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WITHDRAWAL SHEET

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File Folder: [Washington Summit:] Background Book for
Meeting Between President Reagan and
General Secretary Gorbachev, Washington, DC,
12/08/1987-12/10/1987 (2)

Date: 08/25/2004

DOCUMENT NO. & TYPE	SUBJECT/TITLE	DATE	RESTRICTION
1. background paper	Overview Soviet Human Rights, 2p R 3/16/06 NLSR 7-046/7 #138	n.d.	B1
2. background paper	re cases of special interest to US Government, 1p R u u #139	n.d.	B1
3. background paper	re US-Soviet human rights dialogue, 1p R u u #140	n.d.	B1
4. background paper	re representation list cases, 1p R u u #141	n.d.	B1
5. background paper	re emigration and family visits, 2p R u u #142	n.d.	B1
6. background paper	re political dissent in Soviet Union, 1p R u u #143	n.d.	B1
7. background paper	re religion in Soviet Union, 2p R u u #144	n.d.	B1
8. background paper	re proposed Moscow human rights conference, 1p R u u #145	n.d.	B1
9. background paper	re Soviet human rights agenda, 1p R u u #146	n.d.	B1
10. background paper	re regional dialogue, 1p R u u #147	n.d.	B1
11. background paper	re Afghanistan, 2p R u u #148	n.d.	B1
12. background paper	re Central America, 1p R u u #149	n.d.	B1
13. background paper	re Soviets and Iran-Iraq War, 2p R u u #150	n.d.	B1
14. background paper	re Middle East peace process, 1p R u u #151	n.d.	B1
15. background paper	re southern Africa, 1p R u u #152	n.d.	B1

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II. HUMAN RIGHTS

1. Overview
2. Cases of Special Interest to U.S. Government
3. US-Soviet Human Rights Dialogue
4. Representation List Cases (Separated spouses,
divided families, dual nationals)
5. Emigration and Family Visits
6. Political Dissent in the Soviet Union
7. Religion in the Soviet Union
8. Proposed Moscow Human Rights Conference
9. Soviet Human Rights Agenda

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OVERVIEW - SOVIET HUMAN RIGHTS

I. GENERAL

- o Some improvement in Soviet human rights picture during the past year. Much more remains to be done, however. We may see back sliding as a result of political struggles in Moscow.
- o In contrast to the past, the Soviets have accepted the topic of human rights as a legitimate part of our bilateral discussions. We have taken advantage of this to conduct regular talks in which we can more thoroughly emphasize our concerns and to identify areas for joint cooperation.
- o We are urging the Soviets to resolve specific cases and to change their laws to make progress more long-lasting.

II. EMIGRATION

- o Since April, Jewish emigration has been at a plateau of 700-900 per month. This is much better than last year, but still far below the average of the 1970's. Emigration of Germans and Armenians is also up significantly.

III. REPRESENTATION LISTS

- o Soviets have made progress in resolving cases of special interest to you, such as Vladimir Feltsman, Ida Nudel, and Vladimir Slepak.
- o Soviets continue to resolve our divided family cases, but several long-term cases, which the Soviets have promised to release, are still unresolved.
- o Soviets have given exit permission in 6 divided spouse cases and 3 blocked marriage cases thus far this year. Nine cases, including four blocked marriages, remain on our list.
- o Soviets have resolved five dual national cases this year. 18 cases remain; resolution of 3 of these cases has been promised.

IV. OTHER HUMAN RIGHTS ISSUES

- o Since February, over 200 political prisoners released, but not officially rehabilitated. Believed to be from 1,000 to 10,000 more, including hundreds in psychiatric institutions.
- o Over the past two years, the Soviets began permitting limited freedom of expression in some publications and

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demonstrations, but there has been markedly less tolerance in recent weeks. Religious groups and practitioners still persecuted.

- o Soviets have reduced the jamming of VOA and the BBC, but jamming of Radio Free Europe/Radio Liberty and other foreign broadcasters continues.
- o Soviets showing little flexibility on accepting new commitments at the Vienna CSCE Meeting.

