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National Security Council - European Affairs

Bekkering, Michelle - Chron Files

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Folder Title:

January 2003 [8]

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DOCUMENT NO.	FORM	SUBJECT/TITLE	PAGES	DATE	RESTRICTION(S)
064	Memorandum	[Memorandum] - To: Condoleezza Rice - From: Matt Bryza	1	01/09/2003	P5;
064a	Memorandum	[Memorandum] - To: POTUS - From: Condoleezza Rice and Nicholas E. Calio	3	N.D.	P1/b1; P5;
064c	Memorandum	[Memorandum]	5	N.D.	P1/b1; P5;
064i	Report	Update to Congress	7	08/09/2002	P1/b1; P5;
065c	Letter	Aid to the Church in Russia [pg. 1-3] - To: Frank R. Wolf - From: Marcel Guarnizo	2	12/03/2002	P6/b6;
065e	Letter	Aid to the Church in Russia [pg. 1-3] - To: Frank R. Wolf - From: Marcel Guarnizo	2	12/03/2002	P6/b6;

COLLECTION TITLE:

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PRM. Personal record misfile defined in accordance with 44 U.S.C. 2201(3).

Deed of Gift Restrictions

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066	Memorandum	[Memorandum] - To: Condoleezza Rice - From: Walter Andrusyszyn	1	01/06/2003	P1/b1;
068	Memorandum	Memorandum - To: Condoleezza Rice - From: Matt Bryza	1	01/06/2003	P1/b1; P5;
068a	Memorandum	[Memorandum] - To: POTUS - From: Condoleezza Rice	1	N.D.	P1/b1; P5;
068b	Letter	[Letter]	2	N.D.	P1/b1; P5;
068c	NSC Profile Sheet	NSC/ RMO Profile	1	11/12/2002	P1/b1;
068d	Letter	[Letter]	7	11/07/2002	P1/b1;

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2014-0090-F

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THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

Presidential Determination
No. _____

MEMORANDUM FOR THE SECRETARY OF STATE

Subject: Extending Waiver of Section 907 of the
FREEDOM Support Act with Respect to
Assistance to the Government of Azerbaijan

Pursuant to the authority contained in Title II of the
Kenneth M. Ludden Foreign Operations, Export Financing, and
Related Programs Appropriations Act, 2002 (P.L. 107-115), I
hereby determine and certify that extending the waiver of
Section 907 of the FREEDOM Support Act of 1992 (P.L. 102-
511):

- Is necessary to support United States efforts to counter international terrorism;
- Is necessary to support the operational readiness of United States Armed Forces or coalition partners to counter international terrorism;
- Is important to Azerbaijan's border security; and
- Will not undermine or hamper ongoing efforts to negotiate a peaceful settlement between Armenia and Azerbaijan or be used for offensive purposes against Armenia.

Accordingly, I hereby extend the waiver of Section 907 of the FREEDOM Support Act.

You are authorized and directed to notify the Congress of this determination and to arrange for its publication in the Federal Register.

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United States Department of State

Washington, D.C. 20520

UNCLASSIFIED

December 18, 2002

MEMORANDUM FOR STEPHEN E. BIEGUN
EXECUTIVE SECRETARY
NATIONAL SECURITY COUNCILSUBJECT: Presidential Waiver of Restrictions on
Assistance to the Government of Azerbaijan

Section 907 of the FREEDOM Support Act of 1992 (P.L. 102-511) broadly prohibits most assistance to the Government of Azerbaijan, including most military-to-military and intelligence assistance, and hinders the United States from making effective use of Azerbaijan's crucial support in the war on terrorism. However, Title II of the Kenneth M. Ludden Foreign Operations, Export Financing, and Related Programs Appropriations Act, 2002 (P.L. 107-115), under the heading "Assistance for the Independent States of the Former Soviet Union," permits the President to waive Section 907 ("907 waiver authority") and to extend that waiver on an annual basis if he determines, and certifies to the Committees on Appropriations, that to do so:

- (A) is necessary to support United States efforts to counter terrorism; or
- (B) is necessary to support the operational readiness of United States Armed Forces or coalition partners to counter terrorism; or
- (C) is important to Azerbaijan's border security; and
- (D) will not undermine or hamper ongoing efforts to negotiate a peaceful settlement between Armenia and Azerbaijan, or be used for offensive purposes against Armenia.

The President exercised the 907 waiver authority for the first time on January 25, 2002. As discussed in the attached memorandum of justification, we believe that all four factors discussed above are met in this case so as to justify extending the waiver of Section 907. The determination, together with the attached memorandum of justification, would be provided to the Committees on Appropriations.

UNCLASSIFIED

The 907 waiver authority requires consultation with the Committees on Appropriation prior to providing any assistance pursuant to a waiver of Section 907. If the President extends the waiver, we will undertake such consultations. In addition, within 60 days of waiving Section 907, the President must send a report to the appropriate committees detailing the nature and quantity of all training and assistance provided pursuant to the waiver, the status of the military balance between Azerbaijan and Armenia and the impact of our assistance on that balance, and the status of settlement negotiations between Armenia and Azerbaijan and the impact of our assistance on those negotiations. We will be sending the President such a report in time to meet this requirement.



