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WITHDRAWAL SHEET

Ronald Reagan Library

Collection Name DOBRIANSKY, PAULA: FILES

Withdrawer

CAS 11/10/2010

File Folder CSCE 1984 (7/16/83-8/31/83)

FOIA

M10-323

Box Number 90898(MR10-323)

MIYAWAKI

11

ID	Doc Type	Document Description	No of Pages	Doc Date	Restrictions
100187	MEMO	JOHN POINDEXTER TO RON LEHMAN ET RE SEC SHULTZ'S EVENING REPORT 7/18/83 <i>R 10/10/2012 M323/1</i>	1	7/19/1983	B1
100188	MEMO	DOBRIANSKY TO WILLIAM CLARK RE CSCE UPDATE <i>R 1/29/2013 M323/1</i>	1	8/29/1983	B1
100189	MEMO	CLARK TO THE PRESIDENT RE CSCE UPDATE (ATTACHMENT TO 100188) <i>R 1/29/2013 M323/1</i>	1	ND	B1
100190	MEMO	KENNETH DAM TO THE PRESIDENT RE CSCE <i>R 10/10/2012 M323/1</i>	1	8/26/1983	B1
100191	MEMO	KENNETH DAM TO THE PRESIDENT RE CSCE <i>R 10/10/2012 M323/1</i>	1	8/26/1983	B1
100192	MEMO	POINDEXTER TO DOBRIANSKY ET AL RE SEC SHULTZ'S EVENING REPORT OF 8/29/83 <i>R 10/10/2012 M323/1</i>	1	8/30/1983	B1
100193	MEMO	ANNOTATED COPY OF 100188 <i>R 1/29/2013 M323/1</i>	1	8/29/1983	B1
100194	MEMO	COPY OF 100189 <i>R 1/29/2013 M323/1</i>	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]

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]

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B-9 Release would disclose geological or geophysical information concerning wells [(b)(9) of the FOIA]

C. Closed in accordance with restrictions contained in donor's deed of gift.

WITHDRAWAL SHEET

Ronald Reagan Library

Collection Name DOBRIANSKY, PAULA: FILES

Withdrawer

CAS 11/10/2010

File Folder CSCE 1984 (7/16/83-8/31/83)

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MIYAWAKI

11

ID	Doc Type	Document Description	No of Pages	Doc Date	Restrictions
100195	MEMO	SAME TEXT AS 100190 <i>R 10/10/2012 M323/1</i>	1	8/26/1983	B1
100196	MEMO	SAME TEXT AS 100191 <i>R 10/10/2012 M323/1</i>	1	8/26/1983	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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MEMORANDUM

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

CSCE

1001 PF

~~Confidential~~

7-19-83

MEMORANDUM FOR

Ron Lehman
~~Jack Matlock~~
Don Fortier

P. Dolmansky

FROM: JOHN M. POINDEXTER

SUBJECT: Secretary Shultz's Evening Report of 7-18-83

The following excerpt is for your information only. Please
do not refer to it in any discussions.

1. Maltese Continue to Block CSCE Conclusion. Max Kampelman reports the Maltese show no sign of ceasing their obstructive tactics which, despite East-West agreement, are blocking the end of the Madrid CSCE follow-up meeting. The dates for a concluding session, in which I would participate, have not yet been set, but will probably be September 7-9. Max gave an extremely firm speech at the plenary session today, emphasizing the Madrid document solves none of the basic problems which we have with Soviet and East European human rights practices, and that we will continue to insist that the East live up to its CSCE commitments. (C)

DECLASSIFIED

NLRR M323 #100187

BY KML NARA DATE 10/10/12

~~Confidential~~

JM for clearance 7/22/83
JMM PDFILE
CSCE

Draft Insert:

After nearly three years of negotiations, the Madrid Review Meeting of the Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe is coming to a close and an agreement is in sight. This agreement was achieved after much hard work, and we owe our delegation in Madrid, particularly Ambassador Max Kampelman, a vote of thanks. We should not minimize the importance of what has been achieved; it is a ~~significant~~ step forward. But, as both the President and Ambassador Kampelman have said recently, neither should we have delusions about the nature of the Soviet Union or about the system which it seeks to impose over much of Europe.

