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PENDING REVIEW IN ACCORDANCE WITH E.O. 13233

Ronald Reagan Library

Collection Name POWELL, COLIN: FILES

Withdrawer

CAS 4/4/2007

File Folder SHULTZ, GEORGE (SEC. STATE) (1)

FOIA

M03-1465

Box Number 92477

ID	Doc Type	Document Description	No of Pages	Doc Date
1	NOTES	RE NATIONAL SECURITY BRIEFING (NSB) (#1)	3	12/17/1988
2	NOTES	RE NATIONAL SECURITY BRIEFING (NSB) (#2)	2	1/6/1988
3	NOTES	RE NATIONAL SECURITY BRIEFING (NSB) (#3)	1	2/3/1988
4	NOTES	RE NATIONAL SECURITY BRIEFING (NSB) (#4)	2	1/15/1988
5	NOTES	RE NATIONAL SECURITY BRIEFING (NSB) (#5)	2	1/20/1988
6	NOTES	RE NATIONAL SECURITY BRIEFING (NSB) (#6)	2	1/22/1988
7	NOTES	RE NATIONAL SECURITY BRIEFING (NSB) (#7)	2	1/27/1988
8	NOTES	RE NATIONAL SECURITY BRIEFING (NSB) (#8)	1	1/29/1988
9	NOTES	RE NATIONAL SECURITY BRIEFING (NSB) (#9)	1	2/19/1988
10	NOTES	RE NATIONAL SECURITY BRIEFING (NSB) (#10)	1	3/2/1988
11	NOTES	RE NATIONAL SECURITY BRIEFING (NSB) (#11)	2	3/7/1988
12	NOTES	RE NATIONAL SECURITY BRIEFING (NSB) (#12)	2	3/15/1988

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13	NOTES	RE NATIONAL SECURITY BRIEFING (NSB) (#13)	1	3/18/1988
		mvh 3/12/08		
14	NOTES	RE NATIONAL SECURITY BRIEFING (NSB) (#14)	15	3/22/1988
		mvh 3/12/08		

WITHDRAWAL SHEET

Ronald Reagan Library

DOCUMENT NO. AND TYPE	SUBJECT/TITLE	DATE	RESTRICTION
1. notes	re: National Security Briefings (3pp) A 12/8/05 M1465 #1	12/17/-	P-1 P-5
2. notes	re: NSB (2pp) A " " #2	1/6/-	P-1 P-5
3. notes	re: NSB (1p) A " " #3	2/3/88	P-1 P-5
4. notes	re: NSB (2pp) A " " #4	1/15/88	P-1 P-5
5. notes	re: NSB (2pp) A " " #5	1/20/-	P-1 P-5
6. notes	re: NSB (2pp) A " " #6	1/22/-	P-1 P-5
7. notes	re: NSB (2pp) A " " #7	1/27/-	P-1 P-5
8. notes	re: NSB (1p) A " " #8	1/29/-	P-1 P-5
9. notes	re: NSB (1p) A " " #9	2/19/88	P-1 P-5
10. notes	re: NSB (1p) A " " #10	3/2/88	P-1 P-5
11. notes	re: NSB (2pp) A " " #11	3/7/-	P-1 P-5
COLLECTION: POWELL, COLIN L.: Files			dlb
FILE FOLDER: Shultz, George (Sec. State) [1 of 3] OA 92477			6/13/96

RESTRICTION CODES

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

- P-1 National security classified information [(a)(1) of the PRA].
- P-2 Relating to appointment to Federal office [(a)(2) of the PRA].
- P-3 Release would violate a Federal statute [(a)(3) of the PRA].
- P-4 Release would disclose trade secrets or confidential commercial or financial information [(a)(4) of the PRA].
- P-5 Release would disclose confidential advice between the President and his advisors, or between such advisors [(a)(5) of the PRA].
- P-6 Release would constitute a clearly unwarranted invasion of personal privacy [(a)(6) of the PRA].

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

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

- F-1 National security classified information [(b)(1) of the FOIA].
- F-2 Release could disclose internal personnel rules and practices of an agency [(b)(2) of the FOIA].
- F-3 Release would violate a Federal statute [(b)(3) of the FOIA].
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- F-7 Release would disclose information compiled for law enforcement purposes [(b)(7) of the FOIA].
- F-8 Release would disclose information concerning the regulation of financial institutions [(b)(8) of the FOIA].
- F-9 Release would disclose geological or geophysical information concerning wells [(b)(9) of the FOIA].

WITHDRAWAL SHEET

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2. notes	re: NSB (2pp) R 12/8/05 M1465 #12	3/15/88	P-1 P-5
3. notes	re: NSB (1p) R 1 4 #13	3/18/	P-1 P-5
4. notes	re: NSB (15pp) R " " #14	3/22/	P-1 P-5
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MR/GPS/HFB/KD/CP 17 Dec - 0930

1. GPS FOUND Europe upbeat. Mrs. T
KINDRED spirit on economics. Mrs. T
SAW Gorey hardened on Human Rights.
SOVS STILL

2. MR - IN AFGHAN "TEAM OF OURS
& THEIRS" MEET TO DISCUSS A NEW
GOV'T. G - We've TOLD THEM
MUDAHADIN WILL NOT ACCEPT CURRENT
GOV'T IN ANY FORM. MUDAHADIN
HAVE BIT IN THEIR TEETH. We'll
HAVE TO LET AFGHANS SETTLE IT.
NAT'L RECONCIL IS A PROCESS NOT
AN EVENT. R - A UN
presence? G - Yes, we're LOOKING
AT AID. GPS REINFORCED
OUR AGREEMENT TO STOP SUPPLYING
ARMS 60 days AFTER. We'll
HAVE LOADED THEM UP TO FIGHT
FOR 2 yrs.

