTION: SCOWCROFT APPROVED RECOM

DUE DATE: 20 DEC 90

STATUS: C

STAFF OFFICER: HUTCHINGS

LOGREF:

FILES: WH

NSCP:

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

GOMPERT
HUTCHINGS
NSC CHRON

DECLASSIFIED

White House Guidelines

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

By Cap NARA, Date 3/31/09

COMMENTS: _____

DISPATCHED BY _____ DATE _____ BY HAND W/ATTCH

OPENED BY: NSLMS

CLOSED BY: NSLMS

DOC 1 OF 1

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

P/S speech on En Europe
National Security Council
The White House

PROOFED BY: GLM LOG # 9844
 URGENT NOT PROOFED: _____ SYSTEM PRS NSC INT
 BYPASSED WW DESK: _____ DOCLOG RC A/O _____

	SEQUENCE TO	HAS SEEN	DISPOSITION
<u>web</u> Ken Hill	<u>1</u>	<u>KJ</u>	<u>A</u>
Bill Sittmann	<u>2</u>	<u>W</u>	
Bob Gates	<u>3</u>	<u>8</u>	
Brent Scowcroft	<u>4</u>	<u>V</u>	
Bill Sittmann			
Situation Room			
West Wing Desk	<u>5</u>	<u>27.12/28</u>	<u>A</u>
NSC Secretariat	<u>6</u>		<u>NIR</u>

90 DEC 19 A 8:09

A = Action I = Information D = Dispatch R = Retain N = No further Action

cc: VP Sununu Other _____

Should be seen by: _____
 (Date/Time)

COMMENTS

DISPATCH INSTRUCTIONS:

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

NATIONAL SECURITY COUNCIL
WASHINGTON, D.C. 20506

9844

December 18, 1990

ACTION

MEMORANDUM FOR BRENT SCOWCROFT

THROUGH: DAVID C. GOMPERT

FROM: ROBERT L. HUTCHINGS

SUBJECT: Presidential Speech on Eastern Europe

DECLASSIFIED
PER E.O. 13526

2009-1018-MR

MM 12/7/2016

At the December 14 meeting of Coordinator's Group, Eagleburger, Boskin, Robson, and Gompert agreed that the Administration needs to make a new public push on Eastern Europe. East European needs have risen sharply with the deepening economic crisis, but our resources have not. With attention shifting to the Soviet Union, there is danger that East European assistance will fall even more in our priorities.

1991 will be crucial for Eastern Europe. If the new central European democracies make it through the year with reform programs intact and new Western assistance in hand, they will be on the road -- albeit a rough one -- to recovery. If not, conditions could become so severe that these democracies could fail. Farther south, Bulgarian and Romanian reform prospects could be undermined before their programs are even launched.

A major speech, preferably before a business group, would enable the President again to take credit for one of the most important foreign policy achievements of his Administration and seize the initiative in calling for greater U.S. and international support for these fragile democracies. The speech would help build public and Congressional support for substantial new U.S. resources, stimulate private sector interest, and reiterate our position that Western assistance must be conditioned on economic reform (a message that applies even more to the Soviet economy). If it included new initiatives on energy financing facilities, Polish (and other?) debt reduction, and/or a new budgetary request for FY92, the speech would give us immediate leverage for prying substantially more out of the western Europeans.

It is also important that such a speech be given before Walesa comes, notionally in March. Already one can sense that one of 1991's stories could be "who failed Eastern Europe?" if one or more of these new democracies collapses under the weight of economic and social pressures. If Walesa repeats the sharp criticism he made during his Fall 1989 visit to the U.S., he could touch off a new round of Administration-bashing from

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Declassify on: OADR

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2

Polish-American groups and the Congress. The President has a perfect opportunity to preempt such charges and demonstrate once again his leadership of the international effort in support of democratic change in central and Eastern Europe.

The timing of such a speech would of course be governed by the situation in the Gulf. Like the President's Prague speech, it would strengthen the sense of shared global commitment to those who are victims of Iraqi aggression.

Concurrences by:  ~~Adrian Basora, Tim Deal~~

RECOMMENDATION

That you authorize us to prepare a first draft and begin looking informally for possible dates and venues for the speech.

Approve



Disapprove

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

Declassify on: OADR

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~
NSC/S PROFILE

RECORD ID: 9009908
RECEIVED: 19 DEC 90 17

TO: ROY, J

FROM: SITTMANN

DOC DATE: 27 DEC 90
SOURCE REF:

KEYWORDS: CZECHOSLOVAKIA
IMF

ECONOMIC ASSISTANCE

PERSONS: HAVEL, VACLEV

SUBJECT: PRES LTR TO PRES HAVEL OF CZECHOSLOVAKIA RE AID / GULF CRISIS

ACTION: SITTMANN SGD MEMO

DUE DATE: 22 DEC 90

STATUS: C

STAFF OFFICER: HUTCHINGS

LOGREF: 9007178 9008743

FILES: WH

NSCP:

CODES:

DOCUMENT DISTRIBUTION

FOR ACTION

FOR CONCURRENCE

FOR INFO

GOMPERT
HUTCHINGS
NSC CHRON

DECLASSIFIED

White House Guidelines

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

By Cap NARA, Date 5/31/07

COMMENTS:

DISPATCHED BY Lisa Salvo DATE 12/27 BY HAND W/ATTCH

OPENED BY: NSGLM

CLOSED BY: NSLMS

DOC 2 OF 2

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

**National Security Council
The White House**

PROOFED BY: WEA

LOG # 7908

URGENT NOT PROOFED: _____

SYSTEM PRS NSC INT

BYPASSED WW DESK: _____

DOCLOG WEA AVO

	SEQUENCE TO	HAS SEEN	DISPOSITION
Ken Hill	<u>1</u>	<u>K</u>	<u>A</u>
Bill Sittmann			
Bob Gates	<u>2</u>	<u>J</u>	
Brent Scowcroft	<u>3</u>		
Bill Sittmann	<u>4</u>	<u>APNSA Has</u>	<u>SECRET</u>
Situation Room			
West Wing Desk	<u>5</u>	<u>24-12-27</u>	<u>DN</u>
NSC Secretariat	<u>6</u>	<u>LMS 12/27</u>	<u>D</u>

☒ A = Action
 ☐ I = Information
 ☐ D = Dispatch
 ☐ R = Retain
 ☐ N = No further Action

cc: VP
 Sununu
 Other _____
 Should be seen by: _____
 (Date/Time)

COMMENTS

DISPATCH INSTRUCTIONS:

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NATIONAL SECURITY COUNCIL
WASHINGTON, D.C. 20508

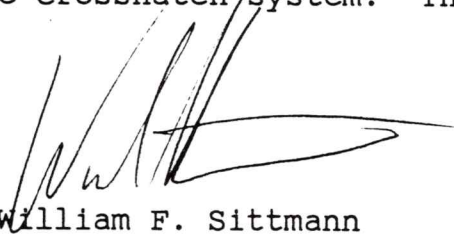
ORIGINAL FILE 9908

December 27, 1990

MEMORANDUM FOR J. STAPLETON ROY
Executive Secretary
Department of State

SUBJECT: Presidential Letter to President Vaclav Havel of
Czechoslovakia (U)

Attached is a letter from the President to President Vaclav Havel of Czechoslovakia. It should be incorporated into a cable for Embassy Prague, for handling via the Crosshatch system. There will be no signed original. (C)



William F. Sittmann
Executive Secretary

Attachment
Tab A Letter to Havel

DECLASSIFIED
PER E.O. 13526

2009-1018-MR
MM 12/7/2016

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~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

LETTER FROM THE PRESIDENT TO
PRESIDENT VACLAV HAVEL OF CZECHOSLOVAKIA

Dear Mr. President:

Thank you for your kind letter of November 27 and your gracious hospitality during my visit to Czechoslovakia. It was indeed a time to reminisce, but also to look ahead to what our new partnership can achieve.

In that regard, let me say again how greatly I appreciate Czechoslovakia's resolute stance against Iraq's aggression. Your sending an anti-CW unit to join the forces in the Gulf is a tangible sign of your resolve, and I am glad that we were able to play a small part by arranging its transport to Saudi Arabia.

I strongly feel that your solidarity with those threatened by Iraq should be reciprocated by the international community. We will be talking with the oil-producing Gulf states about your early and strong support and of the costs you are now bearing because of it. However, as the Gulf states will have heavy obligations to defray the operating costs of Desert Shield and to assist the front line states, we have called on the G-24 to take the lead in providing prompt financial support for the new democracies in central Europe. Specifically, we have asked the G-24 to provide \$1 billion in immediate assistance for Czechoslovakia, in the form of credits on highly concessionary terms. You should also be able to draw on the IMF, through the compensatory and contingency financing facilities that were expanded at our initiative.

Following my visit to Prague, I instructed my Government to work actively with yours to agree on the areas in which our bilateral assistance can be most helpful. The recent visit by Deputy Treasury Secretary Robson was the first step toward that end. By working together closely as your economic reforms develop, the real assistance we can provide from private as well as U.S. Government sources is considerable.

Our first priority will be to establish the Enterprise Fund designed to support private enterprise in Czechoslovakia. This may require authorization and new appropriations from our Congress. However, so that the Fund can be operational right away, we have committed an initial \$5 million to the Fund and have asked the management of the Hungarian-American Enterprise Fund to provide temporary assistance in establishing the Czechoslovak Fund.

The other areas in which we believe U.S. assistance can have an immediate and positive impact are environmental protection, energy efficiency, nuclear safety, banking and financial services, and management training. In the energy area, for example, we have just dispatched an assistance team to Prague to study ways to reduce energy consumption at industrial plants and facilities, and we will shortly be sending technicians to install equipment at some eight factories and two refineries. These measures, which we are prepared to replicate on a much wider scale, will produce substantial and immediate energy savings. I would encourage you to ask your ministers to work with our side to develop specific assistance programs in these and other areas.

Mr. President, when I was in Prague I pledged that we would not fail you at this decisive moment in your country's history. That pledge was not made lightly, nor can it be fulfilled without Czechoslovakia's determined commitment to economic reform. No amount of foreign assistance can substitute for the efforts that Czechoslovakia must make to create a market-based economy, which will attract investment and pave the way for Czechoslovakia's full reintegration into the world economy. As you apply your leadership toward those ends, please know that America stands with you.

Finally, let me explain the steps I took last week to respond to the request of the Soviet Union for American assistance. We announced our readiness to provide emergency humanitarian assistance and to waive the Jackson-Vanik amendment so as to make credits and credit guarantees available. The details of these initiatives are known to you. We have stressed, however, that helping the Soviet Union with urgent needs only underscores the imperative for fundamental reform. Moreover, our response to the Soviets will not displace aid to central and eastern Europe or potential exports from those countries.

Thank you once again for your hospitality during my visit to Prague. Barbara joins me in sending our best wishes to you and Mrs. Havel for a joyous Christmas and a prosperous new year.