Despite pledges to respect human freedoms -- pledges which have been strengthened as a result of Madrid -- the Soviets continue to engage in the worst sorts of violations of their own people's basic rights. For this reason, we and our friends in the West will continue to focus and intensify our efforts to improve the situations of prominent human rights activists in the Soviet Union, such as Andrei Sakharov, Anatoly Shcharansky and others. We will also continue to press the Soviets hard on vital issues such as their mistreatment of minorities, and their refusal to allow thousands upon thousands of Jews, Armenians, Germans and others to emigrate from the Soviet Union. Our successes may be few, but we must continue to make this effort, so that others may some day live in freedom.

RECEIVED 02 AUG 83 11

TO

PRESIDENT

FROM SUSSMAN, LEONARD R

DOCDATE 22 JUL 83

KEYWORDS: CSCE

MEDIA

Daheinsky

SUBJECT: LTR TO PRES FM FREEDOM HOUSE REQUESTING STATEMENT FOR PUBLICATION
IN MAGAZINE ENTITLED PERSPECTIVE

ACTION: RECMS & DRAFT STATEMENT

DUE: 08 AUG 83 STATUS D FILES

FOR ACTION

FOR CONCURRENCE

FOR INFO

STATE

RAYMOND

SIMS

SOMMER

DOBRIANSKY

MATLOCK

COMMENTS

REF#

LOG

NSCIFID

(L /)

ACTION OFFICER (S)	ASSIGNED	ACTION REQUIRED	DUE	COPIES TO
<i>2</i>	<i>8/11</i>	<i>Rec'd Sly draft</i>		<i>Do</i>
<i>Mallock</i>	<i>S</i>	<i>8/11</i>	<i>8/11</i>	<i>16</i>
<i>Raymond</i>	<i>S</i>	<i>8/11</i>	<i>8/12</i>	

DISPATCH

W/ATTCH FILE (C)



United States Department of State

Washington, D.C. 20520

August 10, 1983

A handwritten signature, possibly "J. Hill", in dark ink.

UNCLASSIFIEDMEMORANDUM FOR MR. WILLIAM P. CLARK
THE WHITE HOUSESUBJECT: Letter to the President from the Executive Director
of Freedom House

Leonard R. Sussman, the Executive Director of Freedom House, wrote to the President on July 22 requesting an introductory statement for a forthcoming book containing the major speeches delivered by Ambassador Max Kampelman at the Madrid CSCE Follow-Up Meeting. The Department of State believes that publication and wide circulation of the book is very much in the interest of the U.S. Government, and that it would be appropriate for the President to provide the requested introductory statement. A draft Presidential introductory statement is attached.

Barnson McKinley
for Charles Hill
Executive Secretary

Attachments:

- TAB 1 - Draft Statement.
- TAB 2 - Incoming Correspondence.

UNCLASSIFIED

DRAFT INTRODUCTORY STATEMENT

In 1975 the United States and Canada joined with the nations of Europe in proclaiming a new charter of freedom. They signed the Helsinki Final Act -- a bill of rights for Europe -- and they pledged their best efforts to its implementation.

Recently, the United States and the other 34 states participating in the process of increasing security and cooperation in Europe concluded the Madrid conference. The three-year effort in Madrid was aimed at measuring compliance with the Helsinki Final Act and at extension of its provisions. Under the masterful leadership of Max Kampelman, our ambassador to the Madrid conference and chairman of the board of Freedom House, we and our Western allies conducted a thorough stock-taking of international respect for the Final Act. The results were anything but encouraging. Despite glimmers of hope here and there, the overall picture which emerged was one of frequent disregard by the Soviet Union and the East European states for many of the most elemental human rights.