3. GPS MTG w/ Byrd
- MAX KAMPelman IS STATE INF COORDINATOR
- DOCUMENTS needed - Nunn, ADE STATEMENTS
Handling of INF RATIO

SENATE WANTS:

- AUTH. TESTIMONY FROM ADMIN.
- MEANING OF TREATY WILL BE AS TESTIFIED TO.
- IF A SUBSEQUENT MEANING EMERGES IT MUST GET SENATE APPROVAL.

Abe says NEGOTIATING RECORD IS THE WHAT SENS SHOULD RELY ON.
TREATY RECORD IS U.S. LAW.

ON ABM OFFICE WAS NOT PRECISE
FOSTER/LAIRD SAID WHAT IT MEANS.

Max

Abe will get up a DRAFT LEGAL
OPINION WITH PRES LTR TO LAY DOWN
PRINCIPLES.

PER LTR WILL BE HELD INTO
IT. WORK IT OVER XMAS THEN MEET
AGAIN.

STATE TF IN OPERATION TO FIELD
QUESTIONS, NEGOTIATIONS. GLITMAN OFFICE
ON HILL.

4. GPS WILL SEND OVER THE 6 POINTS
OF HIS TREATY RE SEN REZ.

5. STATE AUTH BILL -- USE OF
POLY AS A MANAGERIAL TOOL, DEVICE
THAT INTIMIDATES PEOPLE INTO SAYING
THINGS. MISLEAD YOURSELF AND HARM
CIVIL RIGHTS. CUBAN DOUBLE AGENTS.
FOLKS INSTITUTIONALLY CAN'T 'PASS' ONE.
Why SINGLE OUT THE COPS.

6 JAN - GPS/HHB/KD/CP

NLS M1465 #2

BY AMF, NARA, DATE 12/8/05

1. Next 6-8 months can be very fruitful.

a. INF, FTA, STATE(T), DEMOS, AFGHAN, PG

b. Hard piece of work w/ Sovs + ALLIES

c. Sov Relationship is key:

- Good chance for STATE 50% w/o crippling SDI.

* - Testing - sign ~~ratify~~ in Moscow

- AFGHAN, Human Rights

- CONVENTIONAL ARMS.

d. Monthly mtgs w/ Sov. - w/CP

e. "I like deadlines." WASH, GENEVA. Can use to our advantage. Can't get things done w/out a deadline.

f. Take another look at managing Gorbachev. (RR)

g. No "detente." Managing a relationship w/ BIG, BAD Sovs. e.g. Arms control talks after KAL 007. Could be a flap we need to manage.

h. Visitors - FRG, FM of CHINA - Li Ping, de Silva, Kohl, Evans, → MAR 34

i. FTA

j. GPS to Canada Monday

k. Mulroney mtg -- need to do something on acid rain.

l. Commission HUNG UP ON FORM &
SUBSTANCE

m. MAJOR Middle-East speech. Need
WORK BETWEEN NOW & THEN w/ Jewish
COMMUNITIES.

n. NICAR. & CONTRAS. LATIN AMERICA
FEELING NEGLECTED.

o. INF TESTIMONY 25 JAN.

p. GOOD TEAM.

HHB - DON'T OVERRAISE EXPECTATIONS.

GPS - BACK TO TESTING.

3 Feb 88 - RR, GDS, HB, CP

1. REFUGEE RESOURCE PROBLEM. 70K A YEAR.
WORKING ON SOVS TO ALLOW JEWS &
OTHERS OUT. MORE ARMENIANS &
OTHER EASTERN EUROPEANS & OTHERS.
NEED MORE ALLOCATIONS & MONEY.
GDS WON'T SLOW DOWN ARMENIANS. W
ALSO RELIEVE COUNTRIES OF FIRST
ASYLUM. NEED \$30M & ALLOCATIONS.
2. RR WENT OFF ON A DISCUSSION OF
FOLKS NOT WANTING TO LEAVE IF THEY
COULD.
3. STARS - GOOD FOR NAT'L SECURITY
INTERESTS ALONE. NEED TO KEEP PUSHING.
NO GOOD ALTERNATIVE TO A STARS
AGREEMENT.

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NLS M1465 #3

BY Amf, NARA, DATE 12/8/03

RR, GPS, HB, KD, CP - 15 Jan 88

AFGHANISTAN

- TWO-PRONG - ① RESISTANCE ② GENEVA

- ① OVERALL ASSESSMENT - DOING WELL,
STINGERS EFFECTIVE. SITUATION
DETERIORATING FOR SOVS. KABUL
REGIME NO CHANCE AFTER SOVS
LEAVE.

- ② GENEVA - INDIRECT / PROXIMITY TALKS -
TALK TO CONDOVEZ, NOT EACH OTHER.
SOVS TALK THRU KABUL, WE TALK THRU
PAKS. OBJ OF PAKS - SOVS OUT,
REFUGEES IN.