Sincerely,

George Bush

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

NATIONAL SECURITY COUNCIL

WASHINGTON, D.C. 20506

9908

Nat Sec Advisor
has seen

December 20, 1990

SIGNED

ACTION

MEMORANDUM FOR BRENT SCOWCROFT

THROUGH: DAVID C. GOMPERT

FROM: ROBERT L. HUTCHINGS *AAB RLH*

SUBJECT: Letter to President Havel of Czechoslovakia

Even before Havel's November 27 letter to the President (Tab II), we had planned a letter to Havel following up on the President's visit. The intention to send such a letter has helped spur the bureaucracy to action in implementing the initiatives, and we believe its receipt in Prague will enhance the credibility of the President's promises and help strengthen Havel's commitment to the economic reform measures scheduled for implementation January 1. At Tab I is a memo from Bill Sittmann to State forwarding the Tab A letter to Havel for incorporation into a cable for Embassy Prague.

The area of greatest concern to Czechoslovakia, of course, is the financing gap caused by central Europe's energy crisis. The President's letter is as forthcoming as we can now be, given the uncertainties we now have about freeing some Gulf money to assist central Europe. (Preparing this letter demonstrates once again how meager our assistance really is.)

Concurrences by: Richard Haass, Tim Deal, Adrian Basora *AAB*

RECOMMENDATION

That you authorize Bill Sittmann to sign the Tab I memo to State, forwarding the Tab A letter for Havel.

Approve *[Signature]*

Disapprove _____

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Declassify on: OADR

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PER E.O. 13526

2009-1018-MR

MM 12/7/2016

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2

Attachments

Tab I Sittmann Memorandum for Roy

Tab A Letter to Havel

Tab II Incoming

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~



December 10, 1990

MEMORANDUM FOR BRENT SCOWCROFT
THE WHITE HOUSE

Subject: Draft Letter from the President to Czechoslovak
President Havel on Assistance

After the President's visit to Prague in November, an interagency group decided that the President should send President Havel a letter outlining U.S. assistance to Czechoslovakia. A draft of this letter is attached.

On December 4, Czechoslovak Deputy Prime Minister Rychetsky delivered to the NSC Staff a letter from President Havel to the President. The attached draft serves as a response to Havel's letter.


J. Stapleton Roy
Executive Secretary

Attachment:

- Tab 1 - Draft Presidential Response to President Havel
- Tab 2 - Incoming Correspondence from President Havel

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PER E.O. 13526

2009-1018-MR

MM 12/7/2016

(DECL:OADR)

DEPARTMENT OF STATE

DRAFT

President's Response to Havel Letter

Dear Mr. President:

Many thanks for your kind letter of November 27. I too am delighted that my recent visit to Prague contributed to the reawakening of the friendship between our people that for so long, under the communist dictatorship, was ignored at the official level. I was honored to be received so warmly as the first President of the United States to visit Czechoslovakia.

You mentioned concrete acts of collaboration between our two countries to improve the quality of our relationship and to contribute to international security. I am pleased that military representatives of both our countries are pressing ahead with arrangements for a U.S. airlift of Czechoslovak troops to join the allied forces in the Gulf. It is a fitting example of our new partnership.

But that is not the only concrete gesture I wish to mention. There is much still to achieve in Czechoslovakia itself, and America will help you there as well. The opportunities presented by the revolution of November 1989 have become clearer to us all. Let me outline those areas in which the United States will continue to assist Czechoslovakia in its quest to achieve and protect freedom and prosperity.

Deputy Secretary of State Eagleburger has corresponded with Deputy Prime Minister Vales to identify and prioritize your assistance needs. Just after my visit to Czechoslovakia, Deputy Secretary of the Treasury Robson arrived in Prague to address issues raised in the Eagleburger-Vales letters, and to outline specific bilateral assistance initiatives that will begin in 1991. The U.S. Embassy in Prague will continue to work out details with Czechoslovak coordinators of assistance.

A high priority will be the establishment of the Czechoslovak-American enterprise fund designed to assist in establishing private enterprises in the CSFR.

We will not limit ourselves to these bilateral initiatives. We have worked hard, and successfully, to convince the IMF to provide access to an additional \$5 billion for East-Central Europe. We are working to accelerate IBRD project lending. We are working with our colleagues in the Group of 24, with the leadership of the Soviet Union, and with leaders of the oil-producing Gulf states to ensure support for you and your neighbors during this critical time of economic transition.

This assistance can help in a number of ways. But American business has an important role as well. We have worked hard to improve economic contacts between Czechoslovakia and the United States. Most-Favored-Nation status has been achieved, a Bilateral Investment Treaty is in the final stage of negotiation, and institutions such as the Export-Import Bank

and the Overseas Private Investment Corporation are already at work in Czechoslovakia. We are encouraging American firms to invest in the CSFR.

Ultimately, bilateral and multilateral assistance programs can only help set the stage for your prosperity. The curtain will actually rise when private enterprise can flourish in Czechoslovakia. Your country must itself take the steps necessary for economic growth and development. I urge you and your government to implement swiftly market economic and legal reforms that will free the energies of private enterprise in Czechoslovakia and introduce the dynamism of the world market. With the freedom you have won, and the rich resources of your country and its people, I believe you will restore Czechoslovakia to prosperity and a special leadership role in the new Europe.

You have my strong personal support in your efforts.

Sincerely,

George Bush

His Excellency
Vaclav Havel,
President of the Czech and
Slovak Federal Republic,
Prague.