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CASES OF SPECIAL INTEREST TO US GOVERNMENT

I. BACKGROUND

- o List of cases of special interest first presented by Secretary Shultz to Shevardnadze in September 1986.
- o You discussed them with Gorbachev in Reykjavik (October 1986) and in Washington with Shevardnadze (September 1987).
- o Many of these cases have been resolved: David Goldfarb, Irina Ratushinskaya, Vytautas Skuodis, Ida Nudel, Vladimir Slepak.
- o Soviets also resolved case of pianist Vladimir Feltsman, in which you have taken a personal interest.

II. SUMMARIES OF CASES REMAINING

- o All remaining divided spouses and blocked marriages have been placed in this special category.
 - Remaining divided spouses: Viktor Faermark, Mariya Jurgutiene, Vladislav Kostin, Pyatras Pakenas, Sergey Petrov.
 - Remaining blocked marriages: Tatyana Alexandrovich, Yevgeniy Grigorishin, Lyubov Kurillo, Viktor Novikov.
- o Iosif Begun was told in September 1987 he could emigrate. But cannot leave without his son. Son cannot go because he and his wife would be stripped of their Soviet citizenship and would therefore not be able to return to the Soviet Union to visit those relatives still left behind.
- o Naum Meiman is refused on "state security" grounds, although his sensitive work was done 30 years ago. His wife Inna was allowed to come to the U.S. for cancer treatment in January, but died here three weeks later.
- o Leyla Gordiyevskaya and her two daughters are the family of a "defector."
- o Abe Stolar was born in Chicago and is a U.S. citizen, as is his son Michael. Stolar family cannot leave because Michael's wife cannot get parental permission.
- o Alexander Lerner has been refused on "state security" grounds since 1971, although he last performed sensitive work in 1965 and a scientific colleague has been allowed to emigrate.

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US-SOVIET HUMAN RIGHTS DIALOGUE

I. BACKGROUND

- o Soviets previously considered US raising subject of human rights as "interference in internal affairs."
- o At Reykjavik they acknowledged human rights as a valid topic for discussion and agreed to include in regular discussions of bilateral issues.
- o Now accept a range of contacts to discuss laws and procedures, as well as individual human rights cases:
 - Working groups on human rights at Shultz/Shevardnadze level.
 - Yearly "Bilateral Review Commission" talks on bilateral issues and human rights.
 - Quarterly review meetings between Soviet Foreign Ministry and Embassy in Moscow.
- o When human rights raised, Soviets now counterattack on supposed US human rights violations: unemployment; homelessness; alleged persecution of anti-war demonstrators and native American Leonard Peltier; alleged detention of the Bogatyys, a defector couple.

II. FUTURE OF DIALOGUE

- o During recent trip to Moscow by Deputy Secretary Whitehead, Soviets advanced suggestions for increased cooperation on human rights. We have indicated a willingness to explore these areas, many of which we already cover with the Soviets within the bilateral framework.
 - Contacts between parliamentarians, between legal specialists, between writers, and with officials of various agencies concerned with emigration and immigration.
 - Collaboration on alcohol and drug addiction, combatting terrorism, and standards for psychiatric commitment (with our proviso that American Psychiatric Association is the appropriate group to handle US side).
- o We have stressed to Soviets that such dialogue is not an end in itself, but a means to achieve improved performance; process is not a substitute for progress.

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REPRESENTATION LIST CASES

I. MARRIAGE CASES: DIVIDED SPOUSES AND BLOCKED MARRIAGES

- o Since August, resolution of two blocked-marriage cases (Tatyana Pinyayeva and Yuriy Kasparyan) and six divided-spouse cases (Matvey Finkel, Svetlana Braun, Elena Kaplan, Galina Goltzman Michelson, Yuriy Balovlenkov, Leonid Sheyba).
- o (Blocked marriage occurs when Soviets prevent wedding, either by not giving American partner a visa or by refusing to perform ceremony.)
- o Two divided spouses also recently refused permission to emigrate (Sergey Petrov and Viktor Faermark).
- o We've called for resolution of remaining 5 divided-spouse cases and 4 blocked-marriage cases by summit.