We were confronted at Madrid with a difficult decision -- whether in the face of these human rights violations to give in to frustration and to dispense with the Helsinki process or to bend our best efforts toward making that process more

effective. The decision was difficult. In the end, however, we chose the path of hope, and not the one of despair.

Ambassador Kampelman and his Western colleagues were able, in the face of constant Soviet resistance, to negotiate a new document which gives additional meaning to the concepts of the Final Act.

In the months and years to come, we intend to follow the path which Max Kampelman has blazed. We intend to preserve the Helsinki process and never to shrink from calling attention to actions and policies which violate the Helsinki and Madrid accords. Freedom House and organizations like it have an important continuing role to play in this effort.

REFERRAL

DATE: 02 AUG 83

MEMORANDUM FOR: DEPT OF STATE

DOCUMENT DESCRIPTION

TO: PRESIDENT

SOURCE: SUSSMAN, LEONARD R

DATE 22 JUL 83

KEYWORDS: CSCE

MEDIA

SUBJ: LTR TO PRES FM FREEDOM HOUSE REQUESTING STATEMENT FOR PUBLICATION

REQUIRED ACTION: RECOMMENDATIONS

DUE DATE: 09 AUG 83

COMMENTS:


FOR ROBERT M. KIMMITT

EXECUTIVE SECRETARY

*rec'd S/S-I
8/2/83 1630
CAG*-----
ACTION OFFICER (S) ASSIGNED ACTION REQUIRED DUE COPIES TO

DISPATCH _____ W/ATTCH FILE _____ (C)

Freedom House

20 West 40th Street
New York, New York 10018
212/730-7744

8323730

Telex: 429439 - FREEDOM

Freedom's Advocate the World Over

July 22, 1983

The Honorable Ronald Reagan
The President
The White House
Washington, D.C.

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Leonard R. Sussman,
Executive Director

Dear Mr. President:

Since August 1975, Freedom House has critically observed what has come to be known as the Helsinki Process. The second review meeting of the Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe (CSCE), about to conclude in Madrid, has provided another laborious period of explicit debate between America and its friends, on the one hand, and the Soviet Union and its satellites, on the other.

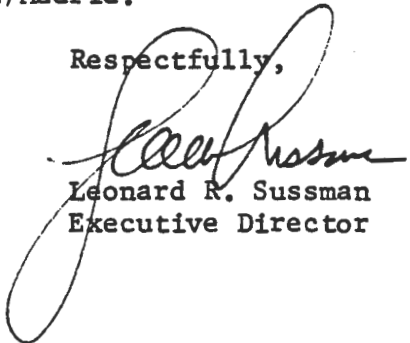
We congratulate you and Secretary Schultz for persistently and effectively upholding traditional American positions in that difficult forum. We are, therefore, proud of the role played in Madrid by your Ambassador Max M. Kampelman, for he is also chairman of the Board of Freedom House.

As a further indication of our continuing interest in the Helsinki Process, Freedom House will publish this September a paperback volume containing the major Kampelman speeches delivered at the CSCE, with other relevant material. It would be especially appropriate to include an introductory statement from you, Mr. President, and we hereby invite you to contribute such a statement.

You may want to express your view of the value of the Helsinki Process: 1) as a means of evaluating the deeds of the signers against the moral and political standards set in the unanimously approved documents; 2) as a meeting place in which the East and West can unequivocally exchange views on the most fundamental ideas that divide them; and 3) as a forum in which these differences can be publicly aired for all the world to see and judge.

We would be honored to receive your statement for publication in our Perspective devoted to the CSCE/Madrid.