Carol A. Rodley
Acting Executive Secretary

Attachments:

- A. Presidential Determination
- B. Memorandum of Justification

Presidential Determination
No. _____

MEMORANDUM FOR THE SECRETARY OF STATE

Subject: Extension of Waiver of Section 907 of the FREEDOM
Support Act with respect to Assistance to the
Government of Azerbaijan

Pursuant to the authority contained in Title II of the
Kenneth M. Ludden Foreign Operations, Export Financing, and
Related Programs Appropriations Act, 2002 (P.L. 107-115), I
hereby determine and certify that extending the waiver of
Section 907 of the FREEDOM Support Act of 1992 (P.L. 102-
511):

is necessary to support United States efforts to
counter international terrorism;

is necessary to support the operational readiness of
United States Armed Forces or coalition partners to counter
international terrorism;

is important to Azerbaijan's border security; and
will not undermine or hamper ongoing efforts to
negotiate a peaceful settlement between Armenia and
Azerbaijan or be used for offensive purposes against
Armenia.

Accordingly, I hereby extend the waiver of Section 907 of
the FREEDOM Support Act.

You are authorized and directed to notify the Congress of
this determination and to arrange for its publication in the
Federal Register.

NOTE: This is a generic text. The addressees will be added when the chairs and ranking members of the relevant committees have been formally announced.

Dear _____:

Enclosed is a Presidential determination extending the waiver of section 907 of the FREEDOM Support Act of 1992. The waiver and extension are pursuant to the authority contained in Title II of the Kenneth M. Ludden Foreign Operations, Export Financing, and Related Programs Appropriations Act, 2002 (P.L. 107-115), under the heading "Assistance for the Independent States of the Former Soviet Union." A Memorandum of Justification in support of this determination is also included. We will be consulting in the near future with the Committees on Appropriations concerning assistance we will be providing pursuant to this waiver.

Please do not hesitate to contact us if we can be of further assistance.

Sincerely,

Paul V. Kelly
Assistant Secretary
Legislative Affairs

Enclosures:

As stated.

The Honorable _____,

Committee on Appropriations,
_____.

S. 2532**Freedom for Russia and Emerging Eurasian Democracies and Open Markets (FREEDOM) Support Act of 1992 (Passed by the Senate)
(P.L. 102-511)****SEC. 907. RESTRICTION ON ASSISTANCE TO AZERBAIJAN.**

United States assistance under this or any other Act (other than assistance under title V of this Act) may not be provided to the Government of Azerbaijan until the President determines, and so reports to the Congress, that the Government of Azerbaijan is taking demonstrable steps to cease all blockades and other offensive uses of force against Armenia and Nagorno-Karabakh.

H.R. 2506

The Kenneth M. Ludden Foreign Operations, Export Financing, and Related Programs Appropriations Act, Fiscal Year 2002. (P.L. 107-115)

TITLE II – BILATERAL ECONOMIC ASSISTANCE

ASSISTANCE FOR THE INDEPENDENT STATES OF THE FORMER SOVIET UNION

(g) (1) Section 907 of the FREEDOM Support Act shall not apply to--

(A) activities to support democracy or assistance under title V of the FREEDOM Support Act and section 1424 of Public Law 104-201;

(B) any assistance provided by the Trade and Development Agency under section 661 of the Foreign Assistance Act of 1961 (22 U.S.C. 2421);

(C) any activity carried out by a member of the United States and Foreign Commercial Service while acting within his or her official capacity;

(D) any insurance, reinsurance, guarantee, or other assistance provided by the Overseas Private Investment Corporation under title IV of chapter 2 of part I of the Foreign Assistance Act of 1961 (22 U.S.C. 2191 et seq.);

(E) any financing provided under the Export-Import Bank Act of 1945; or

(F) humanitarian assistance

(2) The President may waive section 907 of the FREEDOM Support Act if he determines and certifies to the Committees on Appropriations that to do so--

(A) is necessary to support United States efforts to counter international terrorism; or

(B) is necessary to support the operational readiness of United States Armed Forces or coalition partners to counter international terrorism; or

(C) is important to Azerbaijan's border security; and

(D) will not undermine or hamper ongoing efforts to negotiate a peaceful settlement between Armenia and Azerbaijan or be used for offensive purposes against Armenia.

(3) The authority of paragraph (2) may only be exercised through December 31, 2002.

(4) The President may extend the waiver authority provided in paragraph (2) on an annual basis on or after December 31, 2002 if he determines and certifies to the Committees on Appropriations in accordance with the provisions of paragraph (2).

(5) The Committees on Appropriations shall be consulted prior to the provision of any assistance made available pursuant to paragraph (2).