FOUR INSTRUMENTS:

1. PRINCIPLES TO GOVERN RELATIONSHIP
BET AFGHAN. & ISLAMIA. RESPECT FOR SOVER.

2. RETURN OF REFUGEES. UNHCR

3. INT'L GUARANTEES - NON-INTERF, NON-INTERF

NLS M1465#4 WE'RE OBLIGED NOT TO TRAIN, EQUIP,

FINANCE TROOPS

4. INTERRELATIONSHIP OF ABOVE 3
& SOV WITHDRAWAL SCHEDULE.

WITHDRAWAL 84/85 - 3 yrs; 88 - 12 mos or
LESS. WITHDRAWAL LOGISTICALLY

DRIVEN - 2-4 mos; PAKS WENT TO 8 mos.

SOVS HYPING NEXT GENEVA ROUND TO

set us up as continuing war.

- As time period dropped we've pushed front-end loading.
- Under agreements we are obliged to stop aid after 60 days, 90 days after $1/2$ Sovs out.
- We're surging supplies, \$1B. 1/2k More standoff WPNs - Mortars.
- Preserve Pak infrastructure to restart.
- Monitoring - ATM + UN observers.
- Sovs will ceasefire while diseng.
- Interim Govt - Sovs want NATO. in. Paks may accept some old folks if Muta control.
∴ Interim Gov't or best man wins.
- Elements of bargaining
 - Fast W/D
 - Front-end loading
 - Interim Govt. ZIA key. Muta trust him.

PR 1. Can't defend ourselves publicly by saying we have such stocks on hand.
2. Muta aren't a cohesive force.

GPS - Passed Perestroika

FEB,
FIVE.

20 JAN R, HHB, GPS, CP

1. UPDATE ON ZIMBABWE CHILD

2. MIDDLE EAST UPDATE

- Rumor (Houser article) that we were initiating a peace initiative.
- Abrams/Fisher visited GPS for 2 hrs Sat & said they would spt a US initiative & would press Shamir. GPS cooled them off about an int'l conf. They called Shamir to go visit. Shamir said no.
- On Tues, Hill called Rubinstein to chat. Rubinstein was invited to DC. He'll come Mon. after cabinet mtg w/ ideas.
- UN AMB calls late last night and says Shamir doesn't want to wait. ~~Rubinstein~~ ^{AMB} to bkfst on Sat at GPS. Rubinstein on Monday, spoke out.
- Shamir worried. Want to smoke us out & load us before Mubarak.

3. VIENNA - LEDOGAR/ZIMMERMAN

MANDATE FOR CST - well along. We won't talk about SNF & they know it. Need to tell Gerscher same thing. RR resp. that conv upns need parity first.

GPS - Need to deal w/conv & CML
before SNF. Need TAC, DCA, moderniz-
ation. RR agree.

GPS - Sovs always saw CSCE as
security. We hold them hostage on
human rights. Can't get to
CST w/o HR movement - listed
conditions for Moscow conf. Too high
a hurdle - need a broader
statement that might be jumpable.
Get an allied consensus to move
mandate w/o compromising on HR.
Hanging in. CSCE will resolve
itself when we & allies come up
with a doable HR condition set.

RR - Can believe Soviets when they
finally give up conv. upns.

FEB,
FIVE
C1

22 JAN - RR, GPS, HTB, CP

① LTR FM SHAMIR

a. UNREST IN TERRITORIES -- SPONTANEOUS, UNSPONSORED. SHAMIR SAYS FAILING TO RETALIATE OVER GLIDER ATTACK UNDERCUT ISRAELI MILITARY PROMESS.

b. ISRAELI'S SURPRISED. DON'T KNOW HOW TO REACT. PLO GETTING A FREE RIDE. PLO WILL INHERIT & BENEFIT FROM SITUATION.

c. CALMING OF SITUATION

(1) "We're WITH ISRAEL - CAN'T HEDGE US."

(2) MUST BE CRITICAL OF ISRAEL WHEN NEEDED.

d. UK/USSR USING THIS TO GET A PLEMPOTENTIARY ~~CONF~~ INT'L CONF TO TELL PARTIES WHAT TO DO. WE NEEDED TO KILL THIS IDEA. Why? 1. ISSUES TOO COMPLEX & SUBTLE. 2. SHAMIR - AMMAN SUMMIT ADOPTED VIEWS OF RADICALS. SAME w/ INT'L CONF.

e. We've WORKED ON SPECIAL KIND OF CONF PRODUCING A BILAT NEG. HUSSEIN SAYS SHAMIR WON'T GIVE UP TERRITORY - WHY NEG. WHERE AM I GOING.

f. GO BACK TO AUTONOMY - 3 YRS - ISRAELI DOES SECURITY - FINAL STATUS TALKS.

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NLS 141465

BY ~~AMF~~ NARA DATE 12/8/05

f. Approach - substance & process.
Speech which talks about outcome
is a transition period (SHAMIR LTR).
Use that substance to work
towards an int'l conf. Not
plenipotentiary. Increase/improve
substance as process moves.
Present to MUBARAK - let it
sink in. MUBARAK wants to
help. Builds on '82 speech.

h. You make us unpopular. Mrs
T. may call.

i. Passport idea I'm a Palestinian.

