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**Collection:** Raymond, Walter: Files  
**Folder Title:** US-Soviet Public Diplomacy  
(04/01/1984-04/15/1984)  
**Box:** RAC Box 7

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# WITHDRAWAL SHEET

## Ronald Reagan Library

**Collection Name** RAYMOND, WALTER: FILES

**Withdrawer**

KML 2/27/2012

**File Folder** U.S.-SOVIET PUBLIC DIPLOMACY (04/01/1984-04/15/1984)

**FOIA**

M10-326/2

**Box Number** 11

PARRY

58

ID	Doc Type	Document Description	No of Pages	Doc Date	Restrictions
132350	SCHEDULE	RE APRIL 3	1	ND	B3
132351	MEMO	JOHN POINDEXTER TO JACK MATLOCK RE CULTURAL EXCHANGE AGREEMENT	1	4/6/1984	B1
132352	MEMO	JOHN POINDEXTER TO KEN DEGRAFFENREID & DIANE DORNAN	1	4/6/1984	B1
132353	MEMO	KENNETH DEGRAFFENREID TO ROBERT MCFARLANE RE COORDINATION ON PROPOSED AGREEMENT	2	4/3/1984	B1
132354	MEMO	DIANE DORNAN & KENNETH DEGRAFFENREID TO ROBERT MCFARLANE RE NONCONCURRENCE	4	4/3/1984	B1
132355	MEMO	JACK MATLOCK TO ROBERT MCFARLANE RE CONSULAR REVIEW TALKS	3	3/28/1984	B1
132356	MEMO	ROBERT KIMMITT TO CHARLES HILL RE CONSULAR REVIEW TALKS	1	ND	B1
132357	MEMO	CHARLES HILL TO ROBERT MCFARLANE RE CONSULAR REVIEW TALKS	1	3/19/1984	B1
132358	PAPER	RE CONSULAR REVIEW TALKS	2	ND	B1

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]

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ID	Doc Type	Document Description	No of Pages	Doc Date	Restrictions
132359	PAPER	RE POSITION	1	ND	B1
132360	MEMO	DIANE DORNAN TO JACK MATLOCK RE COMMENTS	1	3/28/1984	B1
132361	MEMO	TO KEN DEGRAFFENREID RE TALKS	2	4/3/1984	B1
132362	PAPER	RE TALKS	3	ND	B1
132363	MEMO	JOHN LENCZOWSKI TO ROBERT MCFARLANE RE AGREEMENT	7	4/4/1984	B1
132364	MEMO	ROBERT KIMMITT TO CHARLES HILL RE AGREEMENT	1	ND	B1
132365	PAPER	RE TAB A: NSC CHANGES	4	ND	B1
132366	MEMO	JACK MATLOCK TO ROBERT MCFARLANE RE AGREEMENT <i>R 6/8/2018 M326/2</i>	2	3/28/1984	B1
132370	MEMO	ROBERT KIMMITT TO CHARLES HILL RE AGREEMENT <i>R 3/29/2017 M326/2</i>	1	ND	B1

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132367	MEMO	CHARLES HILL TO ROBERT MCFARLANE RE AGREEMENT	1	3/23/1984	B1
132368	PAPER	RE AGREEMENT	4	ND	B1
132369	CABLE	STATE 131845	15	5/4/1984	B1

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U.S.-Soviet Relations/Nuclear Arms Control Speakers Course

April 2-6, 1984

Foreign Service Institute

Room 1110

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F 24.  
~~STATE~~  
US/SOV  
P.D.

Schedule:

2 April

0830 - 0845	Introduction of Course Chairmen and Purpose of the Course. ( Fred Feer and Peter Wilson )
0845 - 0945	Overview of U.S.-Soviet Relations and the Role of Public Diplomacy. ( DASS Mark Palmer, State/EUR )
0945 - 1000	Break
1000 - 1130	Soviet Leadership and Decisionmaking Processes. ( Ty Cobb, NSC Advisor )
1130 - 1215	The Role of the Military in Soviet Society. ( Dr. William F. Scott, Adjunct Professor, DIS )
1130 - 1215	Lunch
1315 - 1445	Soviet Global Strategy. ( John Lenczowski, NSC )
1445 - 1500	Break
1500 - 1600	Soviet-West European Relations. ( Ambassador Jonathan Dean )
1600 - 1700	Soviet Approach to Arms Control. ( Louis Sell, ACDA )

READINGS:

BIALER, Seweryn, "Danger in Moscow," The New York Review of Books, 16 February 1984, pp. 6 - 10.

BRESLAUER, George, "Do Soviet Leaders Test New Presidents?", International Security, Winter 1983/84, pp. 83 - 107.