II. DIVIDED FAMILIES

- o Soviet families applying to join relatives in US who are other than spouses of US citizens.
- o Most families on this list Armenian. Most Soviet Jews still apply for Israel, in the belief this will improve chances to get exit permission.
- o Recent increase in Armenian emigration has kept list from growing. About 100 families now on list.

III. DUAL NATIONALS

- o These are US citizens who are also considered by the Soviets to be Soviet citizens.
- o So far 5 cases resolved in 1987; 18 cases remain.
- o Most were born in the US and brought to the Soviet Union as children, or were born in the Soviet Union to US-citizen parents.
- o Soviets insist that, in order to leave, dual nationals apply to emigrate. Many have difficulty obtaining invitation from a close relative in the US.
- o Best-known case: Abe Stolar family cannot leave because daughter-in-law cannot get her parents' permission.

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EMIGRATION AND FAMILY VISITS

I. JEWISH EMIGRATION

- o Since April, Jewish emigration on a plateau of 700-900 a month. About 7,000 so far this year. Year-end total expected to be between 8,000 and 9,000. (In October Shevardnadze suggested 12-13,000 would be the 1987 total.)
- o Total was 914 for all of 1986.
- o In peak year of 1979, over 50,000 Jews emigrated, an average of over 4,000 per month.
- o Totals held down by Soviet procedures:
 - Arbitrary refusals on grounds that applicant has "knowledge of state secrets."
 - Requirement that even adults have parental permission to emigrate.
 - Requirement that applicants have an invitation from a close relative who lives abroad.

II. ETHNIC GERMAN AND ARMENIAN EMIGRATION

- o These two are the only other groups Soviets allow to emigrate.
- o Monthly levels still increasing, now comparable to peak years in late 70's and early 80's.
- o Most ethnic Germans go to the Federal Republic of Germany, most Armenians to US
- o Soviet German emigration 783 in 1986; about 12,000 so far this year; over 2,000 in October.
- o Soviet Armenian emigration 247 in 1986; so far this year about 5,000 have received exit permission; over 1,300 in October.

III. FAMILY VISITS

- o From April 1 - September 30, Soviets let about 2,500 persons come to US on family visits, compared with about 1,000 in same period last year.
- o Represents only a small percentage of those who would like to come. Many visa requests still denied, even to visit sick or dying relatives.
- o Also slightly easier this year for former Soviet citizens to return on visits to the USSR.

IV. Soviets in Need of Medical Treatment

- o We frequently ask the Soviets to permit Soviet citizens to travel abroad for medical treatment. Some, like Benjamin Charny, who has cancer, are also refuseniks who have close relatives abroad.

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POLITICAL DISSENT IN THE SOVIET UNION

I. REPRESSION OF DISSENT BUILT INTO SOVIET SYSTEM

- o Gorbachev inherited a highly repressive domestic policy toward political dissenters. Most of the repression remains in force.

II. LIMITED LIBERALIZATION TAKING PLACE

- o Some significant changes have been initiated, albeit within well-defined limits. None challenges the supremacy of the Communist Party or its leadership:
 - Some tolerance of demonstrations and unofficial publications, although recently the attitude has hardened. Demonstrations have been forcibly broken up and the participants subsequently harassed.
 - Release of more than 200 political prisoners. Release has slowed to a trickle, however, and many of those released have been harassed as they attempt to re-enter society. Many had to sign statements of guilt or promises to repudiate their beliefs, and none was rehabilitated.
 - Announced review of Criminal Code that may include repeal or revision of articles that have been used to convict political dissenters. Thus far, no other changes in the legal code have been announced. The Soviets have announced their intention to rescind the use of internal exile in sentencing.

III. US AGENDA

- o Release of all political prisoners, which Western observers suggest number between 1,000 to 10,000. We express particular concern for the prisoners in Perm Camp 36-1 who are subject to especially harsh treatment. Continue to urge the Soviets to account for honorary American citizen Raoul Wallenberg and to release the results of last year's reported review of his case.
- o Repeal of laws that facilitate the suppression of political dissent.
- o Rehabilitation of the released prisoners and an end to harassment.

