

DECLASSIFIED

5

RELEASED

SECRET/EXDIS

8928741

'89 DEC-11 7:22 PM

EUR/SOV:A R VERSHBOW:JSM
12/11/89 647-9559
P:RNKIMMITT

S/S:
EUR:CKKAMMAN

S/S-0:

S/S ONLY

IMMEDIATE SECRETARY

EXDIS

E.O. 12956: DECL: OADR

TAGS: OVIP (BAKER, JAMES A.), PREL, UR, US

SUBJECT: INFORMATION MEMO: MOVING FROM MALTA TO THE JUNE
SUMMIT: A CHECKLIST OF U.S.-SOVIET ISSUES (S/S }

TO: THE SECRETARY

THROUGH: ROBERT M. KIMMITT, ACTING

FROM: EUR - CURTIS W. KAMMAN, ACTING

SUBJECT: MOVING FROM MALTA TO THE JUNE SUMMIT: A
CHECKLIST OF U.S.-SOVIET ISSUES

THE ATTACHED CHECKLIST SUMMARIZES THE STEPS WE WILL NEED TO TAKE TO FOLLOW-UP ON THE DISCUSSIONS IN MALTA, BOTH TO PREPARE FOR THE 1990 SUMMIT AND, MORE IMMEDIATELY, YOUR FEBRUARY MEETING WITH SHEVARDNADZE. THE LIST INCLUDES U.S. INITIATIVES AT MALTA AND OBJECTIVES WE HAVE SET WITH THE SOVIETS FOR THE SUMMIT. IT ALSO NOTES AREAS IN WHICH WE MAY NEED TO DEAL WITH NEW SOVIET PROPOSALS, INCLUDING THOSE FORESHADOWED IN THE STILLBORN DRAFT "DIRECTIVES" PAPER THAT SHEVARDNADZE GAVE YOU IN MALTA.

THERE IS OBVIOUSLY A LOT OF INTERAGENCY SPADE WORK TO BE

EXDIS REVIEW
Cat. A - Caption removed; transferred to O/FADRC
Cat. B - Transferred to O/FADRC with additional access controlled by S/S
Cat. C - Caption and custody retained by S/S
Reviewed by: Elijah Kelly Jr.
Date: 10/14/93 19__

RM
AV
CUI
S/S
S/S

United States Department of State
Office of FOI, Privacy, & Classification Review
Review Authority: SELLIN, TED
Date: 06/22/94
Case ID: 9303775

SECRET

DECLASSIFIED

COPY FROM THE COLLECTION OF THE NATIONAL SECURITY ARCHIVE

DECLASSIFIED

SECRET

2

DONE ON THE VARIOUS ECONOMIC INITIATIVES. THE HIGHEST PRIORITY IS THE COMMERCIAL AGREEMENT. IN THIS REGARD, WE MUST BE ALERT TO EFFORTS BY COMMERCE AND PERHAPS OTHERS TO LINK THE COMMERCIAL AGREEMENT TO THE BILATERAL INVESTMENT TREATY (BIT) SO AS TO MAXIMIZE OUR LEVERAGE ON THE LATTER. WHILE THERE IS SOME MERIT TO THIS APPROACH, IT COULD RISK DELAYING CONCLUSION OF A COMMERCIAL AGREEMENT IF WE WERE TO LINK IT TOO TIGHTLY TO THE MORE DIFFICULT BIT NEGOTIATIONS.

AS ALWAYS, THE MOST DIFFICULT AREA WITHIN THE USG WILL BE ARMS CONTROL. IN START, WE NOT ONLY MUST OVERCOME INTERAGENCY LOGJAMS ON THE THREE ISSUES TARGETED FOR RESOLUTION IN FEBRUARY, BUT WE SHOULD BE PREPARED TO ADDRESS THE ISSUES THE SOVIETS WILL RAISE, PARTICULARLY SLCMS (PERHAPS BY BEEFING UP OUR DECLARATORY APPROACH AS A BASIS FOR RESOLVING THE PROBLEM). IN CW, WHILE IT WILL NOT BE POSSIBLE TO TABLE OUR DRAFT BILATERAL DESTRUCTION AGREEMENT DURING THE CURRENT ROUND, WE WILL WANT TO GET IT TO THE SOVIETS EARLY IN THE NEW YEAR.

THE FEBRUARY MINISTERIAL SHOULD ALSO BE VIEWED AS AN OPPORTUNITY TO MOVE OUR DIALOGUE ON REGIONAL ISSUES OFF DEAD CENTER. WE SUGGEST YOU PROPOSE ANOTHER CYCLE OF EXPERTS' MEETINGS AT THAT TIME. GIVEN URGENCY OF THE SITUATION IN CENTRAL AMERICA, HOWEVER, IT MAY BE USEFUL FOR BERNIE ARONSON TO MEET PAVLOV EVEN EARLIER. SIMILARLY, GIVEN THE SIGNS OF SOVIET FLEXIBILITY ON AN AFGHANISTAN TRANSITION SCHEME, YOU WILL WANT TO BE PREPARED TO ADDRESS THIS IN FEBRUARY (PERHAPS EVEN SKETCH OUT A TRANSITION TIMETABLE), AND POSSIBLY TAKE SOME PRELIMINARY SOUNDINGS THROUGH JACK MATLOCK. WHILE WE WANT TO AVOID ANY LINKAGE, AN ACTIVE APPROACH TO AFGHANISTAN COULD, INDIRECTLY, ENCOURAGE THE SOVIETS TO LEAN HARDER ON THE CUBANS AND SANDINISTAS.

ATTACHMENT:

CHECKLIST "MOVING FROM MALTA TO THE JUNE SUMMIT"

DRAFTED:EUR/SOV: AVERSHBOW/JTEFFT/SOV STAFF
12/8/89 EXT. 79559 . SESOVFO 380

CLEARED: P:EEDELMAN
T:JTIMBIE
S/P:REINHORN
PM:SANDREASEN
S/P:FFUKUYAMA
C:NBURNS
HA:RSCHIFTER

SECRET

DECLASSIFIED

DECLASSIFIED

SECRET

3

CHECKLIST: MOVING FROM MALTA TO THE JUNE SUMMIT

ARMS CONTROL OBJECTIVES

- 0 START: RESOLVE ALL SUBSTANTIVE ISSUES (AND, IF POSSIBLE, CONCLUDE A TREATY) BY THE SUMMIT. USG NEEDS TO:
 - PREPARE SECRETARY TO ENGAGE SHEVARDNADZE ON ALCMS, NON-DEPLOYED MISSILES AND TELEMTRY ENCRYPTION WITH AIM OF RESOLVING THESE ISSUES AT FEBRUARY MINISTERIAL.
 - FILL IN MAJOR GAPS IN U.S. POSITION -- NON-DEPLOYED MISSILES, RV COUNTING RULES FOR NEW MISSILE TYPES, MOBILE ICBM LIMITS (E.G. NUMBER OF MOBILE ICBM RVS TO BE ALLOWED), MOBILE VERIFICATION REGIME, DURATION, PHASING OF REDUCTIONS -- FOR TABLING BEFORE OR AT FEBRUARY MINISTERIAL.
 - PREPARE SECRETARY TO ENGAGE ON ISSUES SOVIETS WILL RAISE SUCH AS START/ABM RELATIONSHIP AND SLCMS.
 - FILL IN OTHER GAPS IN U.S. POSITION BY SECOND MINISTERIAL.
- 0 D AND S: NO SPECIFIC OBJECTIVES SET FOR SUMMIT; OUR MAIN GOAL WILL BE TO AVOID D AND S HOLDING UP START TREATY.
 - PRESS SOVIETS TO DROP PROPOSED AGREED UNDERSTANDING THAT ABM TREATY VIOLATION IS GROUNDS FOR START WITHDRAWAL.
 - DEFLECT SOVIET PUSH (IN OR OUTSIDE D&S FORUM) FOR BAN ON ASAT WEAPONS.
- 0 NUCLEAR TESTING: COMPLETE TTBT AND PNET VERIFICATION PROTOCOLS FOR SIGNATURE AT SUMMIT.
 - SHOULD BE DOABLE, THOUGH NUMEROUS TECHNICAL QUESTIONS MUST BE AGREED.
 - WILL LIKELY HAVE TO DEFLECT SOVIET EFFORTS TO ADDRESS NEXT STEPS IN NUCLEAR TESTING.
- 0 CHEMICAL WEAPONS: COMPLETE AND SIGN BILATERAL DESTRUCTION AGREEMENT AT SUMMIT.

SECRET

DECLASSIFIED

DECLASSIFIED

SECRET

4

- NEED TO TABLE DRAFT AGREEMENT.
- PUSH AT FEBRUARY MINISTERIAL FOR SOVIET COMMITMENT TO PURSUE BILATERAL DESTRUCTION AGREEMENT AND ACCEPT KEY ELEMENTS OF MULTILATERAL ASPECT OF UNGA INITIATIVE (E.G. RETENTION OF TWO PERCENT OF STOCKPILE PENDING ADHERENCE BY ALL CW-CAPABLE STATES) IN RETURN FOR OUR COMMITMENT TO HALT PRODUCTION BY CW CONVENTION ENTRY INTO FORCE.
- WILL HAVE TO HANDLE SOVIET CALL FOR COMPLETING MULTILATERAL CONVENTION IN 1990-91.
- o CFE: NO SPECIFIC OBJECTIVE FOR SUMMIT, BUT WILL WANT TO MAINTAIN PRESSURE TO COMPLETE ACCORD IN 1990.
- NEED TO DECIDE HOW TO HANDLE SOVIET SUGGESTION THAT DISCUSSIONS BEGIN ON CFE II FOR FURTHER REDUCTIONS.
- NEED TO DECIDE HOW TO HANDLE SOVIET SUGGESTION FOR EARLY BILATERAL ACCORD PROVIDING FOR RADICAL REDUCTIONS IN U.S. AND SOVIET STATIONED FORCES OR POSSIBLE PROPOSAL FOR CENTRAL EUROPEAN PERSONNEL CEILING.
- o OPEN SKIES: NO SPECIFIC OBJECTIVE FOR SUMMIT, BUT WE WILL WANT TO USE BILATERAL CONTACTS TO PRESS FOR EARLY AGREEMENT.
- BE CLEAR THAT OPEN SKIES SHOULD BE CONSIDERED APART FROM OPEN LANDS, OPEN SEAS OR OPEN SPACE.
- o PROLIFERATION: MAINTAIN U.S.-SOVIET SUBSTANTIVE CONTACTS ON CW, MISSILE TECH AND NUCLEAR NON-PROLIFERATION.
- PRESS SOVIETS TO OBSERVE MTCR EXPORT GUIDELINES.
- USG WILL HAVE TO DECIDE IF THERE ARE OTHER DESIRABLE SPECIFIC STEPS (E.G. SUMMIT JOINT STATEMENT).
- o OTHER: USG WILL HAVE TO DECIDE HOW TO RESPOND TO OTHER POSSIBLE SOVIET IDEAS FOR SUMMIT, E.G. AGREEMENT ON CUTTING MILITARY BUDGETS, AGREEMENT ON CODIFYING PRINCIPLES FOR ENHANCING OPENNESS IN MILITARY AND NON-MILITARY ACTIVITIES.

SECRET

DECLASSIFIED

DECLASSIFIED

SECRET

5

REGIONAL PROBLEMS

- 0 NO SPECIFIC OBJECTIVES SET FOR SUMMIT, BUT SOVIETS ON NOTICE WE NEED TO MOVE OUR DIALOGUE OFF DEAD-CENTER.
- SIDES MIGHT CONSIDER ANOTHER CYCLE OF REGIONAL EXPERTS' MEETINGS. AT FEBRUARY MINISTERIAL SECRETARY COULD PROPOSE CYCLE BE CONDUCTED FEBRUARY-APRIL.
- 0 WILL WANT TO KEEP PRESSURE ON MOSCOW TO USE ITS INFLUENCE TO CURB NICARAGUAN AND CUBAN SUPPORT FOR FMLN.
- MINISTERS MEET IN FEBRUARY ON EVE OF NICARAGUAN ELECTIONS; GOOD OPPORTUNITY TO UNDERSCORE OUR CONCERN THAT ELECTIONS BE FREE AND FAIR.
- 0 SOVIETS WILL STILL HAVE AFGHANISTAN AT TOP OF THEIR LIST.
- WILL EITHER OR BOTH SIDES BE WILLING/ABLE TO ENGAGE ON POSSIBLE TRANSITION ARRANGEMENTS? WE MAY WISH TO DEVELOP A TRANSITION PLAN AND THEN DECIDE HOW TO USE UPCOMING HIGH-LEVEL MEETINGS WITH SOVIETS TO ADVANCE IT.
- 0 WILL WANT TO KEEP ENCOURAGING SOVIETS TO PLAY POSITIVE ROLE IN MIDDLE EAST PEACE PROCESS, AND TO PRESS FOR ESTABLISHMENT OF DIPLOMATIC RELATIONS WITH ISRAEL ON THE MINIMUM TERMS SUGGESTED AT MALTA.
- 0 WE SHOULD TRY TO SECURE AGREEMENT TO PERM FIVE CONSULTATIONS ON A CAMBODIAN SETTLEMENT.

HUMAN RIGHTS

- 0 SOVIETS IN MALTA RESURFACED IDEA OF DRAWING UP A PROGRAM OF COOPERATION IN HUMAN RIGHTS AND HUMANITARIAN AFFAIRS.
- FORMAL "PROGRAM" MAY NOT BE NECESSARY, BUT WE COULD CONSIDER JOINT STATEMENT AS WAS CONSIDERED AT WYOMING.

SECRET

DECLASSIFIED

DECLASSIFIED

SECRET

b

- SCHIFTER HAS DESIGNED COOPERATIVE PROGRAMS ENCOMPASSING RULE OF LAW, PSYCHIATRIC ABUSE, REVIEW OF DISPUTED POLITICAL PRISONERS, AND HUMANITARIAN/SOCIAL ISSUES INCLUDING WORKER SAFETY AND NEEDS OF HANDICAPPED.
- THE PROPOSALS HAVE BEEN OUTLINED IN LETTERS TO THE SOVIET MFA. SCHIFTER TO DISCUSS THEM FURTHER IN A MEETING WITH DEPUTY FOREIGN MINISTER ADAMISHIN ON DECEMBER 11.
- o PRESIDENT PROPOSED IN MALTA THAT USSR RESOLVE ALL DIVIDED FAMILY CASES BY THE 1990 SUMMIT.
- SCHIFTER TO PRESS THIS ISSUE IN DECEMBER 11 MEETING WITH ADAMISHIN, AND MAY TRAVEL TO MOSCOW BEFORE MINISTERIAL TO MEET WITH SOVIET VISA AUTHORITIES.
- IT WILL ALSO BE ADDRESSED IN HUMAN RIGHTS WORKING GROUP AT MOSCOW MINISTERIAL.

MALTA ECONOMIC INITIATIVES

- o COMPLETING COMMERCIAL TRADE AGREEMENT AND GRANTING SOVIETS MOST-FAVORED-NATION TRADE STATUS BY 1990 SUMMIT.
- WE NEED TO WORK OUT AN INTERAGENCY POSITION NOW IN ORDER TO START TRADE NEGOTIATIONS SHORTLY.
- WE NEED TO WATCH FOR EFFORTS BY COMMERCE AND PERHAPS OTHERS TO LINK COMMERCIAL AGREEMENT WITH THE INVESTMENT TREATY AND, THEREBY, SLOW DOWN NEGOTIATION OF FORMER.
- WE SHOULD CONTINUE TO URGE SOVIETS TO PASS AND IMPLEMENT EMIGRATION LEGISLATION.
- o SUPPORTING OBSERVER STATUS FOR SOVIET UNION IN GATT AFTER URUGUAY ROUND.
- WE NEED TO WORK OUT INTERAGENCY THE USG POSITION ON TYPE OF OBSERVERSHIP WE SHOULD SEEK FOR SOVIETS AND THEN CONSULT WITH OTHER GATT CONTRACTING PARTIES.
- o EXPANDING U.S.-SOVIET TECHNICAL COOPERATION.
- WE ARE WAITING FOR SOVIET REPLY TO THE EIGHT PROPOSALS WE MADE AT MALTA.

SECRET

DECLASSIFIED

DECLASSIFIED

SECRET

7

- IN MEANTIME, WE ARE DOING PRELIMINARY WORK INTERAGENCY, SO THAT WE CAN MOVE QUICKLY ONCE WE HAVE SOVIET RESPONSE.
- THERE IS HIGH-LEVEL ENTHUSIASM AROUND TOWN FROM VARIOUS AGENCIES INVOLVED IN THE PROPOSALS (FTC, CEA).
- o EXPLORING WITH CONGRESS LIFTING THE LENDING RESTRICTIONS ON USG CREDITS TO SOVIET UNION AFTER A JACKSON-VANIK WAIVER.
- WE SHOULD BEGIN TO SOUND OUT CONGRESS AND HUMAN RIGHTS GROUPS EVEN BEFORE A JACKSON-VANIK WAIVER, TO PAVE WAY FOR MOVING ON THIS LATER IN 1990.
- o BEGINNING DISCUSSIONS OF BILATERAL INVESTMENT TREATY (BIT).
- WE NEED TO WORK OUT AN INTERAGENCY POSITION NOW IN ORDER TO START NEGOTIATIONS SHORTLY.
- COMMERCE WOULD LIKE TO USE LEVERAGE AFFORDED BY NEGOTIATING COMMERCIAL AGREEMENT AT SAME TIME TO GET BEST DEAL POSSIBLE ON BIT.
- o IMPROVING TIES BETWEEN SOVIETS AND OECD AND EXPANDING EAST-WEST ECONOMIC COOPERATION THROUGH ECONOMIC BASKET OF CSCE.
- WE NEED TO WORK OUT USG POSITION ON BOTH ISSUES.
- WE THEN NEED TO CONSULT WITH OUR OECD PARTNERS ON CREATING THE CENTER FOR ECONOMIC TRANSITION, WHICH WOULD BE FORUM FOR SOVIET CONTACT WITH OECD.
- WE ARE ALREADY CONSULTING WITH FRG, AND SHOULD SOON FOLLOW UP WITH OTHER CSCE PARTNERS, ABOUT STRUCTURE AND SUBSTANCE OF ECONOMIC CONFERENCE SET FOR THIS SPRING.
- OUR OBJECTIVE AT THAT CONFERENCE WILL BE TO PROMOTE BASIC POLITICAL AND ECONOMIC REFORM TO CREATE PRECONDITIONS FOR STABLE AND LONG-TERM EAST-WEST ECONOMIC COOPERATION.
- WE WILL NEED TO DISSUADE FRG FROM ITS IDEA OF USING THIS FORUM PRIMARILY TO PROMOTE COMMERCIAL RELATIONS.

SECRET

DECLASSIFIED

DECLASSIFIED

SECRET

8

RESPONDING TO SOVIET ECONOMIC PROPOSALS

- 0 SOVIETS PROPOSED WE "DEVELOP JOINT INITIATIVES, CONTINUE TO EXAMINE PROBLEMS OF INTERSTATE RELATIONS IN THE NORTH-SOUTH PERSPECTIVE AND WAYS OF STEERING THEM AWAY FROM SITUATION OF CRISIS AS WELL AS THE ISSUES OF INTERNATIONAL DEBT."
- WE SHOULD DEFLECT THIS ATTEMPT BY SOVIETS TO WORK TOGETHER ON SENSITIVE ISSUES WHERE THEY ARE PRONE TO POSTURE.
- 0 OTHER SOVIET SUGGESTIONS AT MALTA WERE LARGELY OVERTAKEN BY PRESIDENT'S ECONOMIC INITIATIVES.

OPEN LANDS

- 0 SOVIETS HAVE INDICATED INTEREST IN "OPEN LANDS" PROPOSAL Tabled BY SECRETARY IN WYOMING.
- EMBASSY MOSCOW IS ATTEMPTING TO OBTAIN AUTHORITATIVE SOVIET RESPONSE TO PROPOSAL.
- EUR WILL ASK MFA USA ADMINISTRATION CHIEF OBUKHOV, DURING HIS LATE-DECEMBER VISIT TO U.S., TO AGREE TO DATE AND VENUE FOR EXPERTS' MEETING ON IMPLEMENTATION.

KIEV AND NEW YORK CONSULATES

- 0 SOVIETS WISH QUICKLY TO IMPLEMENT 1985 GENEVA SUMMIT DECISION TO EXCHANGE CONSULATES IN KIEV AND NEW YORK.
- CONGRESSIONAL RESTRICTIONS HAVE PREVENTED U.S. FROM CARRYING OUT AN EXCHANGE. AN AMENDMENT TO RESTRICTIONS IS NOW BEFORE CONGRESS AND MAY PASS IN SPRING.
- EUR HAS PROPOSED TO SOVIETS BEGINNING INFORMAL TALKS ON IMPLEMENTATION OF AN EXCHANGE EVEN PRIOR TO PASSAGE OF LEGISLATION. THESE DISCUSSIONS ARE LIKELY TO BEGIN IN LATE DECEMBER.

ENVIRONMENT

SECRET

DECLASSIFIED

DECLASSIFIED

SECRET

9

- 0 HOSTING A CONFERENCE NEXT FALL TO NEGOTIATE A FRAMEWORK TREATY ON GLOBAL CLIMATE CHANGE, AFTER WORKING GROUPS OF U.N.-SPONSORED INTERGOVERNMENTAL PANEL ON CLIMATE CHANGE SUBMIT THEIR FINAL REPORT.
- SOVIETS ARE EXPECTED TO PARTICIPATE.
- USG COORDINATION FOR CONFERENCE IS DIVIDED BETWEEN PRESIDENTIAL SCIENCE ADVISOR BROMLEY, NSC STAFF AND EPA ADMINISTRATOR REILLY. OES HAS LEAD IN DEPARTMENT.
- FIRST INTERAGENCY CONSULTATIONS WILL TAKE PLACE IN MID-DECEMBER.
- 0 CONVENING AN INTERNATIONAL MEETING AT WHITE HOUSE NEXT SPRING FOR TOP-LEVEL SCIENTIFIC, ENVIRONMENTAL AND ECONOMIC OFFICIALS TO DISCUSS GLOBAL CLIMATE CHANGE ISSUES.
- PRESIDENT INVITED SOVIETS TO JOIN MEETING BY SENDING THEIR TOP OFFICIALS IN THE FIELD. SOVIETS HAVE NOT YET RESPONDED BUT WE EXPECT THEM TO ACCEPT
- WE EXPECT OSTP {BROMLEY} WILL TAKE WHITE HOUSE LEAD IN ORGANIZING MEETING, IN CONJUNCTION WITH EPA {REILLY} AND STATE/OES.
- WE EXPECT WHITE HOUSE'S APPROACH TO THIS MEETING TO BE DISCUSSED SOON BY DOMESTIC POLICY COUNCIL.

STUDENT EXCHANGES

- 0 INCREASING SIGNIFICANTLY UNIVERSITY EXCHANGES SO THAT AN ADDITIONAL 1000 AMERICAN AND 1000 SOVIET COLLEGE STUDENTS ARE STUDYING IN EACH OTHER'S COUNTRY BY BEGINNING OF 1991 SCHOOL YEAR.
- WE FAVOR MODELING INITIATIVE AFTER FULBRIGHT PROGRAM. 1000 STUDENTS IS TARGET THAT MAY BE ADJUSTED TO ACADEMIC COMMUNITY'S ABILITY TO FURNISH CANDIDATES AND ABSORB SOVIET STUDENTS.
- WE WILL NEED NEW FUNDING (10 MILLION DOLLARS OR MORE) AND MUST COORDINATE WITH SENATOR BOREN.
- A STEERING GROUP OF NSC AND SOV STAFF IS WORKING

SECRET

DECLASSIFIED

DECLASSIFIED

SECRET

10

WITH USIA TO CONSOLIDATE ADMINISTRATION'S VIEWS AND
TO PRESENT THEM TO CONGRESS (BOREN) LATER THIS MONTH.

YY

SECRET

DECLASSIFIED