(6) Within 60 days of any exercise of the authority under paragraph (2) the President shall send a report to the appropriate congressional committees specifying in detail the following--

(A) the nature and quantity of all training and assistance provided to the Government of Azerbaijan pursuant to paragraph (2);

(B) the status of the military balance between Azerbaijan and Armenia and the impact of United States assistance on that balance; and

(C) the status of negotiations for a peaceful settlement between Armenia and Azerbaijan and the impact of United States assistance on those negotiations.

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NATIONAL SECURITY COUNCIL
WASHINGTON, D.C. 20504

10786

WQ

January 15, 2003

ACTION

MEMORANDUM FOR CONDOLEEZZA RICE

THROUGH:

DAN FRIED *DF*

FROM:

TOM GRAHAM *TG*

SUBJECT:

Congressional Letter to the President on
Human Rights in Russia

Congressman Wolf wrote you to express his concern about religious freedom in Russia and to forward a letter from Rev. Marcel Guarnizo of Aid to the Church in Russia about an "organized campaign against the Catholic Church in Russia." Wolf asked about the Administration's actions on this matter. We have prepared a reply for your signature. It notes the Administration's actions in support of religious freedom in Russia.

The NSC received the incoming correspondence on December 17, 2002.

Concurrence by:

Mike Andricos, Brad Wiegmann, Courtney *CR*
NemroffRECOMMENDATION

That you sign the letters at Tab I.

Attachments

Tab I Letter to Congressman Wolf
Tab II Incoming correspondence

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

Dear Congressman Wolf:

Thank you for your letter of December 4 concerning religious freedom in Russia and for forwarding the letter from Rev. Marcel Guarnizo of Aid to the Church in Russia about an "organized campaign against the Catholic Church in Russia."

As you know, this Administration takes the issue of religious freedom in Russia seriously, and we monitor the situation closely. During his visit to Russia in May of last year, the President raised the issue of religious freedom with NGO's at Spaso House, and met with the senior representative of the Roman Catholic church in Moscow, Archbishop Kondrusiewicz. The State Department and our Embassy and Consulates in Russia are in regular contact with representatives of the Russian government, religious organizations, and NGO's on this matter and have urged the Russian government to provide the broadest possible protection of freedom of religion.

We are disturbed by the visa denials Roman Catholics, Evangelical Christians, and others. The State Department has met directly with the Rev. Marcel Guarnizo, as well as other representatives of the Catholic Church, to discuss this matter. We have raised our concerns directly with Russian government officials here and in Moscow and will continue to do so until they are addressed in a manner consistent with Russia's international human rights obligations.

Thank you once again for expressing your interest in this important human rights issue.

Sincerely,

Condoleezza Rice
Assistant to the President
for National Security Affairs

The Honorable Frank R. Wolf
House of Representatives
Washington, D.C. 20515

FRANK R. WOLF
10TH DISTRICT, VIRGINIA

***COMMITTEE ON APPROPRIATIONS**

SUBCOMMITTEES:

**CHAIRMAN — COMMERCE-JUSTICE-
STATE AND JUDICIARY**

TRANSPORTATION

**TREASURY-POSTAL SERVICE-
GENERAL GOVERNMENT**

**CO-CHAIR — CONGRESSIONAL
HUMAN RIGHTS CAUCUS**



**Congress of the United States
House of Representatives**

December 4, 2002

@DEMOC, @EUROPE, @LEGISLATIVE 65b

10786

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WASHINGTON, DC 20515-4610
(202) 225-5136

13873 PARK CENTER ROAD
SUITE 130
HERNDON, VA 20171
(703) 709-5800
(800) 945-9653 (IN STATE)

110 NORTH CAMERON STREET
WINCHESTER, VA 22601
(540) 667-0990
(800) 850-3463 (IN STATE)

www.house.gov/wolf/

Ms. Condoleezza Rice
Assistant to the President for National Security
Affairs, The White House
1600 Pennsylvania Ave NW
Washington DC 20500

Dear Ms. Rice:

I am writing to express my concern for religious freedom in Russia.

I recently met with and received a troubling letter from a Roman Catholic priest, Rev. Marcel Guarnizo, who runs a non-governmental organization that operates in Russia. His compelling letter describes developments and issues that indicate religious freedom in Russia is taking a turn for the worse and that the Russian Government has implemented "an organized campaign against the [Roman] Catholic Church." I have enclosed a copy of his letter for your review.

I understand that President Bush has been well briefed on these issues by State Department and National Security Council officials, but I would appreciate learning of your efforts and the policy options being considered by the Administration on this important issue.

Best wishes.

Sincerely,

Frank R. Wolf
Member of Congress

FRW:dd
enclosure



AID TO THE CHURCH IN RUSSIA

Board of Advisors

Archbishop John Bukovsky, SVD

Former Apostolic Nuncio to the Russian Federation

Archbishop Tadeusz Kondrusiewicz

*Archdiocese of the Mother of God
Moscow, Russia*

Bishop Joseph Werth, S. J.

*Diocese of the Transfiguration
Novosibirsk, Russia*

Bishop James C. Timlin, D. D.