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NATIONAL SECURITY COUNCIL

ID 9009512

REFERRAL

DATE: 04 DEC 90

MEMORANDUM FOR: ROY, J

9025514

'90 DEC-05 10:27 AM

STATE SECRETARIAT

DOCUMENT DESCRIPTION:

TO: PRESIDENT

SOURCE: HAVEL, VACLEV

DATE: 27 NOV 90

SUBJ: LTR TO PRES FM PM HAVEL OF CZECHOSLAVAKIA RE PRES RECENT VISIT

REQUIRED ACTION: FOR RECOMS/DRAFT REPLY

DUE DATE: 07 DEC 90

COMMENT:

FOR

Walter E. Auer

GEORGE VAN ERON

DIRECTOR NSC SECRETARIAT

UNCLASSIFIED UPON
REMOVAL OF CLASSIFIED
ATTACHMENTS
SCS 8/4/2011

PREZIDENT
ČESKÉ A SLOVENSKÉ FEDERATIVNÍ REPUBLIKY

Dear Mr. President,

The strong impressions of your visit to our country make me, just as they make you, reminisce about each moment of our common meetings and discussions.

Your visit has fully expressed your convictions contained in the congratulations you sent me on the reconstitution of the National Day - 28th October.

Your presence here reminded citizens of all generations of the share the United States of America had played in the Declaration of Independence of Czechoslovakia, of your fight against the common Nazi enemy during World War II, the participation of your citizens in the Slovak National Uprising and the liberation of Bohemia, your constant support of democratic forces at the time of communist oppression, and also of extensive assistance in our building a new, free State.

The most eloquent proof of how deep the roots of friendship between the people of Czechoslovakia and the United States of America run is offered by the spontaneous reception which you and also Mrs. Bush were given during your short visit to our country. This fact could not be changed even by the hatemongering demagoguery of the totalitarian regime which had lasted for more than 40 years.

I believe that implementation of concrete acts of mutual collaboration will be the most effective means of improving its quality.

One of the first acts of such collaboration will be the transportation of the Czechoslovak antichemical unit to Saudi Arabia by U.S. airlift.

- 2 -

Allow me, Mr. President, to express once again my most cordial thanks to you and also to Mrs. Bush for your visit.

Please accept my most sincere greetings which I also address to Mrs. Bush and to all the people of the United States of America.

Prague, 27 November 1990

Václav Havel

Mr. George Bush,
President of the USA
Washington

**PREZIDENT
ČESKÉ A SLOVENSKÉ FEDERATIVNÍ REPUBLIKY**

Vážený pane prezidente,

obdobně jako Vás, i mně vedou silné zážitky z Vaší návštěvy v naší zemi k reminiscenci na každou chvíli našich společných setkání a jednání.

Vaše návštěva v plném rozsahu vyjádřila Vaše přesvědčení, vyslovená v blahopřání, která jste mi zaslal k rekonstituovanému státnímu svátku, 28. říjnu.

Vaše přítomnost připomněla spoluobčanům všech generací podíl Spojených států amerických na vyhlášení samostatnosti Československa, Váš boj proti společnému nacistickému nepříteli za II. světové války, účast Vašich spoluobčanů ve Slovenském národním povstání a při osvobození Čech, Vaši neustálou podporu demokratických sil v době komunistické nepsobdy i rozsáhlou pomoc při budování nového, svobodného státu.

O tom, jak hluboké kořeny má přátelství mezi lidem Československa a Spojených států amerických svědčí nejvýmluvněji spontánní přijetí, jehož se Vám i paní Bushové při krátké návštěvě u nás dostalo. Na tom nic nezměnila ani více než čtyřicet let trvající nenávisťná demagogie totalitního režimu.

Věřím, že uskutečňování konkrétních akcí vzájemné spolupráce bude nejúčinnějším prostředkem ke zvyšování její kvality.

Jednou z bezprostředních akcí této spolupráce bude zabezpečení přepravy čs. protichemické jednotky do Saudské Arabie, která se uskuteční pomocí vojenské techniky Spojených států.

Dovolte, abych Vám, pane prezidente i paní Bushové ještě jednou za Vaši návštěvu co nejsrdečněji poděkoval.

Přijměte prosím, Vy i paní Bushová mé nejupřímnější pozdravy, se kterými se Vaším prostřednictvím obracím ke všemu lidu Spojených států amerických.

V Praze dne 27. listopadu 1990

Václav Havel

Vážený pan
George Bush
prezident USA
Washington

NATIONAL SECURITY COUNCIL
DISTRIBUTION RECEIPT

LOG 9009512
DATE 27 NOV 90

SUBJECT: LTR TO PRES FM PM HAVEL OF CZECHOSLAVAKIA RE PRES RECENT VISIT
DOCUMENT CLASSIFICATION: UNCLASSIFIED

EXTERNAL DISTRIBUTION:

ROY, J
DEPARTMENT OF STATE
ROOM 7224, MAIN STATE
2201 C STREET, NW
WASHINGTON, DC 20520

DATE

TIME

SIGNATURE

12/5/90 10:15 C. Waller

COPY: 1

DATE, TIME, SIGN THE RECEIPT AND RETURN TO: NSC SECRETARIAT, ROOM 379 OEOB
PAGE 01 OF 01 PAGES

NATIONAL SECURITY COUNCIL
DISTRIBUTION RECEIPT

LOG 9009512
DATE 27 NOV 90

SUBJECT: LTR TO PRES FM PM HAVEL OF CZECHOSLAVAKIA RE PRES RECENT VISIT
DOCUMENT CLASSIFICATION: UNCLASSIFIED

EXTERNAL DISTRIBUTION:

DATE

TIME

SIGNATURE

ROY, J

DEPARTMENT OF STATE

ROOM 7224, MAIN STATE

2201 C STREET, NW

WASHINGTON, DC 20520

COPY: 1

DATE, TIME, SIGN THE RECEIPT AND RETURN TO: NSC SECRETARIAT, ROOM 379 OEOB

PAGE 01 OF 01 PAGES

UNCLASSIFIED
NSC/S PROFILE

RECORD ID: 9009769
RECEIVED: 13 DEC 90 19

TO: SITTMANN

CHRON FILE

FROM: ROY, J

DOC DATE: 31 JAN 91
SOURCE REF: 9026145

KEYWORDS: BULGARIA
ECONOMIC ASSISTANCE

HS

PERSONS: ZHELEV, ZHELYU

SUBJECT: LTR TO PRES FM PRES ZHELEV RE US ECONOMIC ASSISTANCE TO BULGARIA

ACTION: ANSWERED BY STATE CABLE

DUE DATE: 17 DEC 90

STATUS: C

STAFF OFFICER: STATE

LOGREF: 9008473 9009755

FILES: WH

NSCP:

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

GOMPERT
HUTCHINGS
NSC CHRON
SALVETTI, L

COMMENTS: _____

DISPATCHED BY _____ DATE _____ BY HAND W/ATTCH

OPENED BY: NSBTM

CLOSED BY: NSDAI

DOC 2 OF 2

UNCLASSIFIED

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DEPARTMENT OF STATE
EXECUTIVE SECRETARIAT

9769

TRANSMITTAL FORM

S/S 9026145

Date January 31, 1991

FOR: Mr. William F. Sittmann
Executive Secretary
National Security Council Staff
The White House

DECLASSIFIED
Department of State Guidelines
E.O. 12958, SEC 3.4 (B), July 21, 1997
By Cap NARA, Date 4/1/09

REFERENCE:

To: President Bush

From: Bulgarian President Zhelyu Zhelev

Date: December 7, 1990

Subject: U.S. Economic Assistance to Bulgaria

WH Referral Dated: December 13, 1990
NSCS ID# (if any): 9009769

 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.

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

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

XX Other (see remarks). A copy of cable sent to Embassy Sofia
for transmittal to President Zhelev from the President is
enclosed.

REMARKS:

R. Gillespie
Director
Secretariat Staff

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

CONFIDENTIAL

00161016

DEPARTMENT OF STATE
EUROPEAN AFFAIRSPAGE 01 OF 02 STATE 030256 301836Z
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TO AMEMBASSY SOFIA IMMEDIATE~~CONFIDENTIAL~~ STATE 030256E.O. 12356: DECL: OADR
TAGS: EAGR, PREL, BU
SUBJECT: RESPONSE TO PRESIDENT ZHELEV'S LETTER TO
PRESIDENT BUSH (SS NO. 9026145)

1. ~~CONFIDENTIAL~~ - ENTIRE TEXT.
2. DEPARTMENT RECEIVED DECEMBER 7 LETTER FROM PRESIDENT ZHELEV TO PRESIDENT BUSH. TEXT FOLLOWS.

BEGIN TEXT:

DEAR MR. PRESIDENT:

THANK YOU FOR YOUR KIND WORDS OF GREETING AND SUPPORT WHEN WE MET AT THE CSCE SUMMIT IN PARIS. ANY EXPRESSION OF CONSIDERATION AND INTEREST IN OUR STRUGGLE TO SURVIVE IS A SOURCE OF COURAGE AND INSPIRATION FOR US.

REINTEGRATION OF THE EAST EUROPEAN COUNTRIES IN THE CONTEMPORARY GLOBAL POLITICAL AND ECONOMIC SYSTEM, TO WHICH THE SUCCESSFUL COMPLETION OF THE CONFERENCE HAS CONTRIBUTED IS BECOMING A MAJOR CONDITION FOR THE STABILITY OF THE NEW DEMOCRATIC INSTITUTIONS IN COUNTRIES SUCH AS BULGARIA. ON THIS PATH, HOWEVER,

WE ENCOUNTER DIFFICULTIES AND OBSTACLES RAISED BY FACTORS AND DEVELOPMENTS BEYOND OUR CONTROL. I TAKE THE OCCASION TO ASK YOU TO HELP NEWLY DEMOCRATIC BULGARIA WEATHER A VERY DIFFICULT CRISIS WHICH I FEAR WILL TEST ITS VERY ABILITY TO SURVIVE.

AN OUTSIDE OBSERVER CAN HARDLY IMAGINE THE EXTENT OF THE DAMAGE WHICH THE PERSIAN GULF CRISIS CAUSED IN THE BULGARIAN ECONOMY AT A TIME OF TRANSITION TO A MARKET ECONOMY AND RESTRUCTURING OF TRADE RELATIONS. MOST MODEST ESTIMATES PUT THE DIRECT LOSSES IN THE LAST QUARTER OF 1990 ALONE AT US DOLS 1.4 BILLION REPRESENTING A SIZEABLE PROPORTION OF THE COUNTRY'S GNP. THE OIL CRISIS HAD A MUCH MORE DAMAGING EFFECT ON THE ENERGY BALANCE THAN THE

EXHAUSTION OF THE CASH FLOWS. THE COUNTRY IS TOO WEAK TO ABSORB THE HAVOC WHICH THE GULF CRISIS HAS INFLICTED ON

STATE 030256 301836Z 020345 S010736
US. WINTER HAS JUST ARRIVED WITH ABUNDANT FAIRY-TALE SNOWFALL WHICH THIS TIME DOES NOT ENHANCE THE JOYFUL ANTICIPATION OF THE CHRISTMAS HOLIDAY. THERE ARE LONG FOOD LINES, POWER CUTS, ACUTE SHORTAGES OF MEDICINES AND POCKETS OF HUNGER.