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I. SOVIET GOAL TO ELIMINATE RELIGION

- o The Soviet Union is an atheist state which ideologically seeks the elimination of religion.
- o The Soviet Constitution guarantees the freedom to practice one's religion, but religious groups are required by law to register with the state and religious instruction is forbidden.
- o Discrimination against religious groups which have not been allowed to register, such as Ukrainian Catholics; also against denominations that consider it against their beliefs to register with the state.
- o Believers subject to discrimination in employment and education; especially harsh sentences for persons convicted under anti-religious articles of Criminal Code.
- o Has been estimated that at least one-third of all known political prisoners are religious activists.

II. RECENT DEVELOPMENTS

- o In August, Konstantin Kharchev, head of USSR Religious Affairs Council, told Senator Lugar that all Soviet prisoners of faith would be released by November. This hasn't happened.
- o Increased interest in religion and religious activism in light of glasnost, but the government has shown little increased tolerance.
- o Soviets have rejected further commitments at Vienna CSCE Meeting.
- o In 1988, Soviets will mark the Millenium of Christianity in Kievan Rus'. Authorities hope to use occasion to propagandize supposed freedom of religion.

III. US AGENDA

- o Unconditional release of all remaining religious prisoners.
- o Legalization of unregistered churches and increased religious contacts with the West. Contacts should not be restricted to officially sanctioned Soviet religious groups and individuals.

- o Legalization of the teaching of religion, including the Hebrew language, as provided for in United Nations agreements. Soviets have signed.
- o Unhindered importation and circulation of bibles, prayer books and other religious items.

I. SOVIET PROPOSAL

- o Shevardnadze proposed Moscow conference at Nov. 1986 opening of Vienna CSCE Follow-up Meeting.
 - Soviets hope to gain Western endorsement of glasnost, "democratization", and human rights policy by hosting conference.

II. US POSITION

- o Officially haven't said yes or no.
- o US has explicitly said that we cannot consider conference proposal unless the Soviets:
 - Significantly improve human rights performance, i.e.:
 - Release all political and religious prisoners;
 - Resolve last family reunification cases;
 - Unjam foreign radio broadcasts (e.g., Radio Free Europe and Radio Liberty);
 - Permit religious (e.g., Hebrew) teaching;
 - Significantly increase Jewish and other emigration;
 - Regularize emigration procedures; and
 - Institutionalize reforms (e.g., repeal "political"/"religious" articles of criminal code).
 - Provide credible guarantees of access and openness to anyone who wishes to participate (e.g., Western activists, Helsinki Monitors, private Soviet citizens, the press -- including VOA, RFE, RL reporters).
- o Shevardnadze told Sec. Shultz in Moscow that US conditions amounted to "political racism."

III. CURRENT STATUS

- o Still waiting for serious Soviet response on human rights performance and access/openness guarantees.
- o In Vienna, Allies currently united behind Western proposal for one post-Vienna CSCE human rights conference in a Western city, but French have proposed (within NATO) modification calling for three meetings--two meetings in West and a (subsidiary) Moscow meeting on human contacts.
- o US skeptical about French idea because French apparently prepared to agree to Moscow meeting in straight exchange (no conditions) for human rights conference in Paris in 1989 which would be centerpiece of French Revolution bicentennial program; Soviets have expressed interest in French proposal.

I. SOVIET ALLEGATIONS OF US HUMAN RIGHTS ABUSE

- o As Soviets have accepted the notion of dialogue on human rights, they have raised what they consider U.S. violations of human rights.
- o Frequently raise social and economic problems, such as unemployment, but do not seem serious about seeking resolution.
- o Also raise specific issues, such as war crimes investigations, technology transfer and our human rights activities in the Soviet Union, about which they wish to engage us in detailed consultations.
- o Soviets have publicly accused us of denying them access to KGB defector Anatoliy Bogatyy. Bogatyy and his wife have on several occasions told the Soviets they want to meet with them, but have backed out at the last minute each time.