Bishop of the Diocese of Scranton, PA

Rev. Msgr. R. George Sarauskas

*Executive Director
Office to Aid the Church in Central and
Eastern Europe*

National Conference of Catholic Bishops

The Honorable Frank Shakespeare

Former American Ambassador to the Holy See

Stephen R. De Angelis

*Member, Board of Trustees
European University at St. Petersburg*

Carolann D. Brown, CFP

*Senior Vice President - Investments
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Roger F. Pajak, Ph. D.

*Former National Security Adviser
For Russian Affairs
U.S. Department of the Treasury*

Nina Shea

*Director
Center for Religious Freedom
Freedom House*

Board of Directors

Reverend Marcel Guarnizo

President

Damian von Stauffenberg

Vice President

Dr. Warren H. Carroll

Reverend Edward C. Hathaway

Julian B. Heron, Jr., Esq.

Eugene Pohren

Kathy Super

Luca Tortorelli

3 December 2002

The Honorable

Frank R. Wolf

House of Representatives

Washington, D.C. 20510

Dear Mr. Wolf:

I am writing to you to keep you updated on the developments regarding religious freedom in Russia. What I would like to do is outline recent events, highlight possible future problems, and then suggest a few positive steps that might be taken. I find these issues preoccupying and feel I have objective reasons to be so concerned.

To summarize up front, I find very credible the recent statement made by the newly appointed Catholic metropolitan of Russia, Archbishop Tadeusz Kondrusiewicz. In light of recent events, the archbishop felt compelled to alert the world to what he called "...an organized campaign against the Catholic Church." In my opinion, the events support his claim:

(b)(6)

Page 2 redacted for the following reason:

(b)(6)

10. Harassment of Catholic clergy. Incidents continue to be reported. For example, in spring 2002, the international media reported the passport defacement of a Catholic religious (a Polish Franciscan). Police mutilated the monk's passport by punching a hole through his photograph and then discarded the passport in a nearby trashcan. In addition, the Associated Press reported on September 7th, 2002, that gunmen had opened fire on Rev. Mackiewicz's church (Rostov-on-Don), leaving ten bullet holes in its windows.

Possible future problems are as follows:

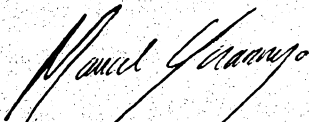
1. Large-scale visa denial for foreign Catholic clergy. 85% of Catholic clergy is foreign (native clergy having been annihilated by the Bolsheviks after 1917). Within the year, many will need to leave Russia to have their visas renewed and, given recent events, will likely find their re-entry blocked. This would leave Catholic parishes across Russia without their religious leaders, a catastrophic loss spiritually and economically for these fledgling communities of faith. This issue concerns not only Catholics in Russia, but also those here in the United States. Once a year every Catholic parishioner in the United States contributes to a nationwide collection to rebuild the Church in Central and Eastern Europe. This initiative, sponsored by the United States Conference of Catholic Bishops, has made possible the renewal of the Church in these devastated lands. And it makes many American Catholics quite alert, therefore, to the fate of their Russian brothers in the faith. American Catholics would be upset indeed at the abandonment of the structures they helped build.
2. Increasingly frequent attacks against the Catholic Church. The Catholic Church, hitherto comparatively unmolested, is now under "siege," and that should cause great concern to those who have the permanent interests of Russia at heart. If the Russian government may violate the religious freedom of the Catholic Church—an institution with over a billion followers, a head of state as its leader, and ambassadors in every country of the world—the Russian government would then be able to increase the severity of its repressive policies toward, if not eliminate altogether, the small, independent, and less organized Protestant Christian groups (and other minority faiths) in Russia. In a word, the Catholic Church is the greatest bulwark of freedom for all other religious minorities, a fact well understood by the unhealthy alliance between nationalist forces and certain sectors of the Russian Orthodox Church.
3. Regrettable perception of Russia by world opinion. This unhealthy alliance just referred to, if it continues to strengthen, may lead to a new image for Russia, one it can ill afford—namely that it has embarked on the creation of an Orthodox version of a fundamentalist state. The Orthodox Church is spreading nationalism and xenophobia to its believers, which is regrettable, as Russia is an important ally. On November 15, 2002, Russia's Vice-Minister for Foreign Affairs, Yuri Fedotov, told Orthodox clergy the creation of four Catholic dioceses in Russia is "unacceptable." He also told the Vatican that some Catholic priests "are not welcome" in Russia.

In light of the above points, I humbly would like to re-iterate that this is a dangerous situation, not only for Russian Catholics and other minority believers, but also for the world.

I firmly believe that if a clear message is not sent to the Russian government, forces hostile to religious liberty, and thus to true political justice, will be quickened in their resolve to oppress those who happen not to subscribe to their private vision for Russia. I believe and hope that, through your help and intercession, Congress may seize this unique opportunity to buttress the permanent interests of the Russian people. After all, believers in Russia recovering from over seventy brutal years of persecution ought not to be unjustly deprived once again of their religious leaders.

I humbly request your help and intercession in this matter. Please know that I am keeping you and your fellow Congressmen in my prayers.