DEMOCRATIC BULGARIA SEEMS TO HAVE BEEN LARGELY OVERLOOKED IN WESTERN PLANS OF ASSISTANCE TO EASTERN EUROPE. EXCEPT FOR YOUR OFFER OF 100,000 TONS OF CORN DURING MY VISIT IN SEPTEMBER, SOME OF THE LATEST PROJECTS OF THE G-24 AND THE MODEST GESTURES OF SOME FRIENDLY COUNTRIES NO SERIOUS HELP IS FORTHCOMING. THE DELIVERIES OF ANIMAL CORN ARE DELAYED FOR LACK OF HARD CURRENCY FOR THE TRANSPORTATION COST. WE ESTIMATE A SHORTAGE OF 1 MILLION TONS OF ANIMAL CORN THIS WINTER. THE PROMISED US CORN WILL MAKE UP ONLY ONE-TENTH OF THE SHORTFALL AND I AM CONCERNED THAT IT IS VERY SLOW IN COMING. I WOULD BE MOST GRATEFUL IF YOU COULD DO ANYTHING TO SPEED UP ITS DELIVERY AND PROVIDE ANY ADDITIONAL FOOD ASSISTANCE TO BULGARIA. U.S. ASSISTANCE HAS BECOME A SYMBOL OF HOPE FOR THE BULGARIAN PEOPLE AND IT WOULD BE ALL TOO SAD IF THIS GLIMMER OF HOPE WERE EXTINGUISHED BY CURRENT HESITATIONS.

BESIDES FOOD WE DESPERATELY NEED OIL AND MEDICINES. WE HAVE PROPOSED THE ESTABLISHMENT OF DIPLOMATIC RELATIONS WITH SAUDI ARABIA AND ASKED THE SAUDIS AND KUWAITIS (WITH WHOM WE HAVE LONG HAD RELATIONS) IF THEY CAN PROVIDE OIL OR FINANCIAL AID WITH WHICH WE CAN PURCHASE OIL. I KNOW THAT SECRETARY BAKER HAS PROPOSED THE ESTABLISHMENT OF AN

INTERNATIONAL FUND TO COMPENSATE THE NATIONS MOST AFFECTED BY THE GULF CRISIS. BUT TO DATE NO HELP HAS BEEN FORTHCOMING, WHILE OUR CRISIS HAS DEEPEENED.

DESPITE OUR LOSSES AND 350 BULGARIAN HOSTAGES STILL IN IRAQ, UNDER MY LEADERSHIP BULGARIA HAS STRICTLY OBSERVED THE U.N. SANCTIONS AGAINST IRAQ AND WE HAVE OFFERED TO SEND A MILITARY FORCE TO SERVE WITH U.N. FORCES IN THE GULF. TO MY SURPRISE OUR OFFER HAS NOT BEEN CONSIDERED SERIOUSLY BY YOUR COUNTRY OR SAUDI ARABIA BUT IT STILL STANDS IF YOU DECIDE THAT BULGARIAN FORCES WOULD BE HELPFUL IN WIDENING INTERNATIONAL PARTICIPATION IN THE RESPONSE TO IRAQI AGGRESSION.

THE OFFER I MADE IN WASHINGTON FOR BULGARIAN PARTICIPATION IN THE MULTINATIONAL FORCES IN THE GULF WAS ONE OF MY FIRST FOREIGN POLICY INITIATIVES. IT WAS MET WITH OPPOSITION BY THE CONSERVATIVE FORCES WHICH HAVE ALWAYS ASSIGNED TO BULGARIA THE ROLE OF A SATELLITE IN INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS. MY PRESTIGE AND CREDIBILITY OF A DEMOCRATICALLY ELECTED PRESIDENT AND A DEMOCRATIC LEADER IS LINKED BOTH WITH THE SUCCESSFUL COMPLETION OF THIS INITIATIVE AND WITH THE FAST PROGRESS OF BULGARIA'S RELATIONS WITH THE UNITED STATES AND THE WESTERN DEMOCRACIES.

I HOPE, MR. PRESIDENT, THAT BULGARIA CAN TAKE A HUMBLE YET WORTHY PLACE IN YOUR DAY-TO-DAY GUIDANCE OF U.S. POLICY. PLEASE FORGIVE ME FOR BRINGING THESE CONCERNS DIRECTLY TO YOU. I DO SO BECAUSE I AM CONVINCED THAT THE COUNTRY WHICH HAS MADE A DECISIVE CONTRIBUTION TO TRANSFORMING THE

WORLD AT THE END OF THE 20TH CENTURY WILL BEST UNDERSTAND WHAT BULGARIA AND ITS YOUNG DEMOCRACY URGENTLY REQUIRE.

SINCERELY,

ZHELYU ZHELEV
PRESIDENT OF THE REPUBLIC OF BULGARIA

DECLASSIFIED
PER E.O. 135262009-10/8-MR
MUM 12/7/2016

CONFIDENTIAL

NATIONAL SECURITY COUNCIL
DISTRIBUTION RECEIPT

LOG 9009769
DATE 07 DEC 90

SUBJECT: LTR TO PRES FM PRES ZHELEV RE POSSIBLE ECONOMIC ASSISTANCE
DOCUMENT CLASSIFICATION: UNCLASSIFIED

EXTERNAL DISTRIBUTION:

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DEPARTMENT OF STATE
ROOM 7224, MAIN STATE
2201 C STREET, NW
WASHINGTON, DC 20520

DATE

12/14/90

TIME

11 19

SIGNATURE

William T. Taylor

COPY: 1

DATE, TIME, SIGN THE RECEIPT AND RETURN TO: NSC SECRETARIAT, ROOM 379 OEOB

PAGE 01 OF 01 PAGES

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12/14/90

12:20pm

Charles G. Jackson Jr.