Respectfully,


Leonard R. Sussman
Executive Director

jm

NSC/S PROFILE

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

CSCE ID 8305640

RECEIVED 13 AUG 83 09

DOC DATE 12 AUG 83

12 AUG 83

12 AUG 83

UNCLASSIFIED UPON REMOVAL
OF CLASSIFIED ENCLOSURES

DOBRIANSKY

CS 11/10/17 TYSON

TO RYAN, F FROM KIMMITT

KEYWORDS: CSCE AP SHULTZ, G
GROMYKO, ANDREI A

SUBJECT: APPT REQUEST FOR SEC SHULTZ W/ PRES ON 6 SEP

ACTION: KIMMITT SGD MEMO DUE: STATUS C FILES PA

FOR ACTION

FOR CONCURRENCE

FOR INFO

DOBRIANSKY

KIMMITT

MATLOCK

TYSON

COMMENTS

REF# LOG NSCIFID (S / S)

ACTION OFFICER (S) ASSIGNED ACTION REQUIRED DUE COPIES TO

DISPATCH W/ATTCH FILE (C)

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

August 12, 1983

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~SCHEDULE PROPOSAL

DECLASSIFIED
 Sec. 3.4(b), E.O. 12958, as amended
 White House Guidelines, Sept. 11, 2008
 BY NARA CU, DATE 11/10/10

TO: FREDERICK J. RYAN, JR., DIRECTOR
 PRESIDENTIAL APPOINTMENTS AND SCHEDULING

FROM: ROBERT M. KIMMITT *Bob*

REQUEST: Meeting with the President

PURPOSE: To provide the President with a comprehensive summary of the key issues to be discussed at the closing CSCE session in Madrid.

BACKGROUND: The Secretary of State will be travelling to Madrid where he will address the closing session of the CSCE and meet with Foreign Minister Gromyko. Due to the importance of this concluding session and the proposed meeting with Gromyko, the Secretary has requested a meeting with the President, outside of usual NSC meeting times and as early in the day as possible to allow for his timely departure for Madrid.

PREVIOUS PARTICIPATION: Not applicable.

DATE AND TIME: Morning, Tuesday, September 6, 1983
 DURATION: 30 minutes

LOCATION: Oval Office

PARTICIPANTS: The President
 The Vice President
 Secretary of State George P. Shultz
 Assistant Secretary for European Affairs
 Richard R. Burt
 William P. Clark
 Paula Dobriansky

OUTLINE OF EVENTS: Meeting of one-half hour's duration.

REMARKS REQUIRED: Talking points to be provided by NSC.

MEDIA COVERAGE: White House photographer.

RECOMMENDED BY: Department of State/William P. Clark

OPPOSED BY: None

PROJECT OFFICER: Charles P. Tyson/Paula Dobriansky

CONFIDENTIAL

Declassify on: OADR

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTONCONFIDENTIAL

August 12, 1983

ACTION

MEMORANDUM FOR WILLIAM P. CLARK

THROUGH: CHARLES P. TYSON

FROM: PAULA DOBRIANSKY ⁷⁷

SUBJECT: Secretary Shultz's Request for a Meeting with the President

Secretary of State Shultz willing be travelling to Madrid where he will address the closing session of the CSCE and meet with Gromyko. He has requested a meeting with the President prior to his departure. Attached at Tab I is a Schedule Proposal requesting that such a meeting be arranged the morning of September 6, 1983.

RECOMMENDATION

That you forward the Schedule Proposal at Tab I.

Approve K Disapprove _____

Attachments:

Tab I Schedule Proposal

CONFIDENTIAL

Declassify on: OADR

DECLASSIFIED
Sec. 3.4(b), E.O. 12958, as amended
White House Guidelines, Sept. 11, 2008
BY NARA 1, DATE 11/10/10

MEMORANDUM

100188

NATIONAL SECURITY COUNCIL

~~SECRET~~ SENSITIVE

August 29, 1983

ACTION

MEMORANDUM FOR WILLIAM P. CLARK

FROM: PAULA DOBRIANSKY (P)

SUBJECT: CSCE Update

DECLASSIFIED

NLRR M323 #100188

BY KML NARA DATE 1/29/13

Kenneth Dam forwarded two memoranda (Tabs A and B) to the President which provide background on the current CSCE impasse due to Malta's continued insistence that its proposal for a Mediterranean security conference be included in the Madrid final document. State notes that given recent developments it is unlikely that the stalemate will end before the scheduled September 7 - 9 Foreign Ministers meeting in Madrid. In anticipation of a continued CSCE deadlock, Spanish officials have taken the initiative on a bilateral basis to invite Foreign Ministers to meet in Madrid anyway for an ad hoc gathering. This past weekend, following some pressure from our key NATO Allies, Secretary Shultz informed Foreign Minister Moran that we accept Spain's invitation (Tab B). State made public today the Secretary's intention to go to Madrid.