II. SOVIET PROPOSALS FOR COOPERATION IN HUMAN RIGHTS

- o In a recent discussion with Deputy Secretary Whitehead, Soviets advanced suggestions for increased exchanges and cooperation in the area of human rights.
- o Soviets are seeking cooperation in areas of importance to us, such as:
 - Exchange of information about laws of both countries;
 - Expanding the scope of our discussions about emigration and immigration;
 - Collaborating in fighting terrorism and drug and alcohol addiction;
 - Consulting about the use of psychiatric institutions.
- o As a means of expanding the human rights dialogue, we have indicated willingness to explore these areas, many of which we already cover in bilateral discussions with the Soviets. We have stressed that such dialogue is not an end in itself, but a means to achieve improved performance.

III. SOVIET PROPOSAL FOR MOSCOW HUMANITARIAN CONFERENCE

- o As noted above, Soviets are pressing us to accept their proposal for a CSCE conference on human rights in Moscow.
- o We have said neither yes or no, linking our ultimate decision to improved Soviet performance on human rights and credible guarantees of openness and access.

III. REGIONAL ISSUES

1. Regional Dialogue
2. Afghanistan
3. Central America
4. The Caribbean
5. The Soviets and the Iran-Iraq War
6. Middle East Peace Process
7. Southern Africa
8. Terrorism
9. East Asia and the Pacific
10. India-Pakistan Nuclear Issue
11. President's Berlin Initiative
12. Ethiopia

REGIONAL DIALOGUE

PRESIDENT'S OCTOBER 1985 INITIATIVE

- o President's UNGA initiative of October 1985 outlines framework for constructive US-Soviet engagement on Afghanistan, Angola, Nicaragua, Ethiopia and Cambodia:
 - 1) Negotiations among warring parties for end to violence, withdrawal of foreign forces, and national reconciliation;
 - 2) Once first step underway, US-Soviet bilateral talks to support the process, arrange superpower disengagement;
 - 3) Economic reintegration, aid.

SOVIET ACTIVITIES

- o Soviets sharply criticize the "Reagan Doctrine" and American "neoglobalism"; worry about strategic implications of US challenge to weak Soviet clients.
- o Have never formally responded to President's initiative; over time, however, they have tried to adopt, at least rhetorically, some of the concepts -- e.g., national reconciliation. They also now emphasize the importance of regional affairs in East-West relations.
- o While maintaining relations with revolutionary movements and regimes, Soviets also seeking openings to larger, more "legitimate" states (e.g., Brazil, Argentina), emphasizing normal state-to-state relations, improved political, economic ties.
- o Soviets very active diplomatically -- Afghanistan, Middle East peace process, Iran-Iraq War, overtures to PRC and other Asian states. But no slackening of Soviet determination to undermine US influence wherever possible or to hold onto their gains of the 1970s.
- o In the face of continuing stalemate on various battlefields worldwide, the Soviets are pursuing traditional goals through greater reliance on diplomatic maneuver.

REGIONAL DIALOGUE

- o Soviets have implemented, expanded Geneva summit commitment to regularize regional dialogue. Now appear to see meetings of experts as important part of US-Soviet dialogue, and occasionally take initiative in proposing talks.
- o 1987 diplomatic cycle complete: Middle East, southern Africa in July; East Asia/Pacific and Afghanistan in September; Central America in October; Armacost-Vorontsov overview in November.

AFGHANISTANI. BACKGROUND

- o Soviets have been in Afghanistan since December 26, 1979. Current Soviet force level stands at some 120,000. Heavily publicized five regiment "drawdown" in Fall 1986 was a sham. Political initiatives such as ceasefire and a national reconciliation also seen by the world as shams.
- o Gorbachev insists Soviet Union has made decision to get out, but key problems remain unresolved:
 - Central issue is fixed timetable and date certain for rapid Soviet troop withdrawal. In September UN-sponsored talks between Pakistan and Afghanistan, Kabul regime offered sixteen month timetable (down from 18), Pakistan countered with eight months. Next round probably will be in early 1988.
 - Soviets also insist on stricter guarantees that "outside interference" (aid to resistance) will cease even before final agreement; Soviets still want to ensure that Afghan communists will play leading role in post-withdrawal government.