Sincerely in Christ,

A handwritten signature in black ink, appearing to read "Marcel Guarnizo". The signature is fluid and cursive, with a large initial "M" and a long, sweeping underline.

Rev. Marcel Guarnizo
President

10786

10508

FRANK R. WOLF

10TH DISTRICT, VIRGINIA

COMMITTEE ON APPROPRIATIONS

SUBCOMMITTEES:

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STATE AND JUDICIARY**

TRANSPORTATION

**TREASURY-POSTAL SERVICE-
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**CO-CHAIR - CONGRESSIONAL
HUMAN RIGHTS CAUCUS**



**Congress of the United States
House of Representatives**

December 4, 2002

241 CANNON HOUSE OFFICE BUILDING
WASHINGTON, DC 20515-4510
(202) 225-5138

13873 PARK CENTER ROAD
SUITE 130
HERNDON, VA 20171
(703) 709-5800
(800) 945-9653 (IN STATE)

110 NORTH CAMERON STREET
WINCHESTER, VA 22801
(540) 667-0590
(800) 850-3463 (IN STATE)

www.house.gov/wolf/

Ms. Condoleezza Rice
Assistant to the President for National Security
Affairs, The White House
1600 Pennsylvania Ave NW
Washington DC 20500

Dear Ms. Rice:

I am writing to express my concern for religious freedom in Russia.

I recently met with and received a troubling letter from a Roman Catholic priest, Rev. Marcel Guarnizo, who runs a non-governmental organization that operates in Russia. His compelling letter describes developments and issues that indicate religious freedom in Russia is taking a turn for the worse and that the Russian Government has implemented "an organized campaign against the [Roman] Catholic Church." I have enclosed a copy of his letter for your review.

I understand that President Bush has been well briefed on these issues by State Department and National Security Council officials, but I would appreciate learning of your efforts and the policy options being considered by the Administration on this important issue.

Best wishes.

Sincerely,

Frank R. Wolf
Member of Congress

FRW:dd
enclosure



AID TO THE CHURCH IN RUSSIA

Board of Advisors

Archbishop John Bukovsky, SVD

Former Apostolic Nuncio to the Russian Federation

Archbishop Tadeusz Kondrusiewicz

*Archdiocese of the Mother of God
Moscow, Russia*

Bishop Joseph Werth, S. J.

*Diocese of the Transfiguration
Novosibirsk, Russia*

Bishop James C. Timlin, D. D.

Bishop of the Diocese of Scranton, PA

Rev. Msgr. R. George Sarauskas

*Executive Director
Office to Aid the Church in Central and
Eastern Europe*

National Conference of Catholic Bishops

The Honorable Frank Shakespeare

Former American Ambassador to the Holy See

Stephen R. De Angelis

*Member, Board of Trustees
European University at St. Petersburg*

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*Senior Vice President - Investments
Prudential Securities Incorporated*

Roger F. Pajak, Ph. D.

*Former National Security Adviser
For Russian Affairs
U.S. Department of the Treasury*

Nina Shea

*Director
Center for Religious Freedom
Freedom House*

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Washington, D.C. 20510

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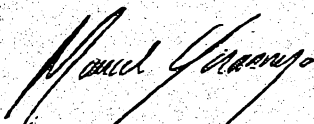
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Sincerely in Christ,

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Rev. Marcel Guarnizo
President

FRANK R. WOLF
10TH DISTRICT, VIRGINIA

COMMITTEE ON APPROPRIATIONS

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Congress of the United States
House of Representatives

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110 NORTH CAMERON STREET
WINCHESTER, VA 22601
(540) 867-0890
(800) 850-9463 (IN STATE)

www.house.gov/wolf/

Facsimile Transmission
Please Deliver Immediately

From the Office of
The Honorable Frank R. Wolf

To:  David B. Dettoni

Fax Number: 456-9170

Date: 12/6/02

Number of Pages (Including Cover Sheet): 6

Comments: _____

If there are problems transmitting, please contact:

Sender: David B. Dettoni, Senior Legislative Assistant

Telephone Number: (202) 225-5136

Please Note: The information in this facsimile is confidential and is intended only for the use of the person named above. If this facsimile has come to you in error, please call the sender at the number given above. Any distribution of this facsimile is strictly prohibited.

Withdrawal Marker

The George W. Bush Library

FORM	SUBJECT/TITLE	PAGES	DATE	RESTRICTION(S)
Memorandum	[Memorandum] - To: Condoleezza Rice - From: Walter Andrusyszyn	1	01/06/2003	P1/b1;

**This marker identifies the original location of the withdrawn item listed above.
For a complete list of items withdrawn from this folder, see the
Withdrawal/Redaction Sheet at the front of the folder.**

COLLECTION:

National Security Council - European Affairs

SERIES:

Bekkering, Michelle - Chron Files

FOLDER TITLE:

January 2003 [8]

FRC ID:

35172

OA Num.:

NSC 0935

NARA Num.:

FOIA IDs and Segments:

2014-0090-F

RESTRICTION CODES

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

- P1 National Security Classified Information [(a)(1) of the PRA]
- P2 Relating to the appointment to Federal office [(a)(2) of the PRA]
- P3 Release would violate a Federal statute [(a)(3) of the PRA]
- P4 Release would disclose trade secrets or confidential commercial or financial information [(a)(4) of the PRA]
- P5 Release would disclose confidential advise between the President and his advisors, or between such advisors [(a)(5) of the PRA]
- P6 Release would constitute a clearly unwarranted invasion of personal privacy [(a)(6) of the PRA]

PRM. Personal record misfile defined in accordance with 44 U.S.C. 2201(3).