GPS, HHR, KD, RR - 27 JAN

GPS - Non-stop discussions yest w/ Ellie, AMD, DCM, Boris Asher, Fisher, ABRAMS.

Went over proposal we might make.

TA, by end of yr arrangements for "Camp David" autonomy arrangements leading to a Reagan plan outcome. (Don't call it that.) Americans

Jewish leaders like. Ellie talked to SHAMIR. Some issues - don't

buy IC; ~~EVOTING~~ FM E → W BANK. SHAMIR SAYS GO AHEAD. Met. L/ ^{TODAY}

MUBARAK, EL-KEDDY, AL-BAZ, MURPHY, Wisner. MUBARAK SAYS

EVERYONE WANTS TO DO SOMETHING. US MUST LEAD. MUBARAK SAID HE

HAD TO SAY SOMETHING SO HE PUT OUT AN IC IDEA. USUAL

debate over process vs substance.

SHAMIR CONCERN IS THAT HE GETS CLOBBERED WHEN OUTNUMBERED IN AN IC. GPS SAYS THEN LET'S GET SOME SUBSTANCE. - SHOWED DOCUMENT MCKING CP DAVID [REAGAN]. MUBARAK IS ENTHUSIASTIC BUT OSAMA SAYS IT IS JUST CP DAVID.



Hussein + Mubarak mtg in Paris on
Tues. HABIB TO GO BRIEF
Hussein.

FEB,
FIVE.

29 Jan - MR, GPS, HB, KD, CP

C1

① MIDDLE EAST - GOOD CONV. w/ Eys.
We've dispatched PHIL. DIFFICULTIES.

② Concept is BRINGING FINAL STATUS
UP TO TRANSITIONAL STATUS. ARABS
WANT PALESTINIANS TO BE MISERABLE.
ISRAEL WANTS TA SO REGION WILL
BE CALM & GOES NO FURTHER. ARABS
WANT AN ENTITY IN ASSOCIATION w/ JORDAN.

③ SHAMIR MOVING A BIT. HEAR FROM
PHIL ON SUNDAY. SEE WHAT TO
DO. TELLING ISRAELI ARAB &
DIMITZ (FOR PERES) TODAY. "By
Monday PHIL WILL BE BACK."

④ VERY BEST WE CAN GET THIS
YR IS ① TRANS. GOVT ② FINAL STATUS.

⑤ START - POSSIBLE BY MAY. WANT
TO REACH AGREEMENT OR GET
SOMETHING WE CAN NAIL DOWN BY
MAY. AVOID LATER (FRAMEWORK).
SOME BOTTOM LINES: ① SLCM - CAN'T
VERIFY - MAKE UNILAT. DECLARATION. That's
IT. OR NO START.

DECLASSIFIED

NLS M1465 #8

BY ~~and~~ NARA, DATE 12/8/85

FEB,
FIVE.

10 FEB - AL, GPS, HB, KD, CP

1. MIDDLE EAST UPDATE. Need process & SUBSTANCE.

2. CALENDAR OF EVENTS

12 FEB - FLA.

13 FEB - Mex

15 FEB - AFL-CIO. + INF

18-19 FEB - KOHL

19-23 FEB - MOSCOW / BRUSSELS

25? FEB - PORTUGUESE

26? FEB - MIDDLE EAST

1-3 MAR - NATO

? - MIDDLE EAST

8 MAR - FM LU

18 MAR - SHAMIR

- SHEV.

GPS, HB, CP, RR

- 19 Feb 88

Feb,
Five
CW

1. PERSONNEL - AMBASSADORS - GOOD CAREER
& NON-CAREER. MOVED TOO MANY CAREER
ONES FROM GOOD POSTS - HURT FOREIGN
SERVICE. GLITMAN → BELGIUM. SPIERS →
CANADA. MAY NOT GET CONFIRMED. ABRAHAMOVITZ
→ INDIA. I HEAR YOU WANT DR. HUBBARD.
FDC WANTS A CONSORTIUM FOR PHILIPPINES -
PAUL BOEKER RETIRED. RR REAFFIRMED
HUBBARD.

2. AFGHANISTAN.

TELL SOVS - IF WE ARE GUARANTORS:

- SOVS OUT BY END 88
- 1/2 IN 3 mos
- SOME ON 15 MAY
- IRREVERSIBLE PROCESS OF DEPARTURE -
SOVS MUST CEASE ^{MIL} SPT OF KAROL IF
WE STOP
- GIVE INTERIM GOV'T A WHIL. PAKS
WANT TO DELAY UNTIL 30 MAR.

3. PLO OFFICE - CLOSURE DELAYED.

4. NST - STILL FOR A TREATY BY SUMMIT.
- MUST FOCUS ON VERIFICATION FIRST.

5. LEE KUAN YEW -- 13 APR - ADD A LUNCH.

6. GENEVA OR HELSINKI. RECOMMENDED HELSINKI
QUIETER - ONLY 1 hr AWAY.

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NLS M465 #9

BY ~~AW~~ NARA, DATE 12/8/05

RR, GPS, HB, CN, BRUSSELS, 2 MAR 88
MID-EAST

SHAMIR - AGAINST INTERLOCK, CONT

JORDAN - GOOD, SERIOUS DISCUSSIONS. STAY ENGAGED.
NERVOUS ABOUT PALEST. PROBLEM.

SYRIA - NEGATIVE BUT HE DON'T REJECT. ONLY
GATE IN TOWN.