YORK, Herbert, "Bilateral Negotiations and the Arms Race," Scientific American, October 1983, pp. 149 - 153.

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Schedule:

4 April

0830 - 0915 Introduction to Arms Control: A Short History.  
( Course Chairman, Fred Feer )

0915 - 1030 Overview of U.S. Arms Control Policy.  
( Sven Kraemer, NSC )

1030 - 1045 Break

1045 - 1230 Verification: How It's Done and Why It's Hard.  
( Feer and Bill Courtney, PM/SNP )

1230 - 1330 Lunch

1330 - 1500 The Components of the Strategic Balance and Targetting  
Policy. ( Captain Don Knepper, JCS )

1500 - 1515 Break

1515 - 1700 Deterrence: Theory and Evolution. ( Ron Lehman, NSC )

READINGS:

COCHRAN, Thomas; Arkin, William and Hoenig, Milton, "The Role of Nuclear Weapons in U.S. and Allied Military Forces," U.S. Nuclear Forces and Capabilities, Ballinger Publishing Company, Cambridge, Massachusetts, 1984, pp. 82 - 97.

GELB, Leslie, "Is the Nuclear Threat Manageable?", The New York Times Magazine, March 4, 1984, pp. 26 - ff.

MEYER, Stephen, "Verification and Risk in Arms Control," International Security, Spring 1984, pp. 111 - 126.

STOERTZ, Howard, "Monitoring a Nuclear Freeze, " International Security, Spring 1984, pp. 91 - 110.

The White House, Office of the Press Secretary, "The President's Report to the Congress on Soviet Noncompliance with Arms Control Agreements," January 23, 1984, pp. 1 - 6.

Schedule:

5 April

0830 - 1030	START: Status and Prospects. ( Ambassador Edward Rowny )
1030 - 1045	Break
1045 - 1200	INF: Status and Prospects. ( Bruce Burton, EUR/RPM )
1200 - 1300	Lunch
1300 - 1430	The Comprehensive Test Ban, Chemical and Biological Weapons Agreements, the Weapons in Space and the ABM Treaties. ( Charles Duelfer, PM/P; Col. James Leonard, PM/TMP; Vigdor Tiplitz, ACDA )
1430 - 1445	Break
1445 - 1700	The Strategic Defense Initiative and Force Modernization. ( William Furniss, Strategic Forces Policy, DOD )

READINGS:

The Economist, "Star Wars," March 3, 1984, pp. 90 - 91.

GRAHAM, Daniel, Chapter One, "An Overview of the High Frontier System,"  
High Frontier: A Strategy for National Survival, Tom Dougherty  
Associates, Inc., New York, 1983, pp. 29 - 62.

KELLY, James, et. al., "Behind Closed Doors," TIME Magazine, December 5,  
1983, pp. 18 - 40.

MOON, John Ellis van Courtland, "Chemical Weapons and Deterrence,"  
International Security, Spring 1984, pp. 3 - 35.



6

Schedule:

6 April

- 0830 - 0915 Religious and Moral Aspects of Arms Control.  
( Joe Lehman, Director of Public Affairs, ACDA )
- 0915 - 1000 Whence the Freeze Movement. ( Joe Lehman )
- 1000 - 1015 Break
- 1015 - 1200 Environmental and Biological Effects of Nuclear War.  
( Alan Hecht, Director, National Climate Program, NOAA;  
James L. Malone, Assistant Secretary, OES )
- 1200 - 1300 Lunch
- 1300 - 1500 A Constructive Critique of U.S. Arms Control Policy.  
( Paul Warnke, Arms Control Association )
- 1500 - 1515 Break
- 1515 - open Individual Presentations.  
Each individual will have been assigned a topic at the outset. He will now make a five minute presentation to be followed by a question and answer session lasting five to ten minutes. We will do as many as we can this afternoon. The others will be scheduled for an afternoon next week. No one escapes!

READINGS

- The French Embassy, New York, New York, "Winning the Peace: Text of the Statement of the French Bishops," Lourdes, November 8, 1983, pp. 1 - 16.
- The Pastoral Letter on War of the U.S. Bishops on War and Peace, "The Challenge of Peace: God's Promise and Our Response," May 19, 1983, Vol. 13: No. 1.
- RUSSETT, Bruce, "Ethical Dilemmas of Nuclear Deterrence," International Security, Spring 1984, pp. 36 - 54.
- SAGAN, Carl, "Nuclear War and Climatic Catastrophe: Some Policy Implications," Foreign Affairs, Winter 1983/84, pp. 257 - 292.
- SINGER, Fred, "The Big Chill? Challenging a Nuclear Scenario," The Wall Street Journal.