COPY: 1

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PAGE 01 OF 01 PAGES

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

NATIONAL SECURITY COUNCIL

ID 9009769

REFERRAL

DATE: 13 DEC 90

MEMORANDUM FOR: ROY, J

STATE SECRETARIAT

7026145

DOCUMENT DESCRIPTION:

TO: PRESIDENT '90 DEC-14 12:41 PM

SOURCE: ZHELEV, ZHELYU

DATE: 07 DEC 90

SUBJ: LTR TO PRES FM PRES ZHELEV RE POSSIBLE ECONOMIC ASSISTANCE

REQUIRED ACTION: FOR DRAFT REPLY

DUE DATE: 20 DEC 90

COMMENT:



FOR GEORGE VAN ERON

DIRECTOR NSC SECRETARIAT

DECLASSIFIED

White House Guidelines

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

By Cap NARA, Date 4/1/09

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

*Received in 5/5-12 M/RMD
12/14 at 12:20 PM @ 94*

PRES NOTED SUMMARY

December 7, 1990

Dear Mr. President,

Thank you for your kind words of greeting and support when we met at the CSCE summit in Paris. Any expression of consideration and interest in our struggle to survive is a source of courage and inspiration for us.

Reintegration of the East European countries in the contemporary global political and economic system to which the successful completion of the Conference has contributed is becoming a major condition for the stability of the new democratic institutions in countries such as Bulgaria. On this path, however, we encounter difficulties and obstacles raised by factors and developments beyond our control. I take the occasion to ask you to help newly democratic Bulgaria weather a very difficult crisis which I fear will test its very ability to survive.

An outside observer can hardly imagine the extent of the damage which the Persian Gulf crisis caused in the Bulgarian economy at a time of transition to a market economy and restructuring of trade relations. Most modest estimates put the direct losses in the last quarter of 1990 alone at US \$ 1.4 billion representing a sizeable proportion of the country's GNP. The oil crisis had a much more damaging effect on the energy balance than the exhaustion of the cash flows. The country is too weak to absorb the havoc which the Gulf crisis has inflicted on us. Winter has just arrived with abundant fairy-tale snowfall which this time does not enhance the joyful anticipation of the Christmas holiday. There are long food lines, power cuts, acute shortages of medicines and pockets of hunger.

Democratic Bulgaria seems to have been largely overlooked in Western plans of assistance to Eastern Europe. Except for your offer of 100,000 tons of corn during my visit in September, some of the latest projects of the G-24 and the modest gestures of some friendly countries no serious help is forthcoming. The deliveries of animal corn are delayed for lack of hard currency for the transportation cost. We estimate a shortage of 1 million tons of animal corn this winter. The promised US corn will make up only one-tenth of the shortfall and I am concerned that it is very slow in coming. I would be most grateful if you could do anything

His Excellency
Mr. George Bush,
President of the
United States of America

2.

to speed up its delivery and provide any additional food assistance to Bulgaria. US assistance has become a symbol of hope for the Bulgarian people and it would be all too sad if this glimmer of hope were extinguished by current hesitations.

Besides food we desperately need oil and medicines. We have proposed the establishment of diplomatic relations with Saudi Arabia and asked the Saudis and Kuwaitis (with whom we have long had relations) if they can provide oil or financial aid with which we can purchase oil. I know that Secretary Baker has proposed the establishment of an international fund to compensate the nations most affected by the Gulf crisis. But to date no help has been forthcoming, while our crisis has deepened.

Despite our losses and 350 Bulgarian hostages still in Iraq, under my leadership Bulgaria has strictly observed the UN sanctions against Iraq and we have offered to send a military force to serve with UN forces in the Gulf. To my surprise our offer has not been considered seriously by your country or Saudi Arabia but it still stands if you decide that Bulgarian forces would be helpful in widening international participation in the response to Iraqi aggression.

The offer I made in Washington for Bulgarian participation in the multinational forces in the Gulf was one of my first foreign policy initiatives. It was met with opposition by the conservative forces which have always assigned to Bulgaria the role of a satellite in international relations. My prestige and credibility of a democratically elected president and a democratic leader is linked both with the successful completion of this initiative and with the fast progress of Bulgaria's relations with the United States and the Western democracies.

I hope, Mr. President, that Bulgaria can take a humble yet worthy place in your day-to-day guidance of US policy. Please forgive me for bringing these concerns directly to you. I do so because I am convinced that the country which has made a decisive contribution to transforming the world at the end of the 20th century will best understand what Bulgaria and its young democracy urgently require.

Sincerely:

Zhelyu Zhelev
President of the Republic of Bulgaria

Translation from the Bulgarian

PRES NOTED SUMMARY

Уважаеми г-н Президент,

Благодаря Ви за сърдечните поздрави и изразената от Вас подкрепа по време на срещата ни в Париж в рамките на Съвещанието за сигурност и сътрудничество в Европа. Проявите на внимание и интерес към нашата борба и живот са източник на кураж и вдъхновение.