Deed of Gift Restrictions

- A. Closed by Executive Order 13526 governing access to national security information.
- B. Closed by statute or by the agency which originated the document.
- C. Closed in accordance with restrictions contained in donor's deed of gift.

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 concerning wells [(b)(9) of the FOIA]

66a

Dear Representative Foley:

Thank you for your recent letter to the President in which you raise important questions about the ability of American forces based overseas to operate effectively. Your letter cites past examples where Allies or other friendly states have imposed restrictions when our forces were involved in military operations.

We share your concerns about such instances, and are making every effort with Germany and other Allies to work out the most effective arrangements possible to provide for the day-by-day safety of our forces deployed there, and also the ability of our troops to carry out their missions.

Our foreign military basing needs to be determined first and foremost by military efficiency and effectiveness, which includes consideration of host country attitudes toward our forces and their missions. That said, there is an excellent record of cooperation with our Allies in this regard.

We are continuously looking at these issues, but no conclusions have yet been drawn about the possibility or desirability of restructuring our deployments in Europe.

I appreciate your interest in these important matters, and encourage you and other Members of Congress to help make the case to foreign leaders and opinion makers that the deployment of American forces abroad constitutes a major contribution to peace.

Sincerely,

Condoleezza Rice
Assistant to the President
for National Security

The Honorable
Mr. Mark Foley
House of Representatives
Washington, D.C. 20515

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Sincerely,

Condoleezza Rice
Assistant to the President
for National Security

The Honorable
Mr. Mark Souder
House of Representatives
Washington, D.C. 20515

544071 ^{666c}
10350

Congress of the United States
Washington, DC 20515

October 23, 2002

President George W. Bush
The White House
1600 Pennsylvania Avenue, NW
Washington, DC 20500

Dear President Bush:

As elected Representatives of the American people, we strongly encourage you to study the current basing structure of American military forces in the Federal Republic of Germany.

As you are well aware, our allies cannot always be counted on to support American foreign policy actions, especially when those actions involve the use of military force. In many circumstances, these allies deny American forces the use of bases on their soil for the purposes of direct military action against rogue states. In addition, these same allies also periodically deny American aircraft and warships overflight and passage rights over and through their territory.

In April 1986, Libyan agents were deemed responsible for the bombing of a West Berlin discotheque in which three people were killed, including an American serviceman. Later that month, the United States sent carrier-based strike aircraft and 18 F111 fighter bombers to destroy Libyan military installations. The F111s launched from bases in Britain but were denied overflight rights by France and Spain. As a result, these aircraft and their refueling tankers had to fly 2,800 nautical miles around these countries and through British Gibraltar in order to reach their targets in Libya.

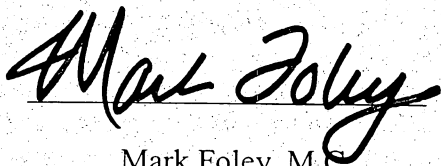
The United States has often lost important basing facilities around the globe, such as Subic Bay Naval Station in the Philippines in 1992. In addition, operational restrictions have been placed on US forces in bases in Saudi Arabia. The availability of the American-built air command and control center at the Prince Sultan airbase south of Riyadh has been repeatedly challenged by Saudi officials.

America is the world's only superpower and it is critical that that we maintain international stability and protect the world from rogue states and terrorists. The American global military presence ensures the stability and open shipping lanes that the world economy needs to prosper. The overwhelming number of American allies lack the ability to project military power beyond their borders. This has left the United States military to fill security requirements where others lack the capability. In order for the United States to perform this role, our military planners must have absolute guarantees

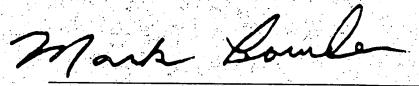
from our allies that our basing rights in their countries are secure. Given the anti-American sentiment in the recent German election as expressed through their press and candidates, we believe that now is the proper time to re-evaluate our military presence in Germany and study possible alternative basing locations for our troops and their component commands in other allied countries in the region.

Threats to our common economic and military security require cooperation and mutual assistance. This understanding seems to have waned with the end of the Cold War. New threats like the regimes in Iran and Iraq threaten the people and economies of Europe far more than those in North America. The United States must plan for the likelihood that some of its allies will fail to cooperate in confronting these common threats. In light of these uncertainties, we urge you to study possible alternative locations for American military commands in Germany to other countries with a more consistent record of supporting the United States in confronting these threats to world peace.