## Background readings

### Introduction:

PA memorandum, US-Soviet Relations

### Overview:

† "US-Soviet Relations," Department of State GIST, July 1983.  
Speech of President Reagan, January 16, 1984  
Cohen, Stephen, "Sovieticus," Nation, February 18, 1984.  
Puddington, Arch, "The New Soviet Apologists," Commentary,  
November 1983.

### Soviet Leadership:

Laqueur, Walter, "What We Know About the Soviet Union,"  
Commentary, February 1983.  
Cobb, Tyrus, "The Future of the Soviet Defense Burden,"  
Naval War College Review, July-August 1981.

### The Role of the Military:

Pipes, Richard, "Militarism and the Soviet State," Russia,  
No. 1, 1981.  
Scott, Harriet Fast and Scott, William F., "Soviet Military  
Manpower, Training, and Mobilization," in The Armed Forces  
of the USSR.  
Simes, Dmitri, "The Military and Militarism in Soviet  
Society," International Security, Winter 1981-82.

### Soviet Global Strategy

Brezinski, Zbigniew, "Tragic Dilemmas of Soviet World  
Power," Encounter, December 1983.  
Bukovskiy, Vladimir, "The Soviet Union and the Peace  
Movement," Commentary, May 1982.  
Kennan, George, "Two Views of the Soviet Problem,"  
Parameters, March 1982.  
Solzhenitsyn, Alexander, "On Communism," Time, February 18,  
1980.  
"To the Parliaments and Peoples of the World," statement of  
the Supreme Soviet of the USSR, June 23, 1981.  
"Basic Mandate," Izvestiya, March 12, 1984.

### Soviet Approach to Arms Control:

Breslauer, George, "Do Soviet Leaders Test New Presidents?,"  
International Security, Winter 1983/4.  
York, Herbert, "Bilateral Negotiations and the Arms Race,"  
Scientific American, October 1983.

Human Rights:

Bukovskiy, Vladimir, "The Soul of Man Under Socialism, Commentary, January 1979.  
Reddaway, Peter, "Dissent in the Soviet Union," Problems of Communism, November-December 1983.  
"Religion in the USSR: Laws, Policy, and Propaganda," Department of State Foreign Affairs Note, May 1982.  
"Human Rights in the USSR," Department of State Foreign Affairs Note, December 1983.

Soviet Demography

Feshbach, Murray, "Social Maintenance in the USSR: The Demographic Case," paper prepared for Department of State, September 1982.

Economic Issues

Kushnirsky, Fyodor, "Inflation Soviet Style, Problems of Communism, January-February 1984.  
"Over There," Policy Review, Summer 1983.  
"International Economic Issues," Department of State Current Policy Series No. 545, February 7, 1984.  
"Controlling Transfer of Technology," Department of State GIST, February 1984.  
Foreign Economic Trends Report, USSR, Department of Commerce FET 83-107, December 1983.



8

STUDENT ROSTER

April 2 - 6 1984

ACDA

BARE, C. Gordon	Multilateral Affairs Bureau	632-4363
BEST, LTC Melvin	Office of Military Advisor	632-1192
CARPENTER, Lee C.	Strategic Programs Bureau	632-7439
PITTMAN, George R.	Strategic Programs Bureau	632-7903
SEARLE, William A.	Nuclear and Weapons Control Bureau	632-1258

EB/DCT

DEMBSKI, Sandra	International Economist, Trade Agreements Division	632-1719
-----------------	---	----------

EUR/SOV

MAERTENS, Thomas	Economic Officer	632-9369
TONGOUR, Nadia	Soviet Desk Officer, Bilateral Section	632-2071
TEFFT, John	Multilateral Relations Officer	632-8040
ZIMMERMANN, John	Assistant Deputy Director, Office of Exchanges	632-8956

INR/PMA

CUNNINGHAM, Frank	Technology Transfer Intel Cmte	632-0369
STEERS, Howard	Political-Military Analyst for NATO Issues	632-8352

INR/RCRS

DAVIS, Toby L.	Office of Analysis for the Soviet Union and Eastern Europe	632-2404
----------------	---	----------

INR/SEE

PARKER, John	Foreign Affairs Analyst	632-0189
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IO/UNP

LIEBOWITZ, Alexander	OIC European Arms Control, Outer Space & Ocean Affairs	632-0512
----------------------	---	----------

P/PD

JATRAS, James	Special Advisor	632-4313
SALVIA, Anthony	Staff Assistant	632-0721



STUDENT ROSTER (CONT.)