At Tab I is a memorandum from you to the President informing him of these developments.

Peter Peter Sommer concurs.

RECOMMENDATION

That you forward the memorandum at Tab I to the President.

Approve _____ Disapprove _____

Attachments:

- Tab I Memorandum to the President
- Tab A Memorandum from Kenneth W. Dam, August 26
(Maltese Impasse)
- Tab B Memorandum from Kenneth W. Dam, August 26
(Spanish Invitation)

~~SECRET~~ SENSITIVE
Declassify on: OADR

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON~~SECRET~~ SENSITIVEINFORMATION

DECLASSIFIED

MEMORANDUM FOR THE PRESIDENT

FROM: WILLIAM P. CLARK

SUBJECT: CSCE Update

NLRR M323 *100189

BY KML NARA DATE 1/29/13

Issue: Status of the Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe (CSCE) review meeting in Madrid.

Facts: CSCE is stalemated due to Malta's continued insistence that its proposal for a Mediterranean security conference be included in the Madrid final document. We oppose such a conference as it would include Libya and Syria and would focus heavily on U.S. military presence in the Mediterranean. The Maltese are completely isolated, but are in a position to prevent full final agreement on the concluding document because all CSCE agreements require unanimity.

Kenneth Dam sent you two memoranda which note that it is unlikely that the deadlock will end by the scheduled final CSCE session of the Foreign Ministers' meeting on September 7 - 9 (Tab A). In anticipation of a continued CSCE impasse, the Spanish have taken the initiative on a bilateral basis to invite the Foreign Ministers to meet in Madrid anyway for an ad hoc gathering to discuss these unresolved CSCE issues (Tab B).

Discussion: In response to these developments, the following steps have been taken. First, on the weekend, George Shultz informed Spanish Foreign Minister Moran that we accept their invitation. By accepting the invitation, we will maintain Allied unity as the British, French and Germans have urged our attendance. Moreover, since this meeting will be outside the CSCE framework, it will enable us to minimize any potential pressure for concessions to Malta.

Second, the State Department announced today in its daily press briefing the Secretary's intention to go to Madrid. Meanwhile, State has continued to press the Maltese to compromise and has urged the Allies and the neutrals to do likewise. George Shultz will meet with CSCE negotiator Max Kampelman this Friday and with you on Tuesday, September 6, to discuss these CSCE issues and other related matters.

Prepared by:
Paula Dobriansky

Attachments: Tab A Dam Memorandum, August 26 (Maltese Impasse)
Tab B Dam Memorandum, August 26 (Spanish Invitation)

~~SECRET~~ SENSITIVE
Declassify on: OADR

DECLASSIFIED

~~SECRET~~

100190
S/S 8325938

REF M323 # 100190

BY KML NARA DATE 10/10/12

August 26, 1983

DEPARTMENT OF STATE
WASHINGTON

MEMORANDUM FOR:

THE PRESIDENT

From:

Kenneth W. Dam *KWD*

Subject:

CSCE: The Maltese Impasse

The review meeting in Madrid of the Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe [CSCE] is bedeviled by one remaining unresolved issue: Malta's continuing insistence that its proposal for a Mediterranean security conference be included in the Madrid final document. We and our Allies are not prepared to agree to convene such a conference, which would include non-European states, like Libya and Syria, and which would focus heavily on the U.S. military presence and activities in the Mediterranean.