Sincerely,

A handwritten signature in black ink, appearing to read "Mark Foley". The signature is fluid and cursive, with the first name "Mark" being more prominent than the last name "Foley".

Mark Foley, M.C.

A handwritten signature in black ink, appearing to read "Mark Souder". The signature is fluid and cursive, with the first name "Mark" being more prominent than the last name "Souder".

Mark Souder, M.C.

6601

**THE WHITE HOUSE
CORRESPONDENCE TRACKING WORKSHEET**

ID# 544071
PAGE 1

DATE RECEIVED: 11/12/2002

NAME OF CORRESPONDENT: THE HONORABLE MARK FOLEY

SUBJECT: WRITES TO ENCOURAGE THE PRESIDENT TO STUDY THE CURRENT BASING STRUCTURE OF
AMERICAN MILITARY FORCES IN THE FEDERAL REPUBLIC OF GERMANY

		ACTION		DISPOSITION		
ROUTE TO: OFFICE/AGENCY	(STAFF NAME)	ACTION CODE	DATE YY/MM/DD	TYPE RESP	C D	COMPLETED YY/MM/DD
LEGISLATIVE AFFAIRS	NICK CALIO	ORG	2002/11/08	NC	A	02/11/25
ACTION COMMENTS: <i>Response sent to additional signer</i>						
<i>DOS</i>		<i>AA</i>	<i>1/1</i>			<i>1/1</i>
ACTION COMMENTS:						
<i>✓ INSC</i>		<i>1</i>	<i>1/1</i>			<i>1/1</i>
ACTION COMMENTS:						
			<i>1/1</i>			<i>1/1</i>
ACTION COMMENTS:						

COMMENTS

ADDITIONAL CORRESPONDENTS: 0

MEDIA: LETTER

INDIVIDUAL CODES:

REPORT CODES:

USER CODE: 1 SIGNEE

SCANNED
BY
ORM

ACTION CODES:

A - APPROPRIATE ACTION
C - COMMENT/RECOMMENDATION
D - DRAFT RESPONSE
F - FURNISH FACT SHEET
I - INFO COPY/NO ACT NECESSARY
R - DIRECT REPLY W/ COPY
S - FOR SIGNATURE
X - INTERIM REPLY

DISPOSITION CODES:

A - ANSWERED
B - NON-SEPC-REFERRAL
C - COMPLETED
S - SUSPENDED

OUTGOING CORRESPONDENCE:

TYPE RESP = INITIALS OF SIGNER
CODE = A
COMPLETED = DATE OF OUTGOING

REFER QUESTIONS AND ROUTING UPDATES TO RECORDS MANAGEMENT (ROOM 72, OE08) EXT-62590
KEEP THIS WORKSHEET ATTACHED TO THE ORIGINAL INCOMING LETTER AT ALL TIMES AND SEND COMPLETED RECORD TO
RECORDS MANAGEMENT.

544071

66e

November 25, 2002

Dear Representative Souder:

This is to acknowledge the receipt of your letter to the President urging him to study the current basing structure of American military forces in the Federal Republic of Germany.

I have shared your letter with the President's advisors and the appropriate agencies who have been formulating policy recommendations in this area. Your letter is receiving their close and careful attention. You will be receiving a more detailed response in the near future.

Thank you for your comments.

Sincerely,

Nicholas E. Calio
Assistant to the President
for Legislative Affairs

The Honorable Mark Souder
U.S. House of Representatives
Washington, D.C. 20515

Bcc for Appropriate Action: DOD
For Information: NSC

NOV 26 2002

544071 668

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The Honorable Mark Foley
U.S. House of Representatives
Washington, D.C. 20515

Bcc for Appropriate Action: DOS
For Information: NSC

NOV 26 2002

NATIONAL SECURITY COUNCIL
WASHINGTON, D.C. 20504

10208

January 10, 2003

ACTION

MEMORANDUM FOR CONDOLEEZZA RICE

THROUGH: DANIEL FRIED *DF*

FROM: WALTER ANDRUSYSZYN *[Signature]*

SUBJECT: Proposed Response to Horst Teltschik

As the organizer of the annual Wehrkunde conference, Teltschik has invited you to be the lead American speaker at the February 7-9 event. Secretary Rumsfeld decided on January 3 that he planned to attend the conference. OSD is supposed to inform Teltschik and the German government about this decision on January 10.

The proposed response regrets that you will not be able to attend and informs Teltschik that Secretary Rumsfeld plans on going.

The NSC received the incoming correspondence on November 29, 2002.

Concurrence: Anna Perez *[Signature]*

RECOMMENDATION

That you sign the letter at Tab I.

Attachments

Tab I Letter to Horst Teltschik

Tab II Incoming Correspondence

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

Dear Horst:

Thank you for your recent letter inviting me to attend the Wehrkunde Conference. I know how much work you personally invest into making this conference a success -- and it invariably is one. I have looked carefully at my calendar and, as much as I would like to attend, it is already clear that the press of work at the time of the Wehrkunde Conference will prevent me from participating. Secretary Rumsfeld is planning to attend the conference, so there will be very high-level United States attendance at Wehrkunde.

I, too, enjoyed seeing you again several weeks ago. I always consider it rewarding to hear your opinions and advice.

I look forward to the next time our paths cross.

Sincerely,

Condoleezza Rice
Assistant to the President
for National Security Affairs

Mr. Horst Teltschik
Munich Conference on
Security Policy
Dachauerstr. 128
D-80637 Munich
Germany

10208



Munich Conference on Security Policy

The Honorable
Dr. Condoleezza Rice
National Security Advisor
The White House
1600 Pennsylvania Ave., NW
Washington, D.C. 20500
USA

November 18, 2002

39th Munich Conference on Security Policy
Hotel Bayerischer Hof, February 7 to 9, 2003

Dear Condoleezza,

First of all, permit me to take this opportunity to congratulate you on the results of the November 5 elections. They constitute a tremendous success for the President and his policies.

I was very pleased to be able to meet with you during my recent visit to Washington and very much appreciated the opportunity to discuss possible topics of, and participants in, next year's Conference on Security policy with you.

We addressed, in particular, the question of who will be the US Administration's lead speaker at the conference. In this context, I would like to confirm my invitation to you to assume this role in Munich. It would be a great honor for me to welcome you as a keynote speaker either on Saturday afternoon, February 8, or Sunday morning February 9 on the panel on the future of NATO or the Gulf Region. As discussed, should you not be able to attend, I would also be delighted to welcome Vice-President Richard Cheney, Secretary of State Colin Powell or Secretary of Defense Donald Rumsfeld on the conference speaker's panel.

Even at this early stage of preparations, we have already received positive replies from more than 25 international defense and foreign ministers as well as leading members of the US Congress. I can assure you that some 350 delegates from Europe, North America and Asia will attend the event, including high-ranking representatives of the PR of China, Japan, India, Pakistan and Russia. The presence of more than 400 journalists will ensure worldwide coverage of the conference.

Munich Conference on
Security Policy

Dr. h. c. Horst Teltschik
Chairman

Administrative Office
Ms. Gaby Winter

Dachauer Straße 128
D-80637 München
Tel. +49 89 15 98 2125
Fax +49 89 15 98 2126
office@securityconference.de
www.securityconference.de



Munich Conference on Security Policy

The conference will begin with the Lord Mayor of Munich's traditional reception on Friday evening, February 7, 2003, and end with luncheon on Sunday, February 9, 2003. On Saturday evening, February 8, 2003, the Bavarian Minister-President will again invite the conference participants to a banquet in the Munich *Residenz*.

Simultaneous interpretation will be provided into German, English, French and Russian for all presentations and contributions to the discussion. The organizer will assume the costs of hotel accommodation during the conference.

Once again, it would be a pleasure for me personally if you were able to join us in Munich next year as one of the conference's most distinguished speakers.

I remain,

Yours sincerely, *with warmest regards*

Dr. h.c. Horst Teltschik

Dr. h.c. Horst Teltschik
Chairman
Munich Conference on Security Policy

Enclosures

67c

BMW Group

Facsimile Transmission

To/Company: Ms. Liz Lineberry
 Telephone:
 Fax: 202-456-2883
 From/Department: Astrid E. Schulte / V4-W
 Telephone: (202) 393-2150
 Fax: (202) 393-2151
 Date: November 25, 2002
 Number of Pages: 3
 (including cover):
 Re: Munich Conference on Security Policy

As per the suggestion of your office, I am forwarding via fax a letter from Dr. Horst Teltschik to Dr. Rice.

I appreciate you bringing this letter to Dr. Rice's attention.

Have a good evening.

Astrid Schulte

Speaking Request

TO: Anna Perez

cc: Liz Lineberry

Company
 BMW (US) Holding Corp.

BMW Group Company

Office address
 1399 New York Avenue, NW
 Suite 425
 Washington, D.C. 20005

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FORM	SUBJECT/TITLE	PAGES	DATE	RESTRICTION(S)
Memorandum	Memorandum - To: Condoleezza Rice - From: Matt Bryza	1	01/06/2003	P1/b1; P5;

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COLLECTION:

National Security Council - European Affairs

SERIES:

Bekkering, Michelle - Chron Files

FOLDER TITLE:

January 2003 [8]

FRC ID:

35172

OA Num.:

NSC 0935

NARA Num.:

FOIA IDs and Segments:

2014-0090-F

RESTRICTION CODES

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

- P1 National Security Classified Information [(a)(1) of the PRA]
- P2 Relating to the appointment to Federal office [(a)(2) of the PRA]
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PRM. Personal record misfile defined in accordance with 44 U.S.C. 2201(3).

Deed of Gift Restrictions

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- B. Closed by statute or by the agency which originated the document.
- C. Closed in accordance with restrictions contained in donor's deed of gift.

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Letter	[Letter]	2	N.D.	P1/b1; P5;

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FORM	SUBJECT/TITLE	PAGES	DATE	RESTRICTION(S)
NSC Profile Sheet	NSC/ RMO Profile	1	11/12/2002	P1/b1;

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