PM

THOMAS, John R.	Office of Strategic Technology	632-0057
	Nuclear Affairs	
(A) TRITAK, John	Office of the Director/Public	632-0440
	Diplomacy	

S/IL

KERN, Anthony	Deputy Coordinator, International	632-3662
	Labor Affairs	

S/P

NIGRO, Louis	Staff Assistant	632-9716
--------------	-----------------	----------

OSD

(A) TIMBERLAKE, James	Verification Policy/ISP	695-0931
(A) BERGEN, LTC John	Speechwriter, OSD	697-8191
(A) BUCK, Kathleen A.	Assistant General Counsel, OSD	697-2714

(A) AUDIT

TOTAL: 24

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132351	MEMO  JOHN POINDEXTER TO JACK MATLOCK RE CULTURAL EXCHANGE AGREEMENT	1	4/6/1984	B1

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4092 19

National Security Council  
The White House

APR 3 11:51

System # IL  
Package # 90307 Add-on

	SEQUENCE TO	HAS SEEN	DISPOSITION
Dep Exec Sec Bill Martin	<u>1</u>	<u>✓</u>	<u>        </u>
Bob Kimmitt	<u>2</u>	<u>K</u>	<u>        </u>
John Poindexter	<u>        </u>	<u>        </u>	<u>        </u>
Wilma Hall	<u>        </u>	<u>        </u>	<u>        </u>
Bud McFarlane	<u>        </u>	<u>        </u>	<u>        </u>
Bob Kimmitt	<u>        </u>	<u>        </u>	<u>        </u>
NSC Secretariat	<u>        </u>	<u>        </u>	<u>        </u>
Situation Room	<u>        </u>	<u>        </u>	<u>        </u>
<u>de Goffemeid</u>	<u>3</u>	<u>        </u>	<u>A</u>

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

cc: VP    Meese    Baker    Deaver    Other         

COMMENTS

Should be seen by:           
(Date/Time)

Bud & Jack are not meeting on this subject today, per Wilma. Please have Jack incorporate this into his package, which is out in West Wing.



UNCLASSIFIED WITH  
SECRET ATTACHMENT

90307  
(add-on)

NATIONAL SECURITY COUNCIL

April 3, 1984

TO: ROBERT M. KIMMITT  
FROM: KENNETH deGRAFFENREID

Bob,

It is my understanding that Jack Matlock may discuss this issue with Bud today at 4:00 p.m. I would very much appreciate it if Bud could have my memorandum available to him prior to that meeting.

I simply was unaware of this until a short time ago.

Thanks.

*Ken*

Attachment  
a/s

UNCLASSIFIED WITH  
SECRET ATTACHMENT

*2/27/12*

~~SECRET~~

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132356	MEMO  ROBERT KIMMITT TO CHARLES HILL RE CONSULAR REVIEW TALKS	1	ND	B1

**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]
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132357	MEMO  CHARLES HILL TO ROBERT MCFARLANE RE CONSULAR REVIEW TALKS	1	3/19/1984	B1

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]

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132358	PAPER  RE CONSULAR REVIEW TALKS	2	ND	B1

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]

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132359	PAPER  RE POSITION	1	ND	B1

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

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132360	MEMO  DIANE DORNAN TO JACK MATLOCK RE COMMENTS	1	3/28/1984	B1

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

B-1 National security classified information [(b)(1) of the FOIA]

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132361	MEMO  TO KEN DEGRAFFENREID RE TALKS	2	4/3/1984	B1

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]
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132362 PAPER	RE TALKS	3	ND	B1

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]

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B-4 Release would disclose trade secrets or confidential or financial information [(b)(4) of the FOIA]

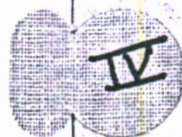
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132363	MEMO  JOHN LENCZOWSKI TO ROBERT MCFARLANE RE AGREEMENT	7	4/4/1984	B1

### 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]
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132364	MEMO  ROBERT KIMMITT TO CHARLES HILL RE AGREEMENT	1	ND	B1

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

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132365	PAPER  RE TAB A: NSC CHANGES	4	ND	B1

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

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3/30

NATIONAL SECURITY COUNCIL

Jack,

I recommend

"rejected" vice "firmly resisted"  
in last line of 1st para under  
Comment.

Walt + I concur.