PALESTINIANS - DECLINED TO COME TO MEETING.

TO LONDON TOMORROW AFTERNOON -

LTR TO HUSSEIN FM GPS. Poles/
SHAMIR, ASSAD, MUBARAK. PUTS
THE FAT IN THE FIRE. I'm

TALK TO BRITS/FRENCH here. LV
ON WEEKEND. MSG TO SHEV.

MURPHY RUNS TRAPS + MOSCOW
NEXT WEEK.

242 MEANS MORE THAN LEAVING SINAI. NOT
A LEG TO STAND ON. HUSSEIN WANTS

TERMINAL FOR PEACE IN LTR. "Each

OF THESE NEGOT. WILL BE BASED
ON 242/338." HUSSEIN WON'T

BUY NOR WILL SHAMIR. "THINK

ABOUT IT - RESPONSE BY MID-MARCH."

UN SPONSOR A US/USSR CO-CHAIRLED
CONF.

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NLS M1465 #10

BY SN, NARS, DATE 12/4/05

7 Mar - RL, GPS, KD, CP

1. GPS ATTABOY ON RL NATO SPEECH.
2. PANAMA - I KEEP POUNDING AWAY.
NEED TO MOVE. IN A CONFRONTATION
W/ NORIEGA. HE INDICTED HIM. TRAFFICKER
WATCHING. WE'RE ON THE LINE. NEED
PROMPT DECISIONMAKING. CAN'T WAIT.

3. AFGHANISTAN

- PAK/AFG NEAR AGREEMENT.
- SOVS AGREE TO 9 MOS/50% IN 3 MOS.
- WE'LL HAVE TO DECIDE IF WE WILL
SERVE AS GUARANTOR. PAKS AGREE
TO CUT OFF AID WHEN WITHDRAWALS
BEGIN. HE WON'T DO IT UNLESS SOVS
DO. CONTINUE HUMAN AID STOCKS
OF 6-9 MOS. ZIA WILL HOLD
A STOCKPILE IN THEATER.
- WILL PAKS SIGN W/ AN INTERIM OR
KABUL. WE THINK THEY SHOULD.
PAKS WANT AN INTERIM GOV'T: -- TO BE
RECOGNIZED; TO UNDERCUT KABUL.
- AFGHAN DESOLATE. NEED AN
ASSISTANCE STRUCTURE TO HELP THEM
MOVE BACK.
- ** - USEFUL IF YOU SEND LTR TO
JUNOOD + ZIA -- RESPONDING TO
HAMMER LTR.

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NLS M1465 #11

BY ~~XXX~~, NARA, DATE 12/13/15

4. SOVS TABLED ~~DATA~~ PROTOCOLS BUT
NOT DATA MOU.

5. MIDDLE EAST -- FAT IS IN THE
FIRE. TRYING TO GET SHAMIR IN
PICTURE. PROPOSAL DELIVERED. SHAMIR
WON'T DECIDE UNTIL ARTEL VISIT. SHAMIR
WILL COME WITH A BIG MOU WITH
US GUARANTEEING EVERYTHING. HUSSEIN
REASONABLY POSITIVE. LTR TO
SHEVANDADZE - Murphy TO FOLLOW.
HABID/STRAUSS HAVE BOTH TAKEN AN
INTEREST. COMING IN TO GET BRIEFED.
MIGHT TAKE STRAUSS WITH ME. We
HAVE A PROPOSAL THAT IS HARD TO
TURN DOWN.

- TRANS STATUS IN 6 MOS, 1 May
- FINAL STATUS IN 7 MOS, COMPL IN 1 YR.
- TA 2 MOS LATER
- ALL UNDER 242/338 IN ALL THEIR PARTS.

15 Mar 88 - RR, HB, KD, CP, GPS

KZ,
FIVE.
CP

1. Discussed trip. GPS pushed for
Brussels. Only takes two hours.
Allies love it. Lots visuals.

2. Long session w/ Shamir at house --
2 1/2 hrs -- more constructive than before.
Int'l conf bothers him a great deal --
Auth conf -- he wouldn't participate.
Lots of talk about final status. Wants
to make no decision here. ∴ ① Convenes
Cabinet to decide -- split, go to election.
② "Let us keep going." Get a little
pregnant, we know. Draft LTR to
SyGen. Make another swing.
He was positive to press -- DABO IC.

Discussion of MDA - audible in AM
RR - They know we're there and they
will come to their aid.

3. Afghanistan - deadline passed. Symmetry
of aid critical. On interim deal
Sovs won't cut off Kabul head --
"process" solution. On symmetry ZIA
tough, Turg'o lobby. We need
Pakistan to resupply.

DECLASSIFIED

NLS 01468412

BY ~~and~~ NARA, DATE 12/12/05

MAYBE A 2-3 YR MORATORIUM.

PANAMA - SITUATION BAD. NORIEGA
SEEN AS THE PROBLEM. WE'RE WORKING
ON A PACKAGE HE CAN ACCEPT:
RESIGNS, SPAIN, NO ACTIVITIES, LEAVE. SPAIN-
ASYLUM, NO INTERFERENCE W/DEP, NO EXTRAD.
PANAMA - DON'T WANT EXTRAD, NO INTER, NO
VENGEANCE OR ASSOCIATES. US -
NO EXTRAD FM SPAIN, SAFE PASSAGE. WHO'S
GOING - WIFE, WHEN, ETC., WIVES, MISTRESSES,
KIDS. WE'LL NEED TO FIND SOMEONE -
OUTSIDER(?) INSIDER - TOUGH, AUTHORITATIVE - MIKE
KOZAK (?) OR PHIL HABIB, DICK WATERS.