The Maltese are completely isolated, but are in a position to prevent full final agreement on the concluding document because all CSCE agreements must be based on unanimity. The question has arisen whether, in view of Maltese intransigence, the other participants should simply decide to ignore them and proceed to approve the concluding document without Maltese participation. Although many participants would be willing to follow this course, we and some others have strongly resisted, on the grounds that the consensus principle is a basic element of the CSCE, which protects all participants equally.

It is not clear whether this impasse will be broken before the September 7-9 Foreign Ministers meeting in Madrid, which had been scheduled formally to conclude the meeting. If it is not, the Spanish, as hosts, have taken the initiative on a bilateral basis to invite Foreign Ministers to come to Madrid anyway. Most, if not all, of the other Foreign Ministers -- Allies, Neutrals and Soviet bloc alike -- are prepared to participate in such an ad hoc gathering. Nevertheless, this would present problems, among them that the very fact of such a meeting would generate great pressure for concessions to Malta which are not in our interest or for proceeding with the European security conference provided for in the Madrid final document without having pinned down Soviet acceptance of the human rights provisions of the document.

Our CSCE negotiator, Max Kampelman, is returning to the US and Secretary Shultz will be discussing our possible options with him on Friday. In the meantime, we have instructed our Embassies to press the allies and the neutrals to lean more heavily on the Maltese to come to a compromise which would enable us to arrive at a full consensus before Ministers would meet in Madrid. We will keep you informed of developments.

~~SECRET~~

100191

03. 1. 17: 36

DEPARTMENT OF STATE
WASHINGTON

August 26, 1983

MEMORANDUM FOR: ROOM

THE PRESIDENT

FROM:

Kenneth Dam *K.W.D.*

SUBJECT:

CSCE: Response to Spanish Invitation

Events have moved further since my memo on this subject this morning. The Spanish have asked for a response by tomorrow from their NATO partners to their proposal to host a meeting of Foreign Ministers, in order that they may formally issue the invitations and proceed with arrangements for the meeting. This meeting would be technically outside the CSCE framework, to avoid the Maltese objection.

The UK, France, and the FRG all made demarches to us today, indicating that they intend to accept the Spanish invitation. FRG Foreign Minister Genscher phoned Secretary Shultz in Massachusetts to argue for our attendance and to reassure us that we would not come under allied pressure to make unacceptable compromises with the Maltese.

We have consulted with Secretary Shultz and he has agreed that we should tell the Spanish tomorrow morning that we are prepared to accept their invitation. This indication that the US is prepared to join the other thirty three governments in going to Madrid despite Maltese obduracy may well cause the Maltese to reconsider their position and join in a positive conclusion of the meeting.

If in the next few days, however, there is no evidence that the Maltese are coming to a reasonable position, we will need to consider further steps. We will want to discuss these with you next week if necessary.

~~SECRET~~/SENSITIVE
DECL:OADR

DECLASSIFIED

REF M323 # 100191

BY km NARA DATE 10/10/12

MEMORANDUM

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

August 30, 1983

MEMORANDUM FOR ✓ PAULA DOBRIANSKY
PETER SOMMER
DON FORTIER

FROM: JOHN M. POINDEXTER

SUBJECT: Secretary Shultz's Evening Report of August 29, 1983

The following excerpt is for your information only. - Please
do not refer to it in any discussions.

. CSCE - The Maltese Impasse. We have informed the Spanish and the other CSCE participants that I will go to Madrid to participate in the September 7-9 Ministerial meeting. We have already heard from the British, French, Germans, Italians and Dutch that they will be represented, and we believe that all of the rest, including the Warsaw Pact states, will also attend. The only question mark appears to be the Maltese themselves, who have made no commitments. While we would expect that the willingness of the others to go to Madrid without having resolved the Maltese impasse will help to put pressure on the Maltese to join the consensus on the concluding document, there is no sign of this yet. Meanwhile, we continue to urge the other participants to press Malta to join the consensus to allow the Madrid CSCE review conference to come to a final close. (8)

DECLASSIFIED

NLRR M323 #100192

BY KML NARA DATE 10/10/12

Per Dona, August 30, 1983 6:45 p.m.

p. 790, #6052

WPC approved as modified -- JMP Called Modifications to Roger Robinson

* p. 790, #6009

WC Disapproved. (The item was contained in a Ken Dam memo to the President of last week)

OK

PMU

8/31/83

DO BRIANSKY

FILE 6009

MEMORANDUM

NATIONAL SECURITY COUNCIL

~~SECRET~~SENSITIVE

August 29, 1983

ACTION

MEMORANDUM FOR WILLIAM P. CLARK

FROM: PAULA DOBRIANSKY (P)

SUBJECT: CSCE Update

DECLASSIFIED

NLRR M323 #100193

BY KNL NARA DATE 1/29/13

Kenneth Dam forwarded two memoranda (Tabs A and B) to the President which provide background on the current CSCE impasse due to Malta's continued insistence that its proposal for a Mediterranean security conference be included in the Madrid final document. State notes that given recent developments it is unlikely that the stalemate will end before the scheduled September 7 - 9 Foreign Ministers meeting in Madrid. In anticipation of a continued CSCE deadlock, Spanish officials have taken the initiative on a bilateral basis to invite Foreign Ministers to meet in Madrid anyway for an ad hoc gathering. This past weekend, following some pressure from our key NATO Allies, Secretary Shultz informed Foreign Minister Moran that we accept Spain's invitation (Tab B). State made public today the Secretary's intention to go to Madrid.

At Tab I is a memorandum from you to the President informing him of these developments.

Peter
Peter Sommer concurs.

RECOMMENDATION

That you forward the memorandum at Tab I to the President.

Approve _____

Disapprove _____

8/30/83
WPC
It was contained
in a Ken Dam memo
to the President of
last week

Attachments:

Tab I	Memorandum to the President
Tab A	Memorandum from Kenneth W. Dam, August 26 (Maltese Impasse)
Tab B	Memorandum from Kenneth W. Dam, August 26 (Spanish Invitation)

~~SECRET~~SENSITIVE

Declassify on: OADR

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

100 F14

~~SECRET~~ SENSITIVEINFORMATION

DECLASSIFIED

MEMORANDUM FOR THE PRESIDENT

NLRR M323 #100194

FROM: WILLIAM P. CLARK

BY KML NARA DATE 1/29/13

SUBJECT: CSCE Update

Issue: Status of the Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe (CSCE) review meeting in Madrid.

Facts: CSCE is stalemated due to Malta's continued insistence that its proposal for a Mediterranean security conference be included in the Madrid final document. We oppose such a conference as it would include Libya and Syria and would focus heavily on U.S. military presence in the Mediterranean. The Maltese are completely isolated, but are in a position to prevent full final agreement on the concluding document because all CSCE agreements require unanimity.

Kenneth Dam sent you two memoranda which note that it is unlikely that the deadlock will end by the scheduled final CSCE session of the Foreign Ministers' meeting on September 7 - 9 (Tab A). In anticipation of a continued CSCE impasse, the Spanish have taken the initiative on a bilateral basis to invite the Foreign Ministers to meet in Madrid anyway for an ad hoc gathering to discuss these unresolved CSCE issues (Tab B).

Discussion: In response to these developments, the following steps have been taken. First, on the weekend, George Shultz informed Spanish Foreign Minister Moran that we accept their invitation. By accepting the invitation, we will maintain Allied unity as the British, French and Germans have urged our attendance. Moreover, since this meeting will be outside the CSCE framework, it will enable us to minimize any potential pressure for concessions to Malta.

Second, the State Department announced today in its daily press briefing the Secretary's intention to go to Madrid. Meanwhile, State has continued to press the Maltese to compromise and has urged the Allies and the neutrals to do likewise. George Shultz will meet with CSCE negotiator Max Kampelman this Friday and with you on Tuesday, September 6, to discuss these CSCE issues and other related matters.

Prepared by:
Paula Dobriansky

Attachments: Tab A Dam Memorandum, August 26 (Maltese Impasse)
Tab B Dam Memorandum, August 26 (Spanish Invitation)

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NLRR M323 #100195

BY KMI NARA DATE 10/10/12

August 26, 1983

DEPARTMENT OF STATE
WASHINGTON 24

100195

MEMORANDUM FOR:

THE PRESIDENT

From:

Kenneth W. Dam *KWD*

Subject:

CSCE: The Maltese Impasse

The review meeting in Madrid of the Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe [CSCE] is bedeviled by one remaining unresolved issue: Malta's continuing insistence that its proposal for a Mediterranean security conference be included in the Madrid final document. We and our Allies are not prepared to agree to convene such a conference, which would include non-European states, like Libya and Syria, and which would focus heavily on the U.S. military presence and activities in the Mediterranean.

The Maltese are completely isolated, but are in a position to prevent full final agreement on the concluding document because all CSCE agreements must be based on unanimity. The question has arisen whether, in view of Maltese intransigence, the other participants should simply decide to ignore them and proceed to approve the concluding document without Maltese participation. Although many participants would be willing to follow this course, we and some others have strongly resisted, on the grounds that the consensus principle is a basic element of the CSCE, which protects all participants equally.

It is not clear whether this impasse will be broken before the September 7-9 Foreign Ministers meeting in Madrid, which had been scheduled formally to conclude the meeting. If it is not, the Spanish, as hosts, have taken the initiative on a bilateral basis to invite Foreign Ministers to come to Madrid anyway. Most, if not all, of the other Foreign Ministers -- Allies, Neutrals and Soviet bloc alike -- are prepared to participate in such an ad hoc gathering. Nevertheless, this would present problems, among them that the very fact of such a meeting would generate great pressure for concessions to Malta which are not in our interest or for proceeding with the European security conference provided for in the Madrid final document without having pinned down Soviet acceptance of the human rights provisions of the document.

Our CSCE negotiator, Max Kampelman, is returning to the US and Secretary Shultz will be discussing our possible options with him on Friday. In the meantime, we have instructed our Embassies to press the allies and the neutrals to lean more heavily on the Maltese to come to a compromise which would enable us to arrive at a full consensus before Ministers would meet in Madrid. We will keep you informed of developments.

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DEPARTMENT OF STATE
WASHINGTON

August 26, 1983

MEMORANDUM FOR ROOM

THE PRESIDENT

FROM:

Kenneth Dam *K.W.D.*

SUBJECT:

CSCE: Response to Spanish Invitation

Events have moved further since my memo on this subject this morning. The Spanish have asked for a response by tomorrow from their NATO partners to their proposal to host a meeting of Foreign Ministers, in order that they may formally issue the invitations and proceed with arrangements for the meeting. This meeting would be technically outside the CSCE framework, to avoid the Maltese objection.

The UK, France, and the FRG all made demarches to us today, indicating that they intend to accept the Spanish invitation. FRG Foreign Minister Genscher phoned Secretary Shultz in Massachusetts to argue for our attendance and to reassure us that we would not come under allied pressure to make unacceptable compromises with the Maltese.

We have consulted with Secretary Shultz and he has agreed that we should tell the Spanish tomorrow morning that we are prepared to accept their invitation. This indication that the US is prepared to join the other thirty three governments in going to Madrid despite Maltese obduracy may well cause the Maltese to reconsider their position and join in a positive conclusion of the meeting.

If in the next few days, however, there is no evidence that the Maltese are coming to a reasonable position, we will need to consider further steps. We will want to discuss these with you next week if necessary.

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NLRR M323 *100196

BY KML NARA DATE 10/10/12

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TO/LOCATION/TIME OF RECEIPT

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1. INFORMATION ADDRESSES/LOCATION/TIME OF RECEIPT

2. SPECIAL INSTRUCTIONS/REMARKS:

ATTACHED:

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