Steve

**National Security Council  
The White House**

1080 *u* *gx*

System # II

Package # 90307

64 MAR 28 P 3: 11

	SEQUENCE TO	HAS SEEN	DISPOSITION
Bill Martin	<u>1</u>	<u>✓</u>	
Bob Kimmitt	<u>2</u>	<u>K</u>	
John Poindexter	<u>3</u>	<u>[Signature]</u>	
Wilma Hall	<u>4</u>		
Bud McFarlane	<u>5</u>	<u>W</u>	<u>A</u>
Bob Kimmitt	<u><del>6</del></u>		
NSC Secretariat	<u>7</u>		<u>Route to Matlock --</u>
Situation Room			<u>Jack: Please</u>
Tom Shull			<u>Coordinate with</u>
<i>J.P.</i>	<u>6</u>	<u>K</u>	<u>Raymond Steiner</u>
			<u>and Lemnawski</u>
			<u>Thanks</u>

I = Information

A = Action

R = Retain

D = Dispatch

N = No further Action

cc: VP Meese Baker Deaver Other \_\_\_\_\_

COMMENTS

Should be seen by: \_\_\_\_\_

## MEMORANDUM

## NATIONAL SECURITY COUNCIL

~~SECRET~~

March 28, 1984

ACTION

MEMORANDUM FOR ROBERT C. MCFARLANE

FROM: JACK MATLOCK *JW*

SUBJECT: Agreement with the USSR on Contacts, Exchanges and Cooperation

Attached at Tab II is State's submission of a negotiating plan for an Agreement on Contacts, Exchanges and Cooperation with the USSR, and a draft agreement and program of exchanges to serve as the basis of our position in these negotiations. The paper has been approved by USIA and State and there are no differences of view on the issues.

The U.S. objective in the negotiation would be to seek full reciprocity from the Soviets within the framework of the agreement. State would also seek to have the McGovern Amendment rescinded or modified in order to strengthen its control over visa issuance for the purpose of enforcing reciprocity.

Among the exchange programs proposed, the restoration of travelling thematic exhibits and assuring access to Soviet television by our representatives, including the President, have the highest priority.

Regarding the venue of negotiations, the paper recommends that they be conducted in Moscow, with Ambassador Hartman the head of our delegation and the Embassy Counselor for Press and Cultural Affairs in charge of the day-to-day negotiations.

Comment:

I believe that this is a sound negotiating plan which correctly defines priority American objectives. Past precedent would indicate that the Soviets will accept our position on exhibits, but resist access to their television. They may also attempt to secure formal assurances on the return of would-be defectors (as was the case in 1979, when we last held negotiations on this agreement). Such an attempt would of course be firmly resisted.

Therefore, although negotiations may be prolonged and difficult, I believe that our package is appropriate and in fact negotiable. I also concur that there are advantages to holding the negotiations in Moscow, since this will facilitate rapid Soviet decision making and provide some insulation against leaks.

~~SECRET~~

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DECLASSIFIED

NLRR M326/2 #132366p



~~SECRET~~

- 2 -

Secretary Shultz would like to propose to Dobrynin during his next meeting that we set a date for the commencement of negotiations on this topic. I believe that we are well prepared at this point to move forward, and recommend that the negotiating package be approved and that Shultz be authorized to seek a date for the start of negotiations.

Recommendation:

That you authorize the Kimmitt to Hill memorandum at Tab I which approves the negotiating plan and draft and authorizes the Secretary of State to propose setting a date for negotiations to begin.

Approve \_\_\_\_\_ Disapprove \_\_\_\_\_

Attachments:

- Tab I - Kimmitt-Hill Memorandum for signature
- Tab II - Hill McFarlane Memorandum of March 23, 1984, with attachments

~~SECRET~~

I

132370 58

SYSTEM II  
90307

NATIONAL SECURITY COUNCIL  
WASHINGTON, D.C. 20506

~~SECRET~~

MEMORANDUM FOR MR. CHARLES HILL  
Executive Secretary  
Department of State

SUBJECT: Agreement with the USSR on Contacts, Exchanges and  
Cooperation (S)

The strategy paper for negotiations with the USSR on an agreement on contacts, exchanges and cooperation, transmitted by Mr. Hill's memorandum to Mr. McFarlane of March 23, has been approved. (S)

The Secretary of State should proceed to propose to the Soviets that negotiations begin on the subject in Moscow on a mutually acceptable date. (S)

The interagency committee which produced the strategy paper and draft agreement should be commended for the speed and quality of its work. (U)

Robert M. Kimmitt  
Executive Secretary

~~SECRET~~

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NARA DATE 3/24/17  
RV RW

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132367	MEMO	1	3/23/1984	B1

CHARLES HILL TO ROBERT MCFARLANE RE  
AGREEMENT

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

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ATTACHMENT

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132368 PAPER	RE AGREEMENT	4	ND	B1

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132369 CABLE	STATE 131845	15	5/4/1984	B1

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

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