FEB, FIVE

18 Mar 88, GPS, HHTB, KD, CP

1. MEETING w/ NORIEGA FOR 1 1/2 hrs in KITCHEN OF SECURITY GUARDS HOUSE. "WANTED TO TALK TO HIS LAWYER" "Reply THIS PM."

2. ME PEACE STATUS. HADIB TRIP.

3. AFGHAN. REMAINING ISSUE IS AID CUTOFF. INTERIM WILL FADE AWAY. SOVS SAY THEY HAVE AGREEMENTS. SOLUTIONS -
① NEUTRALITY MEANS CUTTING OFF. ② NOBODY CUTS OFF. ③ SOV NON-STATEMENT they're CUTTING OFF — UK RECIP

DECLASSIFIED / RELEASED

NLS M1465 M13

BY inf, NARA, DATE 12/8/88

WASH MINISTERIAL

22-23 MAR 88

FEB,
FIVE
✓

22 MAR GPS / EB / CP

SHULTZ / SHEVARDNADZE / POWELL

EB - SAID 22 JAN US STATEMENT
WAS INCONSISTENT w/ SUMMIT. SHOULD
WE WORK ON "DISCUS" OR
SOMETHING ELSE ONE DOCUMENT OR
TWO?

GPS - LAID DOWN OUR POSN.

EB - MUST GET AGREEMENT ON
D+S. WHAT DO WE AGREE w/ &
WHAT NOT. AFFECTS OTHER DISCS,
MAKE SURE WE START w/ WASH.
SUMMIT STATEMENT.

TESTING

GPS ON JVE NEED.

EB - PARALLEL WORK - PROTOCOL
& TESTING.

GPS - NOT ENOUGH TIME.

EB - WORK IN PARALLEL -
MAYBE CAN SIGN w/o JVE. Hydro-
dynamic WORKS BUT SEISMIC NOT.

CP - TIME SHORT - JVE IN SUMMER

EB - TEST CAN BE BEFORE SUMMIT.

EB - WORK HARD.

AFGHAN

ES - Withdrawal finished by end of yr, end of ADMINISTRATION.

- Interim. Not realistic to have worked out in Geneva. Look at groups out there & try to find a common thread. CONDOREZ proposing his private good offices who, after signing, will serve as a mediator among groups. Afghans & is now agree. But the & now led by a fundamentalist.

- Pros on intl recog boundary. Iran UG. Afghans have rec since 1922. Not been rec by India, either.

THINGS

- RR STOP IN BRUSSELS
LV SPASSO AT 7AM/2PM
ARR 10AM, LV BY 1245

- SPIERS FORWARD
 - DIST. GUY IN FS
 - TERRIBLY HARD JOB
 - LV NILES THERE,

- CAN VLOCITY - SMITH ANATHEMA -

ODSM

- KODAK
 - CHEV
 - ~~ATT~~ GM > 25B - AREA TRADE Consortium
 - ATT
 - French MSG
 - Commerce - NO NEG - JAPAN.
- Jim Giffen
VP, USTEC
JEC

22 Mar - GPS, CP, RL, ES, Press., Vol + 2

ES - Human. -- POSITIVE + NEGATIVE

- FOLLOW UP ON MTGS w/ CONG. / LEGIS.
- NEED TO Δ STATE / FED LAWS. WORKING HARD TO RECONCILE OUR LAWS TO OUR INT'L OBLIGATIONS. WORKING TO ELIM CAPITAL PUNISH. US HAS SAME PROB - MINORS. - SPECIAL SEMINAR ON CAP PUN - OUR LAWYERS + JUDGES.
- U.S. STATE DEPT REPORT ON HUMAN RIGHTS BIASED. Need to discuss this. HOW TO START WORK TO PROVIDE UNBIASED REPORTS.
- SOV ACTIONS
 - NEW SOV TRADE UNION LAWS
 - NEW VISAS, EXIT RULES, FINANCIAL CLAIMS, TOURISTS, FOREIGN JOURNALISTS, PSYCHIATRIC EVALUATIONS (2 yrs in jail for illegal placements.)
 - NATIONALITIES. LARGE plenary mtg OF CENTRAL COME. NATIONALITIES QUESTION NOT RESOLVED. U.S. IS ALSO MULTI-ETHNIC. MORE ATTENTIVE VIEW NEEDED.
- ISSUES:
 - a. TERRORISTS IN U.S.

- NAZI WAR CRIMINALS -- SET UP A GROUP.
We have names.
- RACISM
- COVENANTS ON HUMAN RIGHTS,
- INT'L CONF - ARE YOU FOR OR AGAINST. WE CAN LIVE WITH THAT ONE.
DON'T WANT TO COMPETE w/ FR OR UK.
CAN AGREE TO FRENCH + UK CONFS
BUT DON'T WANT TO ABANDON OUR
IDEA - A LITTLE LATER.
- LOOK AT OUR PROPAGANDA OUTPUTS FOR
BIAS.
- DISCRIMINATION AGAINST SOV TRADE UNIONS.
- SOVIET-AMERICANS REPORT DISCRIMINATION.
- SOVIET JEWS
- LTR FOR CHILDREN OF FORMER SOV
CITIZEN. UNFAIR TRIAL. MOVING LTR.