Реинтеграцията на страните от Източна Европа със съвременната глобална политическа и икономическа система, за което допринася успешното приключване на Съвещанието, се превръща във важно условие за стабилността на новите демократични институции в страни като България. По този път обаче съществуват трудности и пречки, предизвикани от фактори и събития, действащи извън нашия контрол. Затова използвам случая да се обърна към Вас с молба да помогнете нова демократична България да преживее тежката криза, която поставя на изпитание самата способност на страната ни да оцелее.

За външния наблюдател е трудно да си представи размера на пораженията, които кризата в Персийския залив нанесе на българската икономика в момент на преход към пазарна икономика и реструктуриране на търговските отношения. Според най-скромни оценки само за последното тримесечие на 1990 г. преките загуби възлизат на 1,4 млрд. дол., което

представлява немалка част от brutния национален продукт на страната. Отражението на петролната криза върху енергийния баланс е далеч по-силно от изтощаването на финансовите потоци. Страната няма достатъчни сили да поеме удара. Зимата започва с чист и пухкав сняг, който обаче не предизвиква радостното очакване за Коледен празник. Дълги опашки за храна, спиране на тока, остър недостиг на лекарства и бедстващи райони.

Демократична България изглежда до голяма степен пренебрегната в плановете на западните страни за подпомагане на Източна Европа. Като изключим Вашето предложение за помощ от 100 000 тона царевица, направено по време на посещението ми през септември, някои от новите проекти на групата на 24-те и скромните жестове на някои приятелски страни, няма други сериозни проекти за помощ. Дори и доставките на фураж се бавят поради липсата на твърда валута за покриване на транспортните разходи. По наша оценка тази зима недостигът от фураж ще възлезе на 1 млн. тона. Обещаната от САЩ царевица ще компенсира малка част от недостига, а съм загрижен и за това, че се бави. Бих бил много признателен, ако можете по някакъв начин да ускорите доставката и да ни предоставите всякаква възможна помощ в храни за България. За българската общественост американската помощ се превърна в символ на надеждата и не бих искал този проблясък на надежда да бъде загасен от сегашните колебания.

Освен храни, изпитваме крайно остра нужда от петрол и лекарства. Предложихме установяването на дипломатически отношения със Саудитска Арабия. Тази страна, както и Кувейт

(с който отдавна имаме отношения), би могла да разгледа възможността да ни достави петрол при облекчени финансови условия. Знаем за предложението на министър Бейкър да се създаде международен фонд за компенсиране на страните, най-силно засегнати от Персийската криза. Но до този момент никаква помощ не е дошла, а кризата в страната се задълбочава.

Въпреки загубите, които търпим, и 350-те български заложици в Ирак, под мое ръководство България стриктно спазва санкциите, наложени от ООН. Освен това предложихме да пратим военни части в подкрепа на многонационалните сили в Залива. За мое учудване моето предложение не бе разгледано задълбочено от Вашата страна или от Саудитска Арабия, но въпреки това то остава в сила, стига да решите, че български войски биха помогнали в разширяващото се международно участие в отпора на иракската агресия.

Предложението, направено от мен във Вашингтон, за българско участие в многонационалните сили в района на Персийския залив бе една от първите мои самостоятелни външно-политически инициативи. Тя предизвика възраженията на онези консервативни сили, които винаги са отреждали на България ролята на зависим сателит в международните отношения. Моят авторитет на демократично избран президент и демократичен лидер се свързва както с довеждането до успешен край на тази инициатива, така и с бързото развитие на отношенията със Съединените щати и западните демокрации.

Надявам се, г-н Президент, че България може да заеме скромно, но достойно място във Вашето всекидневно

ръководство на американската политика. Моля простете директ-
ния тон, с който излагам проблемите си. Правя го, защото съм
убеден, че страната, дала решаващ принос за трансформацията
на света в края на XX век, най-добре ще разбере от какво
България и нейната неукрепнала демокрация спешно се нуждаят.

София, 8 декември 1990 г.

Д-р Желю Желев

A handwritten signature in black ink, consisting of a series of fluid, connected strokes that form a stylized representation of the name Zhelyu Zhelyev.

PREZIDENT
ČESKÉ A SLOVENSKÉ FEDERATIVNÍ REPUBLIKY

4

Dear Mr. President,

The strong impressions of your visit to our country make me, just as they make you, reminisce about each moment of our common meetings and discussions.

Your visit has fully expressed your convictions contained in the congratulations you sent me on the reconstitution of the National Day - 28th October.

Your presence here reminded citizens of all generations of the share the United States of America had played in the Declaration of Independence of Czechoslovakia, of your fight against the common Nazi enemy during World War II, the participation of your citizens in the Slovak National Uprising and the liberation of Bohemia, your constant support of democratic forces at the time of communist oppression, and also of extensive assistance in our building a new, free State.

The most eloquent proof of how deep the roots of friendship between the people of Czechoslovakia and the United States of America run is offered by the spontaneous reception which you and also Mrs. Bush were given during your **short** visit to our country. This fact could not be changed **even** by the hatemongering demagoguery of the totalitarian regime which had lasted for more than 40 years.

I believe that implementation of concrete acts of mutual collaboration will be the most effective means of improving its quality.

One of the first acts of such collaboration will be the transportation of the Czechoslovak antichemical unit to Saudi Arabia by U.S. airlift.

- 2 -

Allow me, Mr. President, to express once again my most cordial thanks to you and also to Mrs. Bush for your visit.

Please accept my most sincere greetings which I also address to Mrs. Bush and to all the people of the United States of America.

Prague, 27 November 1990

Václav Havel

Mr. George Bush,
President of the USA
Washington