II. SOVIET INTENTIONS

- o Soviets seek generalized, vague, joint summit statement recording mutual interest in an early settlement and implying high degree of US-Soviet agreement on concepts such as withdrawal, national reconciliation, neutrality and non-interference.
- o Soviets hint that Gorbachev will say something to the President on withdrawal timetable, but add a specific timetable will not be tabled until UN talks in early 1988.
- o Soviets apparently claim no linkage exists between question of a successor regime in Kabul and setting of withdrawal timetable, and that Moscow is receptive to neutrality for Afghanistan. Recent hints Moscow may be preparing the Afghan communists to accept a minority role in government, but this could still enable PDPA to control power by holding key posts (e.g., Interior, Army).

III. WHAT DO WE WANT?

- o A commitment from Gorbachev to a plan for the speedy withdrawal of all Soviet troops, with date certain for withdrawal to begin and be completed during 1988 (as Shevardnadze has implied in talks with us).

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-- A "frontloaded" timetable in which bulk of troops would be withdrawn in the early stages. Satisfactory Soviet commitment might make possible a joint summit statement.

-- Categorical assurance of no linkage between withdrawal and successor regime.

-- Agreement on large-scale UN presence starting on date withdrawal begins.

- o We are keeping an open mind. If Moscow is serious about a settlement, we can be helpful. If they delay making hard decisions, we will continue to keep up the pressure.
- o The make-up of an interim or permanent government in Kabul and the possibility of a role for ex-king Zahir are questions must be left to the Afghan people to decide, at present via their representatives in the Resistance.

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CENTRAL AMERICA

I. US POSITION

- o We have welcomed Guatemala Agreement; Special Negotiator Busby has conferred regularly with region's democracies.
- o We have taken the necessary steps to send a new ambassador to Nicaragua; he only awaits Senate confirmation.
- o President Reagan told the OAS on November 9, that when serious negotiations between the Sandinistas and the Nicaraguan Resistance are underway, we would meet jointly with all five Central American nations, including Nicaragua.
- o We have agreed to delay a request for military assistance to the Resistance until next year; we will continue non-lethal aid in the interim.

II. REGIONAL

- o Sandinista "concessions" under the Guatemala Agreement are seriously flawed.
 - Only 1,000 of 10,000 prisoners have been pardoned; there is no new amnesty law; harassment of opposition/human rights groups continues.
 - Appointment of Cardinal Obando as intermediary was positive step, but November 13 cease-fire proposal would confine Resistance to small designated areas devoid of support and surrounded by Sandinista military.
 - La Prensa, Radio Catolica reopened, but latter cannot broadcast news; more than 90 media outlets remain closed.
 - Internal dialogue procedures require that 12 of 15 opposition parties, including some collaborators, must agree before the government considers an initiative.

III. SOVIET INFLUENCE IN CENTRAL AMERICA

- o Soviets have expressed support for the Guatemala Agreement while attacking us for supporting the Resistance.
- o The Soviets are seeking to expand their diplomatic and economic ties in the region.
- o Soviet Bloc military deliveries to Nicaragua reached a record high in 1986; have accelerated in 1987. USSR maintains about 200 military, intelligence, and security advisors in Nicaragua.

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THE CARIBBEAN

- o Democratization continues with elections in Suriname and electoral process in Haiti.
- o We are encouraged by the faith that the people of these countries are placing in the electoral process as a means of overcoming intimidation and repression.
- o We believe stability in the region is best promoted by progress toward democratization and economic development.
- o To this end US provides significant economic aid to the region -- about \$300 million last year.

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THE SOVIETS AND THE IRAN-IRAQ WAR

I. Soviet Military Presence in the Gulf

- o Soviets keep low-level naval presence to escort Soviet-flagged vessels in Persian Gulf/Gulf of Oman.
- o Three Soviet tankers under Kuwaiti charter (since May) operate mostly outside Gulf.
- o Soviet merchant ships make regular runs to Kuwait with arms and other cargo for Iraq -- Iran turns a blind eye.