GPS RESPONDED - SPIRITED DISCUSSION
ON LABOUR UNIONS, PRISONERS OF
CONSCIENCE, CSCE BASKETS, SAKHAROV
LISTS.

STAGS

- LITTLE TIME REMAINING. MUST HANDLER
OUT 50% PRINCIPLES NOW. SUMMIT
CAN BE A LANDMARK MTG IF
APPROP DOCUMENTS ARE READY.

- ① - SLCM. G SAID NO STATE w/o
RESOLUTION OF THIS ISSUE. NULLIFIES
REDUCTION. We have to agree on
A CEILING - we've said 400. Can we
SET THIS? Why 400? Not too
HIGH TO NEGATE STATE. VERIFY
DIFF. ^{MOBILE} RE VERIFY - we've
GIVEN OUR ^{MOBILE} VERIFY PROPOSALS.
Not verify, BUT LET'S MAKE THEM SO:--
NTM, REMOTE CONTROL SYSTEM,
INSP OF SHIPS & BASES, PERM CONT
INSP, FIXED ARMING FACILITY(10),
THEN LOADED OF SHIPS ON 3?
TYPES. FACILITY LOCATIONS IN MOV. SLCMs
NOT IN DATA MOV. No OTHER
TYPES OF SHIPS AT ARMING FACILITIES,
SSI, RESTRICT SLCM SHIPS, ANY
SHIPS ALREADY EQUIPPED WOULD HAVE
TO DEMON NON-NUKE RULE, PROPOSE
REMOTE EXPERIMENT 1? Apr - HERO
OR SHIPS IN Med OR ELSEWHERE -
SEND NUKES OR CONV. - NOT A
PANACEA

ALL TOGETHER FORMS A VERIF
REGIME. IF NOT RESOLVED NO
50% REDUCTION. TREATY. INSPECTIONS
ARE ESSENTIAL. WE DO FOR INF.

GPS - RECAP

- 6000, 1600, 4900, 154/1540, CRs - Bomb., RV,
50% TU, FOCUS ON VERIF, 3 DRAFT
TEXTS.

ES - SINGLE OUT PROBLEMS

① SLCMS (ABOVE)

② ALCM

- Each type hvy bomber - ACTUAL MAX
equipped - 600KM cf. 28 BSL
BIB-22. IF ACCEPTED
WE'D DROP 1100 S. LIMIT.

③ VERIF OF ② - Insp of hvy bomber
BASES.

④ MOBILES. WILLING TO AGREE ON
A SL e.g. 800 LAUNCHERS. VERIFICATION -
NTM, CONTIN Insp, NOTIF, RPT ΔS IN
LOCATION, RE GROUND SYSTEMS -- BL Insp, ROADS
OPENED FOR A TIME PERIOD, - 1X A YR, MOV -
has UTM LOCATION. RE RAIL MOBILE, BL
DATA, COMMENCED FOR COUNTING (DO FOR SLCM)
SSI, Non-depl - LIMIT AT EACH BASE
FOR REPLACEMENT 7 PROD SITE FAR

AWAY TO CONTROL REFINER PROBLEM,
OUR EXPERTS HAVE BEEN STUDYING TO
FIND A COMP SYSTEM

SUBLIMITS- TEXT COULD REPORT
3300 ICBM/SLBM + 1100 ALCM
OR WITHIN 4400 EACH SIDE
COULD MIX FREELY ICBM/SLBMs.

(AFTER LUNCH)

GPS Response

- RAISED HANG-UP ON BRACKETS IN
MONITORING VS INSPECTING.
- HEADWORKS BLOW OR SILD BLOW
USING DOOR TO TRAMP.

GPS- Re ALCM - NUKEs ONLY.
CP/KAEPOV - ON 10 VS MAX
REFER TO EXPERTS.

GPS ON STARTS VERIF

- DATA EX, SSI, PPM
- + MOBILES - RESTRICTED AREAS, NTM, OSI.
LEAVE ONLY w/ PRIOR NOTIFICATION, w/
INSPECTION OF DEPARTURE + RETURN.
PICKED UP SHEV'S IDEA.

DS - Karpov MTD THAT WORKING GROUP HADN'T SOLVED ANYTHING. WONT REPEAT MAX'S PERSONAL SUGGES

ES ON DTS AGAIN;

- CAN DEVISE A BETTER FORMULA
- ADD PROVISIONS GIVING IT A SEPARATE, LEGAL CHARACTER
- PERIOD - "ASSURING STAB + PRES." 50% REDUCTION PERIOD + NEGOT PERIOD. $\therefore$ UNCOND AGREEMENT NOT TO W/D. WE'LL ACCEPT 7 YRS START REDUCT. W/ 9-10 YRS ASYM. "AS SIGNED" WOULD BE HELPED BY VERIF PROC. - XCHANGE DATA. NOTIFICATION OF PERM ACT. CLARIFICATION PROCEDURE. MAX USE OF SCR. INSPECTIONS? ADDING NEW ELEMENTS IS UNNEC. & HURTFUL.

GTS - REAFFIRMED Supreme Nat'l Interest
MAX - 2 IDEAS FM SOVIET "SCIENTISTS (?)"
1. EXCHANGE INFO ON WHAT WE'RE PLANNING.
2. SEPARATE UPNS FROM SENSORS.
↳

TESTING — HOLMES SAYS PNET BY
SUMMIT, JVE PLANS BY APRIL, TTBT
PROTOCOL BY JVE TIME.

GPS REPEATED VIEW THAT CORTEX
WANTS PROTOCOLS TO BE FINISHED.

GPS - TESTING SUMMARY. WORK ON
PROTOCOL 1 JVE DOCUMENT. TEST
FILMS IN BLANKS SPACE FOR PROTOCOLS.

KARPON - PREPARE 2 PROTOCOLS '74 + '76
FINALIZED PRINCIPLES — PROCEEDINGS
WORKED OUT AFTER JVES.

CML

E3 - DO YOU STILL SPT "MANDATORY". YES

E3 - DO ALL SIGNERS HAVE CITIZENSHIP
RIGHTS? TBD

E3 - REVIEWED MOSCOW PROPOSALS:
- EXPENS GP
- TESTS

E3 - SUMMIT STATEMENTS ON PROHIBITION
OF CML UPNS. HAVE A JOINT
TRACT STATEMENT. WANT THIS AS
A POSSIBLE MOSCOW EVENT.

23 Mar - AM

E3 I've talked to GS. Can't postpone Sup Sov - all 2,500 deputies informed. Crisis arrives to Δ. Mid-May -- GS thinks too soon. Need time - maybe even a May ministerial. Only poss. From May 30, June 1 → 15 ~~June~~ June. Really want a document.

ES/GPS - Discussion of SCUDs in Iraq.
Afghanistan

Adamishin - If US supplies & we supply both sides criticize but no one is violating agreement. We can't guarantee we won't criticize Pak. If internal US/Sov agreement each side will explain itself. Can't accept moratorium. ES agreed.

E3 - Delicate matter. Each side (Kazul/Paks) must abide by the agreement.

23 Mar - ES LT AL

AFTER LUNCH.

Iran-Iraq - After Sygen MTG ready to
ACT IF NO RESULT.

"Two sides have spoken of strong action."
Sec needs for a resolution but
will have a big headache."

ES wanted us to stick w/ 30 day ~~extension~~
idea.

AFGHAN

GDS Summary

- 1/2 out w/in 3 mos
- End of 88
- CONDOVEZ private consultations: - interim
- We'll continue to support - you'll
complain - no accord violation
- We'll reciprocate your actions.
- No Pakistan bashing.

ES - If no resupply

GPS - We welcome developments in
Afghan re u/d. Clear
understandings close to being achieved

- Need reasonable balance of
obligations + seeing conduct during
u/d + try as convs. as we can
mk them w/ cond to perm ref
ret to Afg

- ∴ Welcome Condovez in personal
capacity to work w/ parties.

-- Hop for all parties, US/Sov/others
to agree on moratorium for period
of u/d + 3 mos + potentially
longer period to see if we
can produce Gov't of neutrality.

-- We've proposed to you. You
haven't agreed. Prop on table.

-- With above, we'd be pld to
be guarantor. Unable to w/o some
similar arrangement. Arm - w/o

prejudice to legal assertions to
provide support/arms.

ES - We won't be able to conclude.

Next question.

ES - Consequencia. NEGOT BET 2
COUNTRIES CAN CONTINUE. CAN OR
CANNOT SIGN. NOTHING TERRIBLE.

Central Amer

GPS - SITREP

ES - SPT CONTRA/CONTRA. SPT GP/E II.

- EP II - NICARAGUANS HAVE CARRIED
OUT OBLIGATIONS. TALKS,
14 OPPOSITION PARTIES, OBANDO,
NEWSPAPERS/RADIOS OPEN, BORDER
INSPECTORS

- NEED A SUBSTANTIAL ARMY. NEED
ARMS. FEEL THREATENED.

- IF NOT FOR CONTRAS REGIONAL
PROBLEM WOULD HAVE BEEN FOUND
LONG AGO.

- 82nd CAUSED ALARM, NOT JUSTIFIED, YOUR
CONCERN. Your hemisphere.

- YOU WON'T STRANGLE NICAR. NEED
A DIRECT DIALOG, ALSO w/ COAS. Trying
TO EST YOUR INTER.

- WHAT IS ILLEGAL ABOUT SENDING
ARMS TO NICAR. - GOV'T UNIVERSALLY
RECOGNIZED, IN UN

23 MAR - GPS, CD, AL, ES, BESS., ABM - 1930 - Windup

GPS - DIS
ALCM
SLCM
TESTING
VERIFICATION DOCUMENTS

ES - Not useless, see commun.

Didn't get a vision of Moscow MTE: -
MAGNITUDE OF NEGOT, SOV-US RELATIONS
DIFF.

ABM*, SLCM* - GIVE RESPONSE IN GENEVA
* START SHOWSTOPPERS

Deeply disappointed over AFGHANISTAN.
Don't know what derailed. Could
have cooperated. We'll resolve on
our own. Most serious disappointment.

GPS

ABM - Go into JT TEXT MODE. ACCEPT
SUPREMACY NAT'L INT. Why are we arguing
OVER ABM CONTINUING AFTER PERIOD?