II. Soviets and UN Security Council Resolution 598

- o Last July, Soviets joined in unanimous adoption of UNSC Res. 598 which calls for ceasefire and end to Iran-Iraq war. Also agreed to work on measures to enforce UNSC Resolution 598 if needed. Shevardnadze reiterated this in September.
- o But Soviets have stalled on beginning UNSC drafting of follow-up resolution (which would include an arms embargo) despite Iranian noncompliance with Resolution 598.
- o They have told us such efforts would hamper Secretary General's ongoing effort to mediate between belligerents. Soviets have also complained that our naval presence contradicts spirit of Resolution 598 and heightens tensions.
- o They have proposed instead a UN Naval Task Force in Gulf -- rather than a UN role under UNSC Resolution 598 to observe and enforce a ceasefire and withdrawal on land and sea. Proposal intended largely to divert attention from 598. We believe Soviet proposal puts the cart before the horse. Immediate task is to move ahead on 598 and follow-up resolution -- we would be prepared to consider various proposals for UN forces only in context of actually implementing 598 or enforcing an arms embargo.
- o In recent contacts with us, Soviets have left open option of beginning work in UNSC on second resolution, but have emphasized need to ensure that any enforcement measures can be fully implemented. In fact, they continue to avoid any action in UNSC which would place pressure on Iran to implement UNSC Resolution 598.

III. Soviet "Shuttle Diplomacy"

- o Principal Deputy Foreign Minister Vorontsov visited Baghdad, Kuwait and Tehran last month. Trip billed as "mediation", to point up Soviet influence in the region.

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- o Real purpose to try to sell Soviet proposal for UN Naval Task Force and build pressure for US to leave Gulf.
- o Results disappointing to Soviets:
 - Iraq and Kuwait rebuffed Soviet proposal.
 - Iran wants to force US navy out, but shows no signs of accepting Soviet proposal.

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MIDDLE EAST PEACE PROCESS

- o The Secretary's October trip demonstrated our interest in moving the Middle East peace process forward.
- o All of the leaders with whom he met want a solution to the Arab-Israeli conflict.
- o The Arab League Summit in Amman confirmed that the moderates are gaining the upper hand Arab world. Most Arab countries are resuming full diplomatic ties with Egypt after the Summit, crossing an important threshold in the region and demonstrating that peace with Israel can now be accepted in an inter-Arab context.
- o King Hussein remains committed to an international conference, believing he can not enter direct negotiations without such a framework.
- o The Government of Israel is committed to peace but divided on how to start negotiations.
- o The Soviets want to participate in the peace process, but have yet to demonstrate a serious willingness to play a constructive role:
 - Have maintained traditional close relations with states (Syria, Libya) and groups (PLO) opposed to realistic peace process;
 - Recently voted in the UNGA against Israeli credentials, raising basic questions about Soviet intentions, particularly given hints of improvement with Israel.
 - Israelis remain skeptical about the Soviet Union's commitment to peace, especially in the absence of diplomatic relations and in view of restrictions on Soviet Jewish emigration and manipulation of the issue.
 - Continue to emphasize giving a conference authority to which Israel bitterly objects, something that ensures ongoing role for USSR but is certain to undermine possibility of productive bilateral negotiations.
- o The current positive atmosphere in the region will not continue indefinitely in the absence of real movement.

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SOUTHERN AFRICA

ANGOLA/NAMIBIA

- o We continue to seek a negotiated settlement ensuring the independence of Namibia and the withdrawal of all foreign forces from Namibia and Angola.
- In our recent exchanges with the Angolans, some progress made toward an acceptable schedule for withdrawal of Cuban forces from Angola.
- We have urged the Soviets to use their influence with Luanda to produce a proposal for Cuban withdrawal that we could take to South Africa in our capacity as intermediary.
- In recent exchanges with us, the Soviets have stressed their interest in a negotiated settlement. We have pressed them to back up their words with concrete actions, and urged them to respond to your consistent appeals for a mutual reduction of East-West military involvement in regional conflicts like this.
- In Angola, Savimbi's forces, with South African help, have just defeated another major offensive by the MPLA, backed by the Soviets and Cubans.
- In a November 12 speech, Savimbi repeated his desire for national reconciliation and asked Nigeria and Kenya to help in such an effort.

SOUTH AFRICA

- o We continue to urge the South Africans to begin serious negotiations on their country's future.
- o Recent Soviet statements have been more realistic about the limits of external influence on events in South Africa. Soviet rhetoric appears to be moving away from support for violent revolution, and moving toward peaceful negotiations including guarantees for the